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Skilled Migrants and International Careers:

***A Qualitative Study and Interpretation of the
Careers and Perceived Career Success of Skilled Migrant Workers in Ireland***

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A dissertation submitted in fulfilment of the requirements
for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy (PhD)

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June 2018

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*I, Edward P. O'Connor, as the author of this thesis,
hereby declare that, except where duly acknowledged,
this thesis is entirely my own work
and has not been submitted for any degree or qualification
in any other University or Country.*

Dedication

To my wife, Eleanor, for so much support, help and inspiration from the very beginning of my PhD journey;

To my son, Shane, who listened to, encouraged and endured the ramblings of a 'mature' student;

Finally, to my parents, Eileen and Paddy O'Connor, who always loved and cherished every one of my achievements, I only wish you both were able to share in the end of my PhD journey.

Acknowledgements

Firstly and most genuinely, to my supervisor, Dr. Marian Crowley-Henry, who, having seen potential where I did not, encouraged me to start out on this journey. Without Dr. Crowley-Henry's foresight, knowledge and support this journey would probably never have started, and definitely never reached this destination. I will be forever indebted to her for changing my life.

To the Polish, Lithuanian, Latvian and Estonian nationals who took the time to educate me about their lives, careers and migration journey. A process that was very personal, and sometimes painful, for them, but always enlightening for me.

To Prof. Peter McNamara, Prof. Anne Huff, Dr. John Cullen and Dr. Christina O'Connor, who all were active in my panel review process, and who shared constructive feedback, seminal literature and pertinent advice with me.

Also, to all the faculty of the Maynooth University School of Business who helped smooth out the road on my PhD journey,

Last, but not least, to all my dear friends and colleagues in the PhD room, aka 'the Centre of Academic Excellence', for providing the experience of 'learning by osmosis', which has been seminal in helping me complete this journey.

To You All a Sincere Thank You.

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Abstract

This dissertation presents an exploration of the career motivations, actions and experiences of thirty-eight skilled migrants, from Poland, Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, who currently live and work in Ireland. Specifically, the analysis considers how career transitions and contexts, in conjunction with time and timing, influence the career actions and career outcomes of skilled migrants. These internationally mobile workers were interviewed over a two-year period.

This study espouses a constructivist philosophical paradigm, with the study's analysis based on the elucidations of the respondents themselves, in their recounts of their career actions and experiences in Ireland, the country context for the study. Adopting a holistic definition of career, the study embraces a whole life perspective (Litano and Major, 2016) on the interviewees' careers. This perspective develops and extends the skilled migrants' career development from an occupational and organisational perspective to a much broader, all-inclusive perspective, where profession and work have place and meaning; such as work being a means to an end (e.g. good quality of life) for the interviewees with an instrumentalist career script.

This study draws on literature in the HRM, skilled migrant, careers, business, management and organisational studies domains. The research unpacks the contemporary conceptualisations of skilled migrant careers and relates these to the detailed empirical study. In doing so, the study provides a deeper comprehension of how the skilled migrant constructs and interprets his/her career experiences in the ever-changing personal, professional and social frameworks of both their home and host country careers. These findings and interpretations contribute to the existing knowledge on a number of key areas, such as skilled migrant and expatriate careers, underemployment, perceived career success, international careers and the effects of career transitions and structure and agency on career actions and outcomes.

The research captures the individual migrant's subjective perceptions of his/her career and world, and adopts an more inclusive view of career, examining the under-explored importance of the influence of family, context and time on the career actions and outcomes of skilled migrants in their home and host countries.

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Chapter One - Introduction, Research Questions and Overview

*“I’ve learned that making a ‘living’ is not the same thing as ‘making a
life’.”*

From the poem, ‘This is what I’ve learned in life’

by the US author and poet, Maya Angelou.

International careers are on the increase (Bahn, 2015; Guo and Al Ariss, 2015), with an increased international demand for skilled and specialised labour (Fernando and Cohen, 2016). This increased worker mobility has resulted in skilled migration becoming a permanent feature of national and international economies (Connell and Burgess, 2009; Crowley et al, 2016). A myriad of organisations now depend on internationally mobile labour to satisfy their skilled employment needs (Suutari and Brewster, 2000). They are also seen as a potential source of strategic value for organisations (Crowley-Henry and Al Ariss, 2016; Zikic, 2015), providing a “pool of talent, ambition, and expertise that are the sine qua non for maintaining a competitive advantage in the knowledge-based global economy” (Shachar, 2006, p.150). From a macro (national) perspective, the rhetoric suggests the skilled migrant embodies a significant resource of talents and skills that can provide a solution to skills shortages in specific sectors (Bahn, 2015; Borjas, 2001).

However, studies to date tend to underline that for the skilled migrant moving to a new country without organisational support, and who wants to find work commensurate with his/her experience and qualifications, their identification as a skilled or talented labour pool seems impossible. Or they are at least not considered by organisations, and are widely excluded from organisational talent pools (see Crowley-Henry and Al Ariss, 2017; Crowley-Henry et al 2017). The focus of the extant literature on skilled migrants and their careers tends to present skilled migrants as lacking agency (Al Ariss et al., 2012), under-employed (Almeida et al. 2015) and constrained from pursuing their careers in the new, host country context by discrimination (Cook et al., 2011), structures and various gate-keepers (Crowley-Henry et al., 2016). The consequence of this are that many migrant workers often find themselves employed in roles lacking parity with their skills and experience (Fosslund, 2013a). Underemployment is defined as when individuals are working in inferior, lesser or lower quality jobs relative to some defined standard. For example, such as when a person possesses more formal education than a job requires, or when they are involuntary employed in a field outside their area of formal training or education (Feldman, 1996, p.388).

While there has been an increase in academic interest in worker mobility studies (Andresen et al., 2014; Crowley-Henry et al., 2016), there is still much to learn about skilled migrants’ career actions and career outcomes at the individual (Al Ariss et al., 2014, Guo and Al Ariss, 2015, Zikic et al., 2010) and contextual levels (Smale et al.,

2017). Zikic et al. (2010, p. 669) argue that “given the prevailing influence of objective factors that are beyond individuals’ immediate control, it remains a central task of career scholarship to examine how individuals respond to given conditions”. Influenced by Barley (1989) and Duberley (2006a), this research utilised as a “sensitizing heuristic” (Duberley et al., 2006b, p.1131) a multi-level career transition model, developed from the research findings, in an exploration of the careers of thirty-eight EU 10 migrants, from Poland and the Baltic Republics, who currently live and work in Ireland. The study ameliorates the understanding of, and answers a call for more research into, the impact of context on the careers of internationally mobile workers. This study achieves this by unpacking the context-specific career actions and outcomes of skilled migrants working in a host country (Smale et al., 2017).

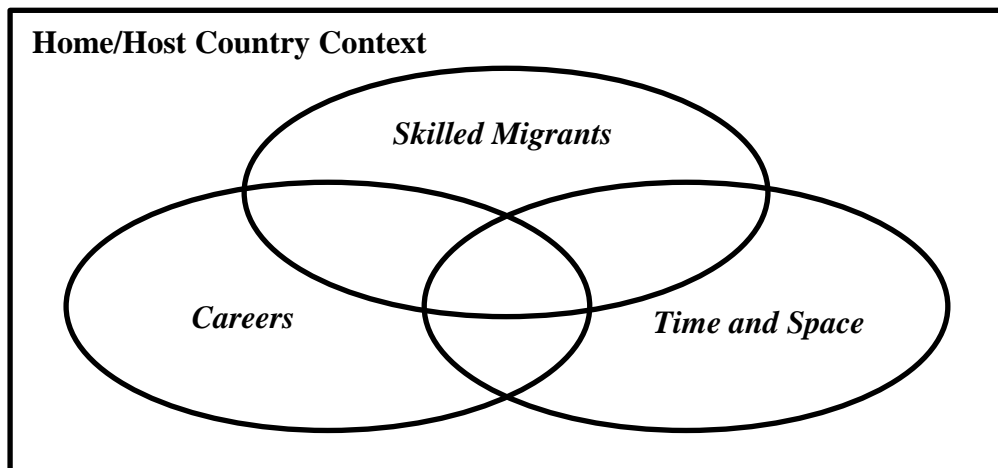
EU 10 citizens are nationals of the ten nations - Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia (EU10) – that were welcomed as new members of the EU in May 2004. While EU10 citizens gained the right to the freedom of movement throughout the EU, only three of the existing EU states - Ireland, Sweden and the UK - conferred the right to work on the new EU citizens. Following Ireland’s decision to open its labour market to the EU10 workers, there was a large influx of EU10 migrants to Ireland, lured, to a certain extent, by the earning potential in Ireland’s, then vibrant, “Celtic Tiger” economy (Boyle, 2006). Notwithstanding the subsequent recession, and demise of the Celtic Tiger, EU10 migrants are still a major force in the Irish economy, with over 115,000 EU10 workers active in the Irish labour market (CSO, 2012a). This represents 7.1% of the total Irish workforce and thus a skilled migrant population of interest to this study.

The focus of this study is to understand the migrant’s career experiences, the impact and effects of the career transitions from a home to host country career and how, as individuals, each interviewee constructs and makes sense of his/her career experiences (Robson, 2011). The scope of the study, detailed next, has evolved throughout this PhD undertaking. This was to ensure the scope aptly captures the essence of the skilled migrants’ career experiences.

1.1 Scope of Study

“Career represents a unique interaction of self and social experience” (Young and Collin, 2004, p.381) and this study, taking a social constructivist view (Young and Collin, 2004), explores this interaction of career, place and time.

Figure 1.1. Scope of the study



Using social constructivism as an epistemological foundation this study achieves this aim by “using the participants' views of the situation being studied” (Creswell, 2007, p.8), and by focusing on the lived career experiences of a sample population of skilled migrants. The study unpacks their career actions and outcomes in both the home and host country contexts. In this study, this translates to using the migrants’ own views, which were obtained from the narratives of 38 skilled migrants. The narratives highlighted the dynamic nature of careers and asserted the transformative capacity of career actions (Duberley et al., 2006a, p.1131). Critically, the narratives also highlighted an awareness of the structural constraints and barriers faced along the skilled migrants’ career paths.

So who are skilled migrants? The definition of a skilled migrant is a “widely debated subject” (Kōu et al., 2015, p.1645), possibly due to the heterogeneous nature of the skilled migrant population (Zikic, 2015). There are a variety of terms and definitions for skilled migrants in the contemporary literature, such as immigrant professionals (Fang et al., 2009), who are defined as migrants with at least a bachelor’s degree or equivalent from their home country. Zikic et al. (2010) use the same definition to define what they term qualified immigrants (Zikic, 2010), while Crowley-Henry and Al Ariss (2016) describe skilled migrants as being a highly educated and experienced cohort, with a high skill base developed from a diverse plethora of occupations, such as management or engineering (Crowley-Henry and Al Ariss, 2016). This research uses the Iredale (1999) definition of a skilled migrant as “having a

university degree or extensive experience in a given field” (Iredale, 1999, p.90). This definition’s use of the term “extensive experience in a given field” allows for this study to include “highly skilled specialists, independent executives and senior managers, technicians, tradespersons, investors, business persons, keyworkers and sub-contract workers” (Iredale, 1999, p.9).

Career is another central concept in the study for which there is no one accepted academic definition (Greenhaus et al., 2008). However, in order for the study to take a ‘whole-life’ approach (Litano and Major, 2016) to the interviewees’ careers, this study adopted the Sullivan and Baruch (2009) definition of career being “an individual’s work-related and other relevant experiences, both inside and outside of organisations that form a unique pattern over the individual’s lifespan” (Sullivan and Baruch, 2009, p.1543). Careers “as events in the life course do not take place in isolation but in a specific place and time” (Kou et al., 2015, p.1542). Therefore, in order “to understand careers we need to consider the wider contexts” in which career actions and career outcomes take place (Inkson et al., 2015, p.4). Subscribing to Inkson’s (2015) postulation, this research highlights and considers the importance of context in influencing the career paths and decisions of skilled migrants. Careers are also mediated by time, evolving over an individual’s life (Hartl, 2003), with time specifying “when situational constraints and opportunities occur and how they are perceived” (Johns, 2006). Therefore, building on Inkson’s (2015) and Hartl’s (2003) postulations, this study views the migrant’s career as “anchored in time and space” (Hartl, 2003, p.6), with the migrant’s career actions and motivations dynamic due to the impact of context (Cohen and Duberley, 2015; Hartl, 2003; Inkson 2007, 2015) and time (Fried et al., 2007). This means the nature of the migrant’s career changes (Inkson et al., 2015) with time and context. This study, in answering the two main research questions (which are detailed next), explores the career impact of the broad (social, political and economic), proximal (personal, family) (Cohen and Duberley, 2015) and temporal contexts (individual, social and historical time) (Elder, 1975). In doing this, the study offers a deeper understanding of the varied career influences, motivations, actions and outcomes associated with skilled migrant careers (Gunz and Mayrhofer, 2007; Zikic et al., 2010).

1.2 Research Questions

The two research questions stemmed from a continuous, iterative process. This process involved a repetitive and phased review of the extant peer reviewed literature on skilled migrant careers, a contextual study and the researcher's own industry experience. The micro (individual) level empirical exploration of the careers of 38 skilled migrants living and working in Ireland shaped the questions as the study evolved. The two research questions are:

Q.1. How does the act of migration, and the career transitions this entails, affect the skilled migrants' career motivations, actions and outcomes?

Q.1a Do skilled migrants follow different career scripts in their home and host country careers respectively?

Q.1b What forms of capital do the migrants utilise in their home and host country careers?

Q.1c Does the act of migration influence the capital skilled migrants use in furthering their careers in the host country?

Q.2. How do skilled migrants view career success and their career outcomes?

Q.2a Do skilled migrants evaluate career success differently in the host country than in their home country?

Q.2b How do skilled migrants make sense of the career transition between their home and host country careers?

The research questions are broadly based on the impact and effects of the career transitions from a home to host country career. The rationale for choosing this research population, skilled migrant workers from Poland and the Baltic Republics (Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia), is explained in the following section.

1.2.1 Rationale for the Study

The choice of research subject was a "highly personal decision" (Denzin, 1989, p.4), with the rationale for this researcher's choice of research topic strongly influenced by his own career experiences. The origins of the researcher's interest in the careers of skilled migrants working in the Irish SME sector lie in the researcher's own managerial career in the same sector. Over time, the diversity of the workforces the researcher

managed had changed, from a mainly homogenous Irish workforce (pre-2004) to one that contained a large percentage (on average 30-40%) of EU10 migrant workers (post-2004). What really captivated the researcher's interest was that many of the EU10 workers he managed were either highly skilled or educated, with many having years of professional experience. Yet they were mostly working in low to semi-skilled roles, such as general operatives. Nevertheless, they appeared content with these roles and were crafting new careers and lives for themselves and their families in Ireland. The researcher had also developed relationships with a number of migrants through his work as a volunteer in a local charity shop. Many of this cohort were also well educated and skilled, yet they also were forging career paths very similar to the career paths of the migrants the researcher encountered in his working life.

This study is based on skilled migrants working in the Irish SME sector. The decision to concentrate on the SME sector was for a number of reasons. The SME sector has been credited with playing a large role in enabling migrants with access to employment openings (Barrett and Burgess, 2008). Given the importance and prevalence of the SME sector in Ireland (99.7% of all active Irish based enterprises are in the SME sector, employing 68% of Irish private sector employees) (CSO, 2014a), the role played by SMEs in the careers of skilled migrants in Ireland was considered an important context for this study.

The researcher's interest in this phenomenon was further developed by his return to academia and the opportunity to undertake a PhD, which he centred on EU10 migrants' careers. As the literature review progressed, the researcher's previous experience and knowledge of managing skilled migrants caused him to question many central assumptions in the literature he reviewed, in particular the overwhelming negative narrative and narrow human capital focus taken by much of the literature concerning skilled migrant careers. Human capital (Becker, 1975) refers to the workers' stock of skills, knowledge and attributes used in employment to add economic value to the organisation (Dries, 2013; Zikic, 2015). The researcher's experiences, and social contacts in the migrant community, suggested there was a different side to the skilled migrant story, one that portrayed a different perception on what career and career success are for the skilled migrants. This perception seemed, to the researcher, to be very much at odds with the overly negative focus of the extant skilled migrant literature.

At first, the researcher's experience led to a research focus on the talent management (TM) literature. The skilled migrants' underemployment and skills atrophy seeming to point to a lack of TM, as well as a possible lack of organisational justice in the skilled migrants' interactions with the Irish labour market. This research agenda led to a publication in an ABS3 and FT50 journal, *Journal of Business Ethics* (O'Connor and Crowley-Henry, 2017). However, due to the dynamic nature of the research, the TM research angle evolved into what became a study on the contextual effects on the skilled migrants' career actions and outcomes.

The following section provides an overview of the research design and approach adopted by this study.

1.3 Methodological Approach

The methodological paradigms (Kelle and Erzberger, 2004) most germane in defining the researcher's frame of reference are a relativist ontology, constructivist epistemology and an interpretivist theoretical perspective (Gray, 2014). Constructivism argues that "truth and meaning do not exist in some external world, but are created by the subject's interactions with the world" (Gray, 2014, p.20). Interpretivism helps unpack an individual's "culturally derived and historically situated interpretations of the social life-world" (Crotty, 1998, p.67). A craftsman approach (Watson, 1994) was embraced and various concepts were crafted together (Watson, 1997) to allow for a fuller and deeper study of the contextual effects on the migrants' career actions and outcomes.

Two research methods are utilised during the study. First, based on an iterative and phased literature review, the study explored the contemporary conceptualisations of skilled migrants and their careers. Centred in the HRM field, the literature review for this study also drew on literature in the careers, business, management and organisational studies domain. Adopting a qualitative methodology, and influenced and guided by works from social and qualitative researchers such as Berg (2004), Bryman (2008) and Robson (2011), this study considers the career narratives of skilled migrants who have crafted a career and life in Ireland. This approach captures and utilises the individual migrant's subjective perceptions of his/her career and wider career influences in the context of a more holistic career examination. The study, in adopting this approach, follows in the footsteps of works such as Al Ariss et al's (2010) work on the career experiences of Lebanese self-initiated expatriates (SIEs) in France, Felker's

(2011) exploration of the experiences of Eastern Europeans who have moved to Western Europe and Aten et al's (2016) contextual study of skilled migrant careers in Canada.

1.4 Outline of Contribution

This research makes a number of contributions to the skilled migrant, careers and expatriation literature. The study investigated the careers of skilled migrants beyond their objective career success and the underemployment categorisation. In doing this the study presents a holistic, 'whole-life' (Litano and Major, 2016) overview of the concerns and career choices skilled migrants make, the dynamic nature of their career construction and their agency, or lack of, in pursuing a career in their home and host country over time. The study brings into focus the dynamism of the transitioning careers of the interviewees.

This study, working within a concept of crafting research in a reflexive manner (Watson, 1994), highlights how a blending of career theories and concepts best helps to explain the careers of skilled migrants over time. This research finds that what constitutes career and career success for this research's sample population varied between the various career transitions that happened between, and within, the interviewees' home and host country career stages. The perceptions of subjective career success in Ireland and the 'relaxed' lifestyle availed of by the interviewees are highlighted in the findings as 'sticky' factors (reasons for settling in the host country) in the interviewees' decisions to stay in Ireland for the foreseeable future.

The findings also highlight the appeal of 'Instrumental' careers to the skilled migrant in his/her host country career stage. The appeal of an 'Instrumental' career is, for many, a consequence of what they perceived as their failed home career. This study labels this as a "been there, done that already" narrative. The 'been there and done that already' narrative sees the interviewees making sense of what they see as a failed home country career by comparing this with what they perceive as a successful life and career in the host country. The majority of the interviewees achieved this successful host country career by working in an underemployed role unconnected to the home country career. However, another outcome of this career path is that many of the interviewees have suffered from what many would consider as 'career stagnation' (Abele et al., 2012) at the micro level, with skills wastage at the macro level.

Conversely, the interviewees' narratives present many of them as being voluntarily underemployed and experiencing subjective career success. This finding illustrates how subjective career motivation (such as lifestyle and work life integration) goes toward explaining voluntary underemployment. This finding also led to the creation of a revised typology of skilled migrant careers: The Instrumentalist, The Entrepreneur, The Professionalist and The Trapped.

The host-country career narrative revealed a two-stage host career, made up of what this study termed as the 'Bridgehead' stage and the 'Consolidation' stage. The 'Bridgehead' metaphor, which originates from military parlance, describes the use of an initial, secure position gained in a host country, which is then used as a base, from which to further advance or progress in the host country. The initial 'Bridgehead' career stage happens where any well-paying job is quickly accepted to provide the migrant with the security they perceived as necessary in getting themselves established in the host country. This was followed, for most, by the 'Consolidation' stage, which was a transition to a more settled, long-term career stage. This career transition was motivated by a change in the duration of planned stay, from an original 2-3 years plan to an indefinite long-term plan. This study highlights career narratives that represent skilled migrants' careers as complex and dynamic affairs encompassing subjective and objective career dimensions.

Building on these findings, the study offers a new multi-dimensional model of career focus. This allowed the study to conduct a more nuanced and inclusive unpacking of the dynamic and varied aspects of career success in the interviewees' career narratives. The study also offers a new multi-stage career transition model, which operates as a "sensitising device" (Duberly et al., 2006a, p.1131) looking at how "individuals see the contexts in which they operate, how they account for their own agency and how they describe the relationship between the two in telling their career stories" (Duberly et al., 2006a, p.1131).

Finally, the study ameliorates the understanding of, and answers a call for more research into the impact of context on the careers of internationally mobile workers, by unpacking the context-specific career actions and outcomes of skilled migrants working in a host country (Smale et al., 2017).

1.5 Structure and Chapter Outline

Chapter One introduces the research and research questions. It outlines the motivation behind the researcher's choice of research topic, defines the two main concepts of the study (skilled migrants and careers) and outlines the main findings of the study. Finally, chapter one outlines the chapters and structure of the thesis.

Chapter Two examines the existing literature on skilled migrants and their careers. The chapter synthesises the results of the literature review under two main themes, skilled migrants and careers. Both themes contain many sub-sections, such as concept clarity, push/pull migration factors and career barriers.

Chapter Three presents the theoretical foundations to the study. The chapter details the theories utilised to unpack the interviewees' narratives. At a theoretical level, the study introduces a new model of career transitions. The new career transitions model is designed to act as a sensitising device for career transitions. This model, with its foundations in the work of Barley (1989) and Duberley et al. (2006a), was developed to unpack the careers of skilled migrants, as recounted through their narratives.

Chapter Four presents the research philosophy and methodology, which includes the rationale behind the many methodological choices made by the researcher, such as the researcher's paradigmatic foundations. The chapter also presents an overview of the research methods and analytical processes utilised. Chapter four also contextualises the study, focusing on the social and political changes in Europe, the Irish SME sector and the migrant labour force in Ireland. The chapter also rationalises the focus on SME employees and migrants from Poland and the Baltic Republics.

Chapter Five presents the study's findings in relation to the research questions. The chapter unpacks the overall career motivations, actions and outcomes of the skilled migrants, as well as the three career stages they encountered on their migration journey: Home career, Bridgehead career and Consolidation career. What the individual interviewee views as career success during his/her career path is also detailed, as are the significant push and pull migratory factors.

Chapter Six critically reviews the findings, and details the contributions the study has made to the extant literature and knowledge on international careers, skilled migration and HRM. The contributions include a new multi-stage career transition model, a revised typology of career types, the instrumentality of the migrant career actions, an alternative view to skilled migrant underemployment, a multi-dimensional

model of career focus and the three stages of the skilled migrant's career transition from home country career to a long term settled host country career.

Chapter Seven concludes the study by discussing the limitations of the study, the conclusions drawn from the study and detailing recommendations for future research that will continue and add to this study's contribution and findings.

Chapter Two - Literature Review

“Research is formalised curiosity. It is poking and prying with a purpose. It is a seeking that he who wishes may know the cosmic secrets of the world and they that dwell therein”

from the book ‘Dust Tracks on a Road’ (1942), by the US anthropologist,

Zora Neale Hurston.

The aim of a literature review is “to enable the researcher both to map and to assess the existing intellectual territory, and to specify a research question to develop the existing body of knowledge further” (Tranfield et al., 2003, p.208). Based on an iterative and phased literature review process, this chapter explores the extant literatures’ current conceptualisations of skilled migrants and their career actions and outcomes. The review drew on a wide range of literature in the HRM, careers, management, business, organisational studies and sociology domain, in order to appraise the extant theory and research on career and career success of skilled migrants. While recognising the depth and breadth of the literature in the career field, the chapter explores only concepts pertinent to this study, which are publications that concentrated on international careers, careers of skilled migrants and their career success. It is, therefore, not an examination of the whole careers literature. Aspects of this review have been published in the ABS 3 journal, *European Management Review* (Crowley-Henry et al., 2017). Papers based on this review have also been presented at peer-reviewed conferences (O’Connor and Crowley-Henry, 2014).

The review commenced in 2014, with the rationale of enabling a better understanding of the existing research on the facilitators and challenges migrants face in their careers. The review was designed to assess the mechanisms and capital migrants use to overcome these challenges and further their career development. The review was developed from a tripartite scope of study consisting of Skilled Migrants, Careers and Capital. The relevance of which papers to include was completed with the aid of an inclusion/exclusion list. The inclusion/exclusion criteria, which were subjective in nature, were designed to create a resulting return of papers that were relevant to the research topic, the careers of skilled migrants.

Later phases of the review were designed to capture the new research published, further adding to our understanding of the careers of skilled migrants.

2.1 The Literature Review

The initial phases of the review focused on the following preliminary questions:

- How can skilled migrants’ careers be theorised?
- What capital is pertinent in skilled migrants’ careers?
- What does the skilled migrant view as career success?

Searches were conducted in the 24 EBSCO library databases, which contain over 515,000 e-books and access to 360,000 e-journals and print journals. The majority

of the relevant returns were sourced in three of the databases: Academic Search Complete – 13,600 peer reviewed journals, Business Source Complete – 2,400 peer reviewed journals and PsycINFO - 3 million records of peer-reviewed literature. The review offered a critical appraisal, examining and unpacking of the major themes in the existing literature, in particular on the intersection of three research and literature foci: Skilled Migrants, Careers and Capital. In this research the capital that the literature speaks of concerns the abilities, skills, experiences, social networks etc. of the migrants, which are manifested in forms of capital such as career capital and social capital.

In the later phases of phased literature review similar searches were conducted, but excluded the term “capital”. While the relevance of capital in the career actions of skilled migrants is well documented (such as in studies by Al Ariss, 2010, Al Ariss and Syed, 2011, Crowley-Henry et al., 2016, Datta and Brickell, 2009, Fang et al., 2009, Gërmenji and Milo, 2011 and Zikic, 2015), the term ‘capital’ was omitted from the later stages of the review process. This omission was for the following reasons: First, the majority of papers reviewed dealt with both careers and capital of skilled migrants, and were therefore accessible by a simpler search string based on the two concepts of careers and skilled migrants. Second, the inclusion of capital had returned many irrelevant papers in the first review, complicating the review process. An example of this issue was the use of the term “human capital” which was found to return many irrelevant papers such as papers focused on the micro economic or labour economics areas. The search string used for the later phases of the review was “skilled migrant” or “skilled immigrants” or “skilled migration” or “skilled foreign worker” or “immigrant professional” or “qualified immigrant” or “self-initiated expatriate” and “career”.

The following sections offer a critical review and examination of the major themes in the existing literature that were unearthed during the literature review, in particular at the intersection of what had become the two research and literature review foci: Skilled Migrants and Careers. The chapter unpacks and synthesises the findings under these two meta-themes, covering various relevant sub-themes such as assumptions in the literature, forms of capital and career success.

2.2 Literature Review Overview

As stated in the introduction, skilled migration has become a permanent and important feature of both national and international economies (Cerdin et al., 2014; Connell and Burgess, 2009). Skilled migrants are portrayed as possessing and supplying an important resource of skills that can be utilised to assuage, or even solve, skills shortages in specific sectors (Borjas, 2001). However, despite this stated importance, the extant research and knowledge on skilled migrants' careers "requires synthesis, consideration to gaps in the existing research, and direction on future research opportunities" (Crowley-Henry et al., 2016). There are many fundamental assumptions in the extant literature on the careers of skilled migrants (Al Ariss et al.; 2013, Bahn, 2015; Crowley-Henry et al., 2016; Dietz et al., 2015), assumptions which are questioned by this study's empirical research. The literatures' assumptions propound a negative narrative around the careers of skilled migrants (Berry and Bell, 2012; Cross and Turner, 2012; Feldman et al., 2008; Fosslund, 2013b).

A lack of consistent conceptual coherence exists in the international worker literature (Andresen et al., 2014), which has meant the differences between the different internationally mobile worker concepts is not always clear. Many papers have highlighted this conceptual issue, such as papers by Al Ariss and Crowley-Henry (2013), Alshahrani and Morley (2015), Andresen et al. (2014), Cao et al. (2012), Cerdin and Selmer (2014), Doherty et al. (2013a).

The lacuna in the skilled migrant research also extends to the theorising of the careers of skilled migrants. With the exception of scholars such as Zikic et al. (2010), the extant skilled migrant research displays a lack of reference to career theories or concepts, such as the protean career (Hall, 1976) and the boundaryless career (Arthur and Rousseau, 1996) to explain skilled migrants' careers. The boundaryless career is defined as a career that "navigates the changing work landscape by enacting a career characterised by levels of physical and psychological movement" (Sullivan and Arthur, 2006, p.9). Hall (2004) describes a protean career as "a career that is self-determined, driven by personal values rather than organisational rewards, and serving the whole person, family, and "life purpose" (Hall, 2004, p.2). The lack of referencing to career theories or concepts in the extant literature is a result of the homogenous view of skilled migrant careers (Al Ariss, 2012). For instance, the human capital view, where the "migrant's motives and outcomes other than economic gain are often neglected in the research on high-skilled migration" (Kou et al., 2015, p.1645).

On the other hand, a prominent issue dealt with in a number of papers is how skilled migrants' careers are damaged, or halted, when they move across borders (Ramboarison-Lalao et al., 2012), with the literature talking of skilled migrants facing negative career and social outcomes in the host country (Mahmud et al., 2014, Oreopoulos, 2011). The literature on migrant capital tends to adopt a narrow focus (Al Ariss and Syed, 2011), with the fundamental assumption being that human capital – the migrant workers' stock of skills, knowledge and attributes used in employment to add economic value to the organisation (Becker, 1975) - is the main form of capital of use to migrants (Tharmaseelan et al., 2010). This concentration on human capital (Almeida et al., 2012) has led to a gap in our knowledge of migrant career development. This is because career studies focusing on human capital tend to lack the complexity and qualitative understanding needed for a holistic study of a migrant's careers (Al Ariss and Syed, 2011; Ho, 2004). Migrant career actions need to be viewed not only as consequences of their skills or experience, or in response to the host country labour market needs, but also in a 'whole-life' (Litano and Major, 2016) view. A 'whole-life' view is where other life domains such as lifestyle, family and household are seen to play an equally important role in an individual's career (Kōu et al., 2015).

While the existing literature claims “the worldwide demand for human talent seems limitless, with well-educated people transferring between countries and contributing to the world economy”, the same literature portrays a negative view of skilled migrant careers, with many migrants seen as working in “unskilled jobs despite having professional qualifications” (Fossland, 2013a, p.276). At the individual level, the careers of skilled migrants remains under-theorised (Al Ariss et al., 2012), with the need for more detailed micro level research on their career experiences (Al Ariss et al., 2013). The issues of gender, sexuality, race or religion are not prominent in the literature review findings, yet these areas have all been associated with discrimination in the workplace. There are also issues with concept clarity and many assumptions in the literature, which had become internalised in the literature. These findings and themes are unpacked and explored in detail in the following sections.

2.3 Skilled Migrants

In 2015, which are the latest figures available as of September 2017, the International Organisation for Migration and the International Labour Organisation both estimated there were 150 million international labour migrants worldwide (ILO, 2015; IOM,

2016). The International Organisation for Migration defines international labour migration as “the movement of people from one country to another for the purpose of employment” (IOM, 2014). This data highlights the importance of the migrant workforce to the global labour market. The skilled migrant workforce is portrayed as being a possible solution to organisational and national skill shortages (Borjas, 2001). However, the literature shows that this is not the case for many migrants, with many migrants employed in roles lacking parity with their skills and experience (Dietz et al., 2015, Mahmud et al., 2014). However, at the individual level, there remains much to be learnt about the career dynamics and experiences of skilled migrant workers (Inal and Ozkan, 2011). Up to recently, much of the focus of the literature on skilled migration has been at a broad meso and macro (organisational and national) level (Fang et al., 2009) or of an economic (Kou et al., 2015; Shinozaki, 2014) nature. This past literature tends to concentrate on areas such as brain drain, brain gain (Tung and Lazarova, 2006), talent flows (Carr et al., 2005) and the management of labour immigration (Connell and Burgess, 2009). Research, in business and management, has only lately started to focus attention on skilled migrants and their career development at the micro level (Zikic, 2015). The micro level is what Ryan and Mulholland term the “human face” of the “elite migrant” (Ryan and Mulholland, 2014, p.597). Consequently, a number of special editions on skilled migrants, SIEs and their careers, from journals such as *‘The International Journal of Human Resource Management’*, *‘Journal of Management Development’*, *‘European management review’* and *‘Career Development International’* have increased the research output at the micro and meso level (Crowley-Henry et al., 2016).

Despite this increased research output, Fossland (2013a) laments on how little is known about how individual skilled migrants mobilise their capital in order to overcome their career barriers. While Binggeli et al. (2013) term skilled migrants as a ‘forgotten minority’. The following sections further unpack and detail the review of the skilled migrant literature.

2.3.1 Skilled Migrant Capital

A major theme running through the reviewed literature is how the act of migration tends to weaken, or lessen, the skilled migrants’ capital. The literature speaks of skilled migrants facing unfair treatment in the host country (Berry and Bell, 2012, Crowley-Henry and Al Ariss, 2016, Subedi and Rosenberg, 2016, Zhu et al., 2016), a lowering

of status (Al Ariss, Fossland, 2013b) and struggling in the host labour market (Nangia, 2013, Oreopoulos, 2011, Papadopoulos, 2017, Pearson et al., 2011). Burgess et al. (2013), Hakak and Al Ariss (2013) and Somerville and Walsworth (2009) all discuss the “migrants’ vulnerability” in the work place and stress the importance of taking a relational view on the multiple factors that cause this vulnerability. This vulnerability, and its outcomes, are more pronounced for female (Ellis, 2013) and ‘visible’ migrants (Pearson et al., 2011). Yet “there is a lack of any comprehensive understanding in the HRM literature of the multiple factors that can make migrants vulnerable in the workplace” (Hakak and Al Ariss, 2013, p.1).

As stated, the research on migrant capital mobilisation tends to adopt a narrow human capital view on the capital mobilisation of skilled migrants (Al Ariss and Syed, 2011, Phan et al., 2015). This may be detrimental to the study of skilled migrant careers as the human capital view ignores the effects of characteristics such as the migrant’s race, nationality, family circumstances or more subjective motivating factors such as the want for a good work/life balance. In efforts to redress this imbalance, scholars have called for research that views skilled migrant careers as something more than a career fashioned by their human capital, but one also shaped by their insights and experiences of the host country and the occupational opportunities it offers (Kou et al., 2015; Syed, 2008). Consequently, some studies adopt a broader view on capital, utilising concepts such as career capital (see section 2.4.1.2) and Bourdieu’s forms of capital (1986) (see section 2.4.1.3). Examples of existing studies which have offered a broader, or more holistic view of capital are the Ramboarison-Lalao et al (2012) study of Malagasy physicians in France, which utilises forms of capital from Bourdieu’s theory of practice (Bourdieu, 1986). This use of Bourdieu’s forms of capital gives a more holistic picture of the skilled migrants’ use of various forms of capital, such as social and cultural capital, to overcome or cope with structural barriers they encounter in their career paths in the host country. Similarly, Fernando and Cohen (2015) draw on Bourdieu’s theory of practice to examine a group of Indian academics and their accounts of their careers in the UK. The Fernando and Cohen (2015) study appealed to this research as it challenged the negative narrative in the extant literature by arguing that some skilled migrants (in this case Indian academics in the UK) are well placed to craft a successful career in the host country labour market (in this case, the UK academic context). A similar inclusive and holistic approach to the career actions and outcomes of a sample skilled migrant population is also evident in Zikic’s (2015) study

of the career capital (DeFillippi and Arthur, 1994) of skilled migrants as a source of competitive advantage. This approach is also evident in Bahn's (2015) Bourdieusian analysis of the careers of skilled migrants living and working in Western Australia and Cao et al's (2012) use of career capital theory (DeFillippi and Arthur, 1994) in reviewing the careers of migrants and SIEs. The above studies are exemplars in the existing research, in how the use of an inclusive and holistic view of capital allows for the myriad of contexts and factors that affect skilled migrants' careers, thereby obtaining a fuller understanding of skilled migrant careers.

Weiss (2005) differentiates between nationally and transnationally valuable cultural capital, while highlighting the importance of being able to transfer capital across boundaries. Skilled migrants who hold capital that is transnationally recognised, such as an MBA from an esteemed university, have a higher level of agency and mobility as they possess "a social position that is more independent of place" (Fosslund, 2013b, p.194). This is in contrast to migrants who possess nationally valuable capital (Fosslund, 2013b), which loses its value when they emigrate. However, the wide ranging uses of the various forms of capital tends to blur the conceptual borders of each form and has led to an element of confusion between the differences of each form of capital. In the following section, the different forms of capital are explored and their use in the extant literature is discussed.

Human Capital

Human capital (Becker, 1975) refers to the workers' stock of skills, knowledge and attributes used in employment to add economic value to the organisation (Dries, 2013; Zikic, 2015). Lepak and Snell (1999) posit that human capital can be categorised on two dimensions: value and uniqueness, with each type rated as either high or low. High value signifies capital that is pivotal to the organisation's core business, while low value human capital is considered peripheral to the core business. Uniqueness is rated similarly, with high uniqueness being a scarce skill or talent that is difficult to replace or copy, while low uniqueness is a skill or talent that is readily available in the labour market, or easily copied. The human capital (Becker, 1975) view implies that if skilled migrants have "invested in their skills and qualifications, they are rationally assumed to have the capacity to gain access to positions that reflects their skills and qualifications (Almeida et al., 2014, p.124). However, the contemporary literature on

skilled migrant careers tends to show that this is not the case for many skilled migrants (Almeida et al., 2014; Bolino and Feldman, 2000; Saunders, 2015).

The human capital view is seen by some as being too narrow for studying the careers of skilled migrants. This is because it ignores other important forms of capital utilised by migrants (Al Ariss and Syed, 2011). “Human capital studies usually lack the in-depth qualitative insights needed for studying all aspects of migrants’ careers” (Syed, 2008, p.29). In human capital theory “there is no place for institutional factors, such as firm-specific employment policies, the strategies of professional associations, or the effects of government vocational training and welfare bodies” (Ho and Alcorso, 2004, p.239). Syed (2008), argues against the human capital view of skilled migrant careers. He proclaims that “skilled migrants constitute much more than a factor of production flowing across international borders, and that their employment opportunities are not only shaped by their skills and economic factors but also by their perceptions and experiences of the host society and its occupational opportunity structure” (Syed, 2008, p.30). Extant research has shown that, on its own, many migrants’ human capital is not sufficient for them to undertake international mobility. Migrants from developing countries tend to rely on “several sources of capital to be successful in their career mobilisation” (Al Ariss and Syed, 2011, p.286). Appreciating the confines of human capital theory is important, as depending solely on human capital as a lens with which to view migrants’ careers could preclude other forms of capital that also play an important role in the migrant’s career. This would run the risk of producing a narrow and distorted image of their careers. The other forms of capital that are utilised in contemporary literature to help inform skilled migrants’ career studies are detailed in the next two sections.

Career Capital

A migrant’s career capital (DeFillippi and Arthur, 1994) is the motivation, expertise and network connections that he/she accumulates through his/her career. Bourdieu describes career capital as privately accumulated assets, largely shaped by one’s social background (Bourdieu, 1986). A skilled migrant brings with him/her a range of career capital from their home country, however much of this career capital may be lessened in the move to the host country. This may be by way of non-accreditation of education or work skills. The result being that “much of the struggle to re-establish their careers

in the local labour market stems from the lack of recognition they receive for their foreign capital and their dealing with often entirely new ‘rules of the game’ inherent in the local context” (Zikic et al., 2010, p.670). Career capital (Inkson and Arthur, 2001) is a resource-based perspective, and normally seen to consist of three forms of knowledge, or knowing, namely:

1. Knowing why, concerns understanding one’s motivation, values, sense of purpose, energy and evaluation of a certain career path (Cao et al., 2012). It is the person’s motivations and identification with the work they do (Zikic, 2015). This is similar to a protean career attitude, which is the extent an individual manages his or her career in a proactive, autonomous manner motivated by personal values, with career success based on subjective criteria (De Vos and Soens, 2008). As regards the research population for this study, the knowing why aspect of career capital is illustrated by the migrant’s understanding of his/her motivation to leave their home country, which are their perceived push factors (King, 2012). Migrants are traditionally seen to be motivated by the desire to live and work in a new country, usually for lifestyle reasons and are often portrayed as having little or no agency in this decision (Al Ariss, 2010; Krings et al., 2013). A migrant’s understanding of his/her motivation to emigrate, their knowing why, has also been linked to how well they integrate in their host country (Cerdin et al., 2014). Cerdin et al. (2014) found that migrants’ desire to integrate was linked to their understanding of what they stood to gain by migrating to a new country. Those that understood they had a lot to gain by emigrating displayed greater motivation to integrate in their host country (Cerdin et al., 2014; Zikic, 2015).

2. Knowing whom are the relationships, networks and attachments a person builds up during their career (Cao et al., 2012). This is similar to Bourdieu’s concept of social capital (see section 2.4.1.3), and is a form of capital consisting of resources or power based on social connections, group or class membership (Bourdieu, 1986). As a skilled migrant’s original contacts and networks are based in their home country, he/she must establish new networks when they migrate to the host country (Zikic, 2015). Many migrants depend on contacts from their existing home network when they first emigrate, such as a friend or family member already in-situ in the host country (White and Ryan, 2008; Phan et al., 2015). Most migrants create new networks and relationships in their host country, which, at first tend to be among other migrants, or similar others (Hakak and Al Ariss, 2013). While these new, but emigrant based networks are helpful, particularly during the early phases of living in a host country,

the lack of networks and ties with host country nationals were found to be detrimental to migrant careers (Hakak and Al Ariss, 2013). The break from home networks can also leave the migrant without the family support systems they would have been able to rely on back home, which in turn can add extra stress and pressure settling into the host country (Zikic, 2015). This means new migrants may lack both work and non-work networks, which can hamper integration and career actions in the host country (Al Ariss and Syed, 2011). Harvey (2009) posits that transnational social networks are more beneficial and important for skilled migrant careers, in both the home and host countries (Harvey, 2009). However, the concept of the strength of weak ties (Granovetter, 1973) suggests that it is a person's acquaintances (a person's weak ties) and not his/her family and close friends (their strong ties) that are more likely to be sources of information and resources concerning job opportunities. The concept of the strength of weak ties (Granovetter, 1973) may moderate the perceived effects on a migrant of losing access to one's home network. A study of Brazilian migrants in Ireland by Maher and Cawley (2015) found that, while strong ties and social capital were important within the migrant group, weak ties and bridging social capital were also vital in gaining access to the local employment market.

3. Knowing how is a person's technical, conceptual and personal skills and expertise (Cao et al., 2012). Zikic (2015) describes the knowing how aspect of career capital as "the wealth of unique knowledge and experience that they (skilled migrants) bring from their home countries in the hope of finding a suitable job in the host country" (Zikic, 2015, p.1364). The term is similar to, and sometimes used interchangeably with human capital. Like human capital, knowing how capital, when acquired in the home country, may not have the same value in the host country (Al Ariss et al., 2013; Dietz et al., 2015; Saunders, 2015; Subedi and Rosenberg, 2016; Syed, 2008). Issues such as qualification recognition (Mahmud et al., 2014) and host country professional representation bodies acting as gate-keepers for their respective professions can all result in the skilled migrant's knowing how capital being discounted or not fully valued (Crowley-Henry et al., 2016). This in turn can cause the migrant to struggle in the host country labour market (Oreopoulos, 2011). A vital form of a migrant's knowing how career capital is his/her language abilities (Zikic et al., 2014), especially the ability to communicate effectively with host country nationals. This is particularly important in the workplace, which may in turn have a language set of its own, such as technical language or workplace jargon (Chiswick and Miller, 2009). Poor host country native

or workplace language abilities are cited in many papers as a major barrier to migrants' career development in the host country (Al Ariss et al., 2013; Giampapa and Canagarajah, 2017; Pearson, Hammond, Heffernan, and Turner, 2011; Roeder, 2011; White, 2010; Zikic et al., 2010).

One final form of knowing how capital which is cited in the literature, and one that is important to migrant integration and career development, is an understanding of the local culture, both social and business, and knowing how to act within this new culture (Saunders, 2015). When migrants, and their families, move to a host country they tend to experience a new culture, which is different to one they have lived with in their home country (Hofstede, 2001). In order to develop lives and careers in the host country migrants tend to "focus their efforts on developing local know-how" (Zikic et al., 2010, p.675), that is learning the local standards and customs.

With the career capital view, individual migrants, or 'career actors' (Inkson and Arthur, 2001), are viewed as individuals who consciously gain transferable skills and knowledge (knowing how), create social networks that develop their careers (knowing whom), and develop a strong self-awareness (knowing why) and deploy these in advancing their career development and achieving their career aims (capital mobilisation). Thus, in this study, capital mobilisation is when a migrant deploys parts, or all, of their career capital in order to achieve career goals, or to surmount some career barrier. Career capital theory is relevant for this study as the resource based principle of the theory views careers from a micro, individual point of view. This allows for the migrants' agency, which is the mobilisation of their capital to surmount the various career barriers they encounter. Career capital provides researchers with an alternative and holistic method of unpacking skilled migrants' capital mobilisation via a combination of motivation, human and social capital (Zikic, 2015).

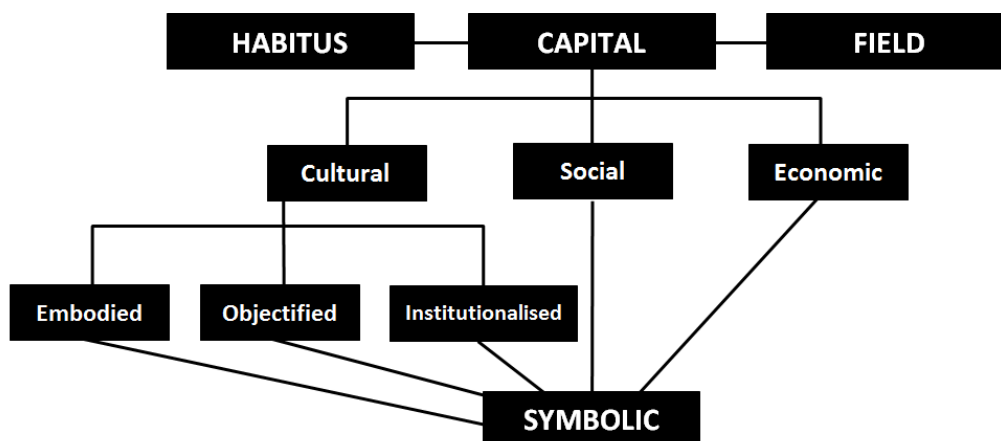
Bourdieu's Theory - Forms of Capital

Again, due to the limits of human capital as a medium for understanding the careers of skilled migrants (Al Ariss and Syed, 2011), Bourdieu's forms of capital has been utilised as an alternative lens with which to analyse and understand the skilled migrant's career (Al Ariss and Syed, 2011). Bourdieu's forms of capital are a "multi-layered framework conceptualizing individuals as producers of social practices in social space. The individuals utilise their respective capitals, economic, social or cultural, that are recognised as symbolic capital in their respective fields"

(Chudzikowski and Mayrhofer, 2011, p.22). This study draws on certain aspects of Bourdieu’s theory of practice, focusing particularly on his forms of capital to unpack the interviewees’ accounts of their career transitions, actions and outcomes. Therefore, the following unpacking of Bourdieu’s theory of practice will concentrate on the capital aspects of the theory, while outlining the overall theory.

Bourdieu’s work on capital examines social stratification, and his theory of practice is built “around the concept of a field, a social subsystem... in which agents, endowed with certain field-relevant or irrelevant capital, try to advance their position” (Guzzini, 1999, p.165). Social stratification is based on the forms of capital each person possesses, and the context (field) dependent efficacy with which each individual (agent) uses their respective capital. There are four main capital constructs in Bourdieu’s theory of practice: These are cultural capital, social capital, economic capital and symbolic capital. Symbolic capital, the fourth form of capital, is the power gained by the use of any or all of the first three forms of capital (Chudzikowski and Mayrhofer, 2011). See Figure 2.1 for an illustration of Bourdieu’s Forms of Capital.

Figure 2.1. Bourdieu’s Forms of Capital



The economist Loury (1977) originally introduced the concept of social capital. Loury defined social capital as “intangible resources in families and communities that help to promote social development” (Pallini et al., 2001, p.1263). However, it was the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (1986) who realised the wider implications of the concept for the study of human society. Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) describe their conceptualisation of social capital as “the sum of the resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual or a group by virtue of possessing a durable network of more

or less institutionalised relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition” (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992, p. 119). Social capital consists of resources or power based on social connections, group, group affiliations and/or class membership (Bourdieu, 1986; Mayrhofer et al., 2004; Fernando and Cohen, 2016). Similar to the knowing who aspect of career capital, a skilled migrant’s home country social capital can be degraded and devalued by the act of migration. This can result in the need to establish new host country based social capital, or depend on their established home network when they first migrate, such as a friend or family member already established in the host country (White and Ryan, 2008; Phan et al., 2015). This dependence on established home networks is connected to the chain migration effect (Perez and McDonough, 2008). The chain migration effect is where people who are socially related to current migrants have access to social capital that significantly increases the likelihood that they, themselves, will migrate (Palloni et al., 2001). Fernando and Cohen (2016) found that some migrants’ connections to their home country can become a significant source of ‘ethnicised’ social and cultural capital (Fernando and Cohen, 2016). Ethnic capital is defined as the “advantages pertaining from one’s ethnicity such as cultural knowledge and networks” (Fernando and Cohen, 2016, p.1288).

Bourdieu (1986) defines cultural capital as forms of knowledge, education and advantages that a person has, which promotes social mobility in society. As regards the purpose of this study, Creese and Wiebe (2012) find the operation of cultural capital plays a large role in the deskilling of immigrants, which concurs with the Bourdieu (2001) argument that cultural capital is instrumental in the transmission of power, privilege and inequality. Bourdieu divides cultural capital into three forms: Embodied Capital, which is both consciously acquired and passively inherited and is accumulated over time. It becomes embedded in one’s habitus. Language, accent and national culture are all examples of embodied cultural capital. Objectified capital are material objects which one can possess such as paintings, books etc., and finally, institutionalised capital refers to credentials and qualifications that symbolise cultural proficiency and influence, such as academic qualifications or social titles.

Economic capital is financial wealth, “general, anonymous and immediately convertible money, more easily converted into cultural, social or symbolic capital than vice versa” (Chudzikowski and Mayrhofer, 2011, p.23). An example of converted economic capital is how wealthy individuals can pay for entry to prestigious educational institutions, which converts this financial output into a form of

institutionalised cultural capital in the qualifications they achieve, and into a form of social capital in the network they develop among their peers while studying in the prestigious educational institution.

Finally, symbolic capital is the reflected power gained through the accumulation and deployment of any form or combinations of capital (Al Ariss and Syed, 2011). Only if the capital is acknowledged in the respective field does it become symbolic (Chudzikowski and Mayrhofer, 2011). For example, a Master's degree is a form of institutionalised cultural capital, which becomes symbolic capital when the holder uses it to gain a managerial role. However, as can happen with a migrant's qualifications, if the Master's degree is not accredited in the host country and it will then lose its value as capital. This is because the change in 'field', i.e. moving country, will have resulted in the non-recognition of the degree. Therefore, the degree is no longer acknowledged as a form of symbolic capital as the degree has no power in the host country.

The other main concepts in Bourdieu's theory of practice are outlined next, but are not utilised in any major analytical sense in this study.

Habitus

Habitus are socialised norms or tendencies that guide behaviour and thinking. It is how "society becomes deposited in persons in the form of lasting dispositions, or trained capacities and structured propensities to think, feel, and act in determinate ways, which then guide them in their creative responses to the constraints and solicitations of their extant milieu" (Navarro, 2006, p.16). Bourdieu (1980) describes how habitus is constructed from "past experiences through providing schemes of perception, thought and action which tend to reproduce practices in conformity with the field throughout time" (Bourdieu, 1980, p.91). Operating below levels of consciousness, habitus are guided by past experiences and influence future actions (Al Ariss and Syed, 2011). On a fundamental level it can be described as "a disposition to act, perceive and think in a particular way" (Guzzini, 200, p.166).

Field

Field is another concept from Bourdieu's theory of practice (Fernando and Cohen, 2015). This is the social space where the individual uses their various forms of capital to advance their personal position in society. Society is divided into social fields (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992) and it is within these social settings that agents and

their social positions are located (Bourdieu, 1986). Each individual's position in their respective field is a result of interaction between the specific rules of that field, their habitus and their capital. However, a change in field can affect the value of an individual's capital. The act of migration can lessen or increase the value of a migrant's capital because they are no longer acting within the field where this capital had its original value. An example of this is a migrant history teacher whose qualification as a history teacher may lose its value when he/she leaves their home country education sector. Therefore, fields have boundaries, and once the agent moves beyond the boundaries of that field their capital may be altered or lose its value (Bourdieu, 1975; Mayrhofer et al., 2004). Once one leaves the boundaries of one field, the effects of another field begin.

Altogether, the concept constitutes a wider and more holistic lens with which to examine the use of capital in the migrant's career development. Example of the concept's use are studies such as Bahn's (2015) study on the well-being of temporary skilled migrants, where the research findings are "analysed through a Bourdieuan perspective to tease out the extended role of HRM in industrial relations to add value in managing the well-being of temporary skilled migrants" (Bahn, 2015, p.2103). Webb's (2015a) study of the employment outcomes of skilled migrants in regional Australia and Fernando and Cohen's (2015) examination of the careers of a group of Indian academics working in academia in the UK also utilise Bourdieu's theory of practice in their examination of internationally mobile careers.

While the extant literature utilises different forms of capital (human, career or Bourdieusean) in the study of skilled migrant careers, the actual concept of who are skilled migrants remains blurred in the international worker literature (Al Ariss and Crowley-Henry, 2013, Crowley-Henry et al., 2016, Doherty et al., 2013a). The existing literature tends to use the various terms for internationally mobile workers, and it is this lack of conceptual clarity that is detailed in the next section.

2.3.2 Conceptual Clarity

The literature review disclosed a myriad of terms for the different forms of internationally mobile workers. The terms used include skilled migrants (e.g. Zikic, 2015), highly skilled migrants (e.g. Fernando and Cohen, 2015), SIEs (e.g. Al Ariss and Crowley-Henry, 2013), foreign trained immigrants (e.g. Novak and Chen, 2013), qualified immigrants (e.g. Cerdin et al., 2014), and international migrants (e.g. Guo and

Al Ariss, 2015). For details of the more commonly used terms used in the literature see table 2.1 below.

Table 2.1. Internationally Mobile Worker Concepts

Term and Year	Focus	Reason for Expatriation	Intended Duration	Example
<i>Migrant</i>	Individual/ Family	Economic - Political Career - Cultural	Permanent	(Ravenstein, 1885)
<i>AEs – Company Assigned Expatriate</i>	Individual/ Organisation	Career	Temporary	(Brewster and Scullion, 1997)
<i>OE-Overseas Experience</i>	Individual	Career - Lifestyle Adventure	Temporary	(Inkson, 1997)
<i>Self-Designated</i>	Individual	Career	Temporary	(Arthurs et al, 1999)
<i>SFE-Self Initiated Foreign Work Experience</i>	Individual	Lifestyle - Adventure Career	Temporary	(Suutari and Brewster, 2000)
<i>Flexpatriate</i>	Individual	Career	Short	(Mayerhofer et al., 2004)
<i>Free Travellers</i>	Individual	Lifestyle - Adventure Career	Temporary	(Myers and Pringle, 2005)
<i>EHCN – ex Host Country National</i>	Individual	Career	Permanent or Temporary	(Tung, 2005)
<i>SIE – Self Initiated Expatriate</i>	Individual	Career - Lifestyle Adventure	Temporary	(Jokinen et al., 2008b)
<i>IP-Immigrant Professionals</i>	Individual/ Family	Economic - Political Career	Permanent or Temporary	(Fang et al., 2009)
<i>Independent Expatriate</i>	Individual	Career - Lifestyle Adventure	Permanent or Temporary	(McKenna, 2010)
<i>Bounded Transnationals</i>	Individual	Lifestyle	Permanent or Temporary	(Crowley-Henry, 2010)

The table of internationally mobile worker concepts highlights a number of descriptors associated with each expatriate concept. These descriptors are: Focus; this is the focus of the individual's expatriation, such as whether the focus of the move is for the individual, such as personal development or whether the focus is relational, such as the expatriate's family. Reason for expatriation; this area highlights the main push factors (motivations) behind each form of expatriation, such as career development reasons of company assigned expatriates (AEs), or family and/or lifestyle reasons, which is a motivation factor for many migrants in their decision to emigrate. Intended duration; this is the length of time the individual intends to spend on expatriation. The duration of the expatriation can vary. It may be short term, as for flexpatriates who take frequent, short term assignments that do not involve full relocation (Mayhofer et al.,

2004), or temporary expatriation, as for SIEs who temporarily leave their home country, but with the intention of eventually returning to their home country (Doherty et al., 2015a). Finally, there is the perceived permanency of the migrants' expatriation decision, who are seen as leaving home on a permanent basis (Al Ariss, 2010).

This wide range of terms has meant the difference between the different internationally mobile worker concepts is not always clear (Al Ariss, 2010). This in turn makes distinguishing between the individual concepts for research purposes difficult (Cao et al., 2012). However, despite this variety of terms the literature tends to concentrate on three main terms when referring to the international mobilisation of workers. These are Organisation Assigned Expatriates, Self-initiated Expatriates and (Skilled) Migrants. The following sections describe how these three terms are differentiated in the extant literature.

Organisation Assigned Expatriates (AEs) (Alshahrani and Morley, 2015, Brewster and Scullion, 1997) are employees sent by their home companies on temporary overseas assignments. While some AEs may initiate their own organisational expatriation, by requesting an expatriate position, they are differentiated from migrants and SIEs by having organisational support for the move and duration of the expatriation (Cerdin and Selmer, 2014). The fact that AEs have organisational support is a strong differentiating factor in the reviewed literature. However, the same cannot be said of the literature's treatment of SIEs and skilled migrants, with a blurring of the boundaries between self-initiated expatriates (SIEs) (Al Ariss and Crowley-Henry, 2013) and skilled migrants (Bahn, 2015; Crowley-Henry et al., 2016).

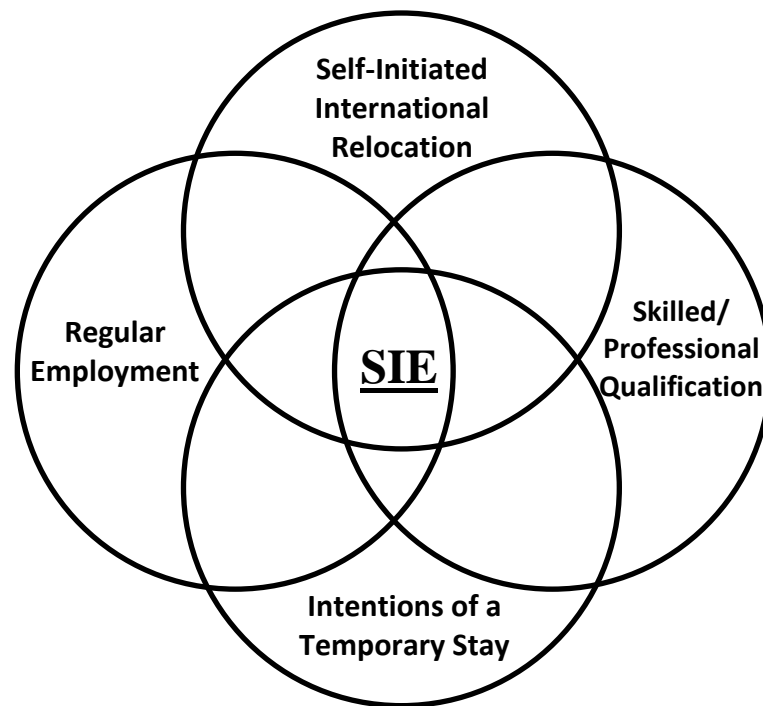
Self-Initiated Expatriates (SIEs) (Jokinen et al., 2008a, Suutari & Brewster, 2000) are individuals who make the decision, independent of an employer or organisation, to move abroad for career, travel, employment or lifestyle reasons (Doherty, 2013a). The existing literature tends to present the more privileged SIEs as much more career agentic (Andresen et al., 2013; Suuturi et al., 2017), being "endowed with agency" (Al Ariss et al., 2012, p.94). They possess the ability to cross national boundaries at will, and more importantly are assumed to have, and be in control of, an international career (Carr et al., 2005).

However, not all SIE literature reflects this positive view, with studies by Richardson and Zikic (2007) finding evidence in SIE narratives of both positive and negative career opportunities and development, which were of a complex and contradictory nature. Scurry et al. (2013) identified that the SIEs, in their sample of

SIEs in Qatar, also followed uneven career paths and were faced with many career challenges.

SIEs are presumed to be expatriating on a temporary basis (Doherty et al., 2013a). The SIE concept grew from the Overseas Experience (OE) concept, developed by Inkson (1997), which is defined as a period of travel, exploration and personal development (Inkson and Myers, 2003). Cerdin and Selmer (2014) identified four criteria (which must all be fulfilled at the same time) to define SIEs. The four criteria are: (1) Self-initiated international relocation, (2) intention to seek regular employment, (3) intentions of a temporary stay and (4) possess a skill and/or professional qualifications. Figure 2.2 below summarises Cerdin and Selmer (2014)'s criteria.

Figure 2.2. SIE Criteria



Cerdin and Selmer (2014)

While SIE studies of this, less than positive nature, were in the minority, they do portray SIE career paths being similar to that of the skilled migrant career portrayed in the extant literature. This view would concur with the Al Ariss and Özbilgin (2010) contention that both forms of expatriation, skilled migrant and SIEs, are not so different, with some research showing SIEs may tend to have an interest in forging more permanent global careers (Doherty et al., 2011; Suuturi et al., 2017; Suutari & Brewster, 2000). Cao et al. (2012) find that indistinctness exists between the definitions

of the forms of expatriates, such as the definition of a “migrant” as being a “broad definition encompassing both permanent and temporary international sojourners” (Van den Bergh and Du Plessis, 2012, p.143).

Skilled Migrants are seen to be moving to developed countries from a developing one (Baruch et al., 2007). They are portrayed as lacking agency to advance their careers (Al Ariss et al., 2012), and are described as vulnerable (Burgess et al., 2013), insecure (McPhee, 2012), disadvantaged and discriminated against (Cook et al., 2011). This depiction of skilled migrants is in stark contrast to the above portrayal of SIEs. This is despite there being “no rational theoretical or methodological foundation given to explain such terminology” (Al Ariss and Crowley-Henry, 2013, p.80). Migrants are persons, and family members, who move to another country or region to better their material or social conditions and improve prospects for them or their family. They are generally deemed to settle in the host country for long periods or permanently (Cerdin and Selmer, 2014), which may be because of socio-cultural and economic reasons, such as the need to supply a secure and comfortable home for one’s family (Tseng, 2011). However, the advent of low-cost airlines has altered this lack of mobility, in particular for intra-European migration, with many migrants regularly travelling forward and back between their home and host countries (Burrell, 2011a, Ryan et al., 2015)

The literature tends to use the various terms for internationally mobile workers in an inconsistent manner (Andresen et al., 2014) and Cao et al. (2012) found that ambiguity exists between the terms migrant and SIE. The differences depend partly on intrinsic and intangible criteria, such as the necessity to leave for migrants, as opposed to seeking job challenges for SIEs (Al Ariss, 2010). This means that at the micro level, the boundaries are sometimes blurred (Cao et al., 2012). Notwithstanding this blurring of the conceptual boundaries, many issues revealed in the literature were relatable to both skilled migrants and SIEs. The existing research tends to cross boundaries, such as Andresen et al. (2014) who see the term ‘migrant’ as an umbrella term for all expatriates. This ambiguity, and lack of concept clarity, were the rationale for this study’s inclusion of some SIE papers, as these papers, while citing SIEs as the focus of the study, were deemed relevant for research on skilled migrants’ careers.

As regards the research population for this research the extant literature tends to title the interviewees, who are from the EU10 Accession states, as migrants (Cook et al, 2011; Elwood and Gontarska, 2012; Pearson et al., 2011). The existing research

makes little, or no, attempt to differentiate on grounds of reasons for moving to a host country, duration of stay in host country, experience or skill levels of sample population. An exception is Felker (2011), in her study of the professional development of young, educated Eastern Europeans. In that study, Felker (2011, p.76 identifies her research sample as “young, well-educated Eastern Europeans who have moved to Western Europe in search of opportunities for professional development”, describing this group as “self-directed expatriates”,

Some scholars, in an attempt to surmount the blurred boundaries between the two types of internationally mobile workers, suggest the two categories are not so different, may need to be merged or create an umbrella term that captures both concepts (Al Ariss and Crowley-Henry, 2013; Al Ariss and Özbilgin, 2010; Cao et al., 2012). This view is evident in the approach adopted by Andresen et al. (2014) who classified both migrants, AEs and SIEs as subgroups, under the umbrella group, migrants. Al Ariss and Crowley-Henry (2013), in an attempt to avoid the stereotyping that exists in the extant literature, also propose that an umbrella term of ‘internationally mobile individuals’ be used as a research term for future studies, covering both SIEs and migrants. However, there is warning that some of these proposed terms may be too generic, and any one term that could be applied to cover all internationally mobile persons could broaden the term so far as to become next to useless (Gunz and Peiperl, 2007). While precise boundaries to terms can be limiting, as this study found with certain definitions of careers, boundaries of some sort are necessary for academic progress (Zerubavel, 1995).

The importance of concept clarity for research is that it assists the empirical investigation of phenomena and allows for advancing applied research (Suddaby, 2010). Just as Cerdin and Selmer (2014) found in their research on SIEs, a clearer definition of the concept of a skilled migrant could “help the field to develop further and make a strong contribution to the larger field of expatriation” (Cerdin and Selmer, 2014, p.1297). Tharenou (2015) has also recently emphasised the need for rigor in research on different international worker categories, with her review showing overlap in studies and lack of clarity in many articles with regards to the population under investigation (Crowley-Henry et al, 2016).

Outside of the literature specifically targeting skilled migrant, a number of papers attempt to “demarcate” (Andresen et al., 2014, p. 2295) the different forms of internationally mobile workers. Baruch et al. (2013) concentrate on the “different

modes of international work experiences” and differentiate these along seven dimensions (these are the actual time spent on expatriation, intensity of international contacts, the individuals breadth of interaction, legal context, international work instigator, extent of cultural gap and the specific position). A study by Briscoe et al. (2009) differentiated internationally mobile workers along 20 different forms of international work experiences. Of interest to this study is the Briscoe et al. (2009) definition of migrants under a broad generic theme as individuals who are hired to work in an organisation’s foreign operation or in its parent company and who are citizens of another country (Briscoe et al. 2009). Andresen et al. (2014) created a “criteria-based definition and differentiation of terms” (Andresen et al., 2014, p. 2295), which they used to address the confusion regarding internationally mobile workers and developed a “typology of four different types of expatriates” (Andresen et al., 2014, p. 2295). The first of the four types in the Andresen et al. (2014) study are assigned expatriates (AEs), who are “employees who are sent abroad by their company, usually receiving an expatriate contract” (Andresen et al., 2014, p. 2295). The next two are inter-self-initiated expatriates and intra-self-initiated expatriates, which are two sub-groups of SIEs. SIEs are defined by Andresen et al. (2014) as individuals who undertake their international work experience “with little or no organisational sponsorship, often with a less favourable local work contract” (Andresen et al., 2014, p. 2295). Intra self-initiated expatriates are expatriates who initiate their own expatriation but remain in their employing organisation and inter-self-initiated expatriates who initiate their own expatriation and change employers. The final type are drawn expatriates, who are individuals who are approached and recruited by companies to work in a country different to the one the individual is currently living in (Andresen et al., 2014).

2.3.3 Assumptions in the Literature

A review of the literature reveals a number of assumptions and definitions concerning skilled migrants, while exposing a lack of consistent conceptual coherence in distinguishing the various categories of expatriate groups from each other. The literature contains clear ethnic or racial distinctions in the way it uses the terms skilled migrant or Self-Initiated Expatriates (SIEs) (Al Ariss et al., 2012; McNulty and Brewster, 2016). In the literature reviewed it is presumed that migrants do not possess the same agency as SIEs to advance their careers (Al Ariss et al., 2012), and are variably described as vulnerable (Bahn, 2015), insecure (McPhee, 2012), disadvantaged (Cook

et al., 2011), discriminated against and under-employed (Dietz et al., 2015). They are assumed to have little or no ability to overcome barriers in both home and host contexts (Al Ariss and Özbilgin, 2010). However, some authors see the decision to migrate (Cook et al., 2011) and cross national boundaries to access a new way of life as testament in itself to the migrants' level of agency and ability to surmount barriers to their mobility and careers.

Migrants are assumed to be moving from a developing country (Baruch et al., 2007), with developed countries acting as a magnet (Tharmaseelan et al., 2010) for this flow of skilled workers. On the other hand, SIEs are assumed to be from developed countries, engaging in a career exploration across international borders and boundaries (Al Ariss, 2010). However, certain contemporary studies have blurred this distinction, undermining the assumption that migrants are internationally mobile workers moving from a developing country (Baruch et al., 2007). Some existing research details the experiences of the skilled migrants who have originated in developed countries, such as skilled French migrants in London (Ryan and Mulholland, 2014) or intra-Europe skilled migration (Mulholland and Ryan, 2014).

The majority of the research is West European or US in origin and assumes that "mainstream western assumptions" (Al Ariss et al., 2012, p.94) can be generalised to international mobility studies. This view ignores history, context and issues, such as culture and colonialism, which have an effect on the decisions and experiences of migrants (Al Ariss et al., 2012).

Finally, there is the assumption regarding migrant status. This is the assumed distinction between the status of the migrant and other expatriates in host countries. The implication of being a migrant is to be seen as someone lesser (Berry, 2009), or the 'inferiorised other' (Berry and Bell, 2012), experiencing poor quality career outcomes in the host country labour market (Dietz et al., 2015). The term skilled migrant is perceived as having negative undertones, while the terms SIEs or AEs are seen as positive labels (Al Ariss et al., 2012).

For a contrast between the existing literature's treatment of SIEs and skilled migrants please see table 2.2 on the following page.

Table 2.2. *SIEs and Skilled Migrants Assumptions in the Literature.*

<i>Self-Initiated Expatriates are assumed</i>	<i>Skilled Migrants are assumed</i>
To be from developed countries, engaging in career exploration across international borders and boundaries (Richardson and Zikic, 2007).	To be moving from a developing country to a developed country (Baruch et al., 2007).
To be “endowed with agency” (Al Ariss et al., 2012, p.94) and possess the ability to cross national boundaries at will. They have, and are in control of a career (Carr et al., 2005).	Not to possess the same agency as SIEs to advance their careers (Al Ariss et al., 2012). Described as vulnerable (Burgess et al., 2013), insecure (McPhee, 2012) and disadvantaged (Cook et al., 2011).
To move abroad for career, travel, employment and lifestyle reasons (Doherty et al., 2013a).	To move abroad to better their material/social conditions and improve their future prospects for themselves or their family (Krings et al., 2009, Kropiwiec and King-O’Riain, 2006).
To be expatriating on a temporary basis (Doherty, 2013).	To settle in the host country for long periods or permanently (Cerdin and Selmer, 2014).
To be “globally mobile” and a “highly educated professional” (Doherty et al., 2013a, p.99).	To be seen as inferior (Berry, 2009), with the term having negative undertones
To have agency in the decision to expatriate (Al Ariss et al., 2012).	To move for necessity (Baruch et al., 2014), such as escaping persecution or financial needs.

The assumption dominating the literature being that “these globally mobile people (SIEs and OEs) are highly educated professionals or engaged in managerial roles” (Doherty et al., 2013a, p.99). Yet, as noted by Berry and Bell (2012) despite the terms ‘expatriate’ and ‘migrant’ having “virtually identical dictionary meanings” (Berry and Bell, 2012, p.11) there exists, in much of the contemporary literature, a “gendered, race and class-related difference in the constructed meanings of the terms” (Berry and Bell, 2012, p.11). Conditional to the term used is the assumed career of that group, which will be “will be interpreted differently to the career of another” (Berry and Bell, 2012, p.11).

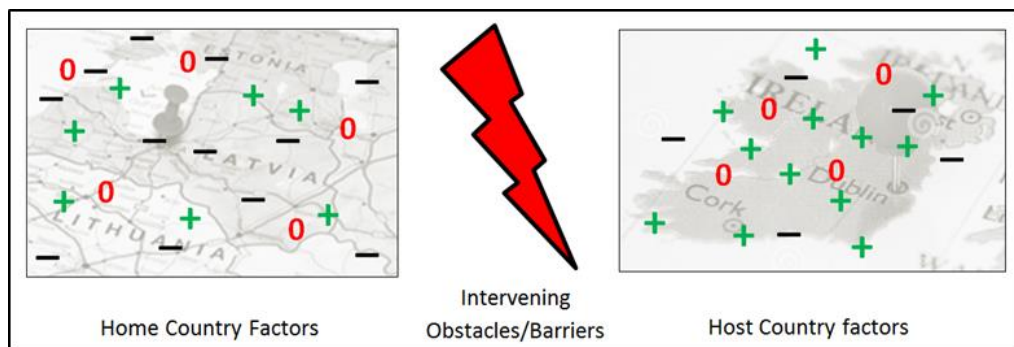
2.3.4 Motivations to Migrate – Push and Pull Factors

This section outlines the existing literature on the reasons why some people leave their home country and seek to work, and possibly settle, in a foreign country. While there are various forms of internationally mobile workers, and their motivations to move abroad, whether for the short or long term, may be similar (King, 2002), this paper is

interested in the internationally mobile workers labelled as skilled migrants and their motivations to leave home and seek a new career and life elsewhere.

The concepts of push and pull factors (Lee, 1966) are commonly used by researchers studying migrants' motivations to leave their home country and why they choose certain host countries (Saunders, 2015). Lee's 1966 analytical framework of the main factors affecting the decision to migrate is based on a push and pull model, which was developed from an in-depth study of the factors that influenced and motivated migration (Saunders, 2011). Figure 2.3 below is a visual representation of Lee's (1966) model.

Figure 2.3. Push and Pull factors



Lee (1966) found there were four main themes influencing the migration decision process. These are factors associated with the prospective migrant's home country, factors associated with possible destination country, obstacle that hinder or block the migration process and the personal factors of the prospective migrant. These factors affect the supply of labour (push) emigrating from countries and those affecting the demand (pull) act as stimuli, 'pulling' migrants to certain countries (Zimmermann, 1995). An important finding of Lee's study is that both the migrant's home and possible destination country contained both + and - (push and pull) factors. Lee described these factors as being either negative or positive influencing factors:

"In every area there are countless factors which act to hold people within the area or attract people to it, and there are others which tend to repel them. These are shown in the diagram as + and - signs. There are others, shown as 0's, to which people are essentially indifferent. Some of these factors affect most people in much the same way,

while others affect different people in different way” (Lee, 1966, p.50).

Lee’s model illustrates the complexity of the migration decision. The prospective migrant must not only weight up the negative factors in their home country as against the positive gains in the host country, but they must also allow for the possible positive gains to be made by staying in their home country as against the possible losses, or negative factors, in moving to a host country. They also have to allow for intervening obstacles, which can be factors such as physical distance, political barriers, language issues etc. Each set of factors and obstacles will mean different things to different people, “what may be trivial to some people, the cost of transporting household goods, for example, may be prohibitive to others” (Lee, 1966, p.51). This difference in the effect and importance of the various barriers and factors for each prospective migrant may be caused by such things as the person’s reasons for considering migrating, life stage or skill level. Using Lee’s (1966) framework the push to emigrate is a balancing of the + and – factors of the home country as compared to the balance of the + and – factors of host country. In other words if the gains, that is the positive forces, in the host country are greater than gains that can be achieved by remaining in the home country, then the individual will be more likely to migrate.

The push, or negative, factors which motivate people to leave their home country, can include lack of economic opportunity (Al Ariss and Özbilgin, 2010), oppression (Connell and Burgess, 2009) and lack of equal opportunities (Van den Bergh and Du Plessis, 2012). Pull, or positive factors, on the other hand, motivate people to move to a certain country. These pull factors may be better economic conditions (Cook et al., 2011), better lifestyle (Doherty, 2013b) or new experiences (Scott, 2006). While push factors cause people to leave their home country, they must be accompanied by pull factors to attract migrants to a new host country (Dobson and Sennikova, 2007). Mahroum (2000) notes that different professional groupings within the skilled migrant class are affected by different sets of push and pull factors. For instance, a scientist may relocate for personal aspirations or scientific curiosity while a businessman may relocate for market reasons.

Push and pull factors are important to this study as they provide the context for the individual’s migration (Krings et al., 2009, Kropiwiec and King-O’Riain, 2006). In the literature regarding EU10 migration, the push and pull factors, which motivated the

migrant to leave his or her home country (in this study Poland, Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia) and travel to a foreign host country (in this case Ireland) were products of both macro (e.g. country) and micro (e.g. family) contexts (Cohen and Duberley, 2015). Macro contextual factors such as the process of social, economic and political change which their countries were going through (Aptekar, 2009; Cook et al., 2011; Grabowska, 2003; Kazlauskienė and Rinkevičius, 2006), led to deteriorating living standards and increasing unemployment (Grabowska, 2003) for many of this study's interviewees. For others it was perceived oppression (Aptekar, 2009) and lack of development opportunities (Roeder, 2011), which were among the push factors cited in the extant literature. At a more individual level, a mixture of both subjective and objective factors, including low pay (Roeder, 2011), lack of independence (Aptekar, 2009) and poor future prospects (Kropiwiec, 2006), all synergised into a meagre and unsettled lifestyle, which acted as proximal level push factors in the interviewees' migration decision. The right to travel to, and work in a then booming Irish economy (Boyle, 2006) is an example of a macro level event (Zimmermann, 1995) that acted as a pull factor for this study's sample population. Something as simple as the presence of family or friends already living in the host country is also cited as a major, micro level, pull factor (Phan et al., 2015). This cohort of family or friends, already working in the host country, provide further motivation (pull factors) to migrate to a host country by informing the individual back in the home country of the availability of work in the host country, with wage levels superior to those available at home. Palloni et al. (2001) found that individuals who are socially related to migrants already living in the prospective host country are more likely to migrate to that host country themselves.

2.4 Careers

Whilst acknowledging the large scale and extent of career literature, this section of the literature review concentrates on the area of career theory relevant to the careers of skilled migrants. It is not a review of the general literature on careers. Unsurprisingly, considering the scope of the study, careers and carer outcomes emerged as two of the more common themes in the reviewed literature. There is no one commonly accepted academic definition of career (Greenhaus et al., 2008), with a variety of definitions and interpretations of career existing (Dries et al., 2008; Gunz and Heslin, 2005), leading to the term 'career' developing a somewhat ambiguous meaning (Gunz and Heslin, 2005). For the more orthodox scholars of career the

meaning of career has become inseparable from the world of work, especially professional work and career progression (Gunz and Peiperl, 2007). This orthodox view has tended to ignore the impact, and importance, of experiences and factors from outside the world of work (Larsen and Elgrave, 2000). Careers, as dynamic social constructs (Dries et al., 2008), are “complex, dynamic social realities that can be (re)interpreted and (re)shaped in different ways” by career actors (Dries, 2011, p.365).

The word career has evolved from a “number of romance language derivatives” (Gunz and Peiper, 2007, p.3) of the Latin ‘carraria’, a carriage-road or road (OED, 1989). By the 16th century the noun had evolved to mean “a rapid and continuous course of action” (Gunz and Peiper, 2007, p.3), and it was not until the early 19th century that careers were spoken about in the terms we associate with the noun today, such as “he had a successful diplomatic career” (Gunz and Peiper, 2007, p.3). However, the term career was initially used to specify a designation of privilege (a professional status), while the terms occupation or job were used to describe jobs where “blue-collar worker... who don’t have careers” (Thomas, 1989, p.354) provided their labour/skills for monetary reward (Carbery, 2013; Thomas, 1989). The advent of globalisation and the development of the global economy “from an agricultural over an industrial to a post-industrial society, has without a doubt strongly contributed to the current-day image of what career and career success mean” (Dries, 2011, p.365). Thomas (1989) “acknowledges that blue-collar workers have meaningful work experiences and skill accumulations over time” (Lucas and Buzzanell, 2004, p.275). However, Thomas (1989) also highlights a lack of agency and opportunity in a blue-collar worker’s career path. This lack of agency and opportunity he argues is caused by the “social milieu of class, organizational arrangement of occupations, and labour market segmentations that singly, and then jointly, operate to limit career opportunities” (Thomas, 1989, p.355) for blue-collar workers. In an effort to make sense of their role, and as a coping strategy, Thomas posits that blue-collar workers adopt an instrumental attitude towards work opportunities (Thomas, 1989). The view of blue-collar workers adopting an instrumentalist attitude towards work had previously been reported by Goldthorpe et al. (1968), who posited that “workers developed orientations based on their experiences outside work, that affected their attitude and behaviour at work” (Guest & Sturges, 2007, p.314). While the Goldthorpe study was criticised for placing too much prominence on worker instrumentality (Hill, 1981; Guest and Sturges, 2007), it was

important in drawing attention to the career influence of context and experiences outside of work (Guest and Sturges, 2007).

It is claimed that the post-industrial economy has seen the demise of the traditional organisational career (Savikas, 2000). Careers have become a dynamic and unpredictable set of experiences, which are impacted by both work and non-work aspects of our lives (Arthur et al., 2005). This brought about “fresh thinking about the nature of careers...and the changing nature of work in a changing economy” (Tams and Arthur, 2010). This fresh thinking led to emergence of new theories and models to study and understand contemporary careers (Briscoe et al., 2006). The two most popular and studied contemporary career models that emerged in the reviewed literature are the protean career (Hall, 1976) and the boundaryless career (Arthur and Rousseau, 1996), which are detailed in chapter 5. The contemporary concept of career has been defined in many ways. From something as abstract as an “individuals movement through space and time” (Collin and Young, 2000, p.3), to more precise, employment focused definitions, such as Baruch and Rosenstein’s (1992) definition of “a process of development of the employee along a path of experience and jobs in one or more organisations” (Baruch and Rosenstein, 1992, p.478). Over time, as attention in career research started to shift from the objective career to the more subjective aspects, the definition of career has evolved (Dries et al., 2008). From terminology that concentrated on a person’s actual collection of ‘jobs’, growing to a concentration on a series of ‘roles’, and finally evolving to describe a person’s work ‘experiences’. This evolution of the definition can be illustrated by comparing three different definitions, each from different times in the recent history of career study. Starting with Wilensky’s (1961) definition of career as a succession of hierarchal related jobs through which a person must progress in a pre-determined order. Then progressing to Super’s (1980) description of career as a collection and sequence of roles. Finally, to the broad and established career definition from Arthur et al. (1989), which is “the evolving sequence of a person’s work experiences over time”. Arthur et al’s definition is used by a wide variety of career studies, such as Lucas’s (2004) contextual exploration of blue collar workers in the Finnish mining industry to Biemann and Brackmann’s (2013) study of the impact of expatriate work experience on the career success of third level graduates. The Arthur et al. (1989) definition was originally of interest to this study, particularly its use of the term “time”, which suggests that a career is a lifelong and singular event. Arthur et al. (2005) stress that the varied and multiple experiences one has in his/her

working life all contribute in a relational construct to one, singular career. The definition's concentration on "work experiences" allows for work experiences outside the world of paid employment. However, as this research progressed and the need to adopt a broad 'whole-life' career (Litano and Major, 2016) was realised, the use of the term "work experiences" was found to limit the definition's functionality for this study. While concentration on "work experiences" allows for work experiences outside the world of paid employment, it limits the definition by excluding the many factors from outside the overall world of work (paid or unpaid) which can affect career actions and outcomes, such as the desire for adventure, family circumstances or perceived persecution. This opened the study to searching the literature for a definition that incorporated all aspects of career activities and actions, both work and non-work. However, this broad, all-encompassing view of career is not new. Hughes (1937), in his work with the Chicago school of sociology, adopted a very broad view of career (Barley, 1989), describing career and its study as how an individual makes sense of his/her passage through life:

"A career consists, objectively, of a series of statuses and clearly defined offices...subjectively, a career is the moving perspective in which the person sees his life as a whole and interprets the meaning of his various attributes, actions, and the things that happen to him.... But the career is by no means exhausted in a series of business and professional achievements. There are other points at which one's life touches the social order... it is possible to have a career in an avocation as well as in a vocation (Hughes, 1937, p.413).

Hughes (1937) was an early champion of career consisting of two states, the objective and the subjective career. This defines career as a concept wider than work, and particularly vaster than just professional work. The Chicago School's career studies covered a wide range of people, classes and occupations, from prostitutes to taxi drivers, the sick to drug addicts (Barley, 1989; Gunz and Peiperl, 2007). Career studies of these groups were in a sense a study of the subject's "passage through life" (Gunz and Peiper, 2007, p.3). The Chicago School's view of career being a broad concept was such that there are few areas in the study of organisations and people that do not broach the subject of career. From disciplines ranging from sociology, through anthropology,

on to economics, all draw on the subject of career (Arthur et al., 1989). Hughes' definition, taking this broad scope into account, advises that career research needs to adopt a broad holistic approach which looks at all aspects of an individual's life that influences his/her career. This is opposed to the more orthodox method, which focused on just the actual work or profession level.

Therefore, in order to allow this study to take a 'whole-life' approach (Litano and Major, 2016) to the interviewees' careers it adopted the Sullivan and Baruch (2009) definition of career. This definition of career, "an individual's work-related and other relevant experiences, both inside and outside of organisations that form a unique pattern over the individual's lifespan" (Sullivan and Baruch, 2009, p.1543), allows this study to give "consideration to non-work factors (i.e. personal life and family life) in defining careers (Litano and Major, 2016, p.52). This approach allows the researcher to develop and extend "career development from an occupational perspective to a life perspective in which occupation and work have place and meaning" (Gysbers, 2003, p.80). This is an important aspect to this study's utilisation of this career definition because "to understand careers we need to consider the wider contexts" in which career actions and career outcomes are embedded (Inkson et al., 2015, p.4). This definition allows for different contexts, such as the macro (country), micro (personal) (Cohen and Duberley, 2015) and temporal (time and timing) (Elder, 1975) contexts, which is vital in studying career as "careers are always careers in context" (Mayrhofer et al., 2007). Career is located at the juncture of social space and an individual's actions (Grandjean, 1981, p.1057), which links the concept to the duality of structure and agency, with the individual on one hand and context on the other. Both aspects, that is career and context, play an established role in theorizing about careers (Mayrhofer et al., 2007). This is also in keeping with Bourdieu's theory of practice (Bourdieu, 1977), and its concepts of field (social space) and the agent acting within that field (the individual's career actions).

Despite the large pool of academic papers pertaining to career studies, Fang et al. (2009) find that the careers of skilled migrant workers remain relatively under-researched by management scholars, especially human resource and career researchers. Many of the studies on migrant and international careers been predominantly concerned with a study of migrants with lower levels of skill (Al Ariss et al., 2012), corporate expatriates (Inkson, 1997) or SIEs (Al Ariss and Crowley-Henry, 2013; Cao et al., 2012; Cerdin and Selmer, 2014; Rodriguez and Scurry, 2014). However, due to

the stated lack of concept clarity, a proportion of the SIE literature pertains to skilled migrants, such as Al Ariss and Özbilgin (2010), who in their paper on understanding SIEs focus “on the career experiences of immigrants who self-initiated their expatriation on a permanent basis from Lebanon to France” (Al Ariss and Özbilgin, 2010, p.276).

A noticeable gap in the skilled migrant literature is the scarcity of reference to specific career theories or types. As stated in the literature review, with the exception of scholars such as Zikic et al. (2010), the extant skilled migrant research displays a lack of reference to career theories or concepts, such as boundaryless or protean careers, to explain skilled migrants’ careers. While some researchers discuss the protean (Cao et al., 2012) or boundaryless careers of SIEs (Al Ariss and Crowley-Henry, 2013), and the traditional (Dowling and Welch, 2004, Yan et al., 2002) or boundaryless careers of organisation-assigned expatriates (Eby, 2001, Stahl et al., 2002), these career theories have seldom been used to describe skilled migrant careers. However, Tharmaseelan et al. (2010) list five motivators for migration: exploration, escaping, career building, family and financial betterment. Each motivator may indicate that different migrants pursue a different career type depending on their motivation, such as those looking for financial betterment or migrating for family reasons may look for the security and tenure of a traditional career, while those seeking exploration may have a protean career mind set. As these career theories were not a major part of the reviewed literature, but are important to the overall study, they are not dealt with in depth in this chapter. However, they are detailed in chapter five, Theoretical Frameworks.

2.4.1 Career Outcomes

In the reviewed literature career, success is generally operationalised in two different ways, objective or subjective career success (Heslin, 2005). This is based on Everett Hughes’ (1937, 1958) firmly established (Heslin, 2005) theoretical distinction between the objective and the subjective career (Heslin, 2005). The first method, objective career success, includes variables that measure objective or extrinsic career success. The criteria for objective success includes ‘salary, salary growth, promotions, or hierarchical status’ (Abele and Spurk, 2009, p.54), which are all material and extrinsic aspects of career success that can be seen and thus objectively evaluated by others (Ng et al., 2005). However, objective success can mean more than “the traditional objective criteria, such as pay and promotion” (Heslin, 2005, p.115). An example of this is the

driving instructor who objectively gauges his/her success on the number of students who pass their driving test, or the paramedic ambulance worker whose idea of success is the number of the lives he/she saves. Success in these two examples may not lead to promotion or higher wages, but for the individual worker they are still objective examples of success. It is claimed that, in the western post-industrial world, objective success, especially public symbols of career success, are losing relevance (Dries et al., 2008; Heslin, 2005; Ituma et al., 2011) and subjective elements of success are now more relevant to the contemporary worker (Finegold and Mohrman, 2001; Hall and Chandler, 2005). However, a survey of millennials in the workforce (Deloitte, 2016) found that both subjective and objective aspects of career and work were valued. The top criteria on which the sample population for the Deloitte (2016) study evaluated career were based on a good work/life balance (16.8% of sample) and opportunities for career progression (13.4% of sample). The survey was a global survey of millennial workers, who now make up the majority of the workforce in many countries, such as the USA (Fry, 2015). A report by Skirmunt (2016) for the consultancy group, A Great Place to Work, also disputed the loss of relevance of objective career success, finding that pay and financial benefits were the top priorities for the three generations of workers in the current UK workforce (Skirmunt, 2016).

The second method of measuring career success, subjective career success, is experienced directly by the person (Heslin, 2005). Subjective career success may be described as the intrinsic appraisal of a person's career, as in terms of the areas that the individual deems important (Van Maanen, 1977). The importance of subjective career success has long been recognised, such as Thorndike's (1934) study on career success, which highlighted the subjective aspect of job satisfaction (Heslin, 2005). Subjective career success concentrates on intrinsic indicators, and these variables include subjective terms, such as a healthy work-life balance, personal fulfilment or job satisfaction (Al Ariss and Crowley-Henry, 2013; Ng et al., 2005). However, for many years the emphasis of the academic studies on career success centred on objective success (Arthur and Rousseau, 1996; Heslin, 2005).

Despite the differences between objective and subjective career success, it is not a question of 'either-or' when studying individual careers, but more critical for researchers to understand how objective and subjective relate to each other. They co-exist in an interdependent relationship (Hall and Chandler, 2004), based on a cyclical model (Gunz and Heslin, 2005). A person can have what appears to be objective career

success, such as high levels of pay and status in an organisation, but experience low subjective career success due to a poor work life balance or social exclusion due to the long hours they spend working to achieve the status and salary. Conversely, salary and promotion may lead to one feeling personal satisfaction and wellbeing (Ituma et al., 2011). Abele and Spurk (2009) recommend a simultaneous examination of both the subjective and objective perspectives, which helps illustrate both the dichotomy and interdependence between these two sides of career success (Abele and Spurk, 2009). The Abele and Spurk (2009) longitudinal study found that over time subjective success influenced changes in how individuals perceived objective success, illustrating a relationship between the two. This co-existence of objective and subjective career success is also highlighted in studies such as Tharmaseelan et al's (2009) quantitative study of the subjective and objective career success of migrants in New Zealand and Aten et al's (2016) exploration of the career success of skilled migrants in Canada. However, Mulhall (2011) posits that this extant operationalisation of career success neglects the importance of taking a wider view of career success, and fails to account for the intertwined relationship between a person's work and life when assessing how people perceive career success.

In an attempt to capture the “complexities and nuances” (Ituma et al., 2011, p.3638) of career success, Ituma et al. (2011) moved beyond an objective/subjective view of career. In a study of how Nigerian managers conceptualise career success they created a multidimensional (2D) model of career success. Building on work by Heslin (2005), they added two new dimensions, personal and relational, to the subjective and objective dichotomy of career success to create their model. An important finding of the Ituma et al. (2011) study is the effects of institutional and national factors on how local managers perceive success. Heslin (2005) recommends widening the measurement of objective and subjective career success to give consideration to how “individuals may differ in the types of criteria they most emphasis when evaluating career success” (Heslin, 2005, p.127). Heslin also suggests including factors such as self or other referent criteria. Dries et al. (2008), aiming to develop a more inclusive model of career success, also developed a 2D model, which incorporated an ‘Affect / Achievement’ axis and an ‘Intra-personal / Inter-personal’ axis (Dries et al., 2008). The affect end of the first axis represents the “feelings and perceptions people may have had throughout their careers” (Dries et al., 2008, p.259) that influences whether the career is viewed as a success or not. An example of this is achieving subjective feelings

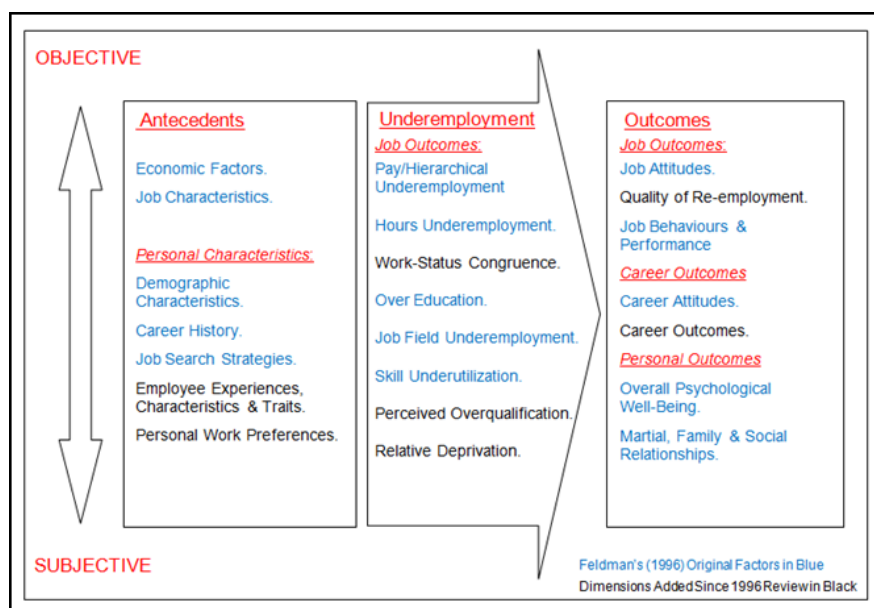
of having always behaved in an ethical manner. The achievement side of the first axis refers to the “factual accomplishments characteristic of peoples’ careers that cause them to evaluate their career success as high or low” (Dries et al., 2008, p.259). An example of this is achieving objective success of getting a pay rise or promotion. The second axis used is based on the two constructs intra-personal versus inter-personal. The focus on the intra-personal end is on the individual’s “self, on aspects of his or her internal world that would cause him or her to evaluate career success as high or low” (Dries et al., 2008, p.259). An example of this is achieving one’s own personal aims. While the inter-personal focus of the second axis is more concerned with the employer relationship and contribution to the organisation. An example of this is “being an important link in the process that leads to organizational success” (Dries et al., 2008, p.259).

As regards the actual career success, or not, of skilled migrants, underemployment emerged as one of the more prominent career outcomes in the skilled migrant literature (in studies such as Al Ariss et al., 2013, Alberti et al., 2013, Almeida et al., 2015; Cross and Turner, 2012, Dietz et al., 2015, Fang et al., 2009, Hakak and Al Ariss, 2013). The literature finds that many migrants are employed in roles lacking parity with their skills and experience (Cross and Turner, 2012, Dietz et al., 2015, Felker, 2011), and their skills are devalued in the host labour market (Dietz et al., 2015). It was found that “when many skilled migrants move across borders they often experience a drop in status, a waste of their talents or a downward career mobility” (Fossland, 2013b, p.194). A paradoxical observation, highlighting the weakness of human capital studies of migrant careers, is that the higher the skill set and qualification of the migrant, the less likely they are to find suitable employment when compared to their host country counterparts, plus they are more likely to encounter employment discrimination (Dietz et al., 2015).

Underemployment is defined in a number of ways, depending on the discipline the literature comes from. Sociologists look at the education levels required for a job, questioning if the employee is over qualified (Bolino and Feldman, 2000), while organisational behaviour researchers give greater weight to the more subjective measures of underemployment. This study uses the Feldman (1996) definition of underemployment as when individuals are working in inferior, lesser, or lower quality jobs relative to some defined standard, such as when a person possesses more formal education than job requires or when they are involuntary employed in a field outside

their area of formal education (Feldman, 1996, p.388). Feldman (1996) conceptualises underemployment as a multifactor relational construct and developed a conceptual model of underemployment, listing five antecedents and five consequences of underemployment (McKee-Ryan and Harvey, 2011). More contemporary research, such as that by Feldman et al. (2002), Holtom et al. (2002) and Rubb (2005), has added to Feldman’s (1996) original list of antecedents and consequences of underemployment. See Figure 2.4 below.

Figure 2.4. Antecedents and Consequences of Underemployment



Feldman (1996) and McKee-Ryan and Harvey (2011).

The research revealed how these antecedents and consequences contain both subjective and objective evaluations (Feldman et al., 2002). The factors in blue are from Feldman’s original model, while those in black are additional antecedents, dimensions and outcomes highlighted by McKee-Ryan and Harvey (2011) in their review of the extant underemployment research. The factors in the model are arranged on a vertical subjective/objective continuum. The review found that a consequence of migration was a drop in status, deskilling or negative career mobility (Fosslund, 2013b) and that skilled migrants were under-represented in high skill roles (Cross and Turner, 2012). Pearson et al (2011) warn how underemployment can be damaging to the individual leading to poor health, depression, low job or life satisfaction. An area that may cause concern is as skilled native workers may also experience underemployment, why is the case for skilled migrants different? However, an EU study by Brucker et al. (2009)

found more of the skilled migrant population from the new EU10 states experienced higher levels of underemployment, as compared with native workers occupying similar low-level jobs.

It is important to note that the literature acknowledges that some underemployment is by choice (Pearson et al., 2011). Many migrants do not seek roles that are commensurate with their skills. This cohort may include the migrant who feels his/her career capital is not adequate and takes an unskilled role to build their career capital (Felker, 2011) or when the unskilled host country role is better paid than their skilled employment in their home country (Pearson et al., 2011). There also exists a lesser published, but contrasting side, where despite the literature concentration on skills waste and atrophy, there are migrants who develop what are normatively successful careers, and they achieve career satisfaction (Al Ariss et al., 2013a). Connell and Burgess (2009) also note there are many skilled migrants working in high paid jobs that match their credentials, sometimes sponsored by host governments or employing organisations.

One final career outcome not covered in the extant skilled migrant careers literature was the role of happenstance or chance in careers and career outcomes. This is a serendipitous approach to career development (Betsworth and Hansen, 1996), where the role of chance (Cabral and Salomone, 1990) and happenstance (Miller, 1983, Mitchell et al., 1999) play a major influence on career and life. While the serendipitous approach to career may seem risky, it is the ability to recognise and capitalise on these chance events that is important (Mitchell et al., 1999). The roles of happenstance or chance in careers are covered in the general careers literature, such as the Krumboltz et al's (2013) study of involuntary career transitions. This is an important area when one considers the involuntary nature of certain aspects affecting migrants' career actions and outcomes, such as international recessions, discrimination etc. Krumboltz et al (2013) highlight this aspect of career and "propose that many unplanned events contribute to the career paths of individuals" (Krumboltz et al, 2013, p.18). However, Krumboltz et al (2013) posit that, while the initial phenomenon, such as a recession, may be beyond the capability of any individual to remedy, individuals can adapt to the reality as best they can, and "reframe unplanned events into opportunities" (Krumboltz et al, 2013, p.24). Grimland et al. (2012) found that an important aspect in utilising chance, for improving one's career progress, was the possession of strong levels of capital, such as social capital. For example, individuals with large networks and high

levels of social capital may get advance notice of opportunities or have greater access to important organisational information or resources (Grimland et al., 2012).

2.4.2 Career Barriers

Barriers to migrants' career paths, and the migrants' use of capital to overcome them, are two major career sub-themes in the reviewed literature (Al Ariss, 2010, Al Ariss and Syed, 2011, Bhagat and London, 1999, Meares, 2010, Fossland, 2013b, Syed, 2008, Wagner and Childs, 2006). Skilled migrants are faced with a number of barriers to fully utilising their capital in the host country labour market (Fang et al., 2009), with these barriers at the macro, meso and micro level (Hakak and Al Ariss, 2013a). Structure usually refers to large-scale social structures (Ritzer and Goodman, 2004) such as a nation's immigration system, its laws, visa and work permit system. These are all parts of the host country's national structures that may form barriers to the migrants' career development (Al Ariss and Syed, 2011), such as Inkson and Myers' (2003) finding that the lack of appropriate visa or permits can lead to underemployment. In the Irish context the authorities' expectations were for migrants to fill low skilled jobs (Elwood and Gontarska, 2012). This in itself became a barrier to skilled migrants fully utilising their capital as there was no central policy or plan to utilise the migrant workforce's skills to fill skilled vacancies or gaps.

Discrimination is another barrier described in the literature. An International Labour Organisation (ILO) study revealed migrants suffered net discrimination rates of 35% in Germany, Belgium, the Netherlands and Spain (Syed, 2008). A study by McGinnity et al. (2009) provided direct evidence of discrimination in the recruitment of migrants in Ireland. Country of origin was found to have an impact on discrimination levels, the more culturally diverse the migrant is from the host country, the more discrimination they may suffer (Nangia, 2013). Occupational success was strongly influenced by ethnic origin (Guo, 2015), which is not surprising given that many employers considered migrants as easier to exploit than native workers (Avery et al., 2010, Cross and Turner, 2012). Considering this finding, the dearth of studies on immigrants' perceptions of fairness and justice in the workplace is a research gap that is an important area of concern (Cross and Turner, 2012). Conversely, Pearson et al. (2011) find that discrimination is not a barrier to employment for Polish immigrants in Ireland, skilled or otherwise. However, this may be because the subjects arrived during the 'Celtic Tiger' era when there was a plentiful supply of work. This may also be

because of reasons that are more homophilic. Homophily is the tendency of people to form relationships with people similar to themselves, for example in areas such as religion or race. In other words, similarity breeds connection (McPherson et al., 2001). Poland and Ireland are both European countries with a predominantly white and Roman Catholic population. Both countries have suffered from occupation by a powerful neighbour in their recent history. The effects of homophily were also a finding in the Almeida et al. (2015) paper on recruiter decision making, where, in certain traditional sectors, the closer the cultural link between host country recruiter and migrant applicant, the less discrimination reported in recruiting practices. Their findings posited, “employers are not primarily driven by a human capital lens during the recruitment process” (Almeida et al., 2015, p.1950), but by a wide range of diverse factors, including organisational type, ethnicity of applicants and culture.

The current skilled migrant literature tends to suffer from largely consisting of a narrative of male migration (Webb, 2015a). While the existing research on skilled female migrants suggests that migration has an adverse effect on their working life (Salaff and Greve, 2006; Sethi and Williams, 2015) and is damaging to their careers (Van den Bergh and Du Plessis, 2012), little is known concerning their career development and expectations (Al Ariss and Özbilgin, 2010). Despite this dearth in the literature, migrant marginalisation and withdrawal from the host country labour markets is shown to have a strong gendered aspect (Aure, 2013), with the issue of gender portrayed by a number of scholars as an extra barrier faced by female migrants (Cooke, 2007). While it is recognised that skilled migrants of both genders have problems in securing work commensurate with their skills, Syed and Murray (2009) find that skilled female migrants face more complex issues and challenges. Skilled female migrants’ careers are more adversely affected by migration than those of skilled male migrants, with highly skilled female migrants also being underutilised in host country labour markets (Van den Bergh and Du Plessis, 2012). This would suggest that gender plays an influential role in the access skilled female migrants have to appropriate jobs and affects their employment outcomes (Ressia, 2010). This assertion was also supported by a Canadian study by Galarneau and Morissette (2008) which finds there is a clear mismatch in the earnings between male and female migrants of the same educational and experience levels.

Lack of proficiency in the host country language can also reduce the extent to which skilled migrants can use home based career capital (Fossland, 2013b). Pearson

et al. (2011) found the lower the immigrants' host language abilities the more likely they were to be underemployed, with language competency found to be hugely important for skilled employment (Giampapa and Canagarajah, 2017). Syed (2008) finds that migrants from an English speaking background, working in an English-speaking host country enjoyed higher levels of income compared to migrants with a non-English speaking background. On the other hand, Ellis (2013) found that many skilled migrants, if they speak multiple or rare languages, find their linguistic skills a greater initial asset than academic capital or experience. Using their language skills to work as an interpreter was found to be a common use of capital by migrants in pursuit of employment (Ellis, 2013). Interpretation work was also found to help "bridge the social, economic and cultural aspects of capital" (Al Ariss and Syed, 2011, p.153) enabling the migrant to develop social capital with the host community, while maintaining links and connections to their home community.

For many skilled migrants the accreditation and recognition of their foreign qualifications is a major barrier to, or cause of delay in, resuming their professional career in the host country (Subedi and Rosenberg, 2016). The difficulties faced by migrants in making a transition from a professional identity gained in one country to the context of another has long been well documented in the literature (Fernando and Cohen, 2017; Wagner and Childs, 2006), and remains an issue in the contemporary literature (Novak and Chen, 2013). Employers frequently regard migrants' foreign qualifications and work experience, particularly from developing countries, as less creditable and of a lower standard than local qualifications and work experience (Syed, 2008; Webb, 2015b). This devaluation of a migrant's home based qualifications and experience is referred to as 'skills discounting' (Dietz et al., 2015), and results in migrant underemployment or unemployment (Fang et al., 2013). Certain trades and occupations are classed as regulated occupations, and are thus governed by national laws. In many cases professional bodies, acting as gatekeepers, are authorised to set entry requirements and standards of practice and issue licences to practice to those applicants deemed qualified. However, Novak and Chen (2013) found that these "gatekeepers to the professions" have raised biased structural barriers that delay or stop skilled migrants from being able to practice in their qualified occupation (Fang et al., 2013). Many of these professional organisations and bodies, "such as law and accountancy, target individuals [as future employees] who have graduated from prestigious universities" (Fernando and Cohen, 2017, p.2184) and possess desirable

traits or attributes (Alvesson and Robertson, 2006). Fernando and Cohen (2017), in their study on class-based closure in Sri Lanka, find practices such as these further limit the social and career mobility of individuals due to their gender, class, ethnicity etc. (Fernando and Cohen, 2017). Such barriers and discriminatory practices of certain professional regulatory bodies, such as medicine, law and engineering, have “consistently been identified in the literature as barriers to skilled migrants” (Novak and Chen, 2013, p.11).

The migrant’s own motivations, expectations, attitude and attributes can also create career barriers or contribute to poor employment outcomes. Many new migrants lack confidence in their own abilities, such as in their language skills, leading to barriers to their career development (Al Ariss, 2010; Aure, 2013; Bahn, 2015; Harvey, 2012; Syed and Murray, 2009), while others did not initially intend to obtain skilled employment (Al Ariss et al., 2012). Other research also found that while many migrants considered themselves underemployed, their host country employment and wage expectations were met in what they considered a fair manner (Cross and Turner, 2012). Migrants were also found to seek low skilled but well paid (compared to wages in home country) work due to the pressure to find work as quickly as possible in order to provide for their family, as was the case with many of the migrants from the accession countries when they first migrated to Ireland (Pearson et al., 2011).

The review of the extant literature illustrates how a migrant’s career cannot be studied separately from “the relationships and social supports that relate to all other aspects of their lives in the host country” (Zikic et al., 2010, p.676). Research shows that network ties are important for migrants’ career development (Al Ariss and Syed, 2011, Bjerregaard, 2014, Suto, 2008, Tharmaseelan et al., 2010, Van den Bergh and Du Plessis, 2012). Skilled migrants’ networks are typically based around their home country (Zikic, 2015), but Tharmaseelan et al. (2010) found many migrants’ pre-migration networks hold little value in the host country. Thus many migrants, particularly newly arrived, resort to informal networks in their own national community (Turchick-Hakak et al., 2010, Zikic, 2015). Centring oneself around a social network based on people from their home country or region may be beneficial to a skilled migrant in the early stages of migration, such as the settlement and adjustment stage. However, the lack of a network among host country nationals is found to have a long-term detrimental effect on the skilled migrant’s career (Hakak and Al Ariss, 2013b).

Furthermore, the dependency on home country nationals can lead to ghettoisation (Pearson et al., 2011), isolation and lack of proper integration (Zikic et al., 2010).

A number of studies deal with how migrants confront and deal with the career barriers they find in the host country. For this researcher, three particular studies' findings were of influence to the study. The Al Ariss (2010) study of 43 skilled Lebanese migrants in France identified four modes of engagement (Duberley et al. 2006b; Richardson, 2009) utilised by "internationally mobile professionals in managing barriers to their career development" (Al Ariss, 2010, p.338). Modes of engagement (Duberley et al. 2006b) are orientations that individuals choose to help them to manage contextual influences and barriers to their careers, such as social institutions and structures. The Al Ariss (2010) study, building on previous work by Duberley et al. (2006b) and Richardson (2009), shows that individuals either "maintained the existing social structures, attempted to transform them" (Al Ariss, 2010, p.339) or avoided them in their efforts to manage the contextual influences facing them. The four modes of engagement identified by the Al Ariss (2010) study are maintenance, transformation, entrepreneurship, and opt out. The maintenance mode sees the migrants accepting the barriers to their career and "working within them in order to obtain a desired career outcome" (Al Ariss, 2010, p.349). The transformation mode involves the migrants attempting to alter the barriers to their career, while the entrepreneurship mode sees the migrants developing their own business in an attempt to avoid host country career barriers (Al Ariss, 2010). Finally, the opt-out mode occurs when migrants are "confronted with obstacles which push them to operate outside existing structures" (Al Ariss, 2010, p.352), therefore avoiding confronting the barriers.

In a career study of 45 qualified immigrants in Canada, Spain and France, Zikic et al (2010) identified three career orientations among the sample. This study rejects the dualism approach of subjective or objective careers and adopts an interdependent approach on how the immigrants managed both their physical (objective) and psychological (subjective) mobility during their "self-initiated international career transitions" (Zikic et al., 2010, p.667). The career orientations identified are patterned behaviours described by the sample in how they made sense of and responded to "objective career experiences and how these orientations reflected the interplay between individual action and the range of contextual constraints" (Zikic et al., 2010, p.674). The three career orientations identified were adaptive, embracing, and resisting orientations. Zikic et al's (2010) adaptive career orientation, as with the Al Ariss (2010)

maintenance mode, sees migrant career actors crafting careers to suit the host country's labour market, "navigating and managing their new careers" (Zikic et al., 2010, p.678) as they learn to adapt to the host country labour market. The embracing career orientation (Zikic et al., 2010) develops when the skilled migrant, who is motivated and ambitious, is driven by the will to succeed and take advantage of career opportunities offered in the host country. The third of Zikic et al's career orientations, which is resisting (Zikic et al., 2010), sees "the migrant emphasising on what they perceive as objective career boundaries which they consider impossible to overcome" (Zikic et al., 2010, p.678). This third outcome bears similarities to Al Ariss's (2010) opting out mode of engagement, where the migrant simply gives up on their career development in the host country.

Pearson et al. (2011) created a "typology of four psychological responses to employment status" which was based on migrant's "sense of professional identity and experience of dissonance" (Pearson et al., 2011, p.102). The four psychological responses are satisficing, struggling, striving and succeeding. Satisficing generally means the migrant "remains out of skilled employment in their field of education: however.... feels content in doing so" (Pearson et al., 2011, p.110). The second response, struggling, portrays the migrant as "unsatisfied with their employment situation, as it does not provide them with the status and professional identity they are seeking. They may feel sadness, shame, guilt and loss" (Pearson et al., 2011, p.110). The third psychological response, striving, is "a state in which immigrants experience higher professional identity but also higher dissonance. Typically, they are in skilled employment and feel somewhat satisfied with their current position; however, they have a desire to further develop their careers" (Pearson et al., 2011, p.110). Finally the psychological response of succeeding, which is a "state in which immigrants feel a high sense of professional identity and low dissonance. Generally, they are working in a job that is commensurate with their qualifications and experience that also provides opportunity for future career success" (Pearson et al., 2011, p.110).

In the literature's current conceptualisation of skilled migrant careers, their careers generally emerge as challenging experiences, leading to underemployment, skills atrophy and downward career mobility (Ramboarison-Lalao et al., 2012, p.116). While the skilled migrant workforce is portrayed as embodying a significant resource of skills that can provide a solution to skills shortages in specific sectors, the 'skilled migration equation' (Wagner and Childs, 2006, p.49) is not this simple (Wagner and

Childs, 2006), with skilled migrants easily slipping into the skills gaps where their skills and experience are best suited. The literature portrays the reality, for some migrants, as very different, with evidence of negative outcomes underemployment (Pearson et al., 2011), discrimination (Hakak and Al Ariss, 2013b), and structural barriers (Connell and Burgess, 2009). However, studies such as Al Ariss (2010), Pearson et al. (2011) and Zikic et al., (2010) provide examples of how skilled migrants manage both their physical and psychological career mobility during their career transition from home to host country.

The next chapter, Chapter Three, unpacks and rationalizes the choice of theoretical and conceptual frameworks that facilitated the analysis of the data collected for this study.

Chapter Three – Theoretical Frameworks

“Blind commitment to a theory is not an intellectual virtue: it is an intellectual crime.”

from *The Methodology of Scientific Research Programmes* (1978)

by the Hungarian philosopher Imre Lakatos.

This chapter details and unpacks the theories and concepts that were utilised by the researcher as explanatory aids for interpreting and conceptualising the career narratives collected from the 38 interviewees during this study. The research is crafted in a reflexive style that exposes the researcher's influence (Watson, 1994) and utilises theory triangulation (Carter et al., 2014) in its interpretation of the findings. Theory triangulation (Carter et al., 2014) is the use of different theories to analyse and interpret data, and to assist in supporting or refuting findings. However, it is important to state that the use of various theories and concepts is only recommended when the researcher can be assured that the robustness and probity of the overall research remains intact (Watson, 1997). In this study of the career actions and outcomes of skilled migrants, concepts that could support a deep and rich analysis of the subject have been utilised. The specific theoretical frameworks found to be important during the study's analysis were: career structuration (Barley, 1989; Duberley et al., 2006a; Duberley et al., 2006b), career anchors (Schein, 1977; Schein, 1990; Schein, 1996), career types (such as Arthur and Rousseau's 1996 concept of the boundaryless career), sense making (Weick, 1995, Weick et al., 2005) and Bourdieu's (1986) forms of capital. The primary theory that helped frame the findings of this in-depth qualitative study is an adaptation of Barley's (1989) model of career structuration, which has its origins in Giddens (1984) structuration theory and the career research of Hughes and the Chicago School of Sociology (Barley, 1989).

It is important at this stage to acknowledge that there are a large number of theories for researchers to utilise in their respective studies. The theories outlined here are those, which this researcher believes, can provide effective and efficient lenses through which to examine and unpack the career motivations, actions and outcomes of my sample population. The chosen theories helped focus attention on pertinent aspects of the study and provided a framework within which to conduct analysis of the interviews, create findings, understandings and find the contributions of the study (Reeves et al., 2008).

The following sections unpack the theories utilised in this study and discuss their utility for understanding the career actions and outcomes of the sample population.

3.1 Traditional and Contemporary Career Theory

In the academic literature there is no one agreed definition of what a career is, while the existing literature and understanding of careers has developed from wide ranging disciplinary and theoretical backgrounds (Leung, 2008), as well as from social science perspectives (Arthur et al., 1989). However, the career literature does detail two primary career perspectives: the traditional and contemporary perspectives.

In the traditional, or organisational (Kanter, 2007), career model, the nature and notion of a career is based on a hierarchical, highly ordered and rigid structure (Baruch, 2004), containing “a clear, unidimensional or linear direction of prescribed ‘advancement’; meaning promotion”, with career success generally viewed in objective terms (Baruch, 2004, p.60). The traditional career as described above is akin to the form of career that Kanter (1989) identified as the “Bureaucratic career” (Kanter, 1989, p.509), which Inkson described as Kanter’s term for an organisational career (Inkson, 2007). In a macro-perspective on careers, Kanter identified three primary career forms (Arthur and Rousseau, 1996). These are the Bureaucratic career which is defined hierarchical advancement, the Professional career where craft and skill are key defining features, with knowledge and reputation considered as key resources and the Entrepreneurial career where the creation of new value or organisational capacity is key (Arthur and Rousseau, 1996; Kanter, 1994).

Kanter described the bureaucratic career as being “defined by the logic of advancement” and involving “a sequence of positions in a formally defined hierarchy of other positions” (Kanter, 1989, p.509). A “career consists of formal movement from job to job – changing title, tasks and often work groups in the process” (Kanter, 1989, p.509) with all career actions and outcomes focused within the employing organisation. It is the organisation that determines the career, which is usually done through its career development system (Inkson, 2007). This process facilitates the individual’s hierarchical progress. Kanter’s characteristics of a bureaucratic career, as in being hierarchical, controlled by formal organisation, clearly defined divisions etc., all bear strong resemblances to the characteristics that Weber used when defining a bureaucracy (Kanter, 1989; Weber, 1947). Traditional careers have experienced an upheaval in contemporary times. However, they are still very evident in stable and orderly organisations, such as public service departments.

On the other hand, contemporary careers provide an alternative perspective, presenting current careers as dynamic, less predictable, and boundaryless (Lips-

Wiersma and Hall, 2007). Contemporary careers underline that it is the individual who bears primary responsibility for the planning and managing of their own careers. A mixture of traditional and contemporary careers was apparent in the narratives of the respondents in this study, with boundaryless and protean careers the dominant contemporary career concepts emerging in the narratives. However, neither of the above perspectives conceptualise 'the individual as acting in a broad life context, constrained by family or personal life factors or events beyond the individual's control' (Lee et al., 2011, p.1533), where their individual agency may be limited by personal circumstances. Despite the agential focus of contemporary careers, workers are 'bounded' by broader contexts, like the economy or society (Rodrigues and Guest, 2010); just as skilled migrants, while displaying physical 'boundaryless' in the act of migrating, their career may become bounded by a lack of qualification recognition (Saunders, 2015).

3.1.1 Traditional Careers

Careers were once characterised by strict hierarchical structures and functioned in a stable environment and an individual's career tended to play out within one or two organisations' boundaries (Inkson, 2007). The foundation of the traditional career is built on mutually beneficial exchanges. The employee provides performance, commitment and loyalty and, from the organisation, receives job security and possible movement upwards through the organisation's hierarchy (Guest and Rodrigues, 2012). With the traditional career model the nature and notion of a career is based on a hierarchical, highly ordered and rigid structure (Baruch, 2004). The model has "a clear, uni-dimensional or linear direction of prescribed "advancement"; this meant promotion" (Baruch, 2004, p.60). Wilensky (1961) in describing a career as a "succession of related jobs, arranged in a hierarchy of prestige, through which persons move in an ordered (more or less predictable) sequence" (Wilensky, 1961, p.523) clearly describes what we now term as the traditional career model. This career model is exemplified in many cultures by a conventional public service career path, where career paths are typified by "security of tenure and lifelong employment" (McDonald et al., 2005, p.110). Success is measured in objective terms and, as a result, traditional career success is measured by objective achievements, such as progress up the corporate ladder or wage increases (Joseph et al., 2012). Stability of structure and clarity of career ladders implies clear career paths, which are mostly "linear" (Baruch,

2004). However, it is important to note that not “only does the organisational career still exist, but it is also still relevant and desirable to many” (Clarke, 2012, p.684). “Many of today’s managers continue to enjoy, and to prefer, long periods where their careers are unambiguously organisational, though not always in the mode suggested by early organisational career theorists” (Clarke, 2012, p.684).

3.1.2 Contemporary Careers

The world of work is becoming increasingly dynamic, complex and mobile (Grier-Reed and Conkel-Ziebell, 2009), and given this unpredictable and ever changing environment, many employees no longer expect, or sometimes want, the job for life with the one organisation, nor the linear, hierarchical progression up the corporate ladder (Eby et al., 2003). Today employees are facing job loss, retraining or lateral job movement (both within and across organisations) and career interruptions (Arthur and Rousseau, 1996). Boundary crossing, whether between organisations, occupations, regions etc., has become more common as a feature in many peoples’ careers (Inkson, 2007).

The decline of the traditional organisational career created the need for new theories and models to study and understand careers with (Briscoe et al., 2006). The two most popular and studied models that have emerged in this research’s interviews, and from the reviewed literature, are the protean career (Hall, 1976) and the boundaryless career (Arthur and Rousseau, 1996), which are detailed next. While some interviewees described minor aspects of their career development that resembled other less prominent contemporary career models, such as the authentic career, they were not salient to the interviewees’ career narratives.

3.1.3 The Protean Career

The concept of the protean career (Hall, 1976, 2002) comes from Proteus, a Greek sea-god from Homer’s *Odyssey*, who could change in form as the situation demanded (Inkson, 2007). The metaphor is appropriate as the person with a protean career mind-set adjusts and changes “shape” as the occasion demands. The protean career is the more subjective of the two main contemporary career models apparent in the interviews. The protean career is more concerned with internal career dimensions when making career decisions or taking career actions, whereas the other prominent

contemporary career model, the boundaryless career, is more impacted and concerned with objective career factors (Hall and Harrington, 2004). Hall (2004) describes a protean career as “a career that is self-determined, driven by personal values rather than organisational rewards, and serving the whole person and “life purpose” (Hall, 2004, p.2). The protean career is “a contract with oneself, rather than with the organisation” (Hall, 1996, p. 10), with the person’s career actions being value driven and self-directed (Inkson, 2006). This fact, that the protean career is driven by the individual and their values, is the main differentiating factor between the protean career and both the traditional career (organisational driven and objective) and the boundaryless career (individual/organisation driven and subjective/objective). The protean career is centred on the “conception of psychological success resulting from individual career management” (Briscoe et al., 2006, p.31). The individually defined goals are subjective in nature and encompass the individual’s whole life, not just career.

Hall (2004) identified two competencies that help individuals become more protean, which are adaptability and self-awareness. Self-awareness and understanding are vital for a person with the values-driven nature of a protean career; this ensures a solid personal foundation on which to develop their career path. While adaptability involves the capacity to change career and work patterns, which allows the individual to succeed in a number of varied contexts. The protean career mind-set acts as a compass in providing direction for an individual on this changing and flexible career path. Understanding who one is and knowing one’s values, needs, goals and interests are vital for those with a protean mind-set.

3.1.4 The Boundaryless Career

The decline of the traditional organisational career was the catalyst for Arthur and Rousseau (1996) to review and rethink what a contemporary career is and what it entails. The boundaryless career was the concept that emerged from the review. The boundaryless career (Arthur and Rousseau, 1996) is defined as a “multifaceted phenomenon that encompasses and transcends various boundaries and levels of analysis—physical and psychological, objective and subjective” (Briscoe and Hall, 2006, p.6), with the individual taking more responsibility for their own career development. The concept has dual mobility: physical mobility — actual movement between jobs, employers, locations and nations, and psychological mobility — perceptions of career and structures, and how much one can transcend, be constrained

by, them (Sullivan and Arthur, 2006). Success is measured in both subjective and objective terms. In their work on boundaryless careers, Arthur and Rousseau (1996), when describing the boundaryless concept, detail six meanings:

1. Movement across the boundaries of separate employers.
2. Drawing validation from outside the present employer.
3. Sustained by “external” networks or information.
4. Breaking traditional organisational career boundaries.
5. Rejection of traditional career opportunities for personal or family reasons
6. Perceiving a boundaryless future despite structural constraints. (Sullivan and Arthur, 2006).

From these meanings, particularly points 5 and 6, the boundaryless career concept seems more suitable for understanding the careers of some of the interviewed skilled migrants. The rejection of traditional career opportunities for personal or family reasons (something common to a majority of the interviewees for this study) seems to be contrary to the constant hierarchical movement associated with the traditional career model. In addition, the effort and resilience displayed by the interviewees in crafting a new host country career (even when not in an area associated with their original home country career), despite many barriers, fits with the boundaryless career concept.

However there are issues with the boundaryless career concept for this study, “the term most often refers to movements across physical boundaries of separate organisations” (Carbery, 2013, p.164), a meso level movement, as opposed to the international boundary crossing of skilled migrants. The crossing of international boundaries entails a change in field at a higher, macro level which, for migrants, has been found to have a negative effect on their capital (such as Berry and Bell, 2012; Crowley-Henry and Al Ariss, 2016; Nangia, 2013; Papadopoulos, 2017, Pearson et al., 2011). The inherent “individual agency and free choice” (Saunders, 2011, p.61) that is emphasised in both the boundaryless and protean careers is perhaps “more relevant to corporate employees” (Saunders, 2011, p.61) rather than skilled migrants. This view of agency and free choice seems to neglect, or underestimate, the effects of areas such as national structures, institutional rules and profession gatekeepers (Forrier et al., 2009). This lack of emphasis on the influence of an individual’s position within their cultural and professional fields (Tams and Arthur, 2010; Valette and Culié, 2015) has led to the boundaryless career being “considered as presenting only a partial vision of careers” (Valette and Culié, 2015, p.1746). Thomas and Inkson (2007) posit that while the

boundaryless and protean careers may make sense in, and may easily traverse across, corporate circles, they may not as easily cross national and cultural barriers. Having said that, one paper, by Cao et al. (2012), on SIE career success embraces skilled individuals from both developed (SIEs) and developing economies (skilled migrants) “who expatriate themselves for boundaryless careers” (Cao et al., 2012, p.161). Overall, the traditional, protean and boundaryless perspectives do not conceptualise individuals as acting in their overall life context, which can be “constrained by family, life or events beyond the individual’s control” (Lee et al., 2011, p.1533).

3.2 Career Anchors

Career anchors (Cerdin and Pargneux, 2010) guide an individual’s career decisions. Schein (1978, 1990) developed the concept of career anchors from his study of alumni members of the Sloan School of Management, the business school of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Schein explored how personality, motivation and values affected the individuals’ preferred career options and actions. He used the metaphor of an anchor to illustrate this effect, which he described as pulling people towards a definite career type during their overall career. Despite the apparent homogeneity of the Sloan School sample, Schein found a lot of variation in the career anchors of the sample. He described a career anchor as “that one element in an individual’s self-concept that he or she will not give up, even in the face of difficult choices” (Schein, 1990, p.18). Schein (1996) describes self-concept as consisting of “self-perceived talents and abilities, basic values, and, most importantly, the evolved sense of motives and needs as they pertain to the career” (Schein, 1996, p.80). Career anchors develop as the individual gains vocational experience, with the individual’s early career stage an important time of learning (Schein, 1990). When an individual’s self-concept is formed “it functions as a stabilizing force, an anchor, and can be thought of as the values and motives that the individual will not give up if forced to make a choice” (Schein, 1996, p.80). A career anchor has three components: (1) self-perceived talent and abilities, (2) self-perceived motives and needs, and (3) self-perceived concept attitudes and values (Schein, 1990). Through these components Schein (1990) explores how individuality, motivation and values affect career choices and preferences, and pull individuals towards certain, preferred job roles and occupations during their career. However, Schein contends most individuals are unaware of their anchors, or their effect, until the time comes to make a decision about one’s development, family life,

career etc. (Schein, 1996). Schein's original research revealed that most individual's self-concepts centred on five categories of anchor, which reflected basic values, motivations and self-needs. These categories are: 1. Autonomy/independence; 2. Security/stability; 3. Technical-functional competence; 4. General Managerial Competence; and 5. Entrepreneurial Creativity. In a later, wider ranging study of the concept Schein identified three further anchors: 6. Service or Dedication to a Cause; 7. Pure Challenge; and 8. Life Style. Suutari and Taka (2004) added a new career anchor to Schein's concept. Their research found that individuals with global careers had a new anchor, which they named Internationalism. They found this anchor to be the more dominant career anchor among assigned expatriate (AEs) managers.

The talent-based anchors covered the technical/functional competence, general managerial competence and entrepreneurial creativity; the need-based anchors covered autonomy and independence, security and stability and lifestyle; and finally the value-based anchors covered dedication to a cause and pure challenge. Feldman and Bolino's typology (1996) suggests that the eight anchors can be distinguished by relating to the centrality of the three categories - talents, needs or values – which they see as most likely to influence the different career outcomes (Feldman and Bolino, 1996).

Schein's concept of career anchors has made a major contribution to how we conceptualise the development of a stable career identity (Feldman and Bolino, 1996). However, Suutari and Taka (2004) state that the career anchor theory has several limitations, while Feldman and Bolino (1996) call for the empirical validation of the career anchor classification as it requires future attention due to the inconsistency of results in empirical studies to date (Feldman and Bolino, 1996, Suutari and Taka, 2004).

Feldman and Bolino (1996) proposed a classification of Schein's eight career anchors into three meta-categories: talent-based anchors, the need-based anchors and the value-based anchors. For a typology of the original and revised list of career anchors see Table 3.1 on the following page.

In a revisiting of his career anchor concept, Schein (1996) discovered “there has been a marked shift in what workers tended to identify their anchors to be” (Schein, 1996, p.81). The anchor that has shown the greatest degree of change is the lifestyle anchor, with Schein (1996) suggesting the rationale for this was a “growing number (of workers) were in dual career situations and defined their careers as part of a larger ‘life system’. They have to integrate two careers and two sets of personal and family concerns into a coherent overall pattern, best described as a particular life style”

(Schein, 1996, p.82). This growing popularity of the lifestyle anchor was also noted in a study of the career anchors of AEs and SIEs by Cerdin and Pargneux (2010). They found the lifestyle anchor to be the most common career anchor in a survey of over 300 AEs and SIEs.

Table 3.1. Career Anchor Typology

Career Anchor	Feldman and Bolino (1996) Conceptualisation	Description
Technical/Functional Competence	Talent Based Anchors	Individual is excited by their work, desires promotion and advancement in their area of expertise. Has a disdain for and a fear of general management, views management as being too political.
Managerial Competence		Individual is excited by the opportunity to evaluate and solve problems under conditions of incomplete information and uncertainty. Enjoys organising people in order to achieve common goals; stimulated by stressful crisis.
Entrepreneurial Creativity		Motivated by the need to build or create something that is entirely their own project. Easily bored, likes to move from project to project.
Security/Stability	Need Based Anchors	Motivated by long-term stability and job security. Loyalty is important. As a conformist, he/she tends to dislike and avoid travel, change or relocation.
Autonomy/Independence		Motivated by work situations that are mainly free of organisational constraints. Desires the freedom to set own schedule and place of work. Prepared to sacrifice career events like promotion, advancement etc. in order to maintain or achieve independence.
Lifestyle		Motivated by the need to balance lifestyle and work life. Seeks to integrate the needs of the self, the family and the career. Seeks flexibility and an organisation that understands this desire for balance.
Pure Challenge	Value Based Anchors	Motivated by challenge, and pursues challenging roles for the sake of challenge. Motivated to overcome major obstacles, solve almost unsolvable problems, or win out over extremely tough opponents.
Service and Dedication to a Cause		Motivated by values, a desire to improve the world in some way. Desires to align work activities with personal values. Concerned with finding jobs that meet their values.
Internationalism	Desire for an international career is motivation. Excited by working in international environment; prefers their development to take place in an international environment and thus, enhance career opportunities; seeks out new experiences through getting to know unfamiliar countries and different cultures. Suutari and Taka (2004).	

The Suutari and Taka (2004) study of international managers also had a similar outcome, where nearly 40% of the sample population viewed the lifestyle anchor as most important. These findings are in direct opposition to Schein’s theory, which states

the lifestyle anchor is not favourable to those seeking international experience or careers. Yet, the Cerdin and Pargneux (2010) and Suutari and Taka (2004) results show exactly the opposite, this may be because “the items corresponding to the lifestyle anchor reflect an attachment to achieving balance between work and personal/family life. As it turns out, according to these results, individuals might perceive expatriation as a way of achieving this” (Cerdin and Pargneux, 2010, p.296). A balance of work/life and family concerns were also cited as possible reasons for the lifestyle anchor being the most common career anchor in the Suutari and Taka (2004) study. These findings are of interest to this study as lifestyle, family and work/life balance are very prominent drivers of the migration and career decisions in the career narratives collected for this study.

Another issue with the theory for this research is the notion that individuals only have a single stable dominant career anchor. Schein (1990; 1996) argues that once an individual has gained some work experience, they will focus on one of the eight career anchors and that this focus continues for the rest of the individual’s working life (Kniveton, 2004). Schein states an individual’s anchors may appear to change as they gain more work and life experience, which leads to greater self-discovery, but he still maintains that there is one dominant anchor. However, several researchers have called into question the logic of the one dominant anchor (Cerdin and Pargneux, 2010; Feldman and Bolino, 1996; Martineau, Wils and Tremblay, 2005; Suutari and Taka, 2004; Unal and Gizar, 2014; Wils et al., 2014; Yarnall, 1998), and posit that career orientations can change with age and due to external influences (Yarnall, 1998). Feldman and Bolino (1996) state that it is possible for individuals to have both primary and secondary career anchors. For those with multiple career anchors, an important factor to consider is whether those career anchors are complementary or mutually inconsistent (Feldman and Bolino, 1996), i.e. whether it is possible to find a job which fulfils either or all preferences (Suutari and Taka, 2004). This researcher also questions Schein’s single dominant anchor contention, with the narratives of the EU10 migrants displaying an apparent change in what appears to ‘anchor’ the migrant’s career in the host country when compared to the home country anchor.

3.3 Career Structuration Theory

Careers were once viewed as either extrinsic, observable events, with the career actor a vague character lurking in the background (Duberley et al., 2006a), or as subjective,

intrinsic concepts, unseen and unaffected by social structures (Gunz, 1989). The evolution of the contemporary career has drawn attention to the weakness of this dichotomous view and its reductionist leanings, which fail to account for the inter-related connection between individual agency and social structures in careers (Duberley et al., 2006a). This intertwined relationship is important to this study as the skilled migrants' narratives contain stories of the effects of social structures on the career actions and outcomes of the interviewees in both the home and host country. The narratives also contain tales of personal agency as the interviewees attempted to surmount the structural barriers they encountered, not always successfully.

This research offers a new multi-stage career transition model, which has its foundations in the Duberley et al (2006a; 2006b) adaptation of Barley's (1989) model of career structuration as a "sensitising device" (Duberly et al., 2006a, p.1131). The Duberley et al's (2006a; 2006b) adaptation of Barley's (1989) model of career structuration "encourages us to look at what individuals see as the contexts in which they operate, how they account for their own agency and how they describe the relationship between the two in telling their career stories" (Duberly et al., 2006a, p.1131). Career structuration theory was developed by Stephen Barley (1989) as an aggregation of Giddens structuration theory and Hughes and the Chicago School of Sociology's conception of career (Hartl, 2003). To enable a better appreciation of the utility of Barley's model of career structuration in this research the following sections will briefly outline its development from the work of the Chicago School of Sociology on career and Giddens' work on structure and agency.

3.3.1 Chicago School's sociology of careers

The Chicago School of Sociology, under Everett C. Hughes, was among the first to utilise career as a concept to study social organisation (Barley, 1989). By studying a wide variety of careers, such as the careers of public school teachers (Becker, 1956) and funeral directors (Habenstein, 1954), they were among the pioneers who broadened the concept of career. They took a more holistic approach and moved career studies out beyond the then common practice of concentrating on just professional 'careers' (Barley, 1989). Career came to be utilised as a concept for studying the social strands of an actor's passage through life, such as Goffman's "The moral careers of mental patients" (Goffman, 1959) and Becker's study of the careers of marijuana users (Becker, 1953). They employed career concepts as heuristics with which to study a

vastly broader range of situations, than was, and to some extent still is, typical of career studies. Career “in the hands of Chicago sociologists... became a lens for peering at larger social processes known as institutions” (Barley, 1989, p.49).

Hughes, and the School of Sociology, created a “fugue-like rendition of career” (Barley, 1989, p.49), which ascribed careers with four interrelated properties:

1. Objective and subjective - Careers fuse the objective and subjective in a “Janus-like” concept that looks both ways simultaneously. Janus was a Roman god of transitions with two faces, which looked to the future and past, at beginnings and ends, and events like war and peace (Forsythe, 2012). The objective face of career is its institutional forms, such as position, status and title; the structural or public aspects of career (Barley, 1989). The subjective face of career is the meanings career actors attribute to their careers, it is how the actor makes sense of their career actions and outcomes (Stebbins, 1970), such as in the tales or narratives the individual tells to lend coherence to their career and life (Barley, 1989).

2. Careers are Status Passages - Leaning on anthropology, where status passages are ritual occasions such as a birth or marriage, the Chicago School uses the term to denote a transition, one which is not formally mandated or socially celebrated (Strauss, 1968), from one status to another. “This transition might occur imperceptively” (Barley, 1989, p.50), such as when an academic lecturer realises his role has evolved from an educational role into more of an administrative function. The status passage is seen as a turning point in a career, which causes the career actor to have a fundamental identity shift (Glaser and Strauss, 1971) and may be very unpredictable.

3. Careers are properties of collectives - The Chicago School shifted attention on the individual career actor as a psychological being to one that is a social being (Barley, 1989). The career actor is less defined by their own individual traits, features etc. than they are by their membership of a certain social group or setting which contains similar career actors. This did not take away from the individual experience of career but more emphasised the impact of context. Barley uses Van Maanen’s (1977) quip, “people do not make careers, careers make people” to sum up this career property. This meant that careers need a collective of actors, following a similar path, for a career to exist and be socially recognised, which are qualities that must be present for the individual to draw a socially sanctioned identity from their career (Goffman, 1959).

4. Career is a link between individual and social structures - The Chicago School viewed career as having a recursive role in institutions. While careers were seen as the

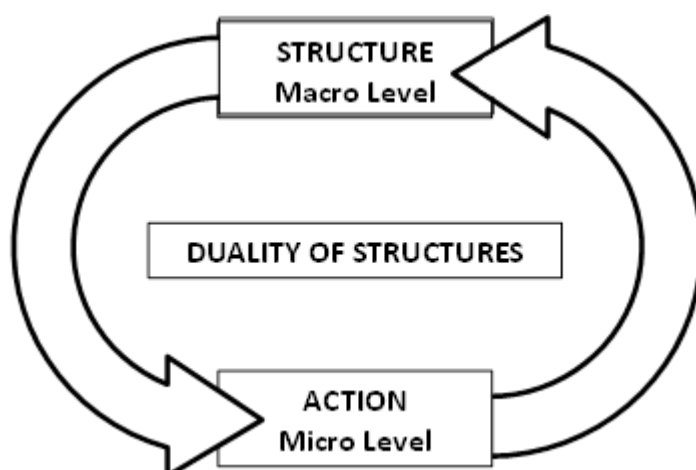
conduit through which institutions shaped individual actor’s lives, careers also ensured the institution’s existence (Barley, 1989). While the actors’ lives may have little meaning or identity outside the institutional context, the institution itself could only have a ‘reality’, an existence, through the actors’ lives that it shaped (Barley, 1989). This career property is the link between social action and social structures, linking the individual’s actions with social structures.

The Chicago School failed to synthesize their work and findings into a sociological theory of careers. Barley suggests they never fully realised that their studies were constructing “a panorama of the constitution of society itself, rather than a portrait of careers” (Barley, 1989, p.52). This vision “seemed to foreshadow Giddens’ (1979) work” (Duberley et al., 2006b, p.1133), who explicated the Chicago School vision in his 1976 work on the theory of structuration, which is outlined next.

3.3.2 Theory of Structuration

“Structuration theory provides a framework for looking at society rather than explaining how a particular society works” (Hartl. 2003, p.39). Structuration theory’s value lies in its role as a “sensitising device... maintaining awareness of the interrelationship between structure and agency” (Duberley et al., 2006b, p.285). Structuration theory’s foundational premise is that the dichotomous view of agency and structure as a dualism has to be re-conceptualised as a duality, meaning structure and agency are in a mutually dependent relationship. See figure 3.1. below for the recursive relationship between structure and agency, as per Giddens (1976).

Figure 3.1 The duality of structure and agency



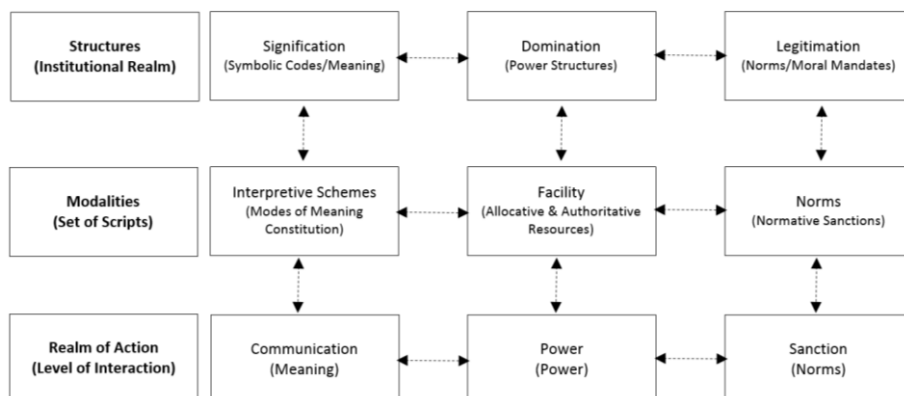
Giddens defines structures as

“The 'binding' of time-space in social systems, the properties which make it possible for discernibly similar social practices to exist across varying spans of time and space and which lend them 'systemic' form. To say that structure is a ‘Virtual order’ of transformative relations means that social systems, as reproduced social practices, do not have 'structures' but rather exhibit 'structural properties' and that structure exists, as time-space presence, only in its instantiations in such practices and as memory traces orienting the conduct of knowledgeable human agents.” (Giddens, 1984, p.17).

Agency on the other hand is an individual’s ability to act independently. Human agency, at the micro level, and social structures, the macro level, are in a relationship, a duality, where social structures are both the medium and outcome of social action. Giddens states that ‘social structures are both constituted by human agency, and yet at the same time are the very medium of this constitution’ (Giddens, 1976, p. 121). In other words our actions are made possible, and sometimes confined, by structures while at the same time our actions create, recreate and can alter these very same structures.

Giddens proposes that there are two realms of social organisation: the institutional and the interactional (Barley, 1998). See Figure 3.2 below for Giddens’s Model of Structuration.

Figure 3.2 Giddens’s Model of Structuration



The institutional and interactional realms are linked by the concept of modalities, which are the means, practical knowledge (Barley, 1998), through which the structure affects

an individual's actions, and vice versa. The institutional realm, the structure, has three dimensions which are: Signification, which is meaning, a system of symbolic codes (Barley, 1989), Domination, which are power structures or resources (Barley, 1989) and Legitimation, which are norms, rules or a "corpus of moral mandates" (Barley, 1989, p.52). The three dimensions of the institutional realm "entwine and reinforce each other" (Barley, 2998, p.52). The realm of interaction, which is "the arrangement of people, objects, and events in the minute-by-minute flow of social life's unfolding" (Barley, 1989, p.52) consists of three further dimensions: communication, power and sanction, which are informed by the institutional dimensions. The importance of this to career studies was highlighted by Barley (1998);

"If, as suggested by the Chicago sociologists, careers are abstracts of an individual's history of participation in a social collective, if career paths can be construed as plans for participating in a collective, and if careers entail dynamics that link individuals to institutions, then their [careers] role in the structuration process can be readily conceived" (Barley, 1989, p.53).

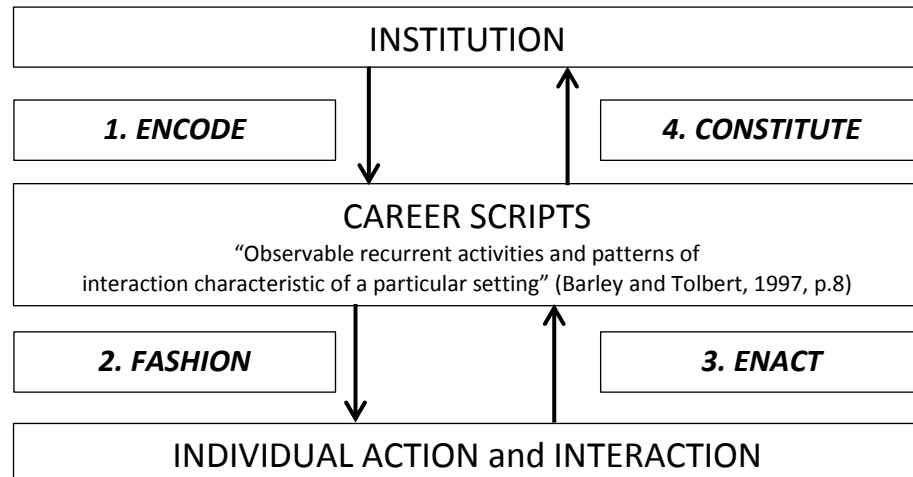
Seen through this view, careers now become mediating scripts between the structures and the career actors' actions, providing interpretive scripts, norms and rules to guide the career path through a particular social world, at a particular time. This realisation led to Barley's model of career structuration, which is the focus of the next section.

3.3.3 Barley's Model of Career Structuration

As shown above, the "power of career is that it links the individual to the organisation, and to the wider, changing world" (Duberley et al., 2006a, p.283). Many career academics have tried to capture this interrelationship, with Giddens (1984) citing Willis's (1977) work, "Learning to Labor. Working class jobs for working class kids", as an example of research on this interlinked structure and agency relationship. Despite this work, there persisted the dichotomous or dualism view, the structure versus agency and macro versus micro view in career research (Collin and Young, 2000). In his attempt to capture the relationship of structure and agency in careers, Barley's model of career structuration maintains Giddens' duality of structure and agency and "marries

it with an interpretive perspective, which sees meaning embodied in the encounters of individuals” (Duberly et al., 2006b, p.283). See Figure 3.3 below for Barley’s model of career structuration.

Figure 3.3 Barley’s model of career structuration

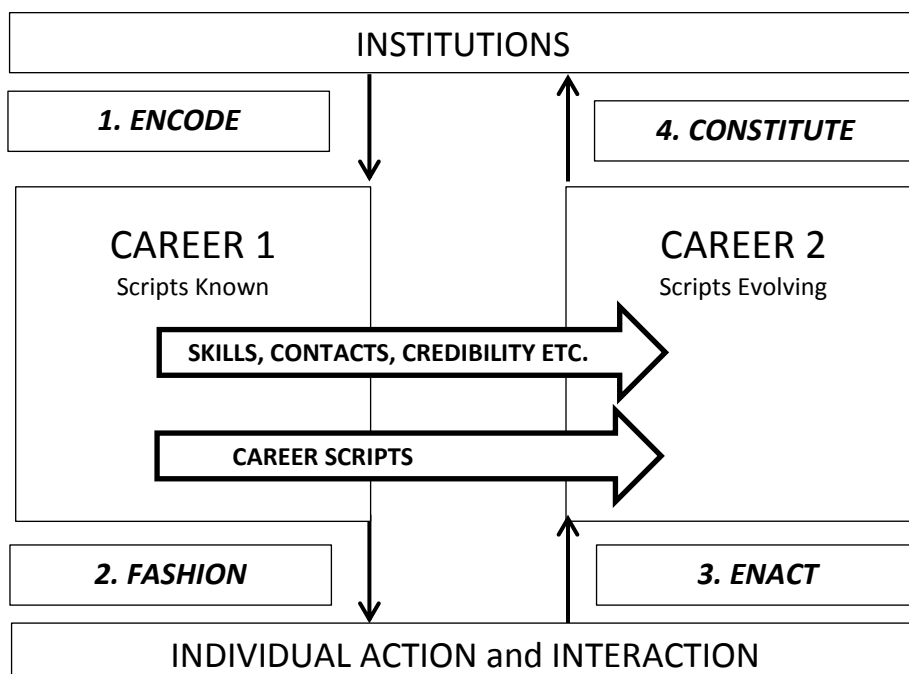


The individual’s agency and ability to act is mediated through the expression of structure in what Barley originally called “the modalities of interpretive schemes, resources and norms. These modalities are basically elements of a practical knowledge of how to act in a social world” (Duberly et al., 2006b, p.283), or career scripts which are “a set of scripts that encode contextually appropriate behaviors and perceptions” (Barley, 1989, p. 53). Barley and Tolbert later describe career scripts as “observable recurrent activities and patterns of interaction characteristic of a particular setting” (Barley and Tolbert, 1997, p.8). This definition was developed to replace what they felt was the abstract idea of modalities preferred by Giddens (1984). An example of a career script can be seen in how the institutions of the legal industry and management provide a partner (a co-owner or highly ranked person) in a legal firm with the accepted norms and career scripts, which act as an interpretive scheme to guide the partner’s actions and career (Duberly et al., 2006a).

Barley utilises Hughes’ view on institutions, with institutions being “social phenomenon in which the form of collective behavior is relatively established and permanent” (Hughes, 1937, p.6). Career scripts can be viewed as institutionally rather than individually created programmes for prescribing acceptable norms and behaviours in that institution (Arthur et al. 1999). The career scripts can come from a variety of

sources, such as industry, professional bodies, society or family (Duberly et al, 2006), such as how the legal professional will have ‘accepted’ ways of conducting business, career development, hierarchy, dressing etc. These ‘accepted’ ways are ‘encoded’ into career scripts, which in turn ‘fashion’ how the career actors act, dress and speak. However, as each career actor is an individual, they all react differently to the career scripts (Barley, 1989). This is due to each individual having different perceptions and interpretations of the scripts, which will have both intended and unintended consequences on the scripts (Giddens, 1984). This process will, maintain, challenge or change the scripts (Duberley et al., 2006b), which will reproduce or alter the institutional forms. These reinforced or altered institutional forms will, in a recursive process, be further encoded into career scripts. An example is the legal profession, where the pressure to minimise the formality and intimidatory appearance in courts, dispensed with the traditional use of gowns and wigs in some courts, such as the children’s court (Coulter, 2011). This was the altering of the career script which previously made the wearing of such dress essential for the career actors in the legal field.

Figure 3.4. Duberley et al (2006a) Model



However, in the Duberley et al. (2006a) study, the career transition remains within the same career field, the managerial field, involving a change from an

organisational-based managerial career to an independently managed managerial portfolio career. The career transition also occurs within the one country, the research subjects' home country. This limits the effects of the model, in its original form, as it did not address the effects of the individual changing career fields, culture etc. Nor does the model address the effect of international career transition, and consequently does not address the negative effects the act of moving to a host country can cause to an individual's career and career capital.

To describe the relevance of the Bourdieusian concepts of capital to this career study, and further highlight the role of structure and agency in careers, the researcher uses the Mayerhofer et al. (2004) description of utilising Bourdieu's concepts from a career perspective

“Career fields are the social context within which individual members of the work force make their moves. They are equipped with a specific portfolio of field-relevant capital and try to maintain or improve their place in the given and unfolding network of work related positions. This is done through a patterned set of practices that are enabled and constrained by the rules of the field and, in turn, contribute to the shaping of these rules. ... Habitus and field are linked in a circular relationship. Involvement in a field shapes the habitus, which, in turn, shapes the actions that reproduce the field... The actors' logic is shaped by both their habitus and requirements and logic of the game as it unfolds” (Mayerhofer et al, 2004, p873-874).

Career transitions can be viewed as the “punctuation marks in a career story” (Duberley et al., 2006a, p.285), with the transition, just like the interviewees' careers, having objective and subjective characteristics, as well as narratives containing tales of agency (career actions), structures (career fields, barriers and enablers) and capital. Thus, we see the link with structuration theory and more particularly for a career study, the Barley model (Duberley et al., 2006a).

3.4 Conclusion

This chapter has examined the theoretical concepts used in this study. The concepts enable an unpacking of the skilled migrants' career actions and outcomes in both the home and host country contexts. By utilising a multi-stage career transition model as a "sensitising heuristic" (Duberley et al., 2006b, p.1131), this study offers insights on the career actions and career outcomes of skilled migrants that occur across the career transitions between their home and host country contexts. The duality of structure and agency and its effects on the career actors' agency and outcomes are highlighted.

The next chapter, Chapter Four, documents the research methodology and design of this PhD undertaking. This necessitated a philosophical and research design journey, the rationale for which enabled the researcher to understand his philosophical underpinnings. This understanding directed the researcher in choosing the most appropriate research paradigm to answer best the research questions. An in-depth qualitative methodology (Creswell, 2007, Esterberg, 2002, Berg, 2004, Mason, 2002) was acknowledged as the more appropriate method for providing the required in-depth accounts and rich descriptions of the multifaceted phenomena (Sofaer, 1999) that is the careers of skilled migrants.

Chapter Four - Research Philosophy and Methodology

“Reality exists in the human mind, and nowhere else”

from the book ‘1984’ (1949)

by the British Author, George Orwell

This chapter shares the foundational philosophy and methodology that supported the research design, and specifies the research process considered most appropriate for undertaking the study (Easterby-Smith et al., 1991). The chapter details how this qualitative study aligns with the subjective and interpretivist sides of the objective/subjective and positivist/interpretivist research dichotomies, and adopts a constructivist epistemological perspective on the phenomenon being studied.

4.1 Craft Worker Approach to Research

This research subscribes to the Mills’ (1970) declaration that “social science is the practice of a craft” (Mills, 1970, p.215), and follows a craft worker style (Watson, 1994) to the study of the careers of skilled migrants. The craft worker approach to research is apt for an abductive study, like this one, where the findings emerge (Haig, 2005, Järvensivu and Törnroos, 2010, Reichertz, 2009, Timmermans and Tavory, 2012) as a result of the “intellectual craftwork... from the hand of an individual craft worker” (Watson, 1994, p.77). When crafting research three questions are iteratively asked and answered until the answers to the research emerge (Watson, 1994). The three questions are ‘what?’, ‘why?’ and ‘how?’ See Figure 4.1 below.

Figure 4.1. ‘What, Why and How’ Framework

<p style="text-align: center;"><u>The What?</u></p> <p>What Puzzles or intrigues me? What do I want to know more about? What do I want to understand better? What are my key research questions?</p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><u>The Why?</u></p> <p>Why will this be of interest to others? Why would this study be published? Can this research be considered as a contribution to knowledge?</p>
<p style="text-align: center;"><u>The How- Conceptually?</u></p> <p>What concepts, theories or frameworks can I draw on? How can I bring all these together in a basic conceptual framework to craft my study with?</p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><u>The How- Practically?</u></p> <p>What research methods and investigative styles shall I use in both gathering and analysing my material? How can I access the needed material, and retain access to it as long as I need to?</p>

However, Watson (1994) cautions against slavishly following the format of the questions, nor does he believe a researcher can fully and systematically follow any research design from start to finish. Watson advises researchers to craft their study as

it progresses, continuously revisiting the model as the study grows. The order of the questions is not prescriptive, and as the research progresses the questions may be revisited or restructured.

Like a traditional craft worker, working with varied materials and creating bespoke products, the qualitative researcher, working with individual narratives, crafts a reflexive style of research that “shapes the reality which it presents” (Watson, 1994, p.77). Watson’s (1994) comparison of the researcher to a picture restorer resonates with this researcher. Just as the question arises for the picture restorer of how to know when they have removed enough layers of dirt and over-painting to reveal the ‘real’ picture (Watson, 1994), the researcher must also work with material (interviews) created by others (interviewees) and craft these into what he/she considers is a ‘real’ picture of the interviewees’ lives and careers. However, this is a “mediated reality” (Watson, 1994, p.79), a reality that is interpreted by the researcher (Watson, 1994), just as a restored picture is the restorer’s interpretation of the original artist’s work. The reality presented in this study is crafted from the researcher’s interpretation of the interviewees’ sensemaking (Weick, 1995), with the interviewees’ sensemaking based on their personal and social experiences (Doolittle and Hicks, 2003). Therefore, it is important the researcher’s role in shaping the ‘reality’ that this study presents be revealed in a reflexive style of researching (Watson, 1994). This view of reality aligns the craft worker approach with the social constructivist epistemological view (Watson, 1994), which is also the epistemological view espoused by this study. What this means for the researcher, as a craft worker, is that they must be prepared to “embrace different approaches and methods” (Cunliffe, 2011, p.666), ones that are sensitive to the subtleties of everyday life and do justice to the dynamic nature of social research (Cunliffe, 2011).

4.2 Research Design Overview

Developing a research design most appropriate to the research question is central to the smooth running of any study or research project (Creswell, 2007, Denzin and Lincoln, 2011a, Mason, 2002). This provides a firm philosophical foundation and direction to the project and enhances the trustworthiness of the results (Morgan and Smircich, 1980).

The aim of social science is to understand human action and its consequences (Rosenberg, 2008). The aim of this study is to extend knowledge on skilled migrants’

career actions and outcomes (consequences). This is achieved by unpacking the impact of context on the career influences, motivations, actions and outcomes associated with skilled migrant careers (Gunz and Mayrhofer, 2007; Zikic et al., 2010). A social science study, such as this, requires a methodology that is able to reflect the uniqueness of the lived career experiences of each migrant (Bryman, 2008, p.15) and provide rich and textured data (Cunliffe, 2011) on the phenomenon that is the skilled migrant's career. This is best achieved through qualitative research, whose province "is the world of lived experience" (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005, p.8), and by exploiting in-depth exploratory career narratives. The career narratives are designed to give voice to the migrants' experiences (Harding, 2006) in constructing and making sense (Weick, 1995) of their careers in Ireland. This is not to say that aspects of career cannot be studied by a quantitative strategy. Career theories, such as protean careers, have previously been studied by looking at constituent components and developing scales to measure aspects of career, such as the Briscoe et al. (2006) empirical examination of career attitudes. However, a qualitative methodology was deemed the most appropriate for this particular study as qualitative methodologies provide a multifaceted appreciation (Cassidy et al., 2011) of the migrants' career experiences by exploring the migrants' own situated experiences.

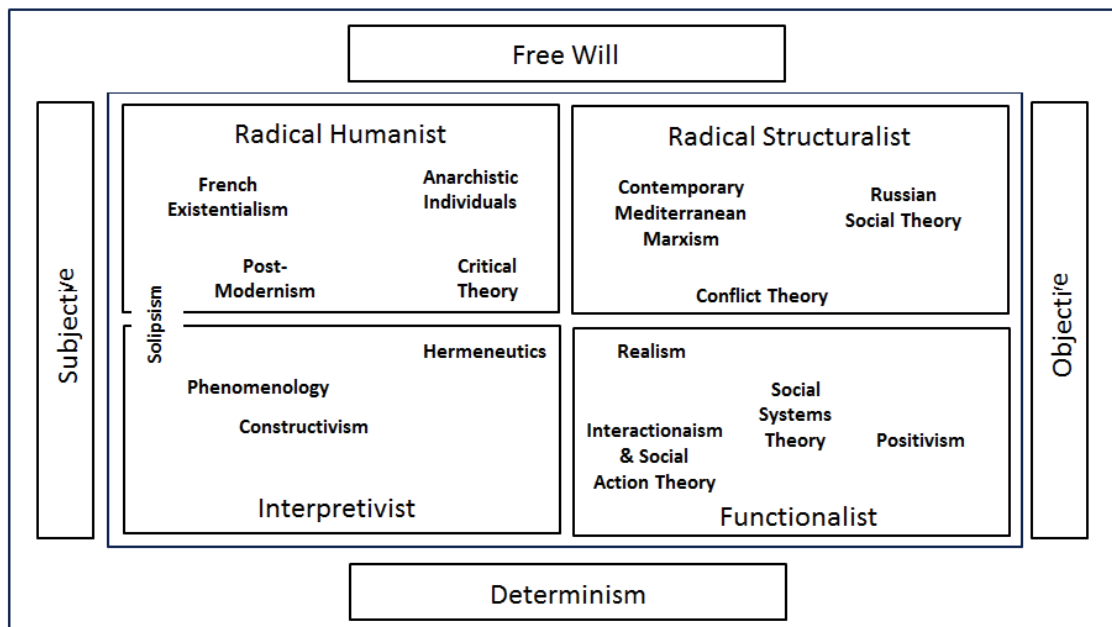
4.3 Research Philosophy

A research philosophy is a belief concerning the way in which data about a phenomenon should be gathered, analysed and used (Blaxter et al., 2006). This is central to research design, as a researcher's philosophical leanings will inform their research philosophy, which in turn will influence aspects of their research methodology (Berg, 2004, Bryman, 2008, Burrell and Morgan, 1979, Creswell, 2003, Easterby-Smith et al., 1991). The research question needs to be addressed through an appropriate philosophical lens; one that is best suited to the happening under examination (Easterby-Smith et al., 1991, Robson, 2011).

Knowledge is paradigmatic (Burrell and Morgan, 1979), with a paradigm fundamentally being a worldview, the "perspective about research held by a community of researchers that is based on a set of shared assumptions, concepts, values, and practices" (Johnson and Christensen, 2013, p.31). Arbnor and Bjerke (2008) portray paradigms as bridges that link the researcher's philosophy and their methodology. The researcher works within this worldview, with their research guided

by this basic set of beliefs (Guba, 1990). Burrell and Morgan (1979), building on the interdependent relationship that exists between ontology and epistemology, considers that social theory can usefully be conceived in terms of “four key paradigms based upon different sets of metatheoretical assumptions about the nature of social science and the nature of society” (Burrell and Morgan, 1979, viii). In their metatheoretical assumptions they combine different combinations of ontological and epistemological assumptions to describe four fundamentally different and incommensurate (Cunliffe, 2011) paradigms associated with the study of social and organisational phenomenon. The four paradigms are: radical humanist, radical structuralist, interpretivist and functionalist, see Figure 4.2 below.

Figure 4.2. Burrell and Morgan’s Four Paradigms and Associated Epistemologies



Adapted from Burrell and Morgan (1979)

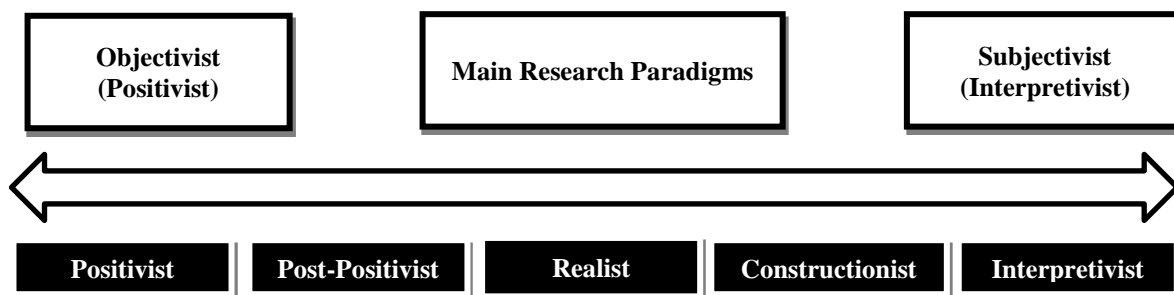
Each paradigm is founded upon mutually exclusive views of the social world (Burrell and Morgan, 1979). They state these assumptions about “the nature of science can be thought of in terms of what we call the subjective-objective dimension and assumptions about the nature of society in terms of a regulation – radical change dimension” (Burrell and Morgan, 1979, p.21). Epistemological assumptions are “assumptions about the grounds of knowledge - about how one might begin to understand the world and communicate this as knowledge to fellow human beings”

(Burrell and Morgan, 1979, p.2). Thus, a researcher’s epistemological assumptions will have a large influence on their choice of research methodology (Bryman, 2008, Creswell, 2003). While their view of the paradigms being “radically different and incommensurable” (Cunliffe, 2011) was controversial and attacked as being artificial and stultifying (Watson, 1997, Willmott, 1993), their work drew attention to the need for social science developments to be better reflected in a more “philosophically informed and diverse way” (Cunliffe, 2011, p.648) of researching social phenomena.

Building on Burrell and Morgan’s work, Morgan and Smircich (1980) developed, what they termed, “a rough typology for thinking about the various views that different social scientists hold about human beings and their world” (Morgan and Smircich, 1980, p.492). Their model is based on a continuum made up of the dichotomous ontological assumptions of objectivism and subjectivism. They had six ontological positions along their continuum, each with its own ontological, epistemological and human nature assumptions, as well as the more common research methods associated with each position.

For this study, the researcher adapted a simplified continuum from the extant work of Berg (2004), Bryman (2008) and Morgan and Smircich (1980) to illustrate the range of existing paradigms existing. See Figure 4.3 below.

Figure 4.3. Main research paradigms



Created from Berg (2004), Bryman (2008) and Morgan and Smircich (1980).

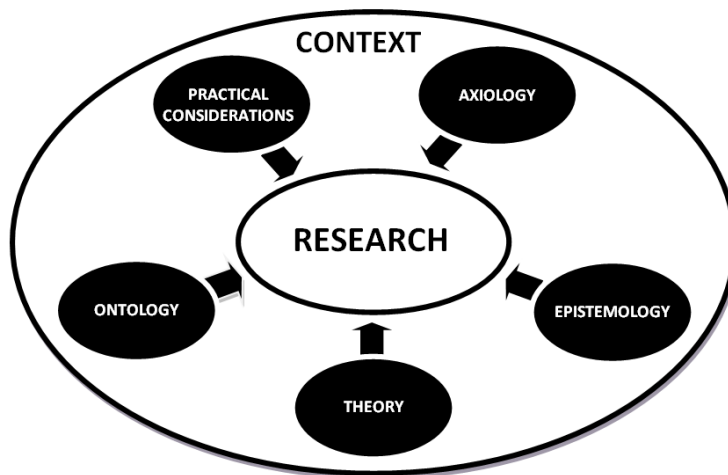
On the simplified visualisation of an ontological continuum, there are a number of paradigms, with positivism at one extreme and interpretivism at the other. In practice, the paradigms are not in discrete categories along the linear relationship, but

boundaries sometimes overlap and each paradigm comes with its own assumptions and methodologies.

Like many researchers, at first the researcher endeavoured to find the paradigm that best fitted this research (Berg, 2004, Burrell and Morgan, 1979, Morgan and Smircich, 1980) seeking to place the study neatly under a specific paradigm. The quest for a specific paradigm was pursued to achieve what Watson termed “paradigm closure” (Watson, 1997, p. 5). However, as the study unfolded, a craftsman approach (Watson, 1994) to the research was embraced, with different approaches and methods considered. The use of different theoretical concepts from a variety of disciplines was considered vital to the efforts to vividly illustrate the significance of both objectivity and subjectivity, and structure and agency (Barley, 1989, Giddens, 1984) in the migrants’ career journeys. An example of this is how the interviews with the skilled migrants illustrated the effects of context, or structures (Giddens, 1984), on their career actions. This finding, in an abductive manner, led the researcher to the work of Giddens (1984) and research into the duality of structure and agency and their effects on individual careers. This in turn led to the work of Stephen Barley and his career structuration theory (Barley, 1989), which takes an interpretive and structuralist examination of career. This in turn led to the work of Duberley et al. (2006a; 2006b), and their use of “a revised version of Barley’s approach as a sensitizing heuristic” (Duberley et al., 2006b) in a study of career transitions. This utilisation of different theoretical concepts allowed for a deeper study of the complex interplay between the individual migrant’s agency and the social structures of their home and host country, i.e. the broad and personal contexts (structures) that influenced their career actions (agency) and career outcomes (Barley, 1989, Duberley et al., 2006a).

The philosophical approach of a researcher also influences their approach and stance on further research issues. Each philosophical approach is defined by several core assumptions concerning ontology, epistemology, axiology, human nature, methodology and context (Holden and Lynch, 2004, Berg, 2004, Bryman, 2008, Creswell, 2007), all of which will have an impact on any research undertaken. See Figure 4.4 on the following page for a visualisation of the various influences on social research.

Figure 4.4. Influences on Social Research



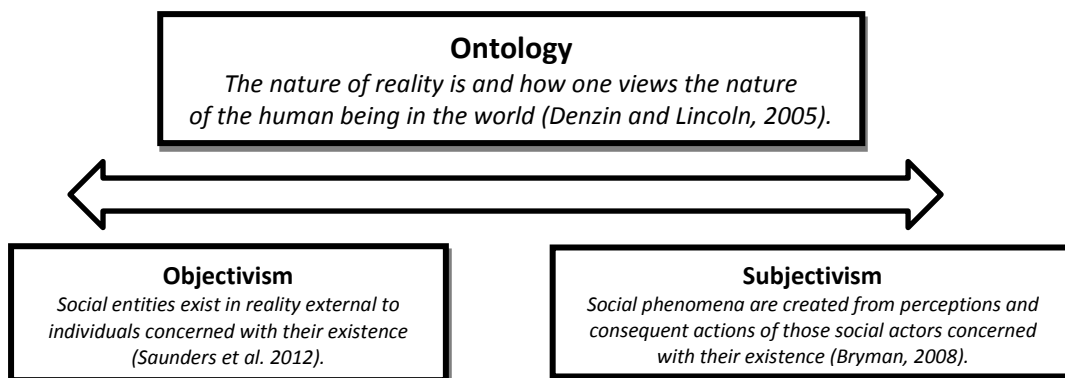
Bryman (2008)

The following sections elaborate on each of these core assumptions, unpacking their impacts on research in general, while also sharing their impact on this particular study.

4.3.1. Ontology – The nature of being

Ontology focuses on what exists (Huff, 2008), on what the nature of reality is and how one views the nature of the human being in the world (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005). Holden and Lynch (2004) label the two extremes of the ontological divide as being either objectivist or subjectivist. See Figure 4.5 below.

Figure 4.5. Ontology



Created from Bryman (2008), Denzin and Lincoln (2005), Mack (2010), Saunders et al. (2012)

They describe objectivism and subjectivism as “a continuum’ of polar opposites with varying philosophical positions aligned between them” (Holden and Lynch, 2004, p.4).

A researcher with an objective ontology holds that ‘reality’ exists, it is to be investigated and is external to the individual, it “is a given ‘out there’ in the world” (Burrell and Morgan, 1979, p.1). Objectivists contend that we can have knowledge of this reality and that reality is what we can measure, study and observe objectively. In objectivism the researcher is considered detached from this reality and it is believed that successful methods from the natural sciences can be employed to investigate social phenomena (Abma and Widdershoven, 2011, Holden and Lynch, 2004).

However, subjectivists reject this view about using natural science methodology to study and establishing truths about the social world (Robson, 2011). Their reasoning for this is that the subject matter of the social sciences, people, are independent individuals who develop individual subjective meanings of their experiences (Creswell, 2007). Reality, in the social world, is the contextual interpretation an individual gives to their experiences (Burrell and Morgan, 1979, Johnson and Duberley, 2000, Schultz and Luckman, 1983).

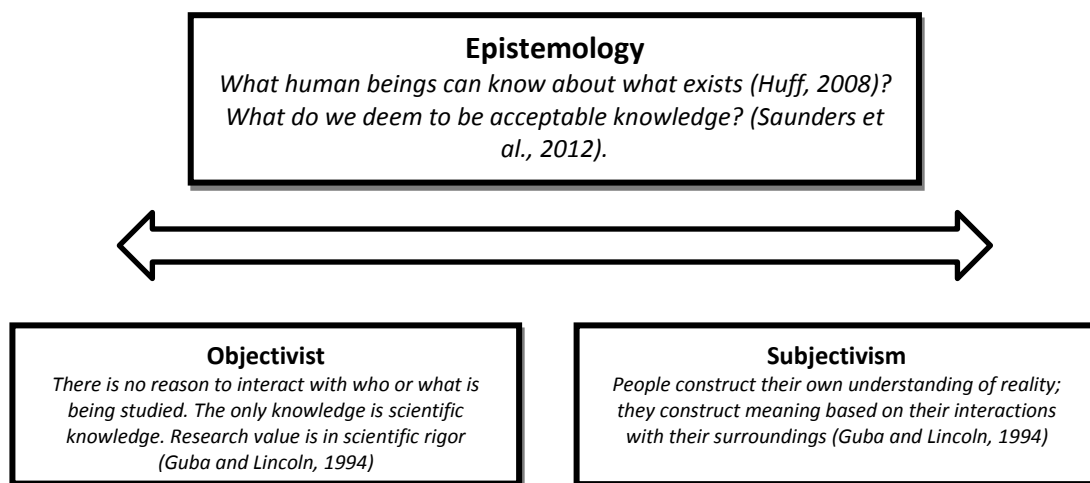
This researcher adheres to a subjectivist ontology that is supported by an appropriate epistemology, which is constructivism (Johnson and Christensen, 2013). For a subjectivist and constructivist study like this, the research methods are mainly naturalistic methods, such as interviewing and observations (Cohen and Crabtree, 2008). The aim is to explore and understand how people, such as skilled migrants, construct their reality, such as in their career construction (Esterberg, 2002). A relationship exists between epistemology and ontology, with each both informing the other, as in the ontological positions held by a researcher may influence their epistemological stance (Flowers, 2009), which is detailed in the next section.

4.3.2 Epistemology – The theory of knowledge

Epistemology, considering what human beings can know about what exists (Huff, 2008), asks ‘How do I know the world?’ (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005, p.183). As stated, this research adopts a social constructivist epistemology, which is on the subjectivist/interpretivist end of the epistemological assumptions. Bryman (2008) surmises that the understanding of human behaviour is the main concern of interpretivism (Bryman, 2008), while Burrell and Morgan (1979), discussing ‘philosophical fit’, state that researchers who adopt an interpretive and subjectivist

stance are principally concerned with generating ‘an understanding of the way in which the individual creates, modifies and interprets the world’ (Burrell and Morgan, 1979, p.3).

Figure 4.6. Epistemology



Created from (Guba and Lincoln, 1994, Saunders et al., 2012)

Embracing a social constructivist perspective, this research relies upon the skilled migrants’ sensemaking (Weick, 1995) to capture their subjective perceptions of their career and world. Sensemaking (Weick, 1995) is a cognitive process that actors utilise when faced with uncertainty and ambiguity, to capture their subjective perceptions of their career and world. This process is utilised by the interviewees, in order to make sense of their career actions and outcomes, and thereby to give meaning and credibility to these events (Weick, 1995). The interviewees subjectively look back and consider, retrospectively, their careers in the home and host country. Engaging in this sense-making process, which is grounded in identity construction, is an ongoing, social process (Weick, 1995), with the interviewees making sense of their environment as they construct it. The interviews shared in this study detail how the interviewees made sense of the various contexts that affected their career actions over time and circumstance. Considering the impact of contexts on skilled migrant careers is essential (Gunz et al., 2011) in order to unpack and understand their careers and motivations (Zikic et al., 2010). Therefore, social constructivism, detailed next, was considered the more appropriate epistemological choice for this study. Social constructivism concentrates on how the individual (migrant) makes sense of their world and

experiences, while also recognising that each individual's constructions are affected by influences that are derived from social relationships. This was considered an important epistemological attribute for a study of contextual effects on human actions.

4.3.3 Social Constructivism

The concepts social constructivism, interpretivism, and social constructionism are sometimes used interchangeably (Bryman, 2008), and have become "subsumed under an apparently generic or undifferentiated constructivism" (Young and Collin, 2004, p.375). The term 'interpretivism' is sometimes used as an umbrella term for a number of paradigms, approaches to data, and methods of data analysis (Punch, 1998), which are all concerned with understanding the subjective nature of the social world (Burrell and Morgan, 1979). Interpretivism is a contrasting epistemology to positivism and explores how 'social life is constructed by those who participate in it' (Mikkelsen, 2005, p.135). Interpretivists argue that access to an individual's 'reality' is via 'social constructions', such as language, meanings etc. (Meyers et al., 2013) and that this "requires the social scientist to grasp the subjective meaning of social action" (Bryman, 2008, p.16).

However, in the social sciences, there are fundamental epistemological and ontological differences between the concepts social construction and constructivism (Schwandt, 2000). Social constructionism concentrates on the social process and actions that construct knowledge and meaning (Young and Collin, 2004), on the artefacts created through the social interactions of a group. However, this study adopts a social constructivist focus that proposes that each individual constructs their own world of experience through cognitive processes and focuses on the individual's learning, espousing that people obtain knowledge from their experiences (Young and Collin, 2004). Every individual is their own teacher, with every individual, from their experiences and reflection, constructing their own understanding and meaning (Young and Collin, 2004). These tenets of social constructivism make it an appropriate epistemology for the study of individual migrant's career. There are several different stances in the constructivist position, with Young and Collin (2004) concentrating on three: radical, moderate and social. Radical constructivists, such as von Glaserfeld (1990), maintain it is the individual mind that constructs reality (Young and Collin, 2004), and knowledge is not just absorbed but actively created within the thinking person. It is through their senses and/or by any form of communication (Staver, 1998),

with each individual's reality made up from what each individual makes of their own experiences. Moderate constructivists, like Piaget, on the other hand acknowledge the importance of a systematic relationship between the individual and the external world in the creation of knowledge. (Van Den Belt, 2003). As this is a study of contextual impact on the interviewees' careers, it must adopt an epistemology that recognises the part played by the structures of society (thereby giving the research context) in affecting career actions and career outcomes of the skilled migrants. Therefore, this research adopted a social constructivist epistemological approach (Vygotsky, 1978). The main tenets of constructivism that proved congruent as an epistemology for the researcher's paradigm are:

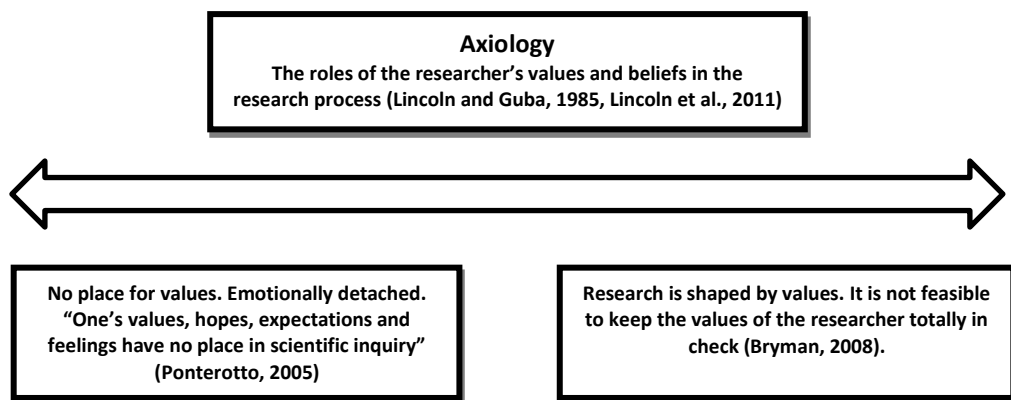
1. From a research point of view, constructivism relies on the participants' views and perceptions of the phenomena being explored (Creswell, 2003), with the aim of understanding how the participants construct and understand their own reality of the phenomenon being studied (Robson, 2011). This focus makes constructivism an appropriate epistemology for a study where the aim is to construct an understanding of migrant careers.
2. Constructivist research focuses on the "specific contexts in which people live and work in order to understand the historical and cultural settings of the participants" (Creswell, 2003, p.8). This quality of constructivism is important for research where context plays an important role, such as this research's focus on the lived career experiences of skilled migrants in the home and host country context.
3. Constructivism extends the knowledge of the migrants' careers from their own narratives and thus can contribute to career theory and research (Bujold, 2004). A constructivist approach to researching career enables the researcher to conceptualise career from the individual narratives of the participants. Narrative interviews allow the researcher to see and understand how each individual interprets their world and experiences through their personal belief systems, and to hear how the individual constructs meaning from within these systems of belief (Etherington, 2013).

To sum up, social constructivism recognises that an individual’s constructions are affected by influences which are derived from social relationships (Young and Collin, 2004a) and emphasises the importance of cultural and social context, with knowledge an outcome of the individual’s exchanges within society (Gergen, 1985). A migrant’s career does not develop in a vacuum but in a social structure, where there are both individual and social aspects to the individual’s career (Mignot, 2004). This is an important point in the researcher’s rationale as social constructivism recognises that an individual’s constructions are affected by influences that are derived from social relationships, and thus takes cognisance of the context and relationships that affect the migrant’s career experiences.

4.3.4 Axiology

Axiology is ‘the philosophy of values’ and it considers the role, if any, values should play in research (Saunders et al., 2012). Values reflect the personal beliefs or feelings of a researcher (Bryman, 2008).

Figure 4.7. Axiology



Created from Bryman (2008), Lincoln and Guba (1985), Lincoln et al. (2011), Ponterotto (2005).

Creswell (2007) maintains that all researchers bring values to their research but ‘qualitative researchers like to make explicit these values’ (Creswell, 2007, p.18). When considering research philosophy and approaches, it is important to consider how one’s values will affect the various stages of the research project (Flowers, 2009). In qualitative research a researcher cannot fully separate their life or experiences from the

research process (Berg, 2004, Bryman, 2008, Denzin and Lincoln, 2011a). Nevertheless, neither should the researcher's values become an unchecked influence on the study. Thus, it is important for the researcher to display reflexivity concerning the role played by their values in the study (Bryman, 2008).

As a social constructivist, a researcher holds that his/her beliefs and values are shaped by his/her experiences of life and society. Their values and beliefs are shared with many from the same social field as themselves. As a social constructivist and qualitative researcher a researcher believes that his/her values form part of the basic beliefs that are the foundation of his/her research paradigm (Klenke, 2008), and that his/her values and experience will impact on his/her research. With the crafts person approach to research it is particularly important that the research "shows the hand" of the researcher (Altheide and Johnson, 2011, p.591). The researcher needs to recognise, define and allow for his/her values, and not try to disregard or ignore their influence on the research (Ponterotto, 2005; Watson, 1994). It is through reflexivity that a researcher recognises and makes clear these values to the reader (Creswell, 2007). Reflexivity is the process of the researcher reflecting critically on themselves (Guba and Lincoln, 2005), enabling an inquirer to come to terms with their choice of research problem, as well with those he or she encounters during the research (Guba and Lincoln, 2005). This is something the researcher of this study learnt first-hand from his interviews with skilled migrants that he had managed previously, in his past professional capacity as a manager in an Irish SME. Their narratives of their careers were very different to how the researcher perceived they had viewed their careers. This revelation highlights the importance Watson (1994) and Mills (1970) place on reflexivity in the craft worker approach to research.

The rationale for this study originated in the researcher's past employment and charity work. He managed a number of SMEs and, within this role, managed cohorts of skilled migrants (alongside Irish workers), several of whom worked in low-skilled positions. The researcher also developed strong relationships within the migrant population through his voluntary role as manager of a charity shop. It was through these experiences, and perspectives from these relationships, that the researcher formed opinions and perceptions, which influenced the study's early research. For instance, the study originally concentrated on the phenomenon of skilled migrant underemployment as a talent management and organisational justice issue. The study initially focused on the justice of underemployment of skilled migrants and the role, if any, talent

management (TM) played in this phenomenon of skilled migrants possibly being excluded from the recognised talent pool in organisations (O'Connor and Crowley-Henry, 2017).

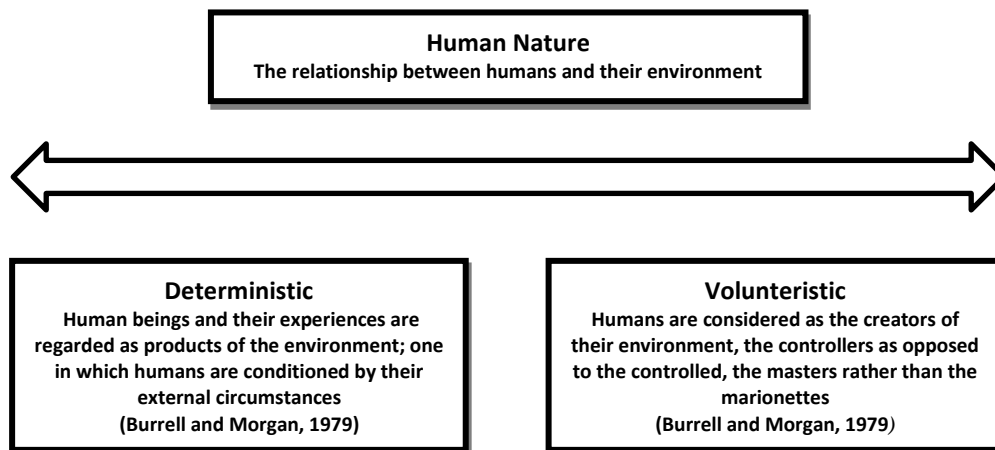
In order to recognise, define and allow for his values and perceptions, the researcher followed a transparent research regime, and all relevant conversations, encounters and meetings are noted in a research diary, while all interviews are accompanied with observation notes. This was important for displaying the contextual understanding of the findings, as well as adding to the dependability and validity of this qualitative study's findings (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). The role of the researcher in qualitative research is especially paramount as the researcher is an instrument of data collection (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005), and, as this human instrument, they shape the direction of the study and the focus. Other researchers may bring with them a different focus or nuance, and if they considered the data collected for this study (interview transcripts and contextual data), they may have brought a different view on different aspects of the subjects' career interviews.

4.3.5 Human nature

The human nature assumption involves whether or not the researcher perceives humans as the controller or the controlled and concerns the relationship between humans and their environment (Burrell and Morgan, 1979). Objectivism views this relationship as being deterministic, that people live in a world in which there are causal laws that explain the patterns to our social behaviour (Easterby-Smith et al., 1991). Conversely, subjectivism assumes that human nature is voluntarist and humankind has freewill and autonomy. This allows humans to shape the world within their lived experiences (Holden and Lynch, 2004). See Figure 4.8 on the following page. Building on this, Burrell and Morgan (1979) argue that since human life is essentially the subject and object of social science, all social science clearly must be predicated on the assumption that human nature is voluntarist and that humankind has freewill and autonomy to intentionally shape their world.

The subjectivist contention of volunteerism is adopted in this research, and it is believed that people can act voluntarily (after all, the actual decision to emigrate involves agency at some level). However, in a Bourdieusian sense, social structures, such as forms of capital or habitus, can influence the choices available to the individual, such as with the non-recognition of a migrant's qualifications.

Figure 4.8. Human Nature



Created from Berg (2004), Bryman (2008) and Denzin and Lincoln (2005).

Nonetheless, while structures can limit and restrain migrant career actions (Jackson and Sorensen, 2006), this researcher holds that individuals, in turn, possess the agency (whether this is realised to be weak or strong) to possibly restructure their capital or habitus when new social conditions are encountered (Pérez, 2008). They can overcome or even transform these structures by acting on them (Giddens, 1984, Jackson and Sorensen, 2006). For instance, as evidenced in the role that re-training (Pearson et al., 2011) or developing networks (Hakak and Al Ariss, 2013) can play for some migrants in their host country careers. The effects of structure and agency requires careful consideration in unpacking the influences in a skilled migrant’s career construction. As such, this area is considered in this study’s findings and analysis.

4.3.6 Reasoning

The craft worker approach advocates a process that is akin to abductive reasoning, a form of reasoning that is also utilised in this research (Haig, 2005, Järvensivu and Törnroos, 2010, Reichertz, 2009, Timmermans and Tavory, 2012). Reasoning is defined as the process of evaluating given, or existing, information and drawing conclusions to make predictions or explanations (Goel and Waechter, 2004). Different paradigms embrace various forms of reasoning to construct and/or test theories. There are three reasoning approaches in research: Deductive reasoning, Inductive reasoning, and, as used in this research, Abductive reasoning (Berg, 2004, Bryman, 2008, Esterberg, 2002, Robson, 2011, Timmermans and Tavory, 2012). Deductive reasoning

is utilised where “pre-existing theories or concepts are tested” (Robson, 2011, p.18). The researcher begins with a theory, operationalises the theory and then carries out the research and analysis to test the theory (Esterberg, 2002). The inductive approach, works the opposite way around (Trochim, 2006). It starts with the study of a phenomenon (Esterberg, 2002), through observations and/or measures, and detecting patterns and consistencies (Trochim, 2006), and from this study theoretical ideas and concepts emerge or are developed (Robson, 2011). However, both inductive and deductive reasoning have been criticised as not properly representing actual research and not appropriate for research in an open dynamic system (Robson, 2011). Instead of using purely deductive or inductive methods, researchers may utilise both in a recursive process. In this process theory, data collection and its analysis are all developed concurrently in a logical argumentative process. The researcher iteratively moves between data analysis and the process of explanation (Mason, 2002, Timmermans and Tavory, 2012) in a recursive process called abductive reasoning.

Abductive reasoning is a method of knowledge production that inhabits the centre point between induction and deduction (Järvensivu and Törnroos, 2010). Abduction starts with consequences and then constructs reasons. A comprehensive theory of method, abduction “endeavours to describe systematically how one can first discover empirical facts and then construct theories to explain those facts” (Haig, 2005, p.371). Abduction recognises extant theory (unlike induction), while also allowing for a less theory-driven research process than deduction, thereby enabling theory generation driven by the research findings (Järvensivu and Törnroos, 2010).

The analysis of this research follows the abductive reasoning approach for a number of reasons:

1. This is research in an open system. Abductive reasoning was found to be more appropriate for this ever-changing environment, where theorising is an on-going process (Esterberg, 2002).
2. The literature review revealed a number of concerns in the research area, which pointed to abductive reasoning as the more fitting form to facilitate understanding more about the phenomenon of skilled migrants’ careers. The lack of concept clarity has meant the differences between the different internationally mobile worker concepts are not always clear in the literature (Al Ariss, 2010). Thus, the area needs further conceptualising to unpack existing concepts and to consider new elements which could improve concept clarity.

3. A noticeable gap in the skilled migrant literature is the scarcity of reference to specific career theories, e.g. career construction or career anchors, or to career types, e.g. traditional or protean careers. This theorisation of skilled migrant careers, therefore, remains under-developed to date. Abductive reasoning is better positioned for studies such as this, as not only can one can first discover the empirical facts and then construct theories to explain those facts (Haig, 2005), but abduction also recognises existing theories, thus allowing for extant and possibly new theories in the effort to theorize the phenomenon under study.

Migrant careers happen in the ‘real world’, which is a dynamic open system. This fact, taken in conjunction with the lack of both concept clarity and theorising that surrounds the existing studies of skilled migrants’ careers, has meant that abductive reasoning, with its observation-based theorisations, offers a creative inferential process with which to unpack the study.

4.4 Designing a qualitative study

Creswell (2007) defines research design as “the entire process of research from conceptualising a problem, to writing a research question, and on to data collection, analysis, interpretation, and report writing” (Creswell, 2007, p.5). It is a series of sequential steps that connects the research question, data collection and conclusion or results (Yin, 2009). In describing qualitative research design Creswell (2007) uses the metaphor of an “intricate fabric, composed of minute threads, many colours, different textures, and various blends of materials” (Creswell, 2007, p.42). As when weaving fabric, a framework, or loom, is required to hold the research together. In qualitative research this framework may be variously described as interpretive, constructivist, feminist etc. It is through these frameworks that qualitative research is designed, conducted, analysed and reported (Creswell, 2007). This use of metaphor is similar to the Watson’s (1994) use of the ‘crafts man’ concept and the Denzin and Lincoln (2005) use of the concept of ‘bricolage’ to represent qualitative research. They explain how the researcher, as a bricoleur, produces complex research that is reflexively woven into a collage of interpretations, understandings and perspectives concerning the studied phenomenon (Denzin and Lincoln, 2011a).

Whilst acknowledging the importance of the research strategy reflecting the researcher’s philosophical stance, it must be emphasised that the suitability of a

particular strategy is just as conditional on the research question to be answered (Creswell, 2007; Flick, 2009). Holden and Lynch (2004) contend that “research should not be methodologically led; rather that methodological choice should be consequential to the researcher’s philosophical stance and the social science phenomenon to be investigated” (Holden and Lynch, 2004, p.2). Thus a researcher should choose the most appropriate research design that will best answer the research question, and fit with their philosophical stance. As the objective of this research is to understand the individual careers of skilled migrants, a qualitative research approach to data collection was considered most suitable, given both the researcher’s philosophical stance and the specific research aim.

4.4.1 Research methods

Research methods are the actual tools, or techniques, that each researcher uses to answer their questions; they are “the specific techniques and procedures used to collect and analyse the data” (Crotty, 1989, p.3). Drawing from an interpretivist and constructivist position this research is qualitative in nature, and the main qualitative research tool utilised is the in-depth narrative interview (see section 3.5.3), accompanied by in-depth contextual notes. These interviews focus on the career experiences and development of the individual skilled migrant working in the Irish SME sector.

4.4.2 Methodology summary

The distinction between methodology and methods is important. Crotty (1989) defines methodology as “the strategy or plan of action which lies behind the choice and use of particular methods” (Crotty, 1989, p.3), while Creswell (2007) simply states it is the procedure of the research. Guba and Lincoln (1994) declare that “methodology asks the question: how can the inquirer go about finding out whatever they believe can be known?” (Guba and Lincoln, 1994, p.108). While research methods are the actual tools, or techniques, that each researcher uses to answer this question.

Qualitative research is a situated activity, placing the researcher in the subject’s world, where they study social phenomena using a set of interpretive tools and practices that help make the participants’ social reality visible to the researcher (Creswell, 2007, Denzin and Lincoln, 2011a, Esterberg, 2002, Flick, 2009). Researchers use qualitative

methods to give voice to and interpretation to the participant's world by creating a series of representations of their world through mediums such as interviews and focus groups (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005). As the main objective of this research is to extend our knowledge on the careers of skilled migrants, to form a deeper comprehension on how skilled migrants construct and interpret their career experiences, the use and characteristics of the qualitative method prove the most suitable for the researcher's philosophical stance and appropriate for the research questions.

4.4.3 Narrative interviews and topic guide

Berg (2004) describes interviews as conversations designed to gather information (Berg, 2004). However, Esterberg (2002) disagrees with this analogy as the exchange in an interview is too lopsided for a conversation (Esterberg, 2002). Esterberg, rather, views interviewing as a form of relationship, where two, or more people 'come together to create meaning about a particular topic' (Esterberg, 2002, p.85). Interviews are a popular medium for gathering information, with an estimate that 90% of social science research projects use interviews at some stage of the process (Holstein and Gubrium, 1999). This popularity has led to Silverman (1997) describing today's world as an 'interview society'. All forms of interviewing provide a method of generating empirical social data, by asking subjects about their lived experiences. For a summary of the main methods of interviewing see Table 4.1. on the following page.

The aim of the interview in this research undertaking is exploratory, designed to capture the migrant's career actions and outcomes. This information is gathered from their career narratives, collected during the semi-structured interviews. Connelly and Clandinin (1990) describe narrative as both the phenomenon, with people leading storied lives and telling stories of those lives, and the method, where researchers describe those lives, collect and tell stories of them, and write narratives of the experience. Narrative inquiry is the process of gathering information for the purpose of research through storytelling. The researcher then writes a narrative of the experience (Constable et al., 2012). In qualitative research, narrative can describe the text used within the context of a mode of research or inquiry and one that has an explicit emphasis on stories told by individual members of the research population (Chase, 2005). Connelly and Clandinin find that humans are storytelling beings, who, as both individuals and members of society, live a storied existence. Therefore, a narrative study is a study of how people experience their world (Connelly and Clandinin, 1990).

Table 4.1. Main forms of Interviewing

Type of Interview	Structured or Standardised	Semi-Structured or Semi-Standardised	Unstructured or Unstandardised Non-Directive
Format	Fully Structured Formal Rigidly Controlled	Much Less Rigid Open Responses Shape Order and Structure	Completely Informal Spontaneous Free-Flowing
Research use	Market Research Surveys Political polling	Exploring Topics in Detail Gaining Others' Perspectives	Field Research Augment Observations Exploratory
Question Types	Pre-Determined Set Order Can be Closed, with Fixed Responses	Interview/Topic Guide Open Questions Answers Shape Order and Structure	No Schedule of Questions Often In-Field Setting Questions Arise Naturally
Interviewer's Role	Detached Not Personally Involved	Can Probe, Direct or Prompt with Specific Questions	Immersed Totally Involved
Example Questions	<i>What discipline is your degree in?</i>	<i>Tell me about your work experience before you left home.</i>	<i>Tell me about yourself</i>

Created from Berg (2004), Bryman (2008), Esterberg (2002) and Robson (2011).

As a stated aim of narrative is to construct an in-depth understanding of the individual's perspective of their contextual experiences (Miller, 2000), narrative enquiry was considered the more appropriate interview method for this research. The narrative approach is appropriate for research following the interpretivist paradigm, as the form and content of narrative interviews (when transcribed, analysed and reported) constructs knowledge of the participant's world (Paget, 1999). Narrative interviews are especially valuable when a researcher wants to obtain comprehensive information about a person's everyday life and experiences, as well as the meanings they attach to these experiences (Boyce and Neale, 2006). All these qualities are fully conducive with the aim of this research.

In the narrative interview the emphasis is on the subject's own account of their lived experience, on what they feel is important, or not (Harding, 2006). As such, there is no structured list of questions, but rather a topic, or interview guide to inform the content of the interview. This guide helps concentrate the interview on the relevant areas by listing the specific themes and questions the interviewer wants to address in the study (Esterberg, 2002, Robson, 2011). In this research, the topic guide evolved

from the main themes in the literature review and was further developed during the pilot interview stage. The topic guide for this research can be found in Appendix 1.

In semi-structured interviews, interviewees are permitted leeway to discuss topics that are pertinent to their career experiences, but may not be explicitly included in the original topic guide. This allows for a more open, less structured dialogue in the interview (Esterberg, 2002). Therefore, the topic/interview guide is an evolving document, starting with the first design that was used for the first pilot interviews.

Pilot interviews are important components in the design and preparation of an interview-based research project (Turner III, 2010). Their purpose is to test the interview questions and to determine their appropriateness for extracting the required information. They should expose any weaknesses, or limitations in the interview design, thus allowing the researcher to revise and correct their interview process prior to the main body of interviews commencing (Kvale, 2007). The initial topics for this study originated from the main themes in the literature review (See chapter 2). As the content of each pilot interview was studied the topic guide was adjusted and modified to fill apparent gaps in the information obtained. This process sometimes involved returning to previous interviewees to ask additional questions that had been added to the topic guide.

An example of this process in this study was the addition of family life as an area to be queried in the interviews. In a number of the pilot interviews, family life emerged as a strong driving force for career decisions, and this led to a revision of the initial topic guide. This in turn led to the need to re-interview some pilot interviewees. In this way, the pilot interviews served the purpose to test and develop the topic/interview guide, with this process helping to build the focus and content of the interview guide.

4.4.4 Interview questions

In the interviews for this research generic, or 'warm up' (Robson, 2011, p.285), questions are used to start the interview process. The interview is allowed to flow at the interviewee's pace and the order of the topic questions is varied, capitalising on the responses made. However, the interviewer must safeguard that any skipped or missed topics are returned to, unless preceding answers have rendered them unnecessary (Robson, 2011).

Each main topic is queried by essential questions (Berg, 2004). These are open questions, which concern the central focus, or topic, area. They are designed to elicit as much response as possible from the interviewee on each specific topic (Berg, 2004). Well-designed, open questions should achieve this, as most interviewees like to narrate and tell stories concerning their experiences (Elliot, 2005). An example from this study's topic guide is: *Why did you choose to emigrate?* This question is open to the extent that it allows the interviewee to discuss the various motivations and antecedents to their emigration, but still focuses on the central theme of the decision to emigrate.

Probing questions, or prompts (Robson, 2011) are also utilised in the interviews. These are designed as a method of drawing out more complete accounts from the interviewee, and are used to encourage the interviewee to elaborate on certain topics, if needed. They may consist of a structured series of probes that are triggered by certain, or lack of certain responses to the main, or essential, questions (Berg, 2004). *Did your wife/partner/family migrate with you?* is an example of a probing question that could be used to gain more specific detail on the interviewee's migration.

Finally, there is a repository of 'throw away questions', which are designed for a number of purposes, such as putting interviewees at ease, or to provide a break if interviewee becomes uncomfortable or tense with the subject matter (Hatch, 2002). Questions concerning the interviewee's family's wellbeing, while not relevant to the central issue, were used when an interviewee seemed tense at the start of the interview. It was found that talking about family helped to relax interviewees during the interview process.

4.4.5 Sampling

A research population refers to all possible research cases (Robson, 2011). In this research the research population was the entire population of skilled migrants, from the EU10 accession states, working in the Irish SME sector. However it is rarely practical, or efficient, to study whole populations, so choosing a study sample is an important step in any research (Marshall, 1996). Choosing who to interview is important as 'if you don't choose the appropriate people to interview, you wouldn't get the information you are looking for' (Esterberg, 2002, p.93).

A sample is a selection from the research population. Population sampling falls under two broad umbrella terms: probability sampling and non-probability sampling (Robson, 2011). In quantitative research probability sampling is the more common

approach, where the probability of the selection of each respondent is known and statistical inferences about the population can be made from the response of the sample (Robson, 2011). With probability sampling ‘the nature of the population is defined and all members have an equal chance of selection’ (Marshall, 1996, p.522).

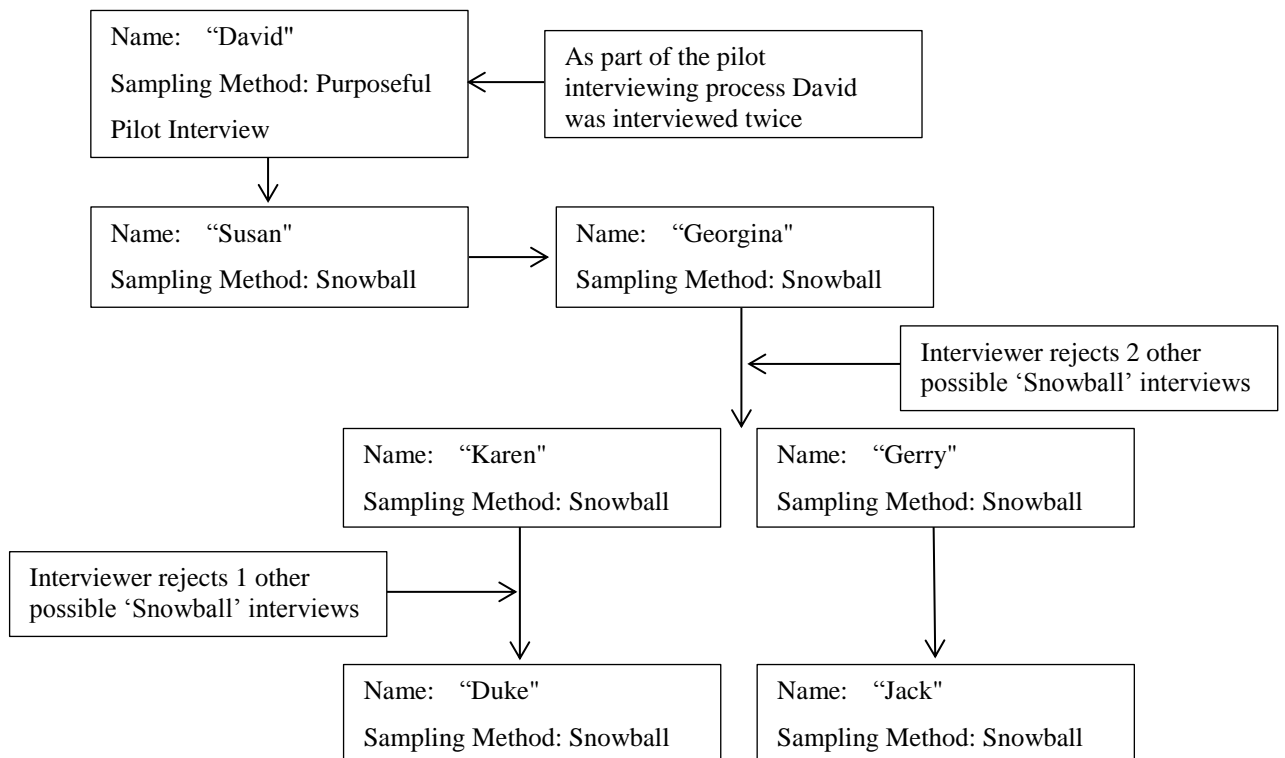
For qualitative research there are many variants of sampling evident in the contemporary literature (Coyne, 1997). Purposeful sampling is the one of the more commonly used qualitative sampling strategies (Creswell, 2007). In purposeful sampling, which is one of two qualitative sampling methods used for this study, the researcher selects the respondents and location for the research as ones that can purposely provide information and knowledge about the phenomenon being studied (Creswell, 2007). Research participants in qualitative studies are usually chosen for the particular attributes and features they can offer to the research (Esterberg, 2002). To source the initial interviewees for this study, the researcher, utilising purposeful sampling (Creswell, 2007), used contacts he had developed in the migrant community from his previous employment as a manager in the Irish SME sector and from his voluntary work in a local charity shop. At this initial stage, sixteen possible interviewees were identified and agreed to participate. From these initial sixteen, a purposeful sampling approach was adopted, where the researcher used his own personal judgment to select six individuals for pilot interviews. This selection was completed with the aid of an inclusion/exclusion criteria list, which is detailed in Appendix 2.

This study concentrates on skilled migrants from the EU10 accession states. The Baltic republic and Polish nationals are the most numerous of the EU10 migrants and migrants from these countries were selected as the sample populations. There is an element of homogeneity in these population groups. All are Eastern European EU citizens, do not require work permits to work in Ireland and they are not native English speakers. The Baltic Republics and Poland also share a similar past of oppression by a powerful neighbour. In the case of the Baltic Republics having been annexed by the Soviet Union (Apetekar, 2009) or in the case of Poland, forced inclusion in the Soviet Bloc with the compulsory creation of the "Soviet-style regimes" (Blomstedt et al., 2007). While Estonian nationals are not among the more populous groups in the Irish workforce, the decision was taken to include them in the research population due to their similar characteristics to their two Baltic neighbours, Latvia and Lithuania. The nationals of all three states are EU10 citizens, come from countries with a majority

population that is white European, non-native English speaking, recently gained independence and contains a large ethnic Russian minority. Therefore, the decision was taken to include citizens of all three Baltic States. For a review of the non-Irish workforce, see chapter four on the context of this study.

Snowball sampling (Browne, 2005) was then utilised to continue the process, and to fill out the research population. A snowball sample is a non-probability sampling method that is suitable for use in research when the members of a research population are difficult to locate (Bryman, 2008). Browne (2005) describes snowball sampling as a ‘recruitment method that employs research into participants’ social networks to access specific populations’ (Browne, 2005, p.47). The initial interviewees were encouraged to utilise their own work and social networks to recommend appropriate interviewees for the next round of research interviews (Bryman, 2008). See Figure 4.9 below for an example of a ‘Snowball Sampling’ path.

Figure 4.9 Example of sampling strategy



The snowballing sampling method is an iterative process, continuing until data saturation is achieved. Data saturation, the most common guiding standard for sample size in qualitative research, occurs when the researcher is no longer hearing or finding

new or relevant information (Saumare and Given, 2008). An added benefit of 'snowball' sampling is it helps to counter possible group vulnerabilities (language issues, fear of negative repercussions), as in snowball sampling the prospective interviewee receives the recommendation for the interview from a peer or friend. This helps to establish initial contact, and trust, between the researcher and the next interviewee.

There are limitations with snowball sampling as it is not usually random or representative and can result in possible selection bias due to the use of gatekeepers, who in this context are those who facilitate contact between the researcher and potential respondents (Cohen and Arieli, 2011). As the researcher is depending on recommendations from other interviewees he/she loses a certain amount of control over sample. However, the researcher can exercise some control by giving clear specifications on the type of interviewees needed, deciding which of the referrals that are actually interviewed and to what extent their contribution is utilised in the research (Noy, 2008). Overall snowball sampling can be a particularly effective tool and when used to study a particular group or network it can access unique or distinct content (Noy, 2008). For this research snowball sampling allowed the researcher to access a wide variety of skilled migrants, despite starting from a small specific cohort from previous acquaintances. It allowed access to a population that is already vetted, by the person referring them. Despite the possible drawbacks from 'gate-keeper' bias, the researcher could guide, to an extent, the sample by being specific about how he described the type of interviewee needed next. For example, in order to include more females in the sample, the researcher asked contacts if they could recommend any female acquaintances who could be interested in being involved in the study. In the illustrated example of a snowball sampling path the researcher rejected some possible interviews as the study already had enough interviews completed with similar interviewees, i.e. Polish males working in an Irish SME.

The total of interviews completed numbers 38 and the average interview lasted for 40 minutes. The transcribed interviews total over 320 pages and amount to over 180,000 words. See table 4.2 on the following page for interviewee details.

Table 4.2. Interviewee details

Code	Nationality	Age	Pseudonym	Education/Skill	Under-employed
R1-M-36-ES/R	Estonian/Russian	36	"Steve"	Skilled + Degree	Yes
R2-M-28-P	Polish	28	"Alan"	Masters	No
R3-M-29-P	Polish	29	"Terry"	Masters	No
R4-M-35-P	Polish	35	"Paddy"	Degree	Yes
R5-M-35-P	Polish	35	"David"	Degree	Yes
R6-M-35-La/R	Latvian/Russian	35	"Ian"	Degree	Yes
R7-M-44-Li	Lithuanian	44	"Bruce"	skilled	Yes
R8-M-37-P	Polish	37	"Tony"	Degree	No
R9-F-28-P	Polish	28	"Maria"	Masters	No
R10-F-28-La	Latvian	28	"Molly"	Degree	No
R11-F-33-P	Polish	33	"Eleanor"	Degree	Yes
R12-M-41-P	Polish	41	"Ollie"	Masters	Yes
R13-F-35-P	Polish	35	"Amanda"	Masters	Yes
R14-F-26-Li	Lithuanian	26	"Muriel"	Degree	Yes
R15 -F-31-Li	Lithuanian	31	"Sarah"	Degree	No
R16-M-42-La	Latvian	42	"Tommy"	Skilled trade	No
R17-M-36-Li	Lithuanian	36	"Vince"	Masters	Yes
R18-F-34-ES	Estonian	34	"Lisa"	Degree	Yes
R19-M-32-Li/R	Lithuanian/Russian	32	"Timmy"	Skilled Trade	Yes
R20-M-40-Li	Lithuanian	40	"Luke"	Skilled Trade	No
R21-F-32-Li	Lithuanian/Russian	33	"Sindy"	Degree	No
R22-M-35-La/R	Latvian/Russian	35	"Andy"	Skilled	Yes
R23-F-36-P	Polish	36	"Annie"	Degree	Yes
R24-M-33-P	Polish	33	"Gerry"	Degree	Yes
R25-F-37-P	Polish	37	"Susan"	Masters	Yes
R26-F-58-P	Polish	58	"Georgina"	Masters	Yes
R27-M-35-ES/R	Estonian/Russian	35	"Anthony"	Skilled Trade	Yes
R28-M-36-P	Polish	36	"Eddie"	Skilled Trade/Degree	No
R29-M-42-P	Polish	42	"Alfie"	Degree	Yes
R30-M-35-LiR	Lithuanian/Russian	32	"Adam"	Masters/Doing PhD	Full time education
R31-M-35-P	Polish	35	"Jack"	Masters	No
R32-F-31-La	Latvian	31	"Vicky"	Skilled Trade/Diploma	No
R33-M-33-LaR	Latvian/Russian	33	"Arnold"	Degree	Yes
R34-F-48-P	Polish	42	"Karen"	Masters	Yes
R35-M-52-P	Polish	47	"Duke"	Degree	Yes
R36-F-42-P	Polish	44	"Victoria"	Degree	No
R37-M-34-P	Polish	33	"Arnie"	Skilled trade	No
R38-F-28-P	Polish	28	"Mary"	Masters	Yes

The interviews were conducted in English with non-English native speakers. While Koulouriotis (2011) raises some ethical considerations in conducting research with non-native speakers of English, face-to-face interviews allow the interviewer to elucidate on the questions to ensure they are understood, or to decide if an interpreter is required. The stipulation that the sample population for this research had to be resident in Ireland for at least five years also ensured a certain competency in spoken English. It should be noted that to ensure the interviewees' anonymity the names used in this paper are pseudonyms.

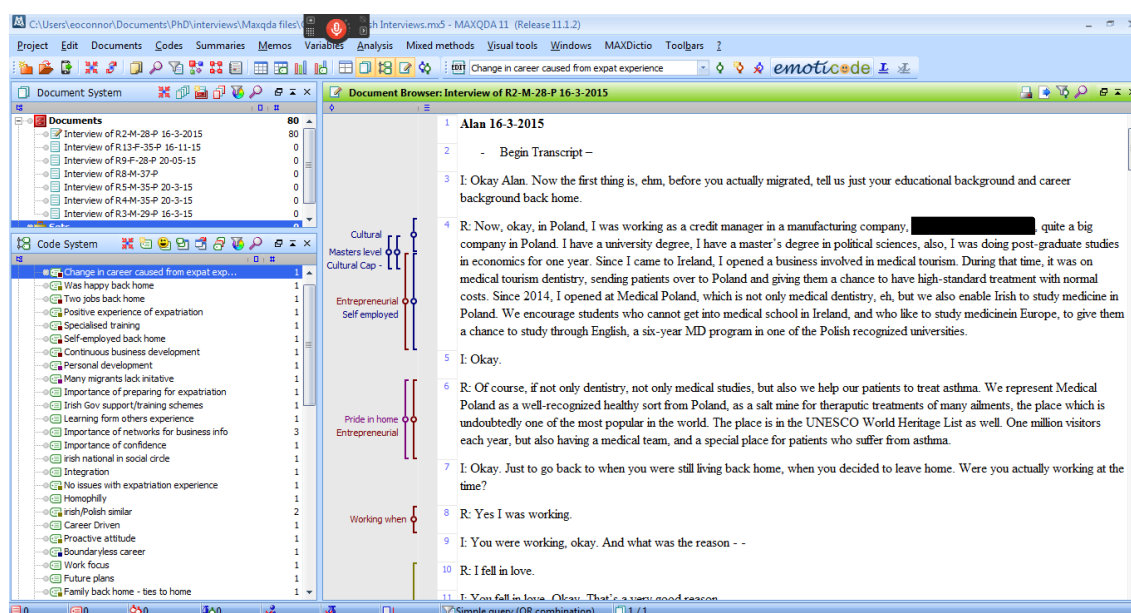
As the researcher had previously managed some of the interviewees (Steve, David, Ian, Molly and Anthony), or was acquainted with some from his voluntary work (Maria, Agnes and Anna), any preconceived assumptions were recorded prior to each interview. A research journal was also kept during the interview and analysis phase. The purpose of this journal was to limit the researcher's bias by aiding reflexivity and providing insights on the many factors that affected how the researcher interpreted the findings generated from the research process (Nadin and Cassell, 2006).

4.4.6 Data Analysis

The first degree of analysis occurred during, and immediately after, each interview. In a social constructivist study, knowledge is created in the dialogue between the interviewer and the interviewee, as well as in the interviewer's interpretation of the dialogue. Post interview notes supplemented the observation notes taken during the interviews, where the researcher's first interpretations, impressions and feelings on what themes emerged in the interview were noted. These notes were all part of the first stage of the analysis. Each interview was transcribed as soon as possible after it was completed. Despite being monotonous and time consuming (Bryman, 2004), the researcher believes a verbatim transcription of each interview allows the researcher to become very familiar with the data, and enables them to identify evolving themes early in the analytical process. Notes on the researcher's reflections following the transcription process were also taken, which also contributed another form of raw analysis as initial thoughts on the interviews were noted. See Appendix 3 for an example of transcribed reflective notes taking during the interview and transcription stages.

The next 'stage' was a more rigorous and focused analysis, the coding of the interviews. The interviews were imported into the qualitative data analysis software, Max QDA 11. The use of this software program allowed the researcher to effectively analyse and manage large amounts of data in a systematic and consistent manner. The use of this software also allowed the researcher to fragment, reassemble and recode the data to generate findings from the stored data (Bazeley, 2009). It should be noted that the software is not actually designed to analyse the interviews but to provide the tools for the researcher to complete the analysis. Following a grounded theory approach (Glaser and Strauss, 1967), the coding followed a three level coding process; open coding, axial coding and selective coding (Corbin and Strauss, 2008). The first stage, open coding, was used to develop categories of information, by giving each relevant piece of the transcribed interview a code, or label. At this stage the researcher concentrated on individual interviews, and the process was intensive in nature and resulted in a large amount of codes, with each individual interview having between 75 – 120 codes. See Figure 3.10 on the following page, which illustrates a 35-minute interview that contains 80 individual coded sections. For a full list of open codes used, see Appendix 4.

Figure 4.10. MaxQDA Open Coding.



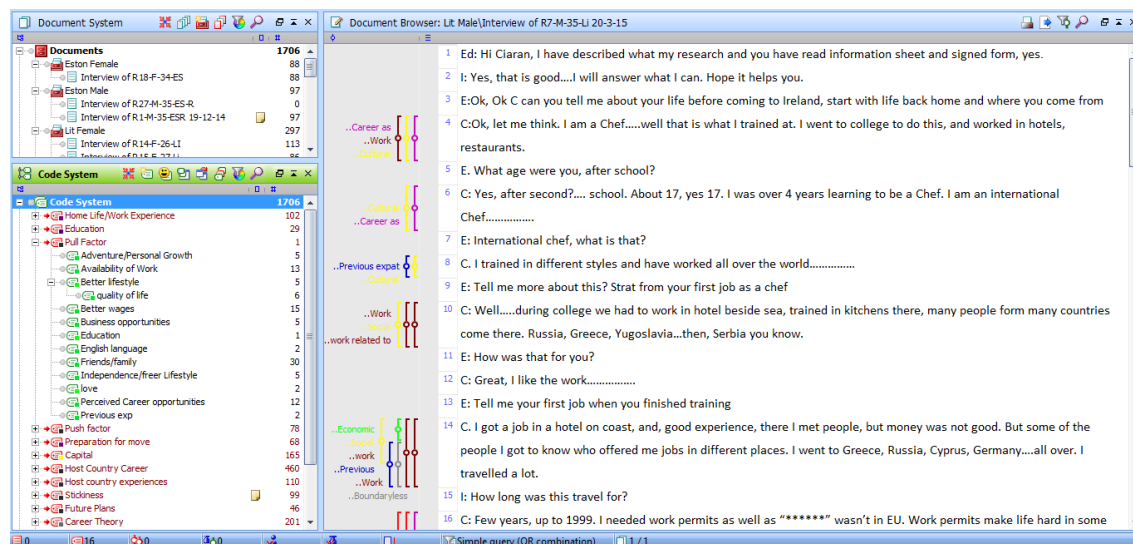
As the researcher develops a relationship with the data, they can then start to code similar answers, quotes etc. with the same code. This is completed across each

interview, after each interview is transcribed. It is important to note that during all these processes the researcher needs to keep viewing the interview in a holistic manner. This is to ensure that the research does not end up with a number of disjointed themes.

As stated, instead of using purely deductive or inductive methods, this research utilises abductive reasoning (Järvensivu and Törnroos, 2010). What this means in practice is that interviewing, transcribing, coding and analysing all occurred concurrently, throughout the whole research process. As each new interview introduced a new code, theme or concept, under the constant comparative method, previously coded interviews are re-visited to check and possibly recode for the new code, theme or concept.

The next stage, axial coding, is concerned with finding the interconnecting themes between the various open codes. See Figure 3.11 on the following page for an example of the themes that the multiple open codes were refined down to, with the open codes from the theme ‘Pull factors’ displayed. This stage entails the researcher identifying and connecting similar categories of information, or codes, across the range of interviews. The similar codes are then grouped under overarching categories or themes. For a full list of axial codes, see appendix 5.

Figure 4.11. MaxQDA Axial Coding



The final stage, termed selective coding by Corbin and Strauss (2008), is the process of identifying the core themes or categories, around which the final analysis will be based. The purpose of selective coding is to select and identify particular

categories or themes that form some kind of core, some kind of critical action or important concept that has the power to illuminate many different aspects of the research (Kolb, 2012). The researcher then constructs a storyline around the core category. This can be a very modest idea. In this study this could be as simple as ‘how do skilled migrants deal with being underemployed’. The storyline would then be built around this core category. In the example ‘how do skilled migrants deal with being underemployed’ this could involve concepts such the strategies skilled migrants use for dealing with underemployment, or how skilled migrants make sense of their career in the host country.

This was an interpretive, constructivist study, and, while it was a reflexive study and allowing for the researcher’s own influence, the aim was to unpack and be true, as much as possible, to the individual skilled migrant’s sensemaking of their lived careers and experience (Denzin, 1997). As a contextually based study, the influence of time and place created the rich and unique individual narratives that informed the study. The narratives and understandings relayed highlight the effects of context on the individuals’ actions and experiences, as well as illustrating the duality of structure and agency in the migrants’ actions. The research context and background are unpacked in the following sections.

4.5 Contextualisation of study

A researcher does not achieve understanding and obtain knowledge in a void. For a qualitative researcher their findings are the products of varied contextual influences (Roller and Lavrakas, 2015). In other words, it is the contextual situation, and the individuals living out their lives and careers within that contextual situation, that give meaning to the data (narratives, interviews, observations etc.) collected in a qualitative study (Bogdan and Taylor, 1975). The broad national context this study is positioned within is the geographical context of Poland, Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia (the home countries) and Ireland (the host country). Within the broad socio-economic and political context, the study is situated during the economic and political transition of former communist countries, the enlargement of the EU and the rights to freedom of travel and (certain) rights to work this enlargement brought to the new EU citizens. This is as well as the current period of instability/change/uncertainty with Brexit, as well as the changing political focus globally. This period of major European political and social change is the historical (temporal) context of the study. Qualitative research

The EU itself started life as the European Economic Community (EEC) and was originally formed in 1958. The six founding members of this economic union were Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Luxembourg and the Netherlands. Ireland, along with Denmark and the United Kingdom, joined the EEC on 1st January 1973, raising the number of member states to nine. Over time the EEC evolved into an “organisation spanning policy areas, from climate, environment and health to external relations and security, justice and migration” (Europa, 2017), and was formerly retitled the EU in 1993 to symbolise its evolved purpose.

While EU10 citizens gained the right to the freedom of movement throughout the EU (Saunders, 2015), only three of the existing EU states - Ireland, Sweden and the UK - conferred the immediate right to work on these new EU citizens (Bachan and Sheehan, 2011). The remaining twelve member states of the ‘old EU’ (McDowell, 2009) placed restrictions on the right to work for the new EU10 citizens. These restrictions were implemented, following negotiations, to appease the fears of some of the ‘old EU’ member states, who feared an influx of EU10 migrant workers. They feared the possible effects this influx could have on their respective labour markets (Galgóczi et al., 2016, McDowell, 2009), such as “swelling the unemployment figures or taking the jobs of poorly qualified natives, as well as constituting a politically-awkward enclave population” (McDonnell, 2009, p.20). These restrictions allowed each old member country to impose its own terms of entry and employment rights. These restrictions were in place for varying amounts of time in different countries, with some countries, such as Germany and Austria, imposing the restrictions for the maximum permitted timeframe, which was seven years (Galgóczi et al., 2016).

In conjunction with this enlargement of the EU at the macro-level, many industries (at the meso-level) in Ireland and UK were experiencing rapid growth and consequent labour and skills shortages, such as the construction and hospitality industries in ‘Celtic Tiger’ Ireland (Roeder, 2011) and the transport and health services in the UK (McDowell, 2009). As regards Ireland, the decision to allow the new EU citizens open and free access to its labour market stimulated a large inward migration of the citizens of certain EU10 countries, chiefly Poland and the Baltic Republics. Up to this Ireland was a country that was more used to outward emigration of its own citizens (Dundon et al., 2007). Consequently, this increase in internationally mobile workers has led to an increase in ethnically and culturally diverse workforces (WRC, 2009). This influx of migrants has also played a very important role in the evolution of

the Irish economy over the past decade (Power and Szlovak, 2011). Today the non-Irish workforce in Ireland numbers 349,100, or 15.9% of the labour force (CSO, 2017), a significant portion of the Irish labour landscape. The 2011 census (the most recent detailed breakdown of non-Irish in the Irish labour force) reported that there were over 115,000 EU10 workers active in the Irish labour market (CSO, 2012a). Of these EU10 workers Polish nationals (with approx. 70,000 workers) and Baltic Republic nationals (33,000 workers) were among the largest groupings of migrant workers in the Irish labour force (CSO, 2012a). These statistics illustrate the continuing importance of the role played by EU10 workers in the evolution of the Irish economy (Power and Szlovak, 2011), and are the rationale for the choice of sample population for this study.

A subjectivist researcher focuses on understanding problems in their contextual settings, and finding the meaning of peoples' social experiences (Holden and Lynch, 2004). Carary (2011), surmising Clarkson (1989), reiterates this interconnectivity of context and qualitative research, "people cannot be understood outside of the context of their ongoing relationships with other people or separate from their interconnectedness with the world" (Carary, 2011, p.11). Inkson (2004), applies a similar rationale to the study of career, proclaiming that to understand a person's career you must understand the wider context in which the career is situated (Inkson, 2004). Context and relationships are vital to social constructivists, who recognise that an individual's constructions are affected by influences which are derived from social relationships (Young and Collin, 2004) and also recognise the importance of context in constructing knowledge (Gergen, 1985).

The study illustrates how the push and pull factors, which motivated the migrant to leave his or her home country and travel to Ireland, were products of both broad (such as national, political) and personal (such as personal finances and family circumstances) contexts (Cohen, 2015). Examples of these contextual factors are how broad (macro) contextual factors, such as the economic conditions in the home country, acted as push factors in motivating the individual to leave his/her home country. The right to travel to and work in a then vibrant Irish economy (Boyle, 2006) acted as pull factors (Saunders, 2015), attracting the individual to move to Ireland.

As regards this study, all of these dynamic career factors also happened within various temporal contexts. These contexts include the historical temporal context of major European political and social change, the family time period of the individual (which dictates the individual's familial responsibilities, such as being a parent) and

finally the individual's life course timing, such as an individual fresh from finishing university but with little or no work experience. Time, at these multi-levels, plays an important in influencing the actions and development of the individual (Bronfenbrenner and Crouter, 1982; Perry-Jenkins et al., 2013), such as in how different age groups (life courses) experienced different aspects of the economic and political transition of former Eastern Europe communist countries more keenly than others (Burrell, 2011b). For instance, for those who were born in communist era countries but who transitioned to adulthood during their nation's economic and political transition to a more Western focused market economy, this was a twofold, potentially destabilising, transition (Burrell, 2011b) in both their broad (their nation's economic and political transition) and personal (transition from teenager to adulthood) contexts.

The research's objective is to consider how the broad and proximal contexts, in conjunction with time and timing, influence the career actions and career outcomes of skilled migrants working in the SME sector in Ireland. Consequently, the following sections unpack the home and host country labour markets, the Irish SME sector and skilled migrant participation in the Irish labour market in order to contextualise the study.

4.5.1 The Macro Context

The year 2004 was a time of profound change on many levels, for the EU as a whole, for the new and existing countries in the EU and for the individual citizens of these countries. When the European Union (EU) welcomed the new EU10 members to the EU this changed the pan-European context of the right to the freedom of movement and the right to work for the new EU citizens (Galgóczi et al., 2016). Despite the majority of the existing EU countries denying the new Europeans the right to work, Ireland's decision to allow EU10 workers free access to its labour market had a dramatic contextual effect on the labour flows from some of the EU10 countries. At the national level the then vibrant "Celtic Tiger" economy (Boyle, 2006) provided the context to draw in the new EU immigrants. It is within this broad social, economic and political context that this study's research population decided to emigrate to Ireland. The right to travel, to access the labour market and the availability of well-paid employment in a vibrant economy were all broad contextual pull factors in attracting Polish and Baltic Republic citizens to Ireland.

The interviewees' home countries' broad contextual features operated as push factors. While the interviewees' main stated reason for leaving their home country was an objective financial reason, low wages, this was in the context of the process of economic and political transition which their countries were undergoing (Aptekar, 2009, Borjas, 2001, Cook et al., 2011, Grabowska, 2003, Kazlauskienė and Rinkevičius, 2006). This political and economic transition was accompanied by falling living standards and rising unemployment (Grabowska, 2003). The low wage economy and the 'knock-on' effects on the interviewees' personal context, such as on lifestyle and family, all impacted on the decision making process of the majority of skilled migrants in this study. However, despite much of the existing literature citing a rise in unemployment as a push factor for EU10 migrants (Grabowska, 2003), this was not a factor for the majority of interviewees in this study, with 31 out of 38 of the interviewees working when they decided to emigrate.

The changing political institutions in the Baltic Republics created contextual effects that were unique to four of the study's eight ethnic Russian interviewees, where institutional nationalism acted as a push factor (Aptekar, 2009). See Table 4.3 below for details of the ethnic-Russian interviewees.

Table 4.3 Ethnic Russian Details

<u>Name</u>	<u>Nationality</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Cited Ethnicity as a Push Factor</u>
Steve	Estonian/Russian	36	Yes
Anthony	Estonian/Russian	35	Yes
Ian	Latvian/Russian	35	Yes
Andy	Latvian/Russian	35	Yes
Arnold	Latvian/Russian	33	No (But commented on the possible negative consequences of being Russian back in their home country)
Adam	Lithuanian/Russian	32	No
Timmy	Lithuanian/Russian	32	No (But commented on the possible negative consequences of being Russian back in their home country)
Sindy	Lithuanian/Russian	33	No (But commented on the possible negative consequences of being Russian back in their home country)

All eight identified themselves as ethnic Russian when asked about nationality. All except one commented on the fact that being ethnic Russian could have negative consequences back in their home country, while four cited their ethnicity as a direct push factor in their decision to emigrate. They considered themselves to be regarded by their fellow home country nationals as a remnant of the old Soviet regime and unwelcome (Ivlevs, 2013). They felt that they were disadvantaged and treated differently to native Lithuanians, Latvians or Estonians (Aptekar, 2009). Such as Ian, who felt, as an ethnic Russian living in an independent Latvia, that he was seen as a vestige of the old Soviet regime..

“As a Russian, living in Latvia, I didn’t feel comfortable there; life was not good... So when I got the chance I came over.... I moved to Ireland” – Ian.

The ethnic Russian interviewees cited these experiences as additional push factors on top of the economic push factors that were experienced by the entire sample in this study.

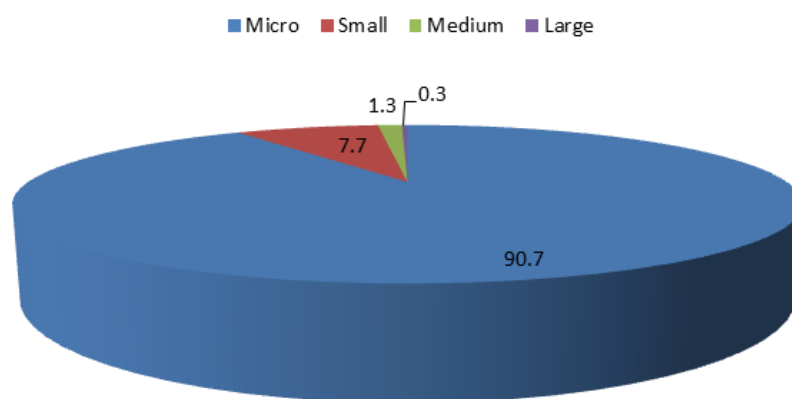
4.5.2 The Micro Context

As stated above, the chief reason for emigrating was an objective financial reason, to move, temporarily, from a low wage economy (Galgóczy et al., 2016, Grabowska, 2003). This broad socio-economic context was combined with other more micro (individual) level, push factors, the majority of which could be identified as being the consequences of working in a low wage economy, such as a meagre quality lifestyle, poor work/life balance or the lack of resources to support a family. Thus, for the majority of interviewees, their rationale for emigrating was to accumulate financial capital and not for career development reasons. Consequently, they did not prepare, or try, to continue their home career path in the host country (O’Connor and Crowley-Henry, 2016, Pearson et al., 2011). This was because they intended only staying in the host country for two to four years maximum. The migrants’ families, the availability of work at higher wage rates were more pertinent factors in their decision to migrate to Ireland. The micro context is dealt with in detail in the study’s findings, Chapter Six.

4.5.3 The SME Context

The Small to Medium Enterprise (SME) sector represents 99% of all businesses operating in the EU. Over the last five years SMEs have been responsible for 85% of the new employment created in the EU and now provide 66% of the EU's private sector employment (European Commission, 2015). On a national level SMEs make an enormous contribution to Ireland and its economy (Enterprise Europe Network, 2010) and have been recognised as playing an important part in the recovery of the Irish economy (CSO, 2014b). 99.7% of all active enterprises in Ireland are classified as SMEs. See Figure 4.13 below.

Figure 4.13. Active Irish Enterprise Breakdown by Size

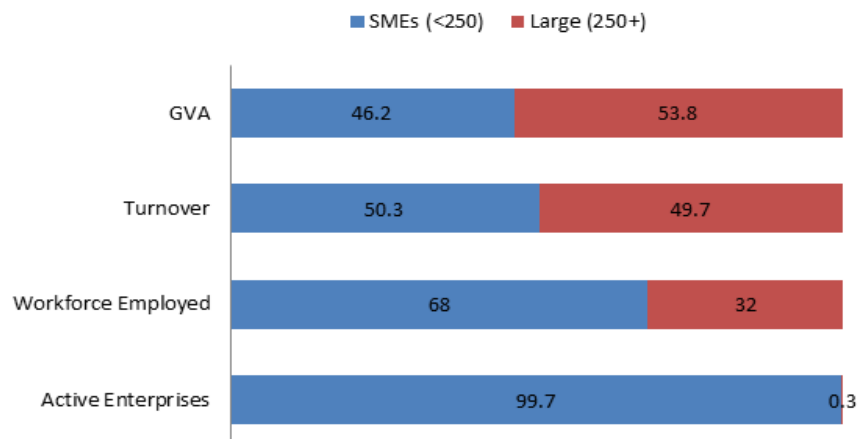


Source: CSO, 2014b.

In Ireland SMEs also create 50.3% of the economy's turnover and 46.2% of gross value added (GVA). See Figure 4.14 on the following page for a breakdown of the importance of SMEs to the Irish economy and labour market. GVA provides a financial value for goods and services produced in a nation, less the cost of all inputs and raw materials that are directly attributable to that production (Investopedia, 2015). Following the 'Celtic Tiger' crash, the Small and Medium Enterprise (SME) segment was regarded as an important contributor to a sustainable economic recovery in Ireland. This was motivated by their largely indigenous market and local employment-intensive nature (Lawless et al., 2012). However, this has also meant that the economic, financial and employment crisis was particularly sharply felt in this segment of the economy (Enterprise Europe Network, 2010). At a 2013 conference on industrial policy, 'An Industrial policy for the Globalisation Era: The Role of Regions and Cities', the then

minister for small business, John Perry T.D., described SMEs as the engine room of the European economy (Perry, 2013).

Figure 4.14 SME Variable Breakdown



Source: CSO, 2014b.

Internationally, it is reported that it is largely through the SME sector that migrants are able to access employment openings (Barrett and Burgess, 2008), with many migrants employed in SMEs (Connell and Burgess, 2009). The Irish SME sector is also very much reliant on the migrant population, with migrant labour described as vital to Irish SMEs (Fielding, 2016). Given the importance and prevalence of the SME sector in Ireland (99.7% of all active Irish based enterprises are in the SME sector, employing 68% of Irish private sector employees) (CSO, 2014a), there is no reason to presume the Irish SME sector plays any lesser a role in the careers of skilled migrants in Ireland. However, there is a dearth of contemporary research on skilled migrants working in the Irish SME sector. This is despite the fact that in the Irish labour market migrants make up 30% of all those employed in the hotels and restaurant sector, and almost 30% in care and domestic work (Fielding, 2016), just two areas where SMEs make up the majority of the active enterprises.

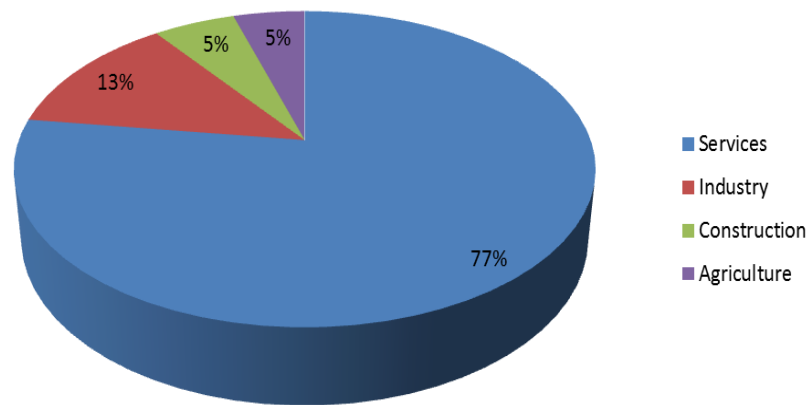
While the development and practice of human resource management (HRM) and human resource development (HRD) of expatriate workers (Brandi, 2001, Brewster and Scullion, 1997, Crowley-Henry, 2005, Kim and McLean, 2012, McNulty and Hutchings, 2016) in large multi-national companies (MNCs) is well documented and researched, the same cannot be said for HRM programmes in the SME sector (Harney and Dundon, 2006). The majority of the literature espousing HRM as

beneficial to organisational practice is based on large companies (Dundon et al., 2001, Harney and Dundon, 2006), while the HRM literature concerning migrant careers and employment also “examines migration within the context of managing international organisations” (Connell and Burgess, 2009). However, this research lacuna may not be so surprising given that the limited extant literature on careers and HR in SMEs. Indeed, existing literature portrays SMEs as not having the HRD “expertise, infrastructure and general resources which larger organisations more frequently enjoy” (Hill and Stewart, 2000, p.105). Research has shown that HRM in SMEs is “not the coherent set of practices typically identified in the literature but rather was often informal and emergent” (Harney and Dundon, 2006, p.48). The literature portrays two views of HRM in SMEs; the ‘small is beautiful’ view (Bolton, 1971; Wapshott and Mallet, 2016) or ‘bleak house’ (Sisson, 1993; Wapshott and Mallet, 2016). This is what makes the SME a different context for career studies, as compared to the career studies of expatriate workers in large organisations, such as MNCs. Large organisations, compared to most SMEs, are well versed in career, talent and diversity management, which tend to be supported by embedded and well-resourced programmes.

4.5.4 The Irish Labour Market Context

Ireland has a small and open economy (Begg, 2016), which is services driven and trade dependent (Cassidy et al., 2009), with the services sector contributing 71.4% of Ireland’s gross domestic product (GDP) (CIA, 2015). GDP is the monetary value of all the finished goods and services produced within a country's borders in a specific time period (Investopedia, 2017). The total labour force in Ireland, which is the number of people who are willing and able to work, numbers 2.375 million, made up of 2.206 million employed and 163,000 registered as unemployed (CSO, 2017). Of the employed portion of the labour force almost four out of five, 78%, work in the services industries, however for female workers this percentage is considerably higher, at 90.3% (CSO, 2012b). 13% of the workforce works in the industrial sector, while 5% of the workers are employed in the construction sector and 5% in the agricultural sector, with both these sectors experiencing a decline since the 2006 census. See Figure 4.15 on the following page for a breakdown of employment by sector in the Irish labour market

Figure 4.15. Employment by Sector



Source: CSO, 2014b.

Overall, the Irish labour force is a mainly skilled workforce with 56% of the workforce classified as professional, managerial, technical or non-manual, while 13% are considered semi-skilled and only 4% are classed non-skilled (CSO, 2015).

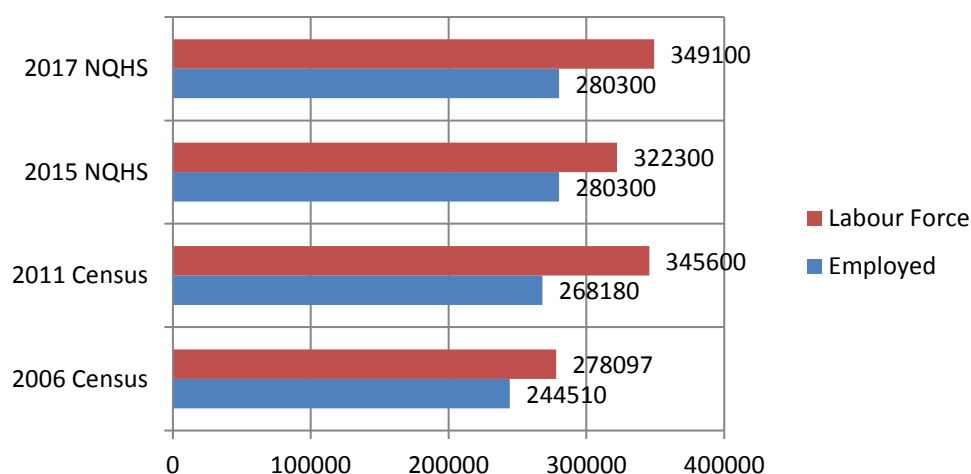
4.5.5 Non-Irish in the Irish Labour Force

The increase in internationally mobile workers has led to an increase in ethnically and culturally diverse workforces, albeit this diversity is “more marked in specific sectors of the economy” (WRC, 2009, p.7). The Q1 2017 quarterly national household survey (QNHS) shows a non-Irish workforce of 349,100 (15.9% of labour force), with 322,400 employed (CSO, 2017). The QNHS is a “large-scale, nationwide survey of households in Ireland. It is designed to produce quarterly labour force estimates that include the official measure of employment and unemployment in the state” (CSO, 2014a). The most accurate data we have on the number of new EU citizens in the Irish labour force concerns what the Irish Central Statistics Office terms the “EU15 to EU28” countries (CSO, 2017). This cohort consists of citizens from the EU10 countries, as well as citizens from the three newest EU members, Bulgaria (joined in 2007), Croatia (joined in 2013) and Romania (joined in 2007). These workers make up 155,700 of the Irish labour force, which is 7.1%, with 144,300 of them in employment.

The numbers of non-Irish in the Irish labour force has again started to increase, following a reduction with the decline of the “Celtic Tiger”. In 2011 15.1% of the Irish labour force were non-Irish nationals, 345,600 workers, with 268,018 in employment,

a significant portion of the Irish labour landscape. (CSO, 2012a). From the 2011 census to the 2015 quarterly national household survey (QNHS) the number of non-Irish in the labour force had decreased, from 345,600 to 322,300 in 2015. The most recent figures show that the numbers of non-Irish in the labour force has risen to 349,100 in the latest figures available, surpassing the 2011 figure. The numbers of non-Irish workers in actual employment has also increased, from 268,200 to 322,400 (CSO, 2017). See Figure 4.16 below for a chronological charting of the dynamic nature of the non-Irish members of the Irish labour force.

Figure 4.16. Non-Irish in the Labour Force

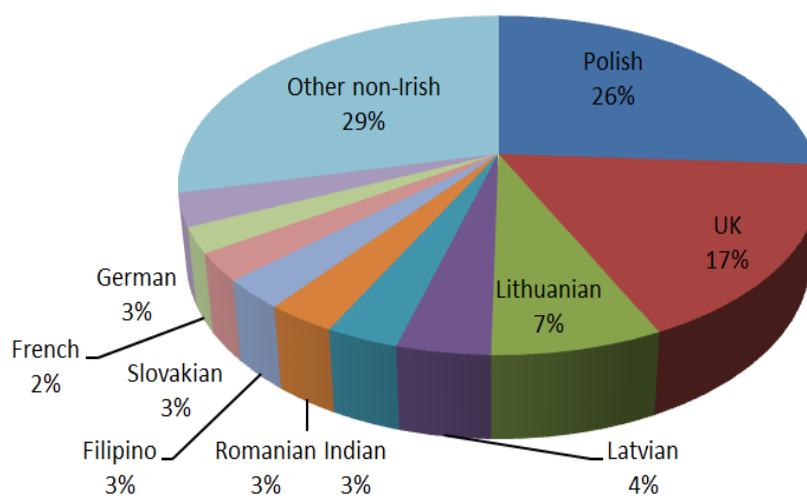


Source: CSO, 2017.

The migrant workforce in Ireland is highly skilled with qualification levels exceeding that of the non-national workforces in other EU countries; the overall majority holding a professional or skilled trade qualification (Power and Szlovak, 2011, CSO, 2012a). The immigrant population in Ireland are also among the most educated immigrants in the EU, and are educated to a higher level than Irish nationals (OECD/EU, 2015). The report found that 48% of immigrants in Ireland were ‘highly’ educated; meaning they had acquired a third-level qualification. The same report classified 35% of Irish nationals as ‘highly’ educated. At the other end of the scale, 20% of immigrants in Ireland were reported as having a ‘low’ level of education, which means they have no more than a lower-secondary level of education (OECD/EU, 2015), as compared to the 27% of Irish nationals classified as having a ‘low’ level of education (OECD/EU, 2015).

The largest non-Irish group in the Irish workforce are Polish, accounting for 26% of the non-Irish workforce, while UK citizens account for 17%, which is 116,000 workers between the two nations. Lithuanian (with 19,700 nationals) and Latvian (with 10,782 nationals) citizens make up the third and fourth top nationalities at work in Ireland, respectively (CSO, 2012a). See Figure 4.17 below for a visual representation of the nationalities in the Irish workforce.

Figure 4.17 Nationalities in Irish Workforce

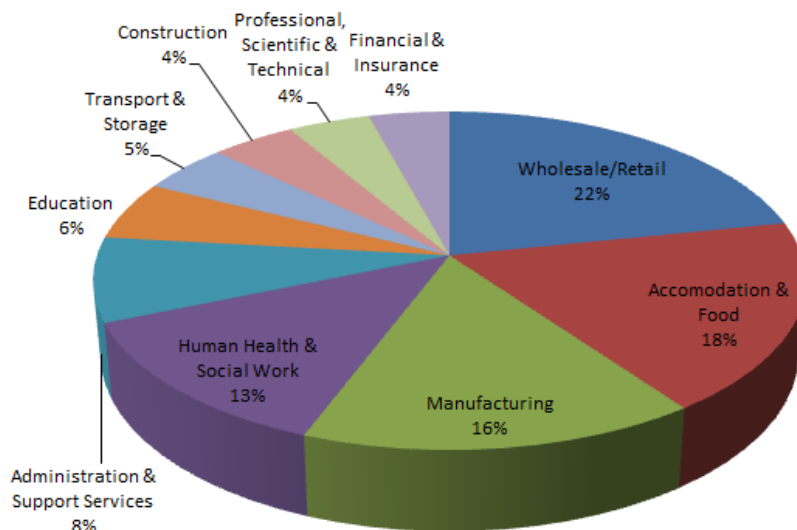


Source: CSO (2012a)

The four sectors that are the largest employers of non-Irish nationals are the wholesale and retail trade, accommodation and food services, manufacturing industries and human health and social work. The wholesale and retail trade employs 46,353 migrant workers, from a total workforce of 265,751. The accommodation and foodservices sector employs 38,855 foreign persons, from a total workforce of 103,560, while manufacturing industries employ 33,445 migrants from a total workforce of 193,080. Finally, 13.5% of workers in the human health and social work sector are migrant workers, which is 27,487 persons from a total workforce of 203,379 (CSO, 2012a). The main non-Irish populations, such as Polish, UK and Lithuanian nationals predominate in these sectors, where the “top 10 nationalities accounted for more than 70 per cent of all non-Irish national workers” (CSO, 2012a, p.20). Specific sectors tend to attract different nationalities, such as Polish, UK, Lithuanian and Latvian workers accounting for two-thirds of all non-Irish wholesale and retail workers, and in the human health and social work sector where UK, Indian and Filipino nationals

account for over 50% of all non-Irish workers (CSO, 2012a). A detailed sectoral breakdown of employment of non-nationals is illustrated in Figure 4.18 below.

Figure 4.18. Non-Irish Employment by Sector



Source: CSO, 2012b.

This section contextualises the study by highlighting the social and political contextual changes in Europe, detailing the importance of SME employment in Ireland and the migrant labour force in Ireland. It also rationalises this research undertaking’s focus on SME employees and migrants from Poland and the Baltic Republics.

As social research this study was “conducted by, for and about people” and therefore “there was always the potential to harm others” (Esterberg, 2002, p.44). Consequently, it is the responsibility of the researcher to take ethical considerations into account during their research (Robson, 2011, p.194). The ethical considerations of this study are detailed next.

4.6 Ethical considerations

There is a misconception that ethical issues only arise during the data collection phase of a research project (Creswell, 2007). This is not so, these issues may surface at any stage, from the research’s inception, right through to publishing the findings. Therefore, it is vital that, from a very early stage of preparing for a research project, serious thought is given to the ethical considerations of the proposed research (Creswell, 2007).

Ethical behaviour “represents a set of moral principles, rules, or standards governing a person or a profession” (Lichtman, 2013, p.54). Israel and Hay (2006) describe ethics simply as endeavouring to avoid harm and do good (Israel and Hay, 2006). Lichtman (2013) lists ten principles of ethical conduct that she amalgamated from a number of ethical texts and sources. For details of the ten principles of ethical conduct see Appendix 6.

In order for this research to take place ethical approval was required from the Maynooth University Ethics Committee. As this research involves human participants it had to undergo the University’s ethical review process before any data collection (interviews) could begin. The research’s ethical review was conducted by the Social Research Ethics Sub-Committee (SRESC). The SRESC reviews research conducted with the participation of human participants and/or may contain personally identifiable information about human beings. This review is conducted to ensure that the proposed research is ethically sound and does not present any risk of harm to the research sample population. The SRESC sees itself as more than an ethical gatekeeper, but also sees its remit as in assisting University researchers in addressing ethical issues that may arise during complex social research projects.

The process involves completing and submitting a comprehensive ethical approval application form (see Appendix 7). The review process is an iterative one and, for this research, involved a number of submissions, each one answering questions, concerns and edits requested by the committee. The application needed to be accompanied by samples of the interviewee consent form, the interviewee information sheet, and a letter of support from the researcher’s supervisor (see Appendices 8, 9 and 10).

This research is also guided by a code of ethics in its operation. As there is no established code of ethics related to Management in the Irish context, and since this particular research undertaking adopts a sociological approach, it is guided by the Sociological Association of Ireland’s Ethical Guidelines. The Sociological Association of Ireland’s Ethical Guidelines’ general principles detail the importance of integrity, respect for others, respect for diversity and the researcher’s social responsibility.

These guidelines can be accessed at:

http://www.sociology.ie/uploads/4/2/5/2/42525367/sai_ethical_guidelines.pdf.

On a practical level, adhering to the research guidelines for best practice in conducting research ensured that the welfare of the interviewees was not harmfully

affected by their participation in this study. The researcher's responsibility for the interviewees' welfare emphasised the importance of protecting their interests, feelings and confidentiality. This involved guaranteeing anonymity for interviewees, ensuring that all interviewees were over 18 and that all were adequately and appropriately knowledgeable about the research to enable an informed decision about participation. Most importantly, the guidelines, when adhered to, allows a research partnership, between all stakeholders, to be built on trust.

4.7 Conclusion

This chapter sets out the researcher's journey, sharing the research philosophy and methodology that were perceived to be the most appropriate for both the research, and the successful conclusion of the study. A craftsman approach (Watson, 1997) and reflexive style was adopted in the research and in the interpretation of the findings. The chapter also contextualises the study by highlighting the social and political contextual changes in Europe, detailing the importance of both SME employment in Ireland and the migrant labour force in Ireland.

Despite the importance of the migrant labour force, there is a dearth of research on skilled migrants in employment within the business and management academic domain. This is concerning given the growing reliance on migrants in organisations and economies (Carr et al., 2005, Lee, 2005). Current research tends to examine migration within the context of managing diverse workforces in international organisations (Connell and Burgess, 2009) yet most international migration has been linked to employment in small organisations, companies and households (Connell and Burgess, 2009). The unpacking of the skilled migrants' career actions and outcomes led to the findings, which are discussed in detail in the following findings chapter.

Chapter Five – Findings

*“Start alone, I must leave everything I know, into a world,
One I do not understand, Hoping to find out who I truly am...”*

from the poem Leaving Home (2011)

by the poet Janice Andrade

The opening citation of this chapter, from the poem 'Leaving Home' by Janice Andrade, represents the path into the unknown embarked upon by many of the skilled migrants interviewed for this study. Each interviewee in this study had their own, unique career/life story to tell, but what they all shared was the leaving of their home, a migration into a new strange world and the creation of a new career and life for themselves and, for some, their family in Ireland. This new life was crafted regardless of the job roles, profession or career paths the interviewees followed in the host country.

This study's findings would strongly advocate that the study of careers be approached from a 'whole-life' (Litano and Major, 2016) career viewpoint. The depth and detail of the research material obtained from the skilled migrants' career narratives allowed a rich and holistic story of each interviewee's unique career narrative to emerge. This 'whole life' view on career allowed the study to unpack the broad and varied work and non-work issues and events that affect the career actions and experiences of the interviewees, such as family circumstances, life stage etc.

Due to the choice of the sample population and the context of the study, this chapter unpacks and interprets the findings with an understanding that the material was collected in a particular time and place, and from a particular population. The focus of this study is the unpacking of the career motivations, actions and outcomes of the sample population from a career structuration perspective. The skilled migrants' host country career, through the act of leaving, or escaping, their home based life, was "no longer set by pre-existing patterns and habits" (Giddens, 1993, p.74) and, they were thus free, or as Giddens phrases it "obliged" to create or "negotiate" new "life-style options" (Giddens, 1993, p.74). They were now free to reconstruct their careers in the host country and create a new life for themselves. While this 'freedom' was true for most for the study's sample population, pre-existing habitus and host country structures presented themselves as barriers for all of the interviewees. Each interviewee dealt with their respective career barriers in their own unique way, and each interviewee dealt with their career barriers to varying degrees of success. For some this meant they found certain barriers to be insurmountable, and thus remained mired in the 'Bridgehead' career stage. For many of the interviewees the transition to the host country career has resulted in career stagnation (Rodriguez & Scurry, 2014). This stagnation of career occurred for the vast majority (n=32) of the interviewees in the 'Bridgehead' stage of their host country career and continued through to the 'Consolidation' stage for many

(n=21) of the interviewees. The possible damage done by career stagnation is an area of concern that needs to be unpacked by future research.

The following chapter presents answers to each of the research questions, illustrated by the findings from the narratives, which are used to support the conclusions reached. The chapter begins with an overall summary of the research findings, illustrated with pertinent quotes from the interviewees and references to the extant literature to illustrate seminal points.

5.1 Research Q.1. How does the act of migration, and the career transitions this entails, affect the skilled migrants' career motivations, actions and outcomes?

Q.1a. Do skilled migrants follow different career paths in their home and host country careers? Are the skilled migrants' home and host careers moderated through different career scripts?

Q.1b. What forms of capital do the migrants utilise in their home and host country careers?

Q.1c. Does the act of migration influence the capital skilled migrants' use in furthering their careers in the host country?

The extant literature “points to a dominant picture of obstacle and constraints” (Fernando and Cohen, 2016, p.1279) in the skilled migrants' career paths. Many migrants are portrayed as struggling in the host labour market (Oreopoulos, 2011) due to their limitations and shortfalls (Hakak and Al Ariss, 2013), with the result for the migrant often being underemployment (Guerrero and Rothstein, 2012) and in general experiencing poor employment outcomes (Fang et al., 2009). In order to judge if the research population of this study viewed their host country career outcomes in a similar negative manner the researcher considered it important to understand the migrants' home and host country career plans. Alternatively, do the interviewees view their careers in a more positive light as suggested by a limited number of studies, such as Fernando and Cohen (2015). What affect did the transition between the home and host country labour market have on their careers? What plans had the interviewees' for their home country career? Did they consider their home country career plans a success? What were their career intentions and plans for the host country? Finally, were these career intentions and plans fulfilled in their host country career actions?

5.1.1 General Findings

The findings, in answering the above questions, highlights the effects and role of the home and host country structures and contexts in influencing the skilled migrants' career actions (Gunz et al., 2011). Drawing on the migrants' narratives to build the findings allows the migrants to tell their own career stories (Pio and Essers, 2014) and unpacks "the mutuality of individuals and the diverse settings" (Cohen and Duberley, 2015, p.190) in which they and their careers are situated. This study views the context as a major influence on the career actions of the interviewees (Inkson, 2007), and not just as an inert background to the migrants' career actions and outcomes. This 'whole-life' (Litano & Major, 2016) view allows the findings to do justice to the multiple, rich and context specific realities that make up each migrant's story (Crotty, 1998). This approach highlights both the structural (such as institutions, culture, and social practice) and proximal (such as personal and family context) context and considerations (Cohen and Duberley, 2015) which have influenced, and continue to influence, the career decisions of the interviewees. Two new models formed for this study unpacked the general findings from the 38 narratives: the new multi-stage career transition model and the multi-dimension model of career focus. The multi-stage career transition model is designed to act as a sensitising device for career transitions, as in the career transitions faced by the interviewees within, and between, their home and host country careers. While the multi-dimension model of career focus examines the interviewees' perceptions of career success on three dimensions: success focus, motivation focus and achievement focus

The broad international and national contexts (institutions) were similar for all the interviewees. Within the international political context there were a number of structural changes that had a significant impact on all the sample population in the study. These were the enlargement of the EU and the post-communist transition of Poland and the Baltic republics (Saunders, 2015; Krings et al., 2012). In an example of career structuration, and the duality of structure and agency (Barley, 1989; Duberley et al., 2006), not only did these political and social structures create the conditions that induced, or forced, the interviewees to leave home, but these structures also endowed the interviewees with the agency to consider moving to and working in a host EU country, and thus fashioning and enacting new careers and lives for themselves and their families (Barley, 1989; Duberley et al., 2006).

This period of major European political and social change is the historical (temporal) context of the study as time “specifies when situational constraints and opportunities occur and how they are perceived” (Fried et al., 2007, p.912). Therefore the timing of the historical events in this study, such as EU enlargement, will have affected the interviewees’ career actions and outcomes. The effects of the temporal context may be moderated by the life-stage of each individual. Depending on the age of the interviewees, the historical context may have had a different effect on each interviewee. Georgina, who had lived and worked most of her life in Communist Poland, found the transition to a market economy particularly challenging, possibly as a result of the post-communism effect (Skorikov and Vondracek, 1993). The post-communism effect happens when individuals who had spent long periods of their working life under communism find “Western-style individualism and proactive career behavior” (Inkson, 2007, p.5) difficult to adapt to. The different life stages of the different interviewees may play a role in how each of the interviewees perceived their preferred career paths and career outcomes in very different ways (Fried et al., 2007). See table 6.1 below, which highlights the differences between two sample interviewees who were at different life stages at the time of the interviews. The younger interviewees, such as Muriel (26), who is single with no children, viewed career and career success in a different light than the older interviewees, such as Ollie (41), who is married with two children.

Table 5.1. Example of Life stage effect on career

Name	Ollie	Muriel
Age	41	26
Married	Yes	No
Children	2	0
Push factors	Economic, Family	Personal/Career Development
Career Type	Instrumental	Professionalist
Career Success	Objective/Subjective	Objective
Career Anchor	Lifestyle	Managerial Competence
‘Stickiness’	Lifestyle/Family’s Future	Future Migration Planned

Muriel left home for personal development reasons, and in the host country has pursued a professional career path, where objective success is the dominant form of success sought. Muriel’s career is self-centered, with professional competence her main career anchor and she sees herself eventually moving to a different country for professional

development reasons. Ollie (41), on the other hand, is married with two children, and views career and career success in a different light to Muriel. Ollie left home for economic and family lifestyle reasons. In the host country Ollie has pursued an instrumental career path, foregoing his own professional career as a psychologist in exchange for an instrumental career where objective (earnings) and subjective (lifestyle) success are evenly balanced. Ollie's career is family-centered, with lifestyle his main career anchor and he sees himself settled long-term in Ireland because of the better quality of life available to him and his family. Ollie's story also highlights the need for a broad 'whole-life' career view when unpacking the careers of individual people.

At the national macro structure level, the study is situated during the economic and political transition of the interviewees' home countries, the former communist entities of Poland, Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia (the home countries). The economic and political transitions of these countries to open market economies created the structural push factors which motivated many of the interviewees to emigrate (Saunders, 2015; Krings et al., 2012). Thus, it was the macro context that provided the background to the many individual, micro level motivating factors that pushed the interviewees to leave home and move to a host country (push and pull factors). The main reason for the interviewees leaving (push factor) their home country was an objective financial reason, that is low wages (Kropiweic, 2006; Roeder, 2011).

'I was working two jobs, and my salary in total was only about, I would say €500 a month. My daughter was born about this time; it just wasn't enough to live on' – Jack (Psychologist).

'My role was connected to my degree and I had a lot of responsibility, but I could not live, the wages were low, and living in Lithuania was getting more expensive' – Cindy (Tourism manager).

Alongside this, the then booming economy of Celtic Tiger era Ireland (Boyle, 2006) provided the availability of work and wage levels that attracted the interviewees or their family or friends, all host country specific structural pull factors (Aptekar, 2009; Cook et al., 2011; Grabowska, 2003; Kazlauskienė and Rinkevičius, 2006).

“When my friend’s boyfriend was transferred to Dublin, she moved there. She was mailing me.... Telling me about all the opportunities there were, good job and had a great life, very happy, so I moved to Dublin as well” – Molly

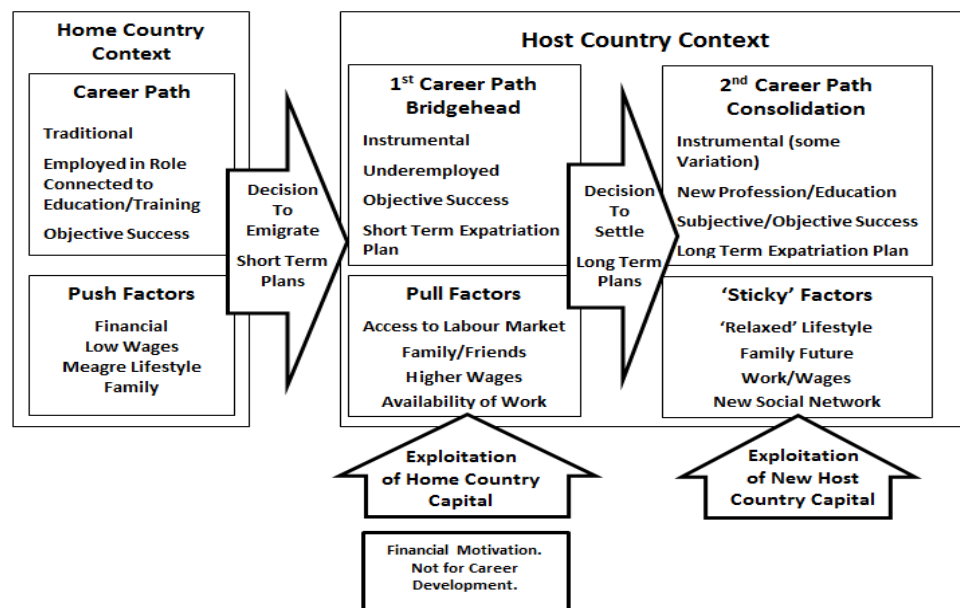
“My brother was in Ireland, he had told me how better his life was there. I felt I could do better for myself too” – Timmy (Crash repair specialist)

These national (macro) level factors were much the same for all interviewees and happened at the historic time of EU enlargement. The enlargement of the EU permitted the interviewees to travel the paths that linked the push factors from Poland, Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia to the pull factors of Ireland.

5.1.2 The EU10 Migrant

While the narratives of each of the migrants is different across their individual life stage etc., and each migrant has crafted their own career path, there are commonalities to their career paths, such as common push and pull factors and the creation a bridgehead career stage when they first arrive in the host country. A framework of this career path, as unpacked in the overall findings, is illustrated below in Figure 5.1.

Figure 5.1 EU 10 Migrant Career Path



5.1.3 Home Country Career

The average age of the skilled migrant in this study is now around 35 years of age and he/she is, or was, married. They are educated to degree level and they were either working full time in their home country, or had recently graduated from university, when they decided to emigrate, such as Paddy and Molly.

“I studied IT and economics... I have a degree; it is in IT and Econometrics. I was working as an IT technician when I decided to come to Ireland” – Paddy.

“I was accepted in the University of Latvia, in Riga... to study for a degree in modern language and business... When I graduated I could have had a job in my Dad’s company... but I wanted to break away from his influence... so I left Latvia” - Molly

This is contrary to the earlier work on Polish and Baltic Republic emigration, such as Saunders (2015) and Grabowska (2003) who cite “the inability to find work in the home country” (Saunders, 2015, p.106) and rising unemployment in the home country (Grabowska, 2003) as the main push factors. The main reason for this study’s interviewees leaving (push factor) their home country was an objective financial reason, that is low wages (Kropiwiec, 2006; Roeder, 2011). This factor was combined with other push effects, such as lack of career development and poor future prospects for their families. The majority of the research participants’ cited push factors could be identified as both objective (low salary) and subjective (fear for children’s future) consequences of macro level economic and political structural issues. These factors resulted in an overall meagre quality lifestyle (Grabowska, 2003; Roeder, 2011) and poor future prospects (Grabowska, 2003; Saunders, 2015) for many of the interviewees, such as Ollie and Sindy.

“The pay was very bad. I needed two jobs just to try to afford a normal life and still I did not earn enough money. I had no quality of life ” – Ollie.

“My role was connected to my degree, and I had a lot of responsibility at this stage... but I just could not live, the wages were low... very low. And living in Lithuania was getting more expensive” – Sindy.

Or for some, like Muriel, a lack of professional work experience (King-O’Riain, 2008) or perceived future prospects (Grabowska, 2006), both personal and career wise, in the new economic and political structures of their home countries, acted as catalysts for them to leave.

“After I graduated, I couldn’t get a good job... I never worked in a job that I was using my education. That’s partly... well that’s the main reason I left, no future. Shit jobs, no money, and no idea if it will improve” – Muriel.

For some, the family institution (Duberley et al., 2006a) also had an influence on the decision to emigrate, mainly in the desire of the interviewee to provide a better standard of living for their family (Kropiwiec, 2006), such as Karen’s and Luke’s stories.

“We had three children, and we wanted a better future for them. I think if I was not married I might have stayed, because my work meant a lot to me. But with three children, I had to think of them” – Karen.

“My last job there [in Lithuania], I was the site foreman... I had married and we had a son, and it was not possible to provide a good living for my family. I had good skills and I...I could not make a good life. That is not what I wanted for my family” – Luke.

For others, such as Vicky, the desire to break away from one’s parents, and create an independent life of their own was another case of the family (Saunders, 2015) as an institution or structure providing the motivation to emigrate.

“I just could not make enough money. I had to move back in with my parents. But I wanted to lead an independent life, so that’s when I started to think about coming to Ireland” – Vicky.

5.1.4 Host Country Career

The planned duration of the move was originally set at two to three years. They came to Ireland to obtain work in any well-paying job, in order to earn higher wages than they could back home (Pearson et al., 2011). These jobs tended to be in low skilled but well paid roles, or at least well paid compared to what the interviewees earned in their professional job roles back home. The overall objective of the original plan was to improve their home based lifestyle by either sending remittances back to their family still in the home country, or using their savings to improve their personal/family circumstances when they repatriated, such as paying off a large portion of a mortgage (Roeder, 2011; Pearson, 2011; Saunders, 2015). This planned short-term term expatriation categorises the interviewees, according to the extant literature, as SIEs (see section 2.4.2). The push factors, such as poor wages, which led to this expatriation for financial reasons, would have consequences later in the migrants’ host country career, such as career stagnation. Most of the interviewees made little or no preparation for career development when they emigrated, such as getting their qualifications ratified or their university transcripts translated. This was because of the planned short duration of their move to Ireland, and, more importantly, because they were not moving countries for career development reasons (Pearson, 2011). Consequently, they put their profession or trade on hold and, with a new developing instrumental career script (Duberley et al, 2006b); they left home with the sole objective of earning as much money as possible. For some this would have longer-term consequences when they decided to settle long term in the host country.

“My mother earned minimum wage and in Poland that’s very little, and costs were going up... all the time up. That’s why I came to Ireland. I worked as a general operative and earned more in a week than she got in a month. I sent money to help her, still do... to cut down on hours she works” – Eleanor.

This meant that their existing career habitus, capital and scripts were now, largely redundant due the transition to the host country career. For most, this transition meant moving from working in a profession and field that was embedded in their home country institutions to working in a 'job' in a new country for the purely objective aim of raising money. This change in career is a stark example of how the political, social and economic structures of the home country can affect the career path of the individual career actor.

“Look, I was 30 years of age, a qualified teacher with a Master’s degree, so I was not stupid... I knew I would have to take a job at a much lower level. This I did not mind, at first, because the pay was so much better... You probably realise there are not too many vacancies in Wicklow [rural area in Ireland] for a Lithuanian history teacher” - Vince.

“I liked it [working as a psychologist with drug addicts], it was very interesting... but my English...no way I could work in psychological work in Ireland... but it’s more than that, addicts have their own language and way of living. I have no clue how they speak, live in Ireland. I realised there was no way I could work as psychologist in Ireland... so I learned to drive a truck” – Ollie.

The consequences of this short-term view, such as a lack of qualification recognition, would later become a career barrier, when their migration plans changed from the short term to long term.

The main factor that encouraged the majority of the interviewees (n=27) to move to Ireland (pull factors) was the presence of family or friends already living in the host country (Palloni et al., 2001), Ireland. These family or friends acted as proxies for other pull factors, such as informing the interviewees of the availability of work and providing details about wage levels that were superior to those available at home. This use of family and friends in the host country, which is the use of existing social capital, is particularly important in the early stages of the skilled migrants’ host country careers (White and Ryan, 2008; Phan et al., 2015). The interaction, and action, with the family and friends already based in the host country enacts new career scripts ((Duberley et

al., 2006b) which then constitute new careers (in the broad sense) in the host country. As can be seen from Tommy's narrative (see below), some of this advice was very pertinent and forward thinking. Tommy's social contacts already based in Ireland, advised Tommy to prepare for his career transition by organising the transfer of his cultural capital, which could then be mobilised as symbolic capital in the engineering field in the host country. However, Tommy's case, along with three others, were the exceptions concerning forward planning and career capital transference, with the majority making little or no plans for continuing their home career in the host country

“My friend had moved to Ireland... He was working for an engineering company. He told me to get my trade papers in order, then I could get a good job there too, wages were so much better. So I moved to Ireland” – Tommy.

Previous studies of similar research populations, such as Pearson (2011) and Saunders (2015), cite adventure as one of the major motivating factors for people to emigrate. However, in the findings of this study, adventure was not a main motivating factor, with only four of the interviewees citing adventure as playing any part in their motivation to emigrate; these were Steve, Georgina, Gerry and Anthony. However, within a short time of arriving, all of the interviewees who cited adventure as a push factor were on a similar career track to the majority of the interviewees, enabled and sometimes hindered, or blocked, by the host country structures. The need for adventure was recounted in an almost embarrassed tone by Georgina, who remarked on her own naivety on what she originally expected when she came to Ireland. Georgina portrays an attitude of regret caused largely by the negative impact of the macro structures in Ireland. Georgina, as one of the oldest interviewees, may also illustrate an age-related pattern in her career path. As she nears retirement age, Georgina now longs for home (Poland).

“It wasn't a career move as you say. I just felt I needed an adventure and experience. I just thought I would be 2-3 years in Ireland and, yes earn some money, but also see new things, have an adventure... I had read lots of things about Ireland, the country... the beauty you

know it was a rather romantic reason, naïve even, for picking Ireland.” – Georgina.

Three more of the interviewees came for what they described as ‘love’ (Alan, Maria and Mary), and they followed a loved one who had already migrated to Ireland. However, like those that migrated for adventure, those that followed their loved ones soon developed a new career script in the host country. For these two cohorts, that is those that came to Ireland for either love or adventure, the availability of work and higher wage rates were not major factors in their decision to emigrate.

“I fell in love... My wife, well she was my girlfriend then, after she finished her studies, she moved to Ireland. And then after three months, I decided to move to Ireland as well” – Alan

5.1.5 Bridgehead Career Stage

The majority (n=32) did not have had a job to come to, but some had interviews pre-arranged by their family or friends already in Ireland. Most went on to develop a two stage career path in Ireland (n=34). When they first arrived in Ireland they developed what this study has termed the ‘Bridgehead’ career stage, where they quickly sought out the first available jobs to establish themselves, and possibly their dependents, in a secure setting. The ‘Bridgehead’ metaphor originates from military parlance. It describes the use of an initial, secure position gained in a host country, which is then used as a secure base from which to further advance or progress in the host country. The researcher considers the use of the ‘Bridgehead’ metaphor as more apt than the use of the ‘foot in the door’ idiom in some extant literature, such as Saunders (2015), ‘Foot in the door’ seems to suggest that migrants are taking low level jobs in an organisation in order to gain entry to the organization for career development purposes. This was not the case with this study’s interviewees’ initial entry into the Irish labor market. Their rationale for taking the early job roles was to gain an income to provide security and a base from which to develop their host country earning potential, and not to start an organisational career path.

This ‘Bridgehead’ stage involved the interviewee exploiting, to some extent his/her home country social capital, (Bourdieu, 1986), as in using their network of

family and friends already resident in the host country. A few utilised their home country cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986) through utilising their education or experience in a job that was related to their home profession. Such as Eleanor who had a degree in history and, in Ireland, worked as a general operative with an archeology company. Her role involved investigating historical sites that were near proposed new motorway routes. While a history degree was not required for the role, Eleanor recounted that most of the general operatives working for this company had an education background based in the study of history. Eleanor makes sense of her role as a general operative by recounting how her home country cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986) was a facilitating factor in her obtaining that position. However, some migrants (n=4) never break out of the ‘bridgehead’ stage, with one interviewee, Georgina, describing the experience of being trapped in a low skilled/low paid role as being similar to being “stuck in a swamp”.

A number of the narratives recount how the migrants eventually realised, usually when they were on a short trip back home, that they were not going to be repatriating home anytime soon. These narratives portray the change to a longer-term migration plan as seeming to happen almost unbeknownst to the interviewees. Conceptually, the change in plans to a longer duration, or permanent move, redefines the research population as now becoming more akin to migrants than SIEs (see section 2.4.2). This illustrates the need for a more dynamic and flexible view on how researchers view how skilled migrants their careers. This change in plans, from short term to long-term move to the host country, was partly caused by the continuing structural issues back home, such as the continuing low-wage economy. The positive effects of the interviewees’ new career scripts (post ‘Bridgehead’ career stage) in the migrants’ host country career actions also played a role in this transition, with the new career scripts adding to the perceived ‘stickiness’ of the host country life.

“I had no plan, just come over for a year or so...make some money and go back. I didn’t think I would be living here so many years later”
– Anthony.

“By then I was in Ireland over 18 months, I was very happy here, well happy with my life anyway.... And I wanted to stay” – Vicky.

So I went there [new job], a new role and less money, at first, but it had a better future... but I took the chance and, thank God, it worked. I am there four years now, and now I am sales manager” – Arnie.

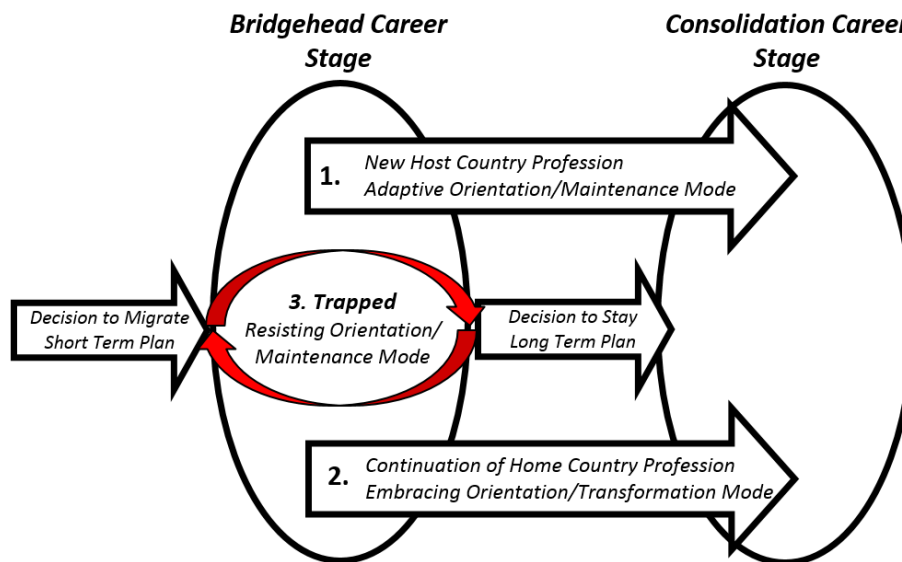
A number of interviewees describe this ‘fateful moment’ (Giddens, 1990) as the moment when they realised they have grown to see the host country as home. Giddens (1990) defines ‘fateful moments’ as the time when ‘events come together in such a way that an individual stands at a crossroads in their existence or where a person learns of information with fateful consequences’ (Giddens, 1991. p.13). This study terms this realisation the ‘Ryanair’ effect. Ryanair are a low cost short haul European airline, and are the largest European airline by scheduled passengers flown, carrying more international passengers than any other airline (O’Halloran, 2016). The growth of low cost airlines has accompanied, perhaps even nurtured, the growth in EU10 migration, with some researchers seeing Ryanair as defining this new wave of European migration (Burrell, 2011a). Budget airlines have allowed recent generations of emigrants to return ‘home’ for frequent short-term visits. A number of the interviewees, such as Ollie, Eddie and Gerry, describe how, when visiting their home country, they gradually came to view the visits to what was their ‘home’ becoming more akin to holidays, and in turn, coming to view the return flight to Ireland as the flight ‘home’. Interestingly for Georgina, this process has now turned full circle and now her flights to Poland have regained the description as flying home. Georgina puts this down to her age, 58, and as retirement becomes closer she would like to return to where she has lived most of her life. The negative aspects of Georgina’s host country career, such as qualification recognition issues, exploitation and work related illness, may also have a bearing on this view. This is an important area for further research, the age/retirement plans of skilled migrants, as this will have a multi-level (macro and micro) impact in both home and host countries, such as on state pensions and on remittances.

5.1.6 Consolidation Career Stage

The ‘Bridgehead’ stage has three possible outcomes. See figure 5.2 on the following page for a framework of the ‘Bridgehead’ career outcomes, developed from this research study’s findings. Outcomes one and two, which are the outcomes for the majority (n=34), results in the ‘Consolidation’ career stage. Outcome one involves the

migrant moving into a different profession than the one they had qualified for or worked in back in their home country. This new career transition involved creating new career scripts. Some of this cohort are in jobs connected to their original profession (such as Timmy, who was a crashed car repair specialist back in his home country and is now working as spray painter in an engineering company). Others in this cohort are in roles connected to their personal interests (such as Vince, a teacher back in his home country, who has turned his gardening hobby into a grounds maintenance business). While others, such as Paddy and Mary, keep in contact to their original profession and career identity through private work on the host country black economy. They utilize their home country capital, such as their cultural or social capital, to operate in the area they were originally trained or qualified in. The black economy involves the production and selling of goods and services that happens without the relevant revenue authorities knowledge, thus avoiding the payment of taxes on the goods or services. Operating in this manner allows Paddy and Mary achieve two things: They earn extra tax free, but illegal, income, while they also stay in touch with their home country profession.

Figure 5.2. Three outcomes of ‘Bridgehead’ career stage.



This first career path out of the ‘Bridgehead’ stage bears similarities to the adaptive migrant worker career orientation identified by Zikic et al. (2010). As reviewed in section 2.5.2, Zikic et al’s (2010) adaptive career orientation, as with the Al Ariss (2010) maintenance mode, sees the skilled migrant career adapt to the host

country labour market and craft a career to suit the host country's labour market. In this study, it represents those migrants who work within the barriers they perceive as inhibiting their career path, be they structural, personal etc., to craft their desired career outcome. For example, Paddy, a qualified IT engineer who works in a semi-skilled role in an Irish factory, works at weekends repairing PCs and network problems for some small companies. Mary, a qualified primary teacher who works as a carer in an Irish nursing home, at weekends teaches aspects of the Polish primary school curriculum to young Polish children born in Ireland.

Outcome two sees the migrant continuing his/her home career in the host country, such as Victoria who continued her nursing career and Jack who obtained verification for his home country qualification as a psychologist. This career outcome is more akin to the 'Embracing' migrant worker career orientation (Zikic et al., 2010), where the skilled migrant, who is motivated and ambitious, is driven by the will to succeed in the host country and takes advantage of career opportunities offered in the host country. In this case, Victoria and Jack both sought validation for their home country qualifications by taking extra classes and exams in Ireland in order to maintain their pre-existing career scripts from the home country. While they were working towards validation of their home country qualifications, they worked in 'bridgehead' jobs in order to pay the bills and gain financial security.

The third outcome involves the individual remaining in the 'Bridgehead' stage, trapped between settling long term in the host country and returning to their home country. Georgina is an example of an interviewee trapped in this stage. Georgina is dependent on the Irish health services because of her health needs, but is not settled here as she wants to move back to Poland as she approaches the twilight era of her working career. This outcome has parallels with the third of Zikic et al's migrant worker career orientations, which is 'Resisting' (Zikic et al., 2010). This is where "the migrant emphasises on what they perceive as objective career boundaries, which they consider impossible to overcome" (Zikic et al., 2010, p.678). This third outcome also bears similarities to Al Ariss's (2010) opting out mode of engagement, where the migrant simply gives up on their career development in the host country.

The finding and identifying of the two host-country career stages, from the Bridgehead career stage to the Consolidation stage, and the two career transitions along the skilled migrants' career paths is not something this researcher encountered in the contemporary literature. The finding of these multiple career transitions, with

transitions (from Bridgehead to Consolidation) within transitions (from home country to host country), highlights the dynamic nature of the migrants' careers in a detail not before covered in the literature. It is this dynamism of career that the new model of career transition, developed for this study, brings into focus. This differentiates this contribution from extant work, such as Al Ariss (2010), Duberley et al. (2006) and Zikic et al. (2010). The work by Al Ariss (2010) and Zikic et al. (2010) deals with how skilled migrants manage contextual influences and barriers to their careers, but does not identify actual career stages (such as the Bridgehead) or career types (such as Instrumentalist).

The 'Consolidation' stage develops for the migrants alongside the realisation that their plan to stay short term have evolved into more long-term prospects. Therefore, the need to develop a long-term, settled career becomes more prominent in the migrants' career plans. For those who succeed in progressing to the 'Consolidation' stage, their career path is, contrary to the extant literature (Al Ariss et al., 2012; Al Ariss and Özbilgin, 2010; Burgess et al., 2013; Cook et al., 2011), influenced by agentic career decisions. This is the case for Vince. After realizing that the symbolic capital of his Lithuanian qualification as a history teacher was not readily transferrable to the Irish labour market, Vince turned his gardening hobby into a viable business. Similarly, for Eddie, a qualified plumber, who returned to education when the construction trade went into a recession. Eddie has since created a career in sales management in an area related to the construction industry. This utilisation of new and/or altered career scripts, developed since the interviewee migrated to the host country, is a feature common to the majority of those in the 'Consolidation' career stage. The new career scripts may involve new social capital, such as Mary, Jack and Sarah who all used social contacts created during their 'Bridgehead' career to break out of their early stage host country career. The new career scripts may also involve new cultural capital as in education (such as Eddie – business degree, Adam – masters and PhD and Lisa – specialised banking diploma), or new host country work experience gained in the 'Bridgehead' career to progress in their employing organisation (such Paddy, Gerry and Eleanor).

However, all interviewees have experienced barriers of some sort, structural and personal, to their careers. The most common barriers cited are the interviewees' poor language abilities (such as Anthony, Luke and Eleanor), lack of recognised, or translated, qualifications (Andy, Lisa and Tommy), and fear of change or lack of self – confidence (such as Paddy, Tony and Mary). These findings concur with much of the

extant literature, such as Berry and Bell (2012); Crowley-Henry and Al Ariss (2016); Subedi and Rosenberg (2016) and Zhu et al. (2016). Structural barriers were mainly cited by those who experienced issues with qualification recognition (n=7). In these cases professional bodies, acting as gatekeepers, are authorised to set entry requirements but also act as gatekeepers, limiting entry to the professions. See section 2.5.2. Narratives, such as Georgina's, Jack's and Karen's, seem to verify this view. On the other hand, those with an entrepreneurial career (such as Adam, Terry and Vicky) positively cited the host country structural supports available to them. They praised the ease of setting up and doing business in Ireland, which has positively contributed to the agency of their career actions.

At the micro level, examples of personal barriers may be a lack of host-country language ability, self-confidence or experiences of their home country structures. The last is a particularly important factor in unpacking the effect of structures on career actions and agency. Migrants that lived their formative, or later years under communist controlled regimes were sometimes found to lack the ability or confidence to change from the centrally controlled system of work to the individually driven career development common in Western and market economies (Skorikov and Vondracek, 1993). In such countries, the emphasis, in communist times, was on work and the collective, not on careers and the individual. Inkson (2007) notes that past communist systems and their nepotism, corruption and political based systems of advancement all had a telling effect on how individuals who lived under these systems viewed career. While these issues (nepotism etc.) can arise in Western economies, the context of communist era eastern bloc countries is very different to that that prevails in most Western countries (Inkson, 2007). This issue seems to flag a possible post-colonial issue, and while the researcher did pursue this angle, the narratives of the interviewees did not back this contention up. Many of the interviewees (n=21) who lived, or were raised by parents who lived, under Soviet or Communist control displayed a form of superiority and a self-confident view towards the ex-Soviets or communists with "multiple negative representations of Russians... as weaker politically, more 'backward', and less civilised" (Mayblin et al., 2016). These interviewees seemed to look to the West for modernity and inspiration. Conversely, nine interviewees expressed positive recollections or yearnings for the past. Among this nine were six of the ethnic Russians interviewees and three of the interviewees who were labelled as trapped in the Bridgehead career stage (Georgina, Alfie and Karen)

The majority of the interviewees have been living in Ireland for 6-8 years, and are (re)married or in a long-term relationship. They intend to stay for the immediate future, which, according to literature, would classify them as migrants. Their major reasons for staying in Ireland are what this study terms as their 'sticky factors'. Ten of the interviewees described the 'relaxed' quality of life in Ireland as a major sticky factor. With the term 'relaxed' being how they described the quality and appeal of the host country lifestyle available to them and their families. Overall, family-related factors have a large influence on the interviewees' reasons for settling long term in Ireland. However, within the contemporary skilled migrant literature the "social dimensions and issues around the family has not yet entered the mainstream debates of international migration studies" (Shinozaki, 2014). Instead, these tend to focus on the economic and human capital aspects of skilled migration. There are exceptions, such as Richardson's (2004) examination of the family's role in the decision to expatriate, but mainly the role of the family is ignored or underexplored in existing literature. This is a surprising omission considering how family had a very strong influence on the migrants' career decisions in this study.

Importantly, many of the interviewees now have an instrumental view of career. An instrumentalist approach to career is where work is seen as a means to other ends (Thomas, 1996), such as an improved quality of life or better future opportunities for one's family. However, instrumentalism may hide other factors in the individual's career actions, such as fear of change and the need for security (Thomas, 1989). For detail on the instrumentalist approach to career, please see section 6.3.2.

Conceptually, the skilled migrant may be described as meandering from one career perspective to another. Such as Vince, who meanders from a traditional career perspective, evident in his teaching career back in Lithuania, to an entrepreneurial career in the host country, turning what his gardening hobby into a gardening business. Or a boundaryless career for Lisa who views her current role in Ireland as just one part of her career development, with future expatriation necessary to further her career. The interviewees' major career anchor is now a lifestyle anchor, and a secondary anchor may supplement this, which is usually the security/stability anchor. This is a change from their major home country career anchors, which will have varied across the research population, from managerial competence anchor to technical/functional competence anchors. These home country anchors were more evident in the traditional career concept, as was described in many of the interviewees' home career narratives,

than the entrepreneurial creativity or internationalism anchors later evident in the host country career narratives.

The above description is a general overview of the findings, but it must be stressed that each interviewee's story is individual and different, with nuances to how their careers have unfolded and were crafted in Ireland. Each migrant's capital, background, culture, circumstance etc. will have affected the crafting of their own unique and dynamic career path and life in Ireland. However, just as there is one very general narrative running through the interviews, there also emerged a number of similar career scripts, which are clustered around common themes. These themes included those interviewees with an entrepreneurial flair and a desire for autonomy, or the interviewees with a very strong 'been there, done that' attitude and who now prioritised family, lifestyle and quality of life over profession and professional development. It is these career scripts and connected typologies that are described next.

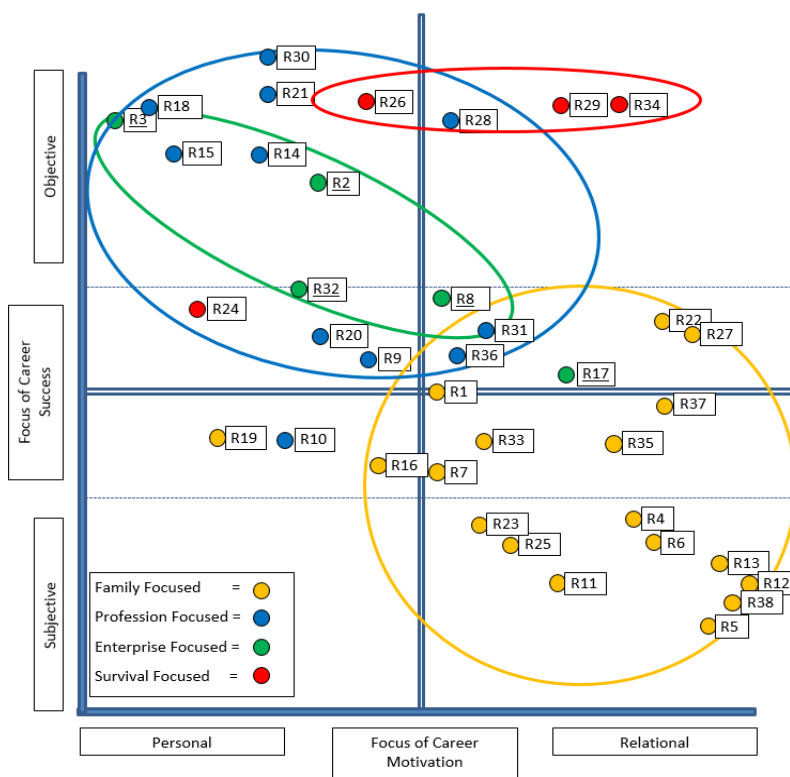
5.2 Career Scripts and Typologies:

The career scripts in this research emerged in the analysis of the migrants' career motivations, perceptions of success and focus of the career outcomes, as told in their career narratives. The narratives contained descriptions of the interviewees' push/pull factors, their career anchors, perceptions of success, career paths and capital mobilisation. These factors were used to plot the career paths of each interviewee, which disclosed a clustering effect of similar narratives. Further study of the narrative clusters and an amalgamation of the findings that emerged from the career narratives resulted in two of the study's findings: the multi-dimensional plot of career focus and the three migrant career typologies (the Instrumentalist, Professionalist and Trapped career typologies). A fourth typology was also identified, the Entrepreneurial typology, which was the same as the Entrepreneur typology identified by Kanter's (1989) work on career forms. These typologies provide the analytical potential for unpacking the careers of various groups of workers, such as individuals on re-training schemes or those facing career disruption, such as redundancy or repatriated workers.

Originally, each individual's career script was plotted on a 2D axis based on the subjective/objective success distinction (Hughes, 1937, 1958; Heslin, 2005) and the personal/relational focus of the career motivations (Heslin, 2005; Ituma et al., 2011).. The plotting of each interviewee along the focus of career success (vertical) axis depends on the balance of the relationship between the interviewee's perceptions of

objective (promotion, financial reward) and subjective (e.g. work-life balance) career success. The second (horizontal) axis, drawing on the work of Heslin (2005) and Ituma et al. (2011), plots the focus of the motivation for the interviewee’s career actions. The personal motivation focus describes when the individual’s career actions are driven by personal motivation, such as the desire for professional development or promotion. The relational motivation focus describes when the individual’s career actions are motivated to benefit others, such as family or a social group. See figure 5.4 below for a plotting of the interviewees’ career scripts on a 2D axis

Figure 5.4. 2D plots of the identified career scripts



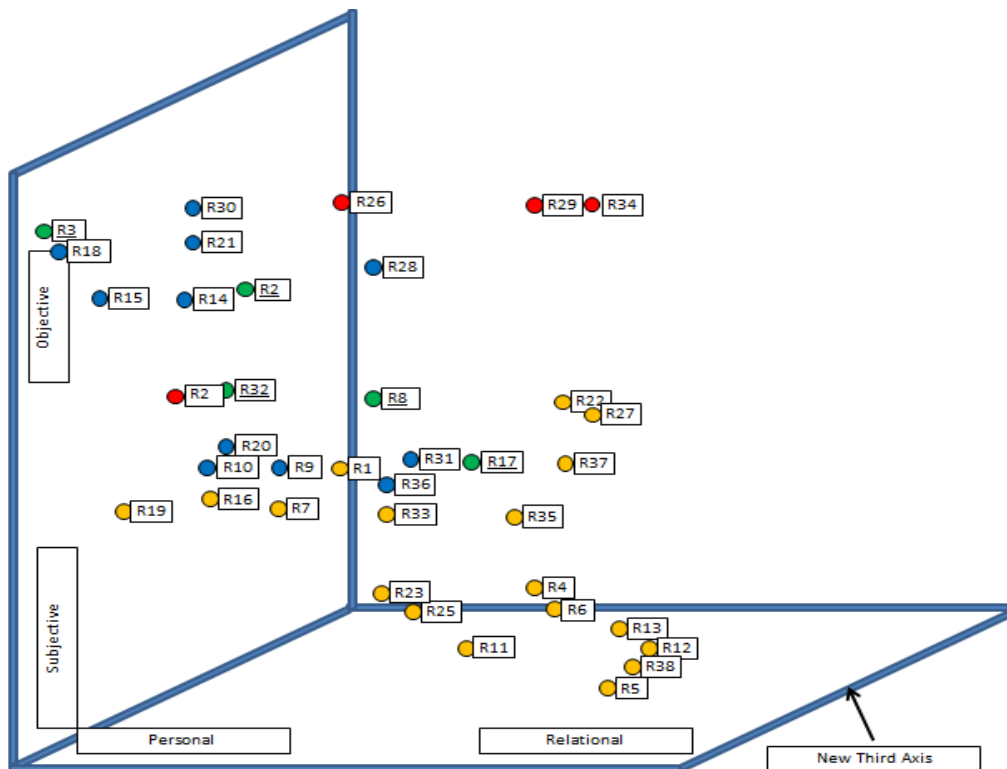
The process utilised in identifying the career scripts involved assessing the motivating force behind the careers of the interviewees. Was the main driver of the career one’s self or for one’s family or friends, or in other words, was the career motivation personal or relational? Was the desired success mainly of an objective nature, such as higher wages for financial security or promotion, or a form of success that was more subjective in nature, such as a good quality of work/life balance or less stress in one’s life? Which career outcomes were prioritised in the narratives?

While the narratives highlighted a more enterprise based, entrepreneurial script for some, other narratives contained a strong instrumental ‘work to live’ view, while more tended to be focused on professional development, and finally a few interviewees seemed to be just surviving, narrating a tale of resignation to dead end, low skilled jobs. When the careers were plotted on the 2D axis, what were, from analysis of the overall narratives, obviously very different career scripts were plotting in similar cluster areas. This was a particular concern with the profession-focused scripts and the enterprise focused scripts. The profession focused scripts and the enterprise-focused scripts contained obviously different career motivations and outcomes, yet on the 2D plot they were seemingly the same. This plotting of such different scripts in the same sector led to the realisation that the 2D axis lacked the depth and nuance to differentiate between what were very different career scripts. Therefore, further study of the narratives was undertaken in order to identify and isolate pertinent differences between the profession focused and enterprise-focused scripts.

So what were the differences between what was eventually labelled the ‘Entrepreneurial’ career and the ‘Professionalist’ career? The answer to this question highlighted the need for an additional axis that could further differentiate between the career scripts, thereby creating a multi-dimensional axis of career. See Figure 5.5 on the following page.

When, what was to become, the ‘Entrepreneurial’ career and the ‘Professionalist’ career scripts were compared and contrasted, new questions emerged: What was the driving force of the career, the individual or the organisation? Where was the locus of control of the career centred, with the individual or organisation? Were the outcomes focused on development for the family (such as lifestyle and future prospects), development for the self (such as professional development) or development of a business or enterprise (increased markets or industries)? Those in the entrepreneurial cluster wanted autonomy and control of one’s own career and business. Their motivating forces were the creation of valued outputs and growth of an enterprise, with this taking place in a field of the career actors choosing (Kanter, 1989). Thus a successful career for these entrepreneurial individuals might never involve a change in title, role or organisation, but increased growth of one’s enterprises. “Instead of moving UP, those in an entrepreneurial career see progress when the territory grows BELOW them – and when they OWN a share of the returns” [emphasis in the original] (Kanter, 1989, p.516).

Figure 5.5. Third axis of career success and motivation



The profession-focused interviewees were motivated by individual professional development. Increased skills, experience, promotion and status were their desired outcomes. In this study the personal professional development tended to be organisational based development, in the individual’s professional field. However, this development, for some, was not always tied to one organisation (Kanter, 1989).

To summarise, the ‘Entrepreneur’ sought freedom, autonomy and control (Inkson, 2007), and their career is based around an enterprise, a territory of growth (Kanter, 1989), while the ‘Professionalist’ sought reputation, professional skills and position, and their career is based on personal growth and development. The Instrumentalists were focused on family and/or quality of life. Work was seen as a means to an end, as a means to ‘relaxed’, quality life, with a positive work/life balance. These distinctions gave us the third axis based on where the focus of the career outcomes/achievements were centred. The differentiating factor on this axis was based on family-centred achievement, personal-centred achievement or enterprise centred development. See Figure 5.6 on the following page for the multi-dimensional model of career focus.

Figure 5.6. The multi-dimensional model of career focus

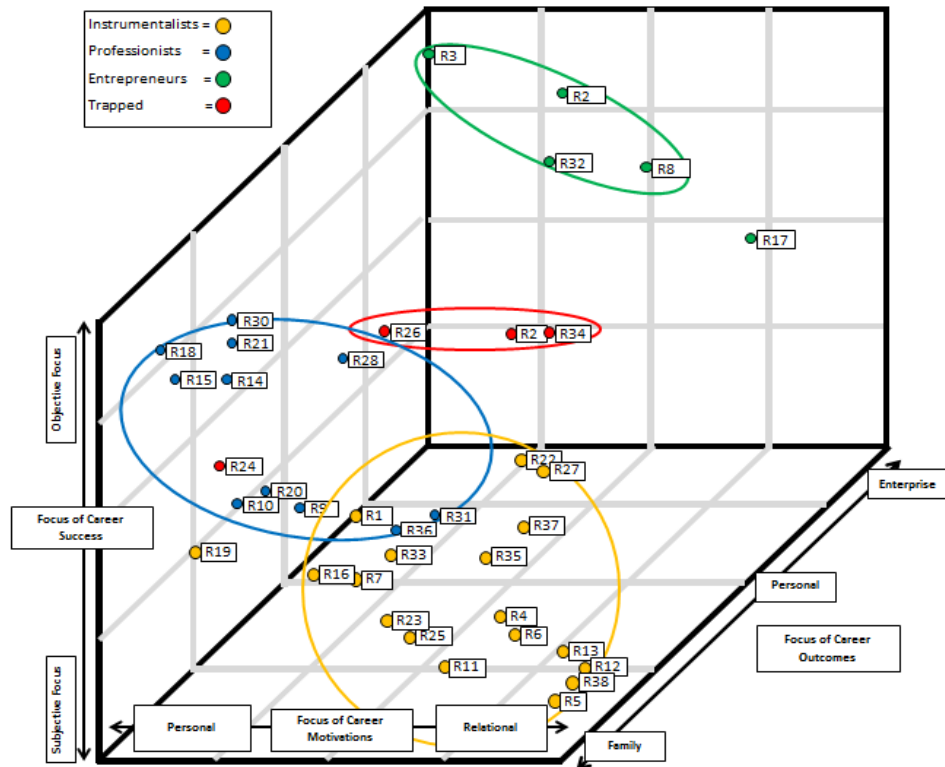
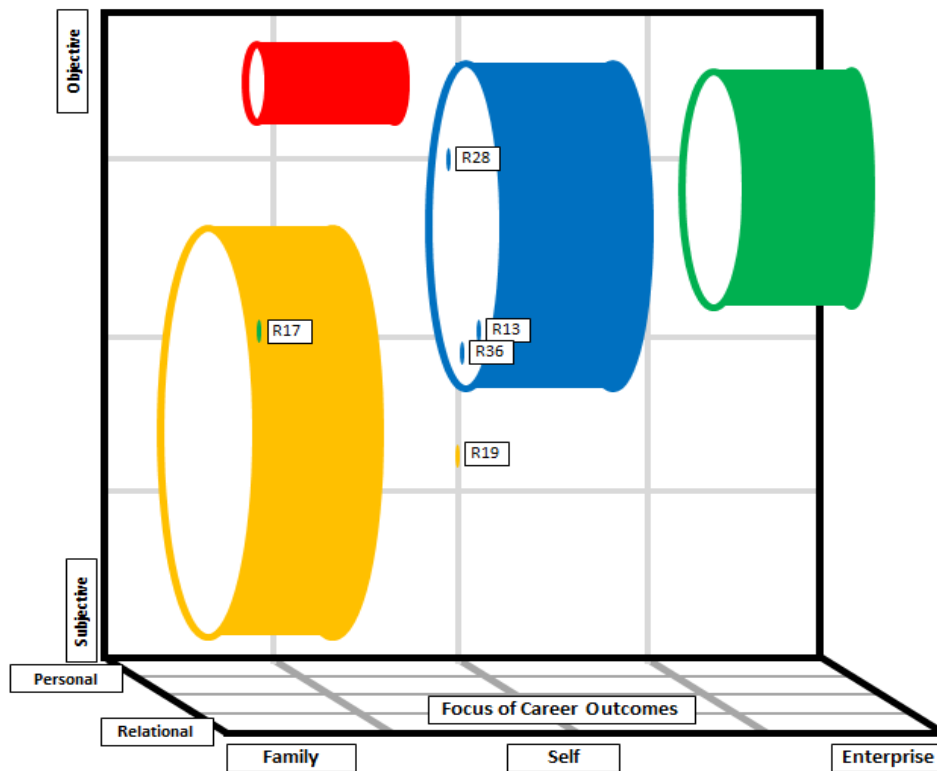


Figure 5.7 on the following page is a side elevation of third axis on the study’s multi-dimensional model of career focus. This angle highlights the different focus of the career outcomes, such as how the Entrepreneurs’ career motivations and actions are based around growth of their enterprise or territory (Kanter, 1989). Those with a profession focused career are motivated and energised by individual professional development. The balance of the focus, between family, self and enterprise, varied between interviewee. The depth of the axis covered by each typology illustrates this. For example, within the instrumental cohort the focus of the career outcomes, varied between each interviewee. For some, such as David and Susan, their career outcomes were strongly focused on their family, while other instrumentalists, like Paddy and Mary, had a combined focus on both family and personal outcomes. The side elevation also illustrates the outliers in each cohort, who are examined in the following sections on the four typologies.

The career scripts led to the typology of the Instrumentalist (n=18), the Professionalist (n=11), the Entrepreneur (n=5) and the Trapped (n=4), created from the

sample of skilled migrants interviewed for this study. The foundations of the typologies lay in the work of Kanter (1989) and Thomas (1989). The career scripts are an intermediary between the macro structures and the micro-level career actions. They guide and shape the career actors' actions, but the career actor can also reinterpret and enact the career scripts according to the career context (Barley, 1989).

Figure 5.7. Side View of multi-dimensional Career Plots



The following section details the attributes of each career script, which is then followed by a detailed analysis, including supporting quotes, of the home and host career paths of four skilled migrants, chosen as exemplars of the four career scripts that emerged from the narratives.

The Instrumentalist

The 'Instrumentalist' career scripts are mainly centred on a relational and subjective plot, with career outcomes focused on one's family. The majority of the narratives, n=18, revealed an instrumentalist approach to career. The details of 18 interviewees that identified with an 'Instrumentalist' career are outlined in Table 6.2.

David's narrative is utilised to do justice to the depth and diversity of the career actions of those interviewees adopting this view. There is one 'Instrumentalist' outlier, Timmy (R19). This is explained by the fact that Timmy is single and has few dependents, as in either children in Ireland or family depending on remittances being sent home. At this part of his life stage Timmy sees work as a means to provide him with an enjoyable and good quality lifestyle.

Table 5.2. The 'Instrumentalists'

Name	Age	Status	Education/Skilled	Underemployed	'Stickiness'
R1 - Steve	36	Long Term Relationship	Degree	Yes	Lifestyle/Family
R4 - Paddy	35	Married	Degree	Yes	Family/lifestyle
R5 - David	35	Married	Degree	Yes	Family/lifestyle
R6 - Ian	35	Married	Degree	Yes	Family/lifestyle
R7 - Bruce	44	Single	Skilled trade	Yes	Lifestyle
R11 - Eleanor	33	Relationship	Degree	Yes	Relationship/Lifestyle
R12 - Ollie	41	Married	Masters	Yes	Family/Lifestyle
R13 - Amanda	35	Married	Masters	Yes	Family/Lifestyle
R16 - Tommy	42	Separated	Skilled trade	No	Lifestyle/Family
R19 - Timmy	32	Single	Skilled Trade	Yes	Lifestyle
R22 - Andy	35	Long Term Relationship	Skilled trade	Yes	Lifestyle/Relationship
R23 - Annie	36	Long Term Relationship	Degree	Yes	Lifestyle/Relationship
R25 - Susan	37	Married	Masters	Yes	Family/Lifestyle
R27 - Anthony	35	Married	Skilled Trade	Yes	Family/Lifestyle
R33 - Arnold	33	Long Term Relationship	Degree	Yes	Lifestyle/relationship
R35 - Duke	52	Married	Degree	Yes	Lifestyle/Family
R37 - Arnie	34	Married	Skilled Trade	No	Family/Lifestyle
R38 - Mary	36	Married	Masters	Yes	Family/Lifestyle

The importance of both the subjective quality of work (less stress and sociable hours) and life (time with family), above the objective importance of career development and advancement opportunities, is very prominent in the 'Instrumentalist' career script. It is this emphasis on a good quality of life, be it personal and/or family that bonds this sample in terms of a common career script. Work seen as a means of achieving this quality of life. This main career anchor is the lifestyle anchor, with secondary security and stability career anchors. The host country sticky factors are the 'relaxed' and better quality of life (subjective and objective), as well as better future prospects for family than is available at home. As lifestyle and family are the priorities,

with profession a low priority, the interviewees tend to be underemployed (n=16). This does not mean that work is not important to individuals, or necessarily that the individual is not happy or satisfied in their work. All the interviewees, who cited lifestyle or the family's future as their reason for working at what they did, had a pragmatic view to work and realised its importance in providing the lifestyle or future they desired. While there is evidence of career stagnation, the interviewees in this cohort describe themselves as being content with their job/career in Ireland, but more importantly, for them, they are happy with the lifestyle that this job/career has provided for them. What was more important in the 'Instrumentalist' narrative is that lifestyle or quality of family life was not something they were prepared to sacrifice for career promotion or career development reasons. An interesting finding is that the only 'Instrumental' narratives that displayed a slightly stronger emphasis on objective success, R22 and R27, were narratives from skilled tradesmen, which may have been because their craft was a stronger part of their identity than say a third level Master's degree was with other interviewees. To sum up, an instrumentalist places greater value on life and responsibilities that are external to their job, even if this means foregoing promotion or development opportunities (Thomas, 1989).

The 'Professionalist'

The 'Professionalist' career script is centred in the objective and personal quadrant, with career outcomes focused on one's self. An accurate reflection considering the 'Professionalist' career is defined by personal and objective gains, such as promotion, experience and challenging roles that require an ever-increasing personal skill level (Kanter, 1989). The finding that eight out of the eleven 'Professionalists' were single is interesting. The lack of dependents, or family respondents, seemed to allow for a greater focus on one's personal career development.

Following the work of Valette and Culié (2015) on utilizing career scripts as pertinent tools "for both describing and theorizing about careers" (Valette and Culié, 2015, p.1746), the career script of the 'Professionalist' is based on a mix of two of Kanter's (1989) "three career patterns" (Kanter, 1989, p.510), namely the professional and bureaucratic career structures. The third of Kanter's (1989) career patterns is the entrepreneurial career, which the next career script is based on. The 'Professionalist' career is defined by advancement, experience and challenging roles that require an ever-increasing skill level (Kanter, 1989). The rationale for basing this career type on

the two forms of career by Kanter (1989) is because the interviewees who choose to pursue their home profession in the host country cited both professional development (Kanter's professional career pattern) and organisational advancement (Kanter's bureaucratic career pattern) as career drivers. See Table 6.3 for details of the interviewees identified with the 'Professionalist' career script.

Table 5.3. The 'Professionists'

Name	Age	Status	Education/Skilled	Underemployed	'Stickiness'
R9 - Maria	28	Married	Masters	No	Career/Relationship
R10 - Molly	28	Single	Degree	No	Career/Lifestyle
R14 - Muriel	26	Single	Degree	Yes	Career/Lifestyle
R15 - Sarah	31	Single	Degree	No	Career/Lifestyle
R18 - Lisa	34	Single	Degree	Yes	Career
R20 - Luke	40	Divorced	Skilled Trade	No	Career/Lifestyle
R21 - Sindy	32	Single	Degree	No	Career/Family
R28 - Eddie	36	In Relationship	Degree	No	Career/Relationship
R30 - Adam	32	Single	Doing PhD	No	Career/Education
R31 - Jack	35	Married	Masters	No	Career/Family
R36 - Victoria	44	Married	Degree	No	Career/Family

Reputation as a skilled practitioner or craftsman, managerial title or position and extrinsic displays of career success were all important to the interviewees in this type of career. Individual organisational loyalty is not essentially important to all, but some see their progression in their employing organisation as an important metric of their career, such as Sindy in her hotel managerial role, and Eddie in his sales management role. However, some 'Professionists', following a boundaryless career path, may move organisations a number of times as they build their experience, skills and reputation, such as Muriel and Sarah. For Sarah her 'Professionalist' career script points to future moves to new organisations to develop her portfolio of managerial skills and reputation, before she settles on a long-term position. The interviewees in this category are from across the skilled trades and professions. What is important is the progression and development of their profession, whether this profession is as a stonemason or a psychologist. What is important is that, while subjective success is appreciated, work life balance or starting a family may be sacrificed in order to achieve the next promotion or career step. Structural barriers were mainly cited by the 'Professionists' who experienced difficulties with qualification recognition. Much of their struggle to restart

their home country profession in the host labour market stemmed from “the lack of recognition they receive[d] for their foreign capital and their dealing with often entirely new ‘rules of the game’ inherent in the local context” (Zikic et al., 2010, p.670).

Three ‘Professionists’ did display a slightly stronger relational focus in their career scripts, R28 - Eddie, R31 - Jack and R36 - Victoria, however all three are married, or in a long term relationship, with children which may account for the stronger relational focus. For example, Victoria is married with two children who are both in university. Profession is a priority for Victoria but with a much stronger relational aspect due to her family context. The exemplar used is Sarah, whose ‘Professionist’ career script displays a strong focus on a boundaryless career, objective success and personal development as illustrated by her narrative (see Section 6.3.2) later in this chapter.

The Entrepreneur

The ‘Entrepreneurial’ script also plots in the objective and personal quadrant, with career outcomes focused on building up one’s business or enterprise. This highlights the importance of the personal ambition of building up business and enterprises, while also staying personally in control of this process (Inkson, 2007; Kanter, 1989). The differentiating factor of the ‘Entrepreneurial’ script is the concentration on the development and success at the enterprise level, rather than personal development or promotion. The ‘Entrepreneurial’ career sees work becoming a method of “creating valued outputs” (Kanter, 1989, p.516), with freedom, independence and control over one’s work and organisation (Kanter, 1989) all aspects of the entrepreneurial career valued by those following a career path of this type. Five of the interviewees displayed strong ‘Entrepreneur’ career scripts. These five are detailed below in Table 5.4.

Table 5.4. The ‘Entrepreneurs’

Name	Age	Status	Education/Skilled	Underemployed	‘Stickiness’
R2 – Alan	28	Married	Masters	No	Career/Family
R3 – Terry	29	Single	Masters	No	Career/Relationship
R8 – Tony	37	Married	Degree	No	Career/Lifestyle
R17 – Vince	36	Married	Masters	Yes	Lifestyle/Career
R32 – Vicky	31	Single	Skilled Trade/Diploma	No	Career/Lifestyle

‘Entrepreneurial’ career actors are not concerned with vertical progression in any one organisation but are more motivated by building their own venture or enterprise in one form or another (Thomas and Higgins, 1996). They must be able to live with risk and uncertainty, with an entrepreneur’s earnings, reward or livelihood generally dependent on what they make, create or grow themselves, thus reward is directly connected to one’s own achievements. Career actors with an ‘Entrepreneurial’ career may work for others, but in a role or capacity that gives independence and control over their work and/or earnings, such as sales people on commission or contractors paid by the project (Kanter, 1989). However, for most the entrepreneur career script involves self-employment, as is the case in this study where all the interviewees on an ‘Entrepreneurial’ career track were self-employed.

There is one outlier in the ‘Entrepreneurial’ script, R17 Vince, who, compared to others in this area, displayed a more relational and subjective career focus. Vince had been a schoolteacher back in Lithuania, and was passionate about this role. However, he felt he had to migrate for his family’s future. In Ireland, after a typical early host career path, he utilised his skills and passion for gardening to start his own company. The motivation was to find a way of providing for a better quality of life for his family than available back in Lithuania, while also providing a focus for his passion. Since, as Vince puts it, there was not much demand for Lithuanian history teachers in Wicklow, he could not earn a living with his vocational passion. So, to compensate he created his passion for gardening into enterprise. This motivation behind Vince following an entrepreneurial career path may explain why his narrative displays a more relational and subjective career focus, as compared to the other entrepreneurs.

The Trapped

The four ‘Trapped’ interviewees are those that never broke out of the ‘Bridgehead’ career phase, and whose narratives illustrate a perception of lack of agency and helplessness. This type bears strong resemblance to the opting out mode of engagement identified by Al Ariss (2009) in his study of Lebanese migrants in France. When migrants opt out, they simply give up their career development in the host country. While there is also some resemblance to Pearson et al’s (2011) typology of struggling and the Zikic et al. (2010) developed typology of resisting, the ‘Trapped’ interviewees were found to be in a more negative career state than either of these two. The ‘Trapped’ typology is outlined in Table 5.5 on the following page. The basic forms of objective

success are strongly emphasised, such as a regular salary and the security of a full time job, with survival in the ‘Bridgehead’ career the main motivator.

Table 5.5. The ‘Trapped’

Name	Age	Status	Education/Skilled	Underemployed	‘Stickiness’
R24 - Gerry	33	Single	Degree	Yes	Medical
R26 - Georgina	58	Divorced	Masters	Yes	Family/Medical
R29 - Alfie	42	Single	Degree	Yes	Medical/Family
R34 - Karen	48	Married	Masters	Yes	Family/Economic

Health issues have affected three of the four ‘Trapped’ interviewees, either directly or through a close family member. The better, and, more crucially, free health services available in Ireland have left these three interviewees feeling trapped as these crucial health services are not freely available long term back in their home country. This script illustrates how home country based structural issues can continue to affect migrants even when they are living in a host country for a number of years. None of the ‘Trapped’ interviewees managed to break out of the ‘Bridgehead’ career stage and now, due to their health issues, or in the case of Karen, a fear of risking a change of employers, they feel trapped in this career stage. They do not perceive their expatriation as being a success but, for a number of reasons, such as ill health or family reasons, they feel they cannot return to their home countries and must stay in Ireland. All four in this group are underemployed, with three in low skilled, poorly paid manual work. They have ‘suffered’ because of the move to Ireland and the ‘Trapped’ typology illustrates the negative impacts of context and circumstance on individual’s careers.

5.2.1. Exemplar Interviews

Drawing on the approach adopted by previous studies on the careers and agency of migrant and minority workers, such as Pio and Essers (2014) and Van Laer and Janssens (2016), the researcher utilises the narratives of four interviewees to illustrate the dynamic nature of the skilled migrants’ careers. This approach allows the study to unpack (Van Laer and Janssens, 2016, p.8) the uniqueness and dynamism of each interviewee’s career. See table 5.6 below for details of the four interviewees chosen as

exemplars of the study’s findings on the dynamic and holistic nature of the careers of skilled migrants.

Table 5.6. Exemplar Interviewee Details

Name	Age	Nationality	Home Country Education / Occupation	Host Country Career Type	Underemployed In Host Country
David	35	Polish	Degree / IT Manager	Instrumentalist	Yes
Sarah	31	Lithuanian	Degree/Customer Service	Professionalist	No
Vicky	31	Latvian	Diploma / Beauty Therapist	Entrepreneurial	No
Georgina	58	Polish	Masters / Radiographer	Trapped	Yes

5.2.2 The Instrumentalist: David

David, 35, is a Polish national with a Bachelor’s degree. In Ireland he works in a semi-skilled role and is married with three children. David’s career path to date has meandered from a traditional career back in his home country, with its emphasis on objective success as an IT manager to a semi-skilled manufacturing role in the host country career, with an underlying instrumentalist and subjective career focus. This is similar to Pearson et al’s (2011) ‘satisficing’ reaction to career transitions. This reaction is based on the migrant’s “sense of professional identity and experience of dissonance” (Pearson et al., 2011, p.102). The ‘satisficing’ typology portrays the migrant as generally remaining “out of skilled employment in their field of education (low professional identity); however.... feeling content in doing so” (Pearson et al., 2011, p.110). There is also a similarity to the Al Ariss (2010) maintenance mode of engagement, where migrants acknowledge the issues caused by career barriers and work within them to reach their desired career outcome. Utilising the Zikic et al. (2010) developed typology of migrant workers, David seems to match their ‘Adaptive’ migrant worker career orientation. Just like David, a migrant with an ‘Adaptive’ career orientation takes career actions that crafts his/her host country careers to suit the host country’s labour market. Table 5.7 summarises the effects of career transitions on David’s career. However, in David’s case, and the Instrumentalist typology, work is seen as a means to an end. Instrumentalists have not tried to develop their home country

profession in the host country, and do not plan to resurrect their home country profession.

Table 5.7. David’s Career Path

TIME →		David’s Career Path	
Home Career	Host Career		
Pre-Emigration Career	Bridgehead Career	Consolidation Career	
Career Type: White Collar - Traditional	Career Type: Blue Collar – Instrumental/Boundaryless	Career Type: Blue Collar – Instrumental/Protean	
Career Anchor: Technical/Functional Competence	Career Anchor: Security/Stability	Career Anchor: Lifestyle & Security/Stability	
Capital Utilised: Symbolic - Social & Cultural	Capital Utilised: Symbolic - Social (Home)	Capital Utilised: Symbolic – New Social & Cultural	
Career Success: Objective	Career Success: Objective	Career Success: Objective/Subjective	

They have adopted a ‘been there and done that already’ (sections 1.5 and 6.4) attitude to profession. It is this career attitude that is common to all the Instrumentalist career type, and is something that is not covered in the extant work of Al Ariss (2010), Pearson et al., (2011) and Zikic et al. (2010). The Pearson et al. (2011) study deals with psychological responses to career transitions, while the Al Ariss (2010) study unpacks how migrants navigate career barriers. The extant work closest to the Instrumentalist typology is the Zikic et al. (2010) adaptive career orientation. However, those with an adaptive career orientation possess “strong aspiration and belief that they would one day pursue their original career path... planning and working towards acquiring local cultural and social capital (e.g. certifications, licenses, local networks) that would allow them to practise their original profession” (Zikic et al., 2010, p.678). These aspirations and future plans to work in their original profession are not part of the Instrumentalist career type and their ‘been there and done that already’ attitude to their original profession.

The Home Country Career

Back home in Poland David was on a traditional career track, with his IT (Information Technology) career anchored by the technical/functional competence career anchor. David had studied for five years to obtain the qualifications needed for his IT manager role, and he also utilised his social capital, as in his relationship with his father-in-law,

to help obtain the role. David's use of his social and institutionalised cultural capital, which he used to obtain and be promoted to this job role, highlights how David's various forms of cultural and social capital can become symbolic capital. David's home career typifies a traditional managerial career, where the objective success of vertical promotion and obtaining titles are encoded and fashioned in David's career script. These forms of objective success are important tenets in the institution of a traditional IT management career, which has encoded "norms and career scripts, ways of behaving which offer to the career builder [David] an interpretive scheme by which to fashion their way through their career as a [IT] manager" (Duberley et al., 2006a, p. 283).

"Back in Poland I studied for 5 years in university. I am a technician electronic (sic) by trade. It involves IT and that's what I worked at in the hypermarket.... ***** [his wife], her father was [a] top manager, he got me start[ed] there. My 6 years were spent working in IT. By the time I finished I was the manager of [the] IT department" – David

The act of migration causes David to lose much of his social capital and its power. By migrating David crosses boundaries of two different fields, from the home country career field to the host country career field. This change in career field jurisdiction lessens the effectiveness of David's social capital. For example, David's father-in-law's position as a "top manager" in a Polish hypermarket has little or no power and influence in Ireland, the host country context. The role and title of manager also added to David's institutionalised cultural capital in his home country, but again this was a form of capital he would lose when he migrated. His narrative also illustrates the objective side of career success, where the reward of being promoted to manager was important enough for David to recall the promotion nearly ten years later. This recollection is also a sign of how the institution of an IT manager's career was encoded, fashioned, enacted and constituted in David's early career actions. However, structural issues, such the low wage rates of a then transitioning Polish economy were denying David the ability to provide the life he desired for his family and himself.

"I was badly paid....the job was good but... we needed to work constantly... just to get by. We couldn't earn enough for what we

wanted... we worked constantly but it was an endless struggle. So we left... for a better life” – David.

Along with low wage levels, and the paltry lifestyle the low wages led to, David also makes sense of his decision to migrate by highlighting more proximal factors, such as the desire for children, acting as push factors. He and his wife believed they could never afford the family they wanted in Poland. David’s reasons for emigrating highlights how economic structures can hinder even the more personal and intimate choices. The constraint on the size of family one could raise (caused by home country economic factors) was a factor in nine of the interviewees’ migration plans.

“We would not have enough money to have children [in Poland]; we couldn’t afford them on our wages. That was also why we come to Ireland; our friends here....told us it is a good place for family”– David.

The Host Country Career

A combination of broad and proximal, and objective and subjective factors, led to David leaving his original white collar IT role and native country. This crossing of boundaries suggests a boundaryless career attitude in David, but the context suggests he did not perceive himself as having much agency in the decision. David’s intention, along with the majority of the interviewees, was to migrate for a short period, approximately 1-2 years, and save money towards building a better life back home.

“We left in [the] beginning for just 1-2 year, earn enough to pay [our] mortgage... to give us a start but we did plan to go back and live in Poland. Just stay long enough to earn enough to give us a better future, to set us up on a stronger base back home. That was the plan”
- David

However, David found crossing the physical and cognitive career boundaries troublesome, where transferring his education and work experience to the Irish jobs market proved difficult. This was due to a combination of factors, such as a lack of adequate preparation for moving to and working in a host country, low self-confidence,

as well as cultural and language reasons. Having the right to travel to and work in Ireland endowed David with a cultural capital not available to most non-EU citizens. The presence of his friends, already working in Ireland, allowed David to exploit some of his existing social capital. These forms of capital provided David's rationale, and agency, in choosing to come to Ireland. However, David made little preparation for the move and knew very little about living or working in Ireland. His English language ability was poor and, because he was not emigrating for career reasons, he made no effort to bring proof of his qualifications or IT experience. David's first job was an unskilled job he sourced by using his existing social capital. The changes caused by David's career transition, from home to host career, created new encounters with new institutions, which in turn created a new round of encoding, fashioning, enacting and constituting of David's career scripts. This new phase of career was David's host country 'Bridgehead' career. This career transition sees David adopting new career scripts, which in this study were that of a typical migrant worker. As with the majority of the interviewees, David quickly accepted this first job role offered to him. This was to meet a felt urgency to provide a secure base to help establish himself in Ireland. This pattern is common in the narratives for this study and David's entry into the Irish labour market fits into the typical 'Bridgehead' stage. David makes sense of his underemployment, and illustrates what may be seen as a lack of confidence in his own ability, by citing his lack of preparedness for the differences in the two countries.

"I knew nothing about Ireland.... I wasn't expecting such a big difference in here and Poland; I was unprepared.... My English was poor, so I couldn't get IT work... My friend, I stayed with him at first... he got me my first job, labouring on the minimum wage... I took it, just to get settled, to allow me bring my wife over' - David

As his English language ability improved, adding to David's embodied cultural capital, David broke out of the 'Bridgehead' stage, and secured a better paid job in a manufacturing plant. He sourced this job by actively creating new social capital by developing contacts within local industries. He achieved this by personally dropping in CVs, cold calling and using his existing social capital to organise interviews with his social contacts' employers. The move to a better paid and semi-skilled role sees David enter another career transition, to a more settled career in the host country. This

transition again created new encounters with new institutions, which in turn created a new round of encoding, fashioning, enacting and constituting of David's career scripts. This next career phase of career was David's host country 'Consolidation' career. As for many of the interviewees, this 'Consolidation' stage entailed David crafting a new career, one dissimilar to his home country profession. David has never tried to restart his IT since moving to Ireland, and explained, in a brief manner, "I was never very good at IT work anyway". This was despite evidence to contrary: a degree in IT and five years' work experience. David's rationale for not restarting his IT career may be a form of self-justification. David has crafted a new career and developed a 'Consolidated' career in an occupation where he could be considered as underemployed from a human capital perspective. Being 'underemployed', as per the human capital definition, in their 'Consolidated' career stage is common to the majority (n=26) of the interviewees.

"I dropped CVs in to many companies, called them every week and got some interviews through my friends, or friends of friends....that is how I got my job in AB. So I started with AB, vinyl cutting, using a CAM system." – David.

After five years, following a traditional career path of vertical progression in AB, David was promoted to line manager. However, as David's family grew, which was part of his reason for emigrating, his outlook on career success altered. Developing a more protean career attitude, with family values to the fore, he was no longer willing to work the 50-60 hour week that was then regular for managers in AB. He makes sense of his career and career decisions as a family man, by emphasising how he now prioritizes family, health and lifestyle over position and salary. Here we can see David's career scripts again altering, moving from the dominant script being within the organisation, and now drawing on other interpretive schemes – as in family and lifestyle.

"The job [line manager] took all my time....I was earning good money, was manager but I worked 50 to 60 hours, every week....never at home, and the kids....they missed me... That was not what we had come here for. Yes to make more money but also

for family. The money didn't satisfy me for the amount of stress I had come with it, and the time I lost with my family" – David.

David is now following a more protean career, where his roles, as parent and husband, are his main career drivers. Now, with a strong instrumentalist view of career, David works to provide a good quality of life for himself and his family. David says he is happy in his job role but its main purpose is to provide security and fund the family lifestyle that is now important to him. While David uses family and lifestyle to make sense of his voluntary demotion, his narrative also displays personal reasons for his career actions, as in the stress of being a manager in AB causing David some health issues. Considering that his desire for a larger family and a 'better' life were push factors in David's original migration decision, and with family motives still directing his career path, family and lifestyle focus is apparent as the durable and dominant force directing his host country career decisions. This gives David a strong lifestyle career anchor, with a security and stability anchor performing in a strong secondary role.

"I am not working in IT or as a manager but I have a better life.... I can see my kids in the morning and be home to help them with schoolwork, it is a good life. I am happier at work, I like my job again... for me, no stress, worry, not feeling sick, that's more important to me" – David.

David highlights the subjective qualities of life in Ireland as being a major 'sticky' factor in his decision to stay long term, using the adjective 'relaxed' to describe his life in Ireland. This is a common description of life in Ireland among the interviewees. The importance of family and lifestyle reflects David's desire for a more subjective and family-centred career. The objective trappings of position and job role are no longer main priorities for David. This lack of prioritising of the objective trappings of career is a characteristic of the Instrumental career.

I am happy with our lifestyle, life is more relaxed here, and people are friendly, more open. Back in Poland, it is different. Here you just feel more relaxed, comfortable, at work, out with friends. It is hard to explain to you" - David.

David’s narrative also provides an alternative explanation to the phenomenon of underemployment. By setting out the agential choices he made in his crafting of a family-focused ‘Instrumentalist’ career, David’s narrative describes a skilled migrant with a more agentic career path than the existing literature would suggest. David’s home to host country experiences reflect a multi-layered career, one which meanders through various expatriate/migrant concepts, career concepts, career anchors and perspectives, but one that is always underpinned by lifestyle and security concerns. David’s migration story highlights the need for research to take a more dynamic and flexible view on how the interviewees craft their careers. The findings highlight the dangers of treating the skilled migrant population in a homogeneous manner, and classifying them under one broad career type.

5.2.3. The Professionalist: Sarah

Sarah, 31 and single, is a Lithuanian citizen, of Russian extraction. Sarah graduated from university in Lithuania with a business degree. Using this institutionalised cultural capital as symbolic capital, she started to work in the banking industry, with a role in a customer service department. Sarah’s home country career path seemed to be set to follow what could be described as a traditional career path. However, similar to David, issues caused by a low wage economy, along with a lack of career prospects pushed her to emigrate to Ireland. Table 6.8 summarises Sarah’s career.

Table 5.8. Sarah’s Career Path

<i>TIME</i> →		<i>Sarah’s Career Path</i>	
Home Career	Host Career		
Pre-Emigration Career	Bridgehead Career	Consolidation Career	
Career Type: White Collar - Traditional	Career Type: Blue Collar – Instrumental	Career Type: White Collar – Professionalist/Boundaryless	
Career Anchor: Managerial Competence	Career Anchor: Security/Stability	Career Anchor: Managerial Competence	
Capital Utilised: Symbolic - Cultural	Capital Utilised: Symbolic - Social (home)	Capital Utilised: Symbolic – New Social & Existing Cultural	
Career Success: Objective	Career Success: Objective	Career Success: Objective/Subjective	

In Ireland Sarah followed the two stage host country career path common to the majority of the interviewees. After breaking out of her 'Bridgehead' career stage, Sarah pursued what could be termed a boundaryless career, building up her professional managerial portfolio. Sarah's narrative portrays a career that is continuing to develop, which is similar to the Pearson et al's (2011) third psychological response, striving. A person 'striving' in their career experiences "higher professional identity but also higher dissonance. Typically, they are in skilled employment and feel somewhat satisfied with their current position; however, they have a desire to further develop their careers" (Pearson et al., 2011, p.110). Sarah's narrative portrays her as someone who is proactive, self-directed, and motivated by the will to succeed and take advantage of opportunities offered in the host country.

The Home Country Career

Back in Lithuania, Sarah was on a traditional career track, with her career anchored by the technical/functional competence career anchor in a role obtained on the strength of her business degree. This is Sarah's symbolic use of the institutionalised cultural capital of her university education. Retrospectively she expresses regret over not having completed her Master's degree. However, this may be retrospective justification and sensemaking for what she sees as a poor outcome to her home country career. Sarah's home country career started to typify a traditional career, where the objective success of a job connected to her education are encoded and fashioned in her career script (Duberley et al., 2006a).

"I enjoyed studying business and worked hard, got a good result in my degree... after finishing I wanted to earn money... I should have went on to complete a Master's, but I was tired of having little money. So I got a position in a bank, as a customer service person" – Sarah.

Sarah cites two main push factors in her decision to emigrate. Again, like David, the issue that most affected Sarah's continuing enactment of her traditional managerial home-based career script was the detrimental effect the low wage she received was having on her life. Still living with her parents, she yearned independence but could not afford to live on her own. Also her parents' desire for her to enter a civil service,

bureaucratic career was also affecting her decision. When her friend decided to move to Ireland, Sarah decided to move with her.

“I liked my job, but the pay was poor, so I was still living at home. I couldn't afford to move out, no independence. My father is a police man and my mother is a teacher. They wanted me to do something similar, you know, work for the government...ehh? a state job. That was partly why I left, they were pushing me into a job I didn't want. So I came to Ireland with ***** [her friend]” – Sarah.

The main reason for Sarah coming to Ireland was the fact her friend's sister was already living here. Her friend's sister provided extra pull factors by informing Sarah and her friend of the availability of work with higher wages than back home.

“My friend was coming, and she was coming because her sister was here. She had been telling us we could get better money here... not really better jobs.... I never had a real plan in coming here; just do what my friend and her sister said. I thought I would make lots of money in a few years and go back home” – Sarah.

The Host Country Career

Thus for Sarah, like most of the interviewees, the move to Ireland was not part of a prepared career plan, but a short-term expatriation plan to build up her financial capital. As in David's narrative, Sarah makes sense of her early 'Bridgehead' career, which she seems to perceive as a failure, by citing her lack of preparation and financial motivation for migrating. Sarah's career scripts changes from a managerial career, encoded by the institution of the banking industry, to an instrumental approach to work.

“I started as a cleaner...just for 5-6 months... I see it as a waste of my time now. I was bored and it was very hard work, dirty and coming home exhausted, eat my dinner and go to bed. I just about survived... I think that's how I could describe it, I survived it” - Sarah

Sarah remained mired in the 'Bridgehead' career stage, utilising her social network, her social capital, to obtain a number of low-skilled roles in bars. She enjoyed these roles, with a combination of objective and subjective success in good wages and enjoying the youthful atmosphere of the work. However, she admits this was not what she wanted from her move to Ireland. She wanted a role that made sense of her efforts to obtain an honours business degree. She identifies her instrumental attitude to her career as a possible career barrier.

“I got a job in ***** bar and club, I liked it there... there was plenty of work and good tips [gratuities]. And it was good fun, the team in the bar were all young... But it was not what I wanted... I had worked hard in university... I was in Ireland over 18 months by then, and I wanted to start using my education. I had never tried before [to use her education as capital in Ireland], you know, always working at, and looking for jobs just for the wages...” – Sarah.

The initial short term plans led to problems with Sarah's later career development, as she had no career plans to help deal with a long-term stay. She reacted to career chances and developments as they happened. This is a serendipitous approach to career development (Betsworth and Hansen, 1996), where the ability to both create and benefit from unplanned events is important (Mitchell et al., 1999; Krumboltz et al., 2013). Sarah believed that if she didn't soon use her education and break out of the cycle of low-skilled instrumental work she may become trapped in the cycle and never utilise her institutionalised cultural capital. However, even with this realisation, her career development still lacked planning and seemed haphazard.

“Well, I started to apply for jobs that needed a business degree. It was now over 2 years since I left university, and I had never, except for the job in the bank in Lithuania... I had never tried to get a job at my level. To be honest I was afraid I wouldn't be able to, or even get interviews for job that needed a business degree. But I realised I had to do it soon, or be stuck in simple jobs – Sarah.

As Sarah's haphazard job search started to show results, she was offered two positions that she felt would utilise her qualifications and experience. As is important in serendipitous careers, Sarah recognised opportunity when it came and, taking advantage of the job offer, broke out of the 'Bridgehead' stage, and secured a junior managerial role in a small but growing company. This transition created another new round of encoding, fashioning, enacting and constituting of Sarah's career scripts. This next phase of career was Sarah's host country 'Consolidation' career. As for many of the interviewees, this 'Consolidation' stage entailed Sarah crafting a new career, one dissimilar to her home country experience of banking. However, unlike the majority (n=26) of the interviewees developing 'Consolidated' careers in areas outside their home country profession, this crafting of a new career has not entailed Sarah working in a role that a human capital view would class as underemployed.

"Eventually I got called for a number of interviews, and I had choice of two jobs, one was as assistant manager in a sales office, but the second was as a business development officer, assisting the manager, it was in a small paint and home decorating company. They had big plans and had started to grow. So I went there, it was a risk, and less money than in the bar, but I took a chance" – Sarah.

After four years, following a traditional career of vertical progression in this role, Sarah was promoted to sales manager. With a newfound concentration on planned career development Sarah has developed an objective success focus on position and material reward. Sarah also displays a boundaryless career orientation, citing her desire to move to a 'better' and different role when she has developed enough experience in her current role.

"Thank God it worked out well. I am there four years now, and I am the sales manager. I am happy there but I think I can get a better job with the experience I have now. Not yet but in a year or two, I want to move to a better... a different role, better money. Despite what is said, money is also important. It is not everything but important in how I choose where to work." – Sarah.

Sarah is now considering her future and there is the possibility of further travel to progress her career. However, this time it seems experience has led Sarah to adopt a more planned career focus to her future plans.

“The first years here [in Ireland], it was really my first years as an independent adult, living my own life, so it was just great to have a job, nice place to live, money that I never had back in Lithuania. It was only later, when I got used to living on my own that I pushed myself. I have changed now, I want more from my career... But not just that, I want a better life. I am happy here now, I have a good life but I don't know about staying... never say never. Will I be here in 3-4 years? I want to see the world, but not just to travel, I want to build up my experience, my career” – Sarah.

Sarah seems happy in Ireland at the moment, and has plans for helping her brother when he comes to Ireland. Very similar to the majority of interviewees, Sarah, despite the career focus of her reason for staying in Ireland (‘sticky’ factors), also cites the subjective qualities of life and work in Ireland as ‘sticky’ factors. Notwithstanding her own desire to someday travel further afield, she still sees Ireland as a country with positive prospects for newcomers. Again she makes excuses for what she seems to see as faults with her early years in Ireland.

“My brother is planning on coming [to Ireland] next year. But I will make him have [a] proper plan; he is older than I was when I came so he doesn't have the excuses I had... (laughs). He will be fine, he has a good education, he left the army and has a degree in IT... life can be good here for people like him... you can make a good life here, better than back home, it is easier... less stress. Also by working hard you can improve your life, that is important to me... hard work and effort is rewarded” – Sarah.

Sarah's narrative reflects her desire for both personal and career development. Career success for Sarah is now about the objective aspects of career, but her comments about having a good life suggest a growing, if minor, subjective focus. The objective

rewards, of position and job role, are still her main priorities; characteristic configurations of what this study labelled a 'Professionalist' career type, where career development and success are defined by advancement, higher levels of experience and challenging roles that require an ever-increasing skill level (Kanter, 1989). Sarah's narrative seems tinged with regret regarding her early years in Ireland, and her then instrumentalist approach to her career, which she seems to see as a waste of her education. Her 'Consolidation' career has been spent on a career designed to make sense of her education and experience in Lithuania, almost as if Sarah sees her career success as self-justification of her earlier career actions (Aranson, 1995). Sarah's home to host country experiences reflect a relatively straightforward career, despite her 'Bridgehead' career stage causing her retrospective regret. The effect of the 'Bridgehead' stage is common across all the migrants, with Sarah being one of 11 with the desire, motivation, capital and opportunity needed to continue one's home profession in the host country. Considering Sarah's motive for emigrating was career and personal development one can view her career as a success. Similar to David's career, Sarah's career also meanders through various expatriate/migrant concepts, career concepts, career anchors and perspectives, but unlike David's, it is one that is underpinned by career and professional development concerns. Sarah's narrative highlights the need for individuals to spot and grasp career opportunities in a world where luck and serendipitous events influence career developments (Betsworth and Hanson, 1996). It also highlights the agentic decision-making that is common across the Instrumentalist, Professionalist and Entrepreneurial career types in this study. Sarah displays agentic decision-making in utilising her forms of capital to break out of the 'Bridgehead' career stage and craft a 'Professionalist' career of her own making. Sarah's career path again underpins how research must not take skilled migrant careers as a 'one size fits all' homogeneous category but again highlights the need for research to take a more dynamic and flexible view on how careers are crafted by individuals.

5.2.4. The Entrepreneur: Vicky

Vicky, 31, is from Latvia and migrated to Ireland in 2008. She finished her formal education after secondary school but has an internationally accredited diploma, the CIDESCO diploma, in beauty therapy. CIDESCO, Comité International d'Esthétique et de Cosmétologie, is considered the World standard for beauty therapy training. This is a transnationally recognised form of capital (Weiss, 2005), which, along with her

experience in the beauty trade, proved readily transferable internationally. Her career narrative portrays a generally steady course with a focus on Vicky deploying her embodied (physical features) and institutionalised (beauty diploma) cultural capital in the beauty industry, eventually following an entrepreneurial career path. Again, as for all four exemplar narratives this career path deviated at the early stages of her host country career, the ‘Bridgehead’ stage.

Vicky’s career path to date has meandered from what could be described as a professionalist career path back home, with her quest to build a career, and reputation, as a model, via a career hiatus caused by the ‘Bridgehead’ career stage, to an entrepreneurial career in the host country. As an entrepreneur Vicky developed and expanded a beauty business (with a partner), seeing a return to her home country field, the beauty industry. However, unlike the Al Ariss (2010) entrepreneurship mode of engagement, where entrepreneurship becomes a way for migrants to circumvent barriers to career, Vicky’s career was notable for her use of her home sourced cultural capital to build her host career. Vicky’s response to the host country’s career opportunities and obstacles is more akin to the embracing career orientation (Zikic et al., 2010). This is when a motivated and ambitious skilled migrant is motivated by the will to prosper in the host country and takes advantage of career opportunities offered in the host country.

Table 5.9. Vicky’s Career Path

<i>TIME</i> →		<i>Vicky’s Career Path</i>	
Home Career	Host Career		
Pre-Emigration Career	Bridgehead Career	Consolidated Career	
Career Type: White Collar - <u>Professionalist</u>	Career Type: Blue Collar - Instrumental	Career Type: White Collar - Entrepreneurial	
Career Anchor: Technical/Functional Competence	Career Anchor: Security/Stability	Career Anchor: Entrepreneurial Creativity	
Capital Utilised: Symbolic - Social & Cultural	Capital Utilised: Symbolic - Social (Home)	Capital Utilised: Symbolic – New Social & Financial with Existing Cultural	
Career Success: Objective	Career Success: Objective	Career Success: Objective/Subjective	

The Home Career

In Latvia, Vicky’s early career plans centred on her developing a career as a fashion model. Vicky utilised her physical appearance as a form of capital to start a career in

the fashion model business. She had experience in this field as she had completed some part-time modelling work while still in secondary education. She utilised this experience as embodied (physical features) and institutionalised (work experience) cultural capital, along with social capital from the beauty industry, to get her career started. Upon completing secondary school, Vicky moved straight into the fashion field and did not contemplate third level education as a possible career move. However, Vicky discovered there were many women with similar plans and, after 18 months attempting to establish herself as a model, she realised she did have the subjective quality, “the little something”, that differentiates the top models from the rest of the field.

“During my last years in secondary school I had done some part-time modelling, and when I left school, this is what I tried to develop my career in. I worked hard at this for about one and a half years, it started well because of my experience, I knew the agencies and the people but after a while it got more difficult. The competition was very tough....a lot of girls seen modelling as a way of career... I just hadn't got that little, you know the something that makes you a top model” - Vicky.

At this stage Vicky was on a ‘Professionalist’ career track. Her career was anchored by the technical/functional competence career anchor, with the development of the qualities and skills needed to succeed as a model her main career anchor. Vicky was also motivated to move into a different area of the beauty industry by her experiences of a darker side of the modelling industry, in particular with what some of the less ethical agents expected of their client models. These ‘expectations’ were not part of Vicky’s career script and she used this experience to motivate a change of profession, but to remain in the same field.

Near the end of my time as a model I felt it was getting... Like the sex industry with some clients, many men in the industry would promise you this and that...but only if you would sleep with them. They called it being their girlfriend, but we all knew what it meant.

That was not how I wanted to develop myself, or my career. That was also a reason I changed the direction of my career - Vicky

While Vicky's lack of success in the modelling world meant low wages, this lack of financial capital did not have the same knock on effect on her overall life as compared to many other interviewees:

“I was making a little money, but for the time I was working as a model it didn't really matter you see, because I was living at home with my parents. I am an only child so it was not an issue, you know, like with too many of us in the house. As an only child, I had all I wanted. My parents wanted me there.”– Vicky.

Vicky, while realising she did not have a future as a model, still wanted to pursue her career in the fashion world. Using her social capital, with her career anchor firmly embedded in the beauty world, Vicky qualified as a beauty therapist, with an internationally recognised diploma. This was a form of transnational cultural capital that she would go on to utilise in both the home and host countries. This transition, by staying within the beauty field, allowed Vicky to continue to draw interpretive schemes from within the same industry she started out in. However, the transition did entail forming a new career script, from one where one's own physical appearance was the rationale for the career, to one that sees the care of others' physical appearance as its main objective. However, by staying in the beauty industry, Vicky's career transition was less disruptive than that of those who changed career fields, such as David.

“I realised I could not make a career as a model but I wanted to stay in the beauty industry.... the beauty therapists that I knew from being a model....they advised and helped me. They recommended me to the Riga cosmetic school....it is only CIDESCO accredited school for beauty therapy in Latvia”– Vicky.

With financial capital supplied by her parents, Vicky completed her diploma and started a career as a beauty therapist. She moved out of home and shared an apartment with a friend. However, the realities of affording an independent life hit

Vicky, and this time her low wages and living from payday to payday were having a negative effect on her life. She had to move back to her parents. For Vicky this loss of her newly acquired independence, and just ‘getting by’ in life, became push factors in a decision to move to Ireland. As with the majority of the interviewees, the presence of family or friends already living and working in Ireland, along with their tales of high wages, were the main pull factors for Vicky. If Vicky’s friends had been living in England, she would have moved to England, which illustrates how tenuous and circumstantial pull factors can be:

“I was just working to get by... I had to pay rent and all my own bills. I just could not make money, well enough money. I had to move back in with my parents. But I wanted to lead an independent life, so that’s when I started to think about coming to Ireland. I had friends here and I had heard stories about the money they could earn. So I came to Ireland in 2008 and I am here eight years now. But to be true, if my friends lived in England, I would have went there...glad now it was Ireland, but it was just fortunate that my friends had come here”
– Vicky.

Vicky had no major plan in mind when she decided to emigrate from Latvia, except for an innate understanding that to develop as a person and progress her career she had to travel outside her home country:

“I wanted to be independent, to live my own life and I just couldn’t see how I would have done that back in Latvia. I was only early in my career and yet I couldn’t see how to progress... when I got the offer to come to Ireland, the chance... I decided to take it. It just came at the right time” - Vicky.

The Host Country Career

While Vicky had some experience of Ireland, she did not prepare, nor had any plan for her expatriation to there. Concurring with the Palloni et al. (2001) finding that individuals are more likely to migrate to a host country where they have existing social networks (Palloni et al., 2001), Vicky moved to Ireland and used her friends as a base

to first stay with. She came on a return ticket, financed by her parents, as a safety net in case of homesickness:

“I knew a little bit about Ireland... I had come over to my friends on a holiday the year before. But the actual decision to move to Ireland; I made that quite quickly and once I made a decision I left within three months. I had some savings and my parents paid for my flights, a return ticket... I remember my mother saying it has to be return ticket in case you get homesick in the first few weeks.... And over here I came.” – Vicky.

At first Vicky also found crossing physical and cognitive career boundaries troublesome. This was mainly due to cultural and language reasons that were consequences of the effect a change in field had on her forms of capital. Like the other exemplar interviewees she too rushed into the first job role she could find and entered her host country ‘Bridgehead’ career.

“Right through secondary school I had studied English and at nights my parents have paid for private lessons ... But when I came here and started to go to interviews, even into the shops, I realised... did I get a fright... my English was not good, or as good as I thought. Irish people speak very fast, and a different type of English”
– Vicky.

Vicky’s ‘Bridgehead’ stage entailed her working in roles unconnected to the beauty industry, as she felt her language ability was not proficient enough to work in a customer facing role that dealt with native English speakers. As with the previous interviewees used as exemplars, this affected Vicky’s enactment of her career scripts. This ‘Bridgehead’ career phase led to a round of encoding, fashioning, enacting and constituting of career scripts. Vicky used her home country social networks and language skills as a form of ethnicised social and cultural capital (Fernando and Cohen, 2016) to obtain a retail role in an ethnic Latvian store. Vicky, realising the importance of having fluent English language skills, also used this period to improve her English

language ability, her cultural capital, by interacting and mixing with English speakers as much as possible.

“My English was not good enough to work as a beauty therapist, but I needed work to pay my way... my first job was in a local Latvian store. But [I thought] how can I improve my English there? I couldn't, so I went out of my way to shop, to socialise, to do anything I could in a Irish shop, restaurant...you know what I mean, somewhere that everyone was English speaking.” – Vicky

However, again her physical appearance had an unwanted effect on her recruitment, with her male employer utilising his power and her looks in an unethical manner:

“I didn't like the job in the shop. It soon became clear the owner took me on because... well he told people that having someone like me in the shop would attract more men...as customers” – Vicky.

Over the next six months Vicky built up her language skills, broke out of the 'Bridgehead' career, and re-entered the beauty industry, obtaining a role as a beauty advisor in a large department store. This return to a field where her symbolic capital was again an asset helped Vicky surmount the early career barriers she encountered in the host country. Vicky's recollection of the importance of her diploma in obtaining the role signifies how important her profession and qualification are to her.

“So I applied for a number of jobs as a beauty therapist... And that was my next job, in ***** [up market department store], when they see my diploma I was given a position as an adviser for customers, advising women on beauty treatments, make up, area like that... I was there for over 2 years, 2 and half years.” – Vicky.

Vicky had returned to a professionalist career track, where her experience and qualifications have value as capital. However, Vicky, feeling underemployed and using her new social capital, started out on her first tentative entrepreneurial steps:

“I was only using a very small amount of what I could do. So I was talking to a regular customer, who I became friendly with, and I was telling her ... my story, my background and she suggested that I start my own business. She owned her own business, gave me a great talk and advice. This planted the seed in my mind, and from that... and with her help, I planned and started out working for myself” – Vicky.

At first Vicky worked at her own business part-time, keeping her day job for security reasons. Over the course of the next two years, Vicky built up her beauty treatments business, to the extent she resigned from her day job and worked full time for herself.

“So I started my own beauty therapy service, but I worked in my normal job during the day... At first it was for friends, and girls from work. Then as word spread that I am good at what I do the business built up. I started to spend money on developing the business, like on a good website and advertising. But it came to make a choice, I had to give up my full-time job and concentrate on my business or you not just doing it... it was like a hobby, one that earned money but it was still more like a hobby. So I left my job....I had enough business to earn my wages, and if I could put all my day, every day, into making it successful, I knew I could have a good business” – Vicky.

The path to being an entrepreneur was not always smooth and deteriorating economic conditions compelled Vicky, who utilised her new host country social capital, to take on a business partner in order for her business to survive. This is an example of how macro level structures can curtail micro level agency. However, Vicky has managed to develop and grow her business to the extent that she now has a successful beauty salon, which also supplies a mobile service for weddings, birthday celebrations etc.

After the first year I had increased the amount of business, and I had incorporated my experience from my early part-time business as a

mobile service... I set up a model of mobile services for the wedding and special occasions. But I had financial difficulties and had to get an investor. My friend, when I offered her the chance to invest, came in, as a minor partner” – Vicky.

Illness forced her partner to take a less active role in the business, to the extent that she is now a silent partner. For Vicky the apparent success as a business owner in the beauty industry is testament to her years of modelling, study and work in the industry.

“At last I was doing what made me happy. Since I realised I was never going to make it as a model I was never fully happy. But now things are, at last, working out” – Vicky.

However, Vicky’s partner’s illness highlighted the importance of the more subjective aspects and qualities of life for Vicky. Vicky’s narrative of what is important to her today reflects her desire for more balanced objective/subjective career success. Career success for Vicky is still about business success, but now is also about work/life balance. The importance of work/life balance and the quality of and attitude to life in Ireland are now ‘sticky’ factors in Vicky staying in Ireland for the long term.

“My working life is not as crazy as it was. Yes my business is still important but since my partner got sick I realised... well I asked myself; what if that was me?? What have I done outside of working? So now I work 5 days and take 2 days off. I have a good, clever manager and two girls working for me. Now my manager runs things when I am not there. I have more time for friends... to hike and keep fit so I spend time travelling, to walk all the lovely trails, mountains you know. But I am happy... It is one big thing that makes life better here you know.” - Vicky.

Vicky attributes her business success to two aspects of the Irish context. Vicky found the procedures and laws governing the setting up and running of her business in Ireland to be relatively straightforward. She also attributes the success of her business

to the spending power of women in Ireland. This is an example of macro level structures being an asset to the career outcomes of the interviewee. This is what Vicky feels differentiates her success in Ireland as compared to back in Latvia. This is despite the fact Vicky has never started or run a business in Latvia. However, her regular trips home, and contacts with business people in Latvia have strengthened her view.

“Ireland is actually a very good country to run a business in. Easier to set up a business in, the laws, all the important areas. It really is. I fly back to Latvia at least twice a year and from my friends and contacts, I know I could not have done the same there. The supports and... well the money that women in Ireland have to spend on their appearance. Things are different here...in a good way” – Vicky.

Vicky’s career actions display agency, where her failure as a model was countered by her crafting a new profession in the same field, the fashion industry. By continuing her career development in the fashion industry field, Vicky has managed to maintain the symbolic value of her capital and to transfer this capital to the host country fashion industry. This continuance of career within the same field highlights the importance of field to an individual’s ability to utilise their capital. Vicky has combined, and utilised her old symbolic capital (diploma and experience) with her new host country social and financial capital, to craft a new ‘Entrepreneurial’ career path for herself. Vicky’s career experiences again reflect a very different narrative to the extant migrant literature’s propounding of the negative narrative that skilled migrants are underemployed (Fosslund, 2013a), face unfair treatment (Syed, 2008) and have little or no agency.

5.2.5. The Trapped: Georgina

The fourth narrative focuses on Georgina, 58, a qualified and experienced radiographer from Poland who has ended up trapped in her ‘Bridgehead’ career. Georgina’s case illustrates the negative impacts of context and circumstance on career. Georgina’s narrative also highlights the structural barriers in the Irish labour market, which have prohibited Georgina from continuing her home profession in Ireland. This, and other happenings, have resulted in Georgina feeling trapped and as having failed in the Irish labour market. This is similar to Pearson et al’s (2011) struggling psychological

response to employment status (Pearson et al., 2011). The ‘struggling’ psychological response portrays the migrant as “unsatisfied with their employment situation, as it does not provide them with the status and professional identity they are seeking” and they “may feel sadness, shame, guilt and loss” as regards their career outcomes (Pearson et al., 2011, p.110). The trapped career script also has parallels with the ‘opting out’ mode of engagement (Al Ariss, 2010). In the opting out mode of engagement, migrants give up on their career plans and hopes, and tend to remain trapped in low-level jobs. Table 5.10 below summarises Georgina’s career path.

Table 5.10. Georgina’s Career Path

<i>TIME</i> →	<i>Georgina’s Career Path</i>	
Home Career	Host Career	
Pre-Emigration Career	Bridgehead Career Georgina never broke out of the bridgehead career stage	
Career Type: White Collar - Traditional	Career Type: Blue Collar - Instrumental	Career Type: Blue Collar - Instrumental
Career Anchor: Technical/Functional Competence	Career Anchor: Security/Stability	Career Anchor: Security/Stability
Capital Utilised: Symbolic - Cultural	Capital Utilised: Symbolic - Social (Home)	Capital Utilised: Symbolic – New Social
Career Success: Objective	Career Success: Objective	Career Success: Objective

In Poland, Georgina worked as a radiographer in both public and military hospitals. She led a traditional home country career path, based on her qualifications, her institutionalised cultural capital. Technical/functional competence were dominant as her career anchor in her home country career. Georgina’s retrospective and, for her, credible recollections of her home country experiences are fond ones and are her sensemaking of the structures of communist era Poland. These fond recollections were in spite of her admission she had to work two jobs to support her family during this time:

“I worked as a radiographer in our local hospital until 1985. Then I had a change of roles, working as a radiographer in an emergency station at night. At this time, I was also

working as a radiographer for the military during the day... It helped pay for how we wanted to live” – Georgina.

Unusually, for this study’s population, Georgina’s main push factor to emigrate was adventure (Inkson and Myers, 2003; Richardson and McKenna, 2000). The context of this decision involved both broad and proximal issues. Her marriage had broken up and her children had left home. Georgina looks back with nostalgia on her “middle class” life in communist era Poland, and has a negative view on how the social and political change in Poland has developed post-communism.

“The price of freedom for us, well a small few people did very, very well, but everyone else fell back... the middle-class disappeared. That is where I was. I was middle-class even though it was communist system... All things changed in Poland. Suddenly there was no middle class... So I said I would like to try somewhere else. I felt I needed an adventure, a new experience” – Georgina.

Georgina’s interest in Irish culture, and with her friend recently emigrating there, provided the pull factors to emigrate to Ireland. As with the other interviewees, Georgina planned to stay in Ireland for only “a few years”. When first in Ireland Georgina spent time traveling and sightseeing, “appreciating the country and its beauty”:

“It was the magic of Ireland.... I had read lots of about Ireland. I had seen TV about Ireland, its beauty, it was a rather romantic reason for picking Ireland” – Georgina.

Like other interviewees, a need to establish herself in a secure setting led to Georgina quickly obtaining work, as a nursing home care assistant, However, Georgina’s career path in Ireland has deviated from the two career stages common to most interviewees. She has remained stuck in the same role for ten years. In other words, Georgina has never broken out of her early ‘Bridgehead’ career stage. Any romantic ideas of Ireland quickly dissipated as 50-hour work weeks became the norm for Georgina, leaving her feeling exploited and abused in the Irish workplace. The

context of working just to earn money and provide security again highlights a shifting of Georgina's career anchor, from her technical/competence anchor in Poland to a security and stability anchor in her instrumental job in Ireland (which she saw as a means to an ends in that it provided financial stability).

“The nursing home needed staff, so I took this job.... because, as a new person in Ireland, I was afraid I might not get anything else. Now looking back I realise this was a big mistake, to take the first job I got” – Georgina.

Georgina did try to get her qualifications accredited. However, the Irish Institute of Radiography and Radiation, the gatekeepers (Hakak and Al Ariss, 2013) for this profession, requested that Georgina obtain new host country institutionalised cultural capital. They required her to return to full time study for three years, which she could then utilise as symbolic capital by re-entering her career field and working as a radiographer. Due to financial constraints, and life stage, this was not a possibility for Georgina. This is an example of institutional barriers at the structural level. These barriers prohibited Georgina from enacting her desired career scripts, as a radiographer. The shift to manual work, and now temporarily unemployed due to illness, have caused Georgina to radically change career scripts, seemingly permanently. This has led to a feeling of depression and being stuck in a ‘dead-end’ job, where structural issues have trapped her and limited her career actions.

“The only way for me to work [as a radiographer] is to go back to college... to do three years study, full-time... That was just impossible. If I was younger, I might have fought for it. But I was all the time working, I was so tired. I felt like I was stuck in a swamp” – Georgina.

Georgina persisted at her job as a care assistant and changed employer once, but the role remained just as demanding. Georgina felt the working practices of native Irish and foreign staff were different, with Irish staff shown more leeway towards as regards the organisation's rules and regulations. Georgina perceived this practice as a form of discrimination against the foreign workers in the nursing home.

“The Irish staff left earlier than I did... Once I left at the same time as them, but matron caught me. She told me “you cannot go”... but the Irish were let go and I was not. It was so wrong” – Georgina.

The toll of long hours in a physically demanding job mounted on Georgina and she is currently out of work on disability benefit. She requires extensive knee surgery, which she can avail of for free in Ireland.

“We had just two breaks all day, 15 minutes in the morning, and a lunch break, 30 minutes; this was in a 10 to 12 hour shift. Anyway it doesn’t matter now, I am finished. The doctor said my knees are worn” – Georgina.

Georgina’s son, also living in Ireland, was himself recently diagnosed with a degenerative disease. The healthcare available for Georgina and her son is available, long term, for free in Ireland, but not available for free in the long term in Poland. However, this availability of free healthcare in Ireland has added to her sense of feeling trapped. She sees herself as a victim of the structures in both Ireland and Poland.

“I have my family here, so it is complicated... I would love to go back home but my son is also sick. We will get free medication and treatment here. If we go back, we would eventually have to pay for this in Poland.... I feel really angry, I feel all my years studying and working were wasted” – Georgina.

Georgina’s narrative portrays a classic case of underemployment as objectively described (Feldman, 1996) and self-reported by Georgina, displaying key symptoms such as poor health and low life satisfaction (Pearson et al., 2011).

“I feel humiliated, that is what I think... I said to my manager once, you know they are squeezing us like lemons, but she only laughed... but they were squeezing everything out of us until there was nothing left, and now there is nothing left – Georgina.

Georgina's narrative is included and unpacked in this study as an exemplar of the more oft cited case of skilled migrants being exploited and under-employed in the host country. While narratives like Georgina's were rare in this particular study, with three similar (four in total) but less extreme cases among the sample of 38, they do exist. Georgina's expatriation to Ireland has left her feeling trapped, humiliated and exploited, and her narrative highlights the negative side of skilled migrant careers in a host country.

5.2.6. Conclusion

In answering Question 1 this section highlights career narratives that represent skilled migrants' careers as complex and dynamic affairs. Interviewees display a 'whole life' career attitude (Lee et al., 2011; Litano and Major, 2016), with the realisation that career transitions impact the whole life of the migrants and their families. The changes caused by the interviewees' career transitions, from home to host career, created new encounters with new institutions, which in turn created a new round of encoding, fashioning, enacting and constituting of their career scripts. Moreover, the findings highlight the instrumental nature of skilled migrant careers, which, to some extent, runs across all 38 interviewees to differing extents. The host country careers are seen to be serving as a means to a greater end; be that enabling a perceived better quality lifestyle, family focus, or overall well-being. This has a number of implications for career theory in practice. The contemporary emphasis on the human capital approach to careers risks missing the full range of motivations behind the career decisions of skilled migrants. Additionally, the lack of concern about being underemployed, expressed by the majority of the interviewees, suggests the concentration in the existing literature on the negative sides of underemployment may be missing out the wider whole-life approach to career being adopted by the interviewees. The instrumental nature towards career is also something neglected in the literature. Understanding the more nuanced story behind the whole-life career decisions that are made is vital for career scholars interested in unpacking the career motivations of individual migrants.

The findings suggest that both objective and subjective success play an important role in the skilled migrant's career journey. The push factors, which motivated the migrant to leave his or her home country, were a mixture of both subjective and objective career needs and wants, including low pay (objective), lack of

personal development (subjective) and paltry future prospects (objective), which were all seen to synergise into a meagre and unsettled lifestyle (subjective and objective). These push factors, such as low wages and a meagre lifestyle, led to many of the interviewed migrants initially planning to pursue a short term, purely instrumentalist and financially motivated career path in the host country. These initial plans had the aim of using the financial gains from this objective success (higher wages) to help solve the subjective and objective push factors back in their home country.

However, this short-term mentality in itself led to problems later on in some migrants' career development. When their initial plan to stay in the host country short term changed into a long-term stay, they had no long term career plans to help deal with this long-term stay. When the interviewees changed their initial plans, most moved from the 'Bridgehead' stage of their host country career and entered stage two, the 'Consolidation' career stage. At this stage the interviewees realised they are staying in the host country for a longer duration than planned, creating the need for a more settled and long-term career plan. This plan, for most, meant a change in profession and the creation and exploitation of new forms of capital.

Overall, the interviewees' careers emerge as dynamic concepts with varying degrees of agency and barriers, different career concepts, forms of capital emerging, and with each interviewee defining their career and career outcomes differently, as well as describing an extant host country career as very different to their original migration career plans.

5.3 Research Question 2. How do skilled migrants view career success and their career outcomes?

Q.2a Do skilled migrants evaluate career success differently in the host country than in their home country?

Q.2b Does either subjective or objective success dominate the migrants' perceptions of success in their host country career?

5.3.1 Introduction

The findings suggest that both objective and subjective success plays an important role in the skilled migrant's career journey. However, an important finding was the dynamism of perceptions of career success, with the career transition from the home to host country career tending to lead to subjective success gaining in prominence as the

interviewees settled long term in Ireland. For some interviewees, such as the ‘Instrumentalists’, their perceptions of career success also changed within their host country career transition from ‘Bridgehead’ to ‘Consolidation’ career, highlighting the dynamism of these perceptions. The home country career was, for most, a traditional career path, where the career actor tended to pursue objective career success. Career transitions were found to impact on both careers and how career actors viewed different aspects of their career (Duberley et al., 2006), including career success (O’Connor and Crowley-Henry, 2016). The existing studies posit that the act of migrating for work is one career action that involves a major career transition in the migrant’s career (Al Ariss et al., 2012; Aten, 2016). The findings of this study concur with this view. The research population of skilled migrants were faced with a three stage career transition (Home career to Host Bridgehead career to Host Consolidation career), along with the barriers (Al Ariss and Crowley-Henry, 2013; Crowley-Henry et al., 2017), change (Pearson et al., 2012) and upheaval (Al Ariss and Syed, 2011) that this transition involved.

5.3.2 Home country career success.

The interviewees’ home country careers tended to be education/qualification based traditional careers, where they utilised their home country institutionalised cultural capital. The home career paths were fashioned by interpretive schemes created by the norms and career scripts of various institutions, such as management and banking. The interviewees’ home country careers tended to place an emphasis on objective success, such as position, title and professional development in an employing organisation. For the interviewees with a skilled trade, career involved serving one’s apprenticeship and then developing one’s reputation in the trades, a traditional tradesman career. For instance Tommy’s home country career was built on his cultural and social capital, and anchored by the technical/functional competence career anchor. For Tommy career success was measured in objective terms such as quality of his work and reputation as a skilled craftsman.

“I left school when I was 16 and I went to work with my father, who was also a fabricator. So, I learned the trade from him. My father had his own company; there were about 12 of us working there. I went to

Tech School as well, to get my trade qualifications. I qualified in 1992, and I worked for my father for the next few years” – Tommy.

For those following a professional qualification, their career scripts involved a number of years of third level education, followed by work experience in an associated field. An example is Ian who, following his graduation with an IT degree, worked for a specialised IT company. Ian’s home country career also seemed set to follow a traditional career path, with a technical/functional competence career anchor. Career and technical progression were his objective metrics for measuring career success:

“I wanted to use my degree to make a career for myself in IT. Work was like an advanced university... but getting paid for it” – Ian.

Ollie described his home career, as a psychologist, as his “passion” and he followed a protean career path with his career “driven by personal values rather than organisational rewards” (Hall, 2004, p.2). His career was anchored by service and dedication to a cause (Schein, 1990), which for Ollie meant helping others less fortunate than himself.

“I have a Masters in Psychology and extensive experience from working in a center helping addicts. This was what I wanted to do. It was my passion: helping these people” – Ollie.

Terry, emphasising objective success, viewed his position as a manager as an important symbol of his career, and justification for his seven years of third level education. Terry’s career anchor in this role is the general managerial competence anchor.

“It took me seven years to complete my third level education....I worked in a language company, I ran this company.... I was manager” – Terry

Maria followed a different track than the majority. Using her father’s US citizenship to gain access to a US-based Masters education, she utilises nationality (by proxy) as a form of embodied cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986), and by gaining a US

Master's degree she gained new transnational institutionalised cultural and, potentially, symbolic capital.

“My Dad is a US citizen, so I moved to the US for my master's degree....When I finished college there I worked in a very traditional financial firm, in *****, I hated it...but I needed the experience. I never intended staying long...when I had learnt what I needed to know I moved on...I used what I had learned to start in *****” – Maria.

Taking a strongly objective view of career success, and sacrificing career satisfaction by working in a role she ‘hated’, Maria built up her social and institutionalised cultural capital, using her time with the company to gain the experience and contacts she needed to further her career in her chosen field.

Prior to migrating the majority of the interviewees were working in a profession connected to their education. However, it was a lack or deficit of one of the more tangible forms of objective career success, salary, which provided the main motivation for the interviewees to leave their home country. The effects of the low wage economy had various knock on effects, which were a mixture of both subjective and objective effects, including lack of personal development (subjective), paltry future prospects for family (subjective and objective) and lack of financial capital (objective), which were all seen to synergise into a meagre and unsettled lifestyle (subjective and objective).

In Anthony's case, despite the subjective success of working in a skilled craft role which he ‘loved’, low wages and perceived lack of independence, along with a sense of adventure, motivated him to accompany his friend who was returning to Ireland;

“Even though I was making furniture, and I loved working at this, it was very long hours and miserable money. Poor money.... I was living at home, so I was always fed, would always have a bed.... But I couldn't live with my ‘Ma’ [mother] forever... So when **** (friend) came home from Ireland and I said to him, let the two of us go back, give it a go. So we went, in August 2004, to Dublin” – Anthony.

In Jack's case, a qualified professional, he was working two jobs to provide for his family. Jack's narrative also highlights the issues caused by low wages.

"I was working two jobs, and if I think about my salary at the time, from the two jobs, my salary in total was only about, I would say, about €500, that's per month. My daughter was born about this time; it was not enough to live on. We just didn't have enough money" – Jack.

Another push factor cited was a lack of independence, which was fed by the overarching 'low wages and meagre lifestyle' push factors. Sindy, despite working in a role where she was happy with her work, found the effects of low wages prohibitive to leading a full and independent life:

"I was 22 years old, and I was still depending on my parents really. By the time I paid my mother some money, buy some clothes, getting to and from work, buying my lunch, I had very little money left. I loved my work, it was connected to my education and I had good responsibility at this stage, but I just could not live. And living in Lithuania was getting more expensive. So that is why I decided to come to Ireland." – Sindy.

It is the retrospective sensemaking of the perceived failure of their early home careers, and the comparative success of the host country careers, that has led many of the interviewees developing what this study terms the 'Been there, done that' attitude. This attitude is particularly prevalent in the 'Instrumentalist' career script in this study. In summary the experiences of their home country career, and the transition from home to host country career, has seen the interviewees' career actions and desired outcomes evolve and change. From what was generally a traditional style home career, where professional development and objective outcomes were priorities, into what can be best described as a 'working to live' attitude in the host country, where a blend of objective/subjective success became the desired outcome.

5.3.3 Host country career success.

The original migration plans for the majority of the interviewees were based on short-term expatriation. The objective aim of this migration was to build up financial capital. 26 of the interviewees explicitly state they originally came to Ireland with the intention of staying short term (2-4 years). For this cohort success was originally based on the objective, financial earnings they made during this time. Only five interviewees expressed a view that they intended to leave home for the long term. Sindy's and Paddy's narratives are typical of the majority's expressed plans when they first migrated.

“I planned to stay, about 3 to 4 years, get some money, to get a deposit for an apartment.... I reckoned by four years, with my experience in Ireland and with my money, I would be able to return and set up a new life for myself” – Sindy.

“That was the plan, work hard for 2 to 3 years, earn good money, save and go back to Poland and get a better job.” - Paddy.

As most interviewees planned on only staying for 2-4 years, many of them rushed into taking the first well paid work (as compared to wages back to home) they could find. This early low skilled, but well paid work, was to provide early financial security, such as for family reasons (Pearson et al, 2011), or because the interviewee felt their existing capital, such as language, was not adequate and they took an unskilled role to work to improve this capital deficit (Felker, 2011). This is what this study terms as the ‘bridgehead’ career stage.

Bridgehead career success

During the ‘Bridgehead’ career stage the interviewees’ career success was based on a very objective outcome, which was obtaining any role that paid a good wage. This success involved roles that could be considered as an under-utilisation of the interviewees’ skills or qualifications. However, as the motivation was financial betterment, and not professional development, this was not, initially, an issue for the majority of the interviewees.

Ollie's early career path in Ireland is an example of this, where he sought out the first available job in order to establish himself and his partner in a secure setting. Having worked as a psychologist back in Poland, Ollie's first role in Ireland was as a cleaner. Ollie's poor host-country language abilities restricted his career choices, an example of a lack of host country cultural capital curtailing the individual's agency in career decisions. The context of working just to earn money and provide security for his family sees Ollie's career anchor shift from his home country career anchor of service and dedication to a cause to a host country anchor of security and stability. He developed an instrumental career with a focus on objective success i.e. financial reward.

“First, I got a job in a warehouse, as a cleaner. The wages were more than I earned back home, and my poor language ability wasn't a problem, there were lots of Polish workers... after a while living here my English started to improve” – Ollie.

Victoria, who, despite having a university qualification, found her home based retail experience, from the job she had as a student, more beneficial.

“I got hired as a shop assistant, in a Polish shop, using my experience and language from back home.... I remember thinking, is my shop work experience more important than my education?” – Victoria.

Sarah displayed a similar view, with a planned short-term expatriation to make ‘lots of money’ and return home.

“I thought I would make lots of money in a few years and go back home. That was it, a few years...2, 3 at most, then go home and settle into my career” – Sarah.

However, with the realisation that their short-term expatriation plans were evolving into long-term propositions, most of the interviewees move from the ‘Bridgehead’ stage of their host country career to the second stage, the ‘Consolidation’ career stage (See section 6.2.6). With this second career transition, and the realisation

that they will be staying in the host country for the long term, the interviewees realised the need for a more settled, long-term career plan.

‘Consolidation’ career success

Once the interviewee had broken out of the ‘Bridgehead’ career stage, his/her host country career script evolved into one where career became a means to achieve the life their qualifications, skills or profession could not achieve back in their home country. This change in the interviewees’ perceptions of their host country career plans and perceived career success helps explain why, for their ‘Consolidation’ career, the majority of the interviewees, 22 out of a total of 38, have a more intrinsic view in measuring career success. This subjective view of career success is based mainly on the quality of family life, work-life balance and lifestyle reasons. This is the interviewee’s own personal perception of what career success is, which is comprehended through feelings of achievement and happiness with their career progress (Judge et al., 1995). Taking into account the similarities between skilled migrants and self-initiated expatriates (SIEs), Inkson’s (2008) finding that SIEs more commonly prefer work-life balance over prestige, money, and vertical advancement may also help explain this research sample’s preference for subjective success (Inkson, 2008). Many of the migrant narratives on what is success also illustrate the dynamic nature of their careers and lives, and as their host country careers evolved, their outlook on what they regard as success altered. The narratives illustrate how this study is not about how it is critical moments in someone’s life that causes a dramatic change, but how the changes in the migrants’ careers paths were more gradual and incremental, becoming normalised over time.

For David, with his instrumental script, career success is a combination of having the financial capital (objective) to be able support a good lifestyle, while also being able to spend time with his family (subjective). Time with one’s family was a variable of subjective success identified in past career studies, such as Al Ariss and Crowley-Henry (2013) and Ng et al. (2005), and “the intersection of work and family life” (Greenhaus and Foley, 2007, p.131) has been identified as an important variable in studying careers. David’s own personal perception of his career being a success is despite David working at a job in which the human capital view would consider him as underemployed. David makes sense of his underemployment, by countering this underemployment with the quality of his lifestyle, which is financed by this

underemployed role. David's quote illustrates another side to underemployment, with the subjective quality of David's life portraying a more positive outcome of David's underemployed, but less demanding and stressful, role.

“We [David and his family] went to the Canaries last year, and me and ***** [his wife], we went to Barcelona for a weekend.....we would never get the money or chance to do this back home.....I am not working in IT but I have a better life ...for my family..... I can see my kids in morning and be home to help with schoolwork... That's more important than being head of IT in some supermarket” – David.

Paddy also prioritises subjective career success, by placing the importance of overall family lifestyle above potential objective career success. The fact he lives in a rural area, because of the quality of lifestyle available there, is also used by Paddy to make sense of his underemployed role and lack of utilisation of his IT qualification.

“My family don't want to leave here; they want to live in the countryside. We can afford a decent house with a garden here. But we couldn't afford one in, or near Dublin, where all the IT jobs are” – Paddy.

For Alan, with his 'Entrepreneurial' script, career success is now about developing new business ideas and markets. By career success he means objective career success in the 'Entrepreneurial' sense of the “creation of valued outputs” (Kanter, 1989, p.516), such as increased business, markets etc.

“I would say my goals are career driven....I have big plans, for new market back in Poland.....to grow my business and then move on to the next thing....whatever that may be” – Alan.

Ian's narrative illustrates how it is a blend of both objective and subjective success that makes his host country career a success. The financial income that allows

him, and his family, live a certain standard of life, but also the more subjective reward of a life with less stress:

“I earn a lot more money working here than I did back home, we have a good life... nice apartment and but I also have a lot less stress than back in Latvia” – Ian.

For Arnold it is his experiences of the subjective quality of life in Ireland. He describes this intrinsic quality, as the “something in Ireland” that made living in Ireland feel good.

“Back in Latvia that [quality of life] didn’t exist when I was there, and I don’t think it exists now. Even if I had stayed in England I do not think I would have had the same life.... There is something in Ireland that has made me want to stay; something...it is hard to explain, just something that makes it a good country to live in” – Arnold.

For Eddie, success was the opportunity to return to education and earn a degree. This increased his career capital and improved his future career prospects and life. Speaking of his decision to stay in Ireland he said:

“I think once I decided to go back to university....that was the first serious plan for my future in Ireland. Up until then I still had in my mind to go back to Poland, at some stage... whenever I had enough money to help set myself up. But I wanted to do a degree.... something that would help me to get a better job, something with a future” - Eddie.

Similarly, for Ciaran, it was the opportunity to learn new skills and develop his career that are important metrics in measuring the success of his career outcomes. However, yet again, the importance of subjective success is also emphasised in his narrative.

“I am learning new things working here; I’m being given new responsibilities, tasks, training, but also I have a good life here, that is most important’ – Ciaran.

For Maria, displaying a ‘Professionalist’ career script, work and organisational status are important drivers of what she considers as career success. To Maria this feeling of success helps her make sense of the amount of the time she spent on her education. She also makes sense of an unhappy time spent gaining work experience by highlighting how this experience was also important in gaining her the job role. Aspects like these are now criteria for Maria’s career satisfaction and success.

“I got this job because of my knowledge....My education, that’s partly why I like it, this is what I spent so much time in university for....Also my experience was a big factor, this is what I suffered those two long years in [job she hated] for” – Maria.

For Maria, as with other interviewees, more subjective tenets of career success, such as lifestyle and happiness, are also important for those that prioritise objective career success.

“If I had stayed in *****, I would not have this life, in my career or outside that..., I am very happy with my job, with my life here.... Both my work and personal life are how I want them, and not to please someone else or because it’s the right thing to do....” – Maria.

While the analysis of the narratives show that many of the interviewees could be classified as underemployed, this human capital view misses the depth of reasoning and agency behind the interviewees’ career pathways, and what they consider as career success. The findings support the Syed (2008) contention that the human capital view ‘lacks the in-depth qualitative insights needed for studying all aspects of migrants’ careers’ (Syed, 2008, p.29) and ignores other important forms of capital utilised by migrants (Al Ariss and Syed, 2011; Crowley-Henry and Al Ariss, 2016). This supports the need for a more holistic view of migrant careers (Al Ariss, 2011). It also supports the need to define career as an overall life event; as did the Chicago School of

sociologists, epitomised by Hughes (1937, 1958), ‘who took an expansive life perspective approach, underscoring the relationship between professional and personal biographies’ (Mulhall, 2013, p.209). The findings also justifies the use of the Sullivan and Baruch (2009) career definition as a working definition of career for this study. The utilisation of this broad career definition helps to provide a more comprehensive analysis of the skilled migrants’ careers. This in turn helps us understand why many interviewees value and prioritise the subjective tenets of career success, such lifestyle, security and stability (usually for family reasons) before the more objective rewards of role, position or status.

Despite the differences between objective and subjective career success, this research finds that it is not a question of ‘either-or’ when analysing the career narratives of the interviewees. It is more important, as contended by Heslin (2005), to understand how the two forms of success relate to each other. The career narratives describe a co-existence of the two forms of success, in an interdependent relationship (Hall and Chandler, 2004). This co-existence is based on a recurring pattern (Gunz and Heslin, 2005), such as how objective success (salary, promotions) feeds into the subjective success (positive work-life balance, lifestyle). For example Ollie, who is a trained and experienced psychologist but works as a truck driver in Ireland. Ollie, in his narrative, tells a story of having, what he perceives as a very successful career and life in Ireland. As Ollie is a qualified psychologist, the human capital view would classify him as underemployed. Yet Ollie speaks of a career where he is a successful truck driver with an excellent working relationship with his employers, which in itself is a form of objective success. More importantly, this success as a truck driver provides a lifestyle Ollie could not have achieved back in Poland when he was, in the human capital view, fully employed as a psychologist. Ollie’s career narrative emphasises the need for a broader and more holistic approach to the study of the careers of skilled migrants.

Consequently, the findings support that the dynamism and comprehensiveness of the career success construct can be better unpacked by examining careers through both the subjective and objective perspective simultaneously. This simultaneous examination helps illustrate both the contrast and interdependence between both sides of career success (Abele and Spurk, 2009; Arthur et al, 2005; Fang et al., 2009). Similarly, Mulhall (2011) posits that certain operationalisations of the construct of career success disregard the inseparability of work and life, neglecting a ‘whole person’ perspective (Arnold and Cohen, 2008), a deficit in the literature that this research has

sought to address by acknowledging the inseparability of work and life when researching the interviewees' career success research (Mulhall, 2011).

5.4 Summary of findings

On analysis of the findings, skilled migrant careers emerge as dynamic concepts with evidence of structure and agency both playing their part in the career actions and outcomes of the interviewees. Temporal (such as the historical time of EU enlargement), broad (such as national economies) and proximal (such as family needs) contexts all have an impact on the careers on this study's research population. The career paths of all interviewees have meandered through various transitions, with changing career scripts accompanying each transition. Each individual's unique career narrative contained accounts of different career concepts, forms of success, career anchors, forms of capital and degrees of agency. However, considering that there is much conjecture as to what exactly constitutes a career (Greenhaus et al., 2008) or career success (Gunz and Heslin, 2005, Hughes, 1937), it is not surprising that each interviewee defines their career and career success differently. Each interviewee's narrative displayed a holistic, 'whole life' (understanding of careers, with careers 'embedded in family, personal, and community life' (Lee et al., 2011, p.1535), and encompassing both work and non-work experiences (Briscoe et al., 2006). This is the rationale for this study's use of the Sullivan and Baruch (2009, p.1543) definition of career as being "an individual's work-related and other relevant experiences, both inside and outside of organisations that form a unique pattern over the individual's lifespan". This definition portrays a holistic view of career, thereby allowing this study to adopt a 'whole life' (Litano & Major, 2016) perspective on career. This perspective emerged from an effort to progress and broaden the occupational perspective on career to one where work and profession have place and meaning in one's overall life (Gysbers, 2003). This enables an expansive concept of career, one that integrates the roles, settings, and events of a person's life into a holistic view of career (Gysbers, 2003).

Overall, lifestyle, family and work/life balance emerge as very prominent drivers of host-country career decisions in the skilled migrant interviews. From the narratives, what constitutes career and career success for the interviewees bears little resemblance to the literature's focus on the more negative aspects and outcomes of skilled migrant host country careers. The discourse in the extant literature was found

to be at odds with how many of this research's interviewees perceive and craft their careers, and how, in agential career actions, they choose and use work to build a satisfying life (Savickas, 2013) as part of a 'whole life' career in the host country. The empirical evidence suggests that skilled migrants engage in a process that enables them to make sense of (Weick, 1995, Weick et al., 2005) and craft a new image of career in the host country over time. Having analysed, unpacked the narratives, and detailed these findings, the following chapters will discuss how these findings make a contribution to the expatriation, careers and HRM literature by providing fresh insights into the careers and career transitions of skilled migrants.

Chapter Six – Contributions

“To the discovery of the most important truths the observation of the rare and hidden phenomena, only to be produced by experiments, does not lead; but rather the observation of the openly displayed phenomena, accessible to everybody. Therefore the problem is not so much, to see what nobody has yet seen, but rather to think concerning that which everybody sees, what nobody has yet thought”

from “Parerga und Paralipomena” (Schopenhauer, 1851)

cited by Jan Willem Moll (1934)

This chapter highlights the intellectual contributions of this research. It blends the findings and discussions from chapter six, the research questions and overall purpose of the study, with its contextual, philosophical and methodological foundations, the extant literature on skilled migrants and the overall theoretical foundation to the study as a whole.

In answering the two research questions and their respective sub-questions, this study makes a number of contributions to the international careers and skilled migrant literature. While research in business and management has only lately starting to focus attention on skilled migrants and their career development at the micro level (Zikic, 2015), this study answers contemporaneous calls for further research in this area. The calls for further research include; more studies on skilled migrants' career actions and career outcomes (Guo and Al Ariss, 2015), at the individual and contextual levels (Smale et al., 2017), at the interplay of individual and institutions and on how skilled migrants utilise their resources and capital to achieve career success (Fernando & Cohen, 2016).

At a theoretical level, the study introduces two new models: one on career transitions and the other a multi-dimensional model of career focus. The new multi-stage career transition model, with its foundations in the work of Barley (1989) and Duberley et al. (2006a), is designed to act as a sensitising device for career transitions, as in the career transitions faced by the interviewees within, and between, their home and host country careers. The second model is a multi-dimensional model of career focus, which examines the interviewees' perceptions of career success on three dimensions: success focus, motivation focus and achievement focus. This multi-dimensional focus allowed the study to conduct a more nuanced and inclusive unpacking of the dynamic and varied aspects of career success in the interviewees' career narratives. The two models have relevance and utility in the wider career studies area, beyond the skilled migrant area of research. From unpacking the careers of workers on traditional organisational career paths, to the transitional careers of repatriated workers, female and ethnic minority careers.

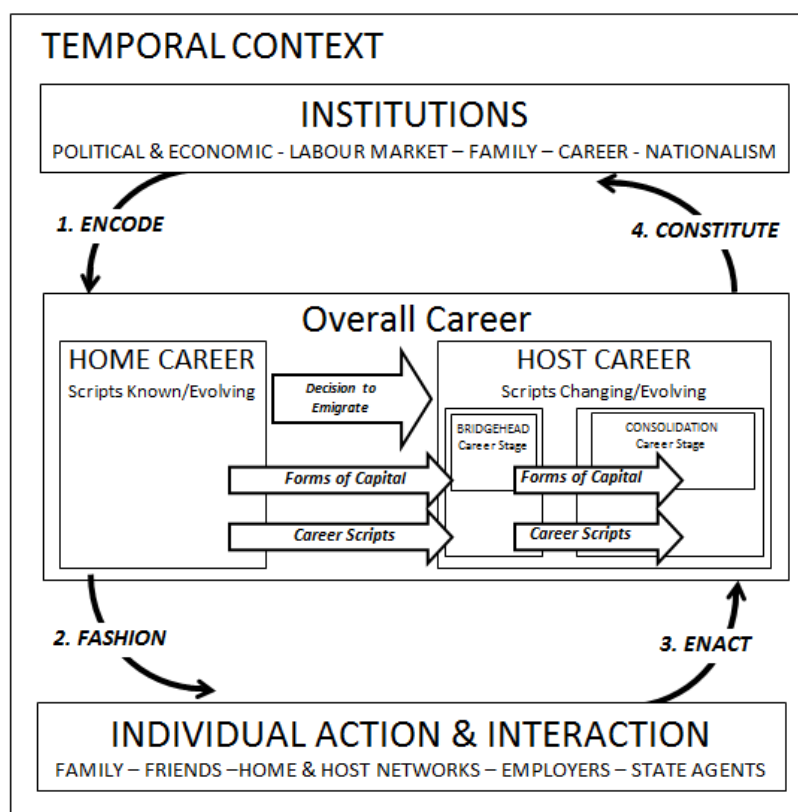
This research highlights the home and host country structures influence on the skilled migrants' career decisions, and thereby answers the calls for research on the contextual embeddedness of careers and the contextual issues faced by skilled migrants (Al Ariss and Crowley-Henry, 2013; Gunz et al., 2011; Pearson et al., 2011; Smale et al., 2017).

The research moves the careers of skilled migrants beyond objective career success and the negative underemployment narrative, and in doing so presents a broader and qualitative account of the dynamic nature of the career structuration and agency of skilled migrants, in both the home and host country. Each contribution, both broad and focused, is unpacked over the next sections.

6.1 Contribution 1 – Multi-Stage Career Transition Model

This study introduced a new multi-stage career transition model. The model was designed around the view that the individual has one career, but within that one career there are major transitional stages, and within these major transitional stages there are further transitions, such as the further transitions from ‘Bridgehead’ to ‘Consolidation’ within the host country career stage. The model also allows for the effects of macro level institutions and individual, micro level action, all contained within the temporal context within which the career happens. See figure 6.1 below for an illustration of the multi-stage career transition model.

Figure 6.1. Multi-stage career transition model.



This model has its foundations in the work of Barley (1989) and Duberley et al. (2006a). The Duberley et al. (2006a) study unpacked career transitions that occurred within the one career field, which was the managerial career field, and involved a transition from an organisational managerial career to an independently managed portfolio career. In the Duberley et al. (2006a) model the career transition did not entail crossing of national boundaries, as the transitions studied all happened within the sample populations' home country, the UK. These limited contexts lessened the effects of the transition on the subjects' careers when compared to the effect the act of emigrating had on a skilled migrant's career, which for most involved a change in profession, field and country.

In this study, the narratives portrayed transitions that were more radical, involving transitions across professional and national boundaries, as well as transitions in how career success is assessed. Therefore, this study required further adaption of Barley's (1989) model to allow for this difference in both the actual transitions, and the career effects of the transitions. This was due to four main reasons: The first was because the narratives provided evidence of the recursive process of the four steps of the career structuration model (encode, fashion, enact and constitute) all happening within each career stage. The recursive process was not evenly split (as in encode-fashion and enact-constitute) across the two stages of the career transition, as shown in the Duberley et al. (2006a) model. An example of this is Ian's narrative, where Ian recounts that he went through all four steps of the model in his home career stage, as in when he reconstituted his career scripts from a professional career as an IT specialist to a warehouse order picker, all of which happened prior to the decision to emigrate being made. Ian then went through the same process (code, fashion, enact and constitute) in both the 'Bridgehead' and 'Consolidation' stages of his host country career. Thus, this study's adaptation of the model displays the four-recursive steps of the model happening across the whole career of the individual. This allows for the effects at all stages of the career, be it in the home or host country. This also allows for the study's use of the Sullivan and Baruch (2009, p.1543) definition of career which treats the individual's as having one lifelong career, with the various transitions viewed as various stages of the one 'whole-life' career. This means the individual does not have multiple careers despite the transitions in field, profession, country etc.

Secondly, the overall process of career structuration is now contained within the historical, or temporal, context. This allows for the effect of the time and timing on the

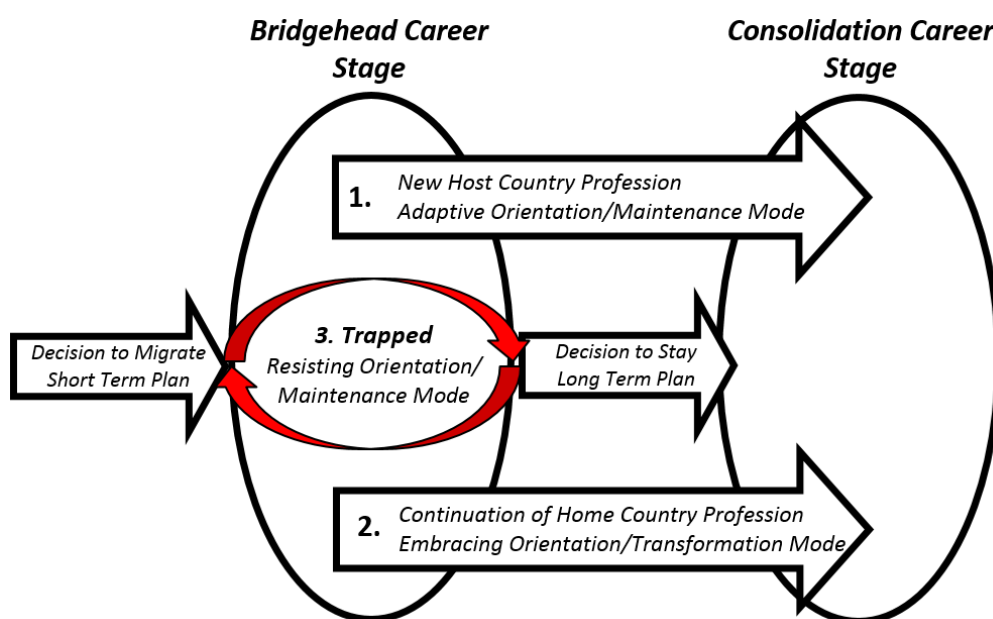
individual's career. Many of the career actions narrated by the interviewees could not have happened in a different era, such as before the enlargement of the EU in 2004 or may not be possible in the future, such the interviewees who emigrated to the UK prior to moving to Ireland. Future generations of EU10 migrants may not be able to replicate this path in the future post-Brexit Europe.

Thirdly, the model allows for the effects of the transition from home to host country. This was not an issue in the original Duberley et al. (2006a) study as all interviewees remained within the one national context. The effect of the trans-national move, in particular the effects on the migrants' capital, were caused by the change in interviewees' field. This transition removed the migrant and his/her career from familiar fields and habitus (Bourdieu, 1984, 1986), and affected the relevance of the home country capital (Bourdieu, 1986). This transitional effect is something that this study's adaptation of the model allows for.

Finally, this research's identification of the double stage host country career ('Bridgehead' and 'Consolidation' stages) highlighted the process of 're-sensemaking' that individuals go through in each transition. The transition, or lack of one, between the two stages of the host country career, was found to have one of three outcomes for the interviewees' careers. See Figure 6.2 on the next page for a model outlining these outcomes.

Outcomes one and two, which were the outcomes for the majority (n=34), is the 'Consolidation' career stage. Outcome one involves the migrant moving into a profession that is different to the profession they had qualified or worked in back in their home country. This new 'Consolidation' career stage profession was, for most, in a role the human capital view would classify as underemployed (Pearson et al., 2011). However, some in this category maintain a link to their home career by working in jobs connected to their original profession or to a personal interest. This finding of working in a field connected to their original profession concurs with previous findings from studies such as Ramboarison-Lalao et al., (2012). Outcome two involves the skilled migrant overcoming the structures that were preventing the continuation of their home career, and re-establishing themselves in a host based version of their home profession. Finally, outcome three sees the individual trapped in the 'Bridgehead' stage, which is similar to the "opt out... mode of engagement" identified by Al Ariss (2010, p.349) in his study of skilled Lebanese migrants.

Figure 6.2. Career Transitions from Bridgehead to Consolidation Career Stage



Overall, the new multi-stage career transition model, and its utilisation as a sensitising device, has allowed a fuller unpacking of the career narratives. It has allowed for the effects of the duality of both structures and the individual’s ability to act as a free agent to be contained in the study. At the same time, the model also enabled the study to account for the different spatial and temporal contexts, and the effects these contexts may have on the career actions and outcomes.

6.2 Contribution 2 – Revised typology of skilled migrant careers

This comprehensive unpacking of the career narratives has led to the creation of a revised typology of skilled migrant careers, which has its foundations in the work of Rosabeth Kanter (1989) and Robert Thomas (1989). This revised typology has identified four main forms of career actor in the migrants’ narratives: The Instrumentalist, The Entrepreneur, The Professionalist and The Trapped (see sections 6.3.2 to 6.3.5). It is important to note that while the individual interviewees identified with a primary script, the majority also displayed an orientation towards secondary scripts. An example of this is Victoria (R36) whose narrative identifies her as a ‘Professionalist’, where continuation and advancement of her nursing career were very important to her. However, as a mother, she also displays some of the relational and subjective aspects of career success associated with those orientated towards an ‘Instrumentalist’ career.

The foundation of the typologies came from work by Kanter's (1989) three principle forms of career, which are the bureaucratic, the professional and the entrepreneurial careers, and Robert Thomas' (1989) work on blue collar careers. However this study, when unpacking the career narratives unveiled a number of issues with utilising these, and other existing career typologies, such as Zikic's (2010) typology of qualified immigrants' career orientations. First, the 'Entrepreneur' career scripts in the narratives were very similar to Kanter's (1989) form of entrepreneurial careers, and as such, this typology is utilised in this study unchanged. However, the narratives of a number of the interviewees who the study later identified as 'Professionists' contained strong aspects of both Kanter's bureaucratic and professional careers (Kanter, 1989). This led to the creation of the 'Professionalist' career typology, which was considered a more accurate description of this career type. The third cohort identified from analysing the narratives, the 'Trapped', did not fit with any of the typologies studied, but bore similarities to what Al Ariss (2010) described as migrants who followed an opt out mode of engagement (Al Ariss, 2010)..

Finally the largest typology identified in the study, the 'Instrumentalists', did not fit with any of the extant typologies studied. This cohort is best described as 'working to live'. They have a pragmatic attitude to work, and realise its importance in enabling them to live as they do. However, work, even if they enjoy it, is seen as a means to an end. The study's narratives emphasis the subjective areas and qualities of life in Ireland. The 'relaxed' quality of life, the better quality of lifestyle experienced (both subjective and objective) and the perceived better future prospects available for one's family in Ireland are all emphasised as 'sticky factors' in the narratives. These improved areas of life are contrasted to what the interviewees perceive as the quality of life available back in their home countries. This importance of the subjective quality of both work (less stress and sociable hours) and life ('relaxed', work/life balance), above the objective importance of career development and advancement opportunities, are key findings from this study. It is this finding that has led the to the study's creation of the 'Instrumentalist' career type. This identification of an 'Instrumental' career script is not something that this research came across in its review of the existing literature on skilled migrants. The instrumental career script of the majority of the interviewees was evident in both stages of their two-stage host-country career. Using Watson's (2013) classification of instrumentalism as either short-term situational instrumentalism or long-term career instrumentalism, this study identified short-term

situational instrumentalism in the ‘Bridgehead’ career actions, and longer-term career instrumentalism in the ‘Consolidation’ career stage. The short-term situational instrumentalist approach, adopted by the majority of the interviewees, was designed to take a particular, instrumental approach to work, with a specific outcome in mind. This specific outcome was designed around obtaining a well-paid job, the saving of money earned in this job, with the intention of returning home in two to three years’ time and using this money to build or start a better life. 34 of the interviewees displayed a short-term situational instrumentalist approach in their initial ‘Bridgehead’ host country career stage. At the ‘Bridgehead’ career stage, any well-paying job was quickly accepted in the quest to provide the security needed to be established in the host country, and to start saving for a better life back home.

This ‘Bridgehead’ career stage was followed, for most, by the ‘Consolidation’ stage, which is a second career transition stage. At this stage the ‘Instrumental’ interviewees adopt a longer-term career instrumentalism, where career success has become about the interviewees’ and their families’ overall life success. This overall life success may be in the form of a good work/life balance, better future for one’s family or access to long term free health care. The interviewees in the ‘Instrumental’ cohort see their profession/job/work as a means to achieving ‘whole life’ career success. The contribution this research makes to career success is unpacked in the next section.

This revised typology has allowed a broader and deeper study of the skilled migrants’ career types. This finding challenges the literature that adopts a homogenous view to skilled migrant careers. This revised typology allows for the heterogeneity of the sample population to emerge. There are those who strive to develop their home country profession in the host country, while there are those that actually chose not to follow their home profession in the host country. There are the migrants who have developed new enterprises and businesses in the host country, and finally there are those whose expatriation plan has not worked out but remain in the host country for one reason or another. The study portrays a mix of career actions and outcomes, which are not unpacked in the majority of the extant skilled migrant literature.

6.3 Contribution 3 – Multi-dimensional model of career focus

As stated, career success is generally considered as being either one, or more accurately, a combination of two forms success, which are objective or subjective

career success (Heslin, 2005). Despite the dichotomous nature of the objective/subjective view, the two forms are not incompatible (Ituma et al., 2011). This study accounts for how the forms of career success relate and exist in a reciprocal relationship in the migrants' narratives (Gunz and Heslin, 2005; Hall and Chandler, 2004). An example of this is how objective success for entrepreneurs like Terry, such as developing a successful business, can lead to a sense of inner satisfaction, independence and control over one's work and organisation (Kanter, 1989), which are subjective experiences of success for someone with an entrepreneurial career script. Similarly, how instrumentalists like Mary realise the importance of objective success, as in earning a good wage, in providing the subjective quality of life, such as a 'relaxed' life, that they desire and place such prominence on.

However, from an early stage this study found issues with plotting the perceived career success of the interviewees on a simple, single axis objective/subjective scale. The use of the objective/subjective scale did not answer questions such as 'was the main motivation for the interviewee's career actions the perceived reward for one's self or for their family and friends?' In other words, was the career motivation personal or relational? The range and holistic nature of the interviewees' career actions and desired outcomes were such that a number of dimensions and orientations had to be accounted for. See section 6.3 for an account on the creation of the multi-dimensional career scale. The multi-dimensional scale allows research to reflect three aspects of career, giving a more complete view of career. This multi-dimensional view of career focus is therefore one that is more capable of capturing the complexity and nuances of the interviewees' careers, thereby helping the researcher to develop a greater understanding of what career and career success means to the interviewees.

The subjective and objective focus on career success still plays a seminal role in the model, as it is an important measurement of career success in the narratives. This dimension illustrates the importance of intrinsic and extrinsic aspects of career to the individual. Is the interviewee more interested in material concerns? Is work/life balance or the quality of family life more important? The second dimension, the relational and personal scale, allows the research to assess the motivations for the individual's career actions; are the career actions motivated by personal desires (such as personal fulfilment or the development of one's business), or are the career actions motivated by a more relational and social basis (such as for family lifestyle reasons). The third dimension adds an achievement focus. This orientation unpacks where specifically

each individual's career outcomes are focused. For the 'Entrepreneur', the focus is on building up the business. For the 'Professionalist', the focus is on developing one's own professional career, or contributing to an organisation's success or development. For the 'Instrumentalist' the focus of the career outcomes may be purely instrumental and designed to achieve a good life for one's family.

The third dimension, the focus on the career outcomes, is an important distinction from the second dimension, the focus on the individual's career motivation. The following scenario illustrates the difference. The focus of an 'Entrepreneur's' career outcomes may be on the building up of a business or enterprise, however the motivation for the 'Entrepreneur's' career actions may come from the desire or need to improve their family's quality of life, which is a relational motivation. An example of this is Vince, who utilised his skills at, and passion for, gardening to start his own landscaping company. The focus of his career outcome is on the growth of his landscaping business. However, the most prominent motivation for Vince in pursuing an 'Entrepreneurial' career, by starting his landscaping business, was to find a way of providing a better quality life for his family, a relational motivation.

The development of the extra dimensions to the career model allows a more comprehensive and nuanced assessment of the individuals' careers. The inclusion of the personal and relational level of the career actions allowed the study to assess the motivational forces behind the career actions. Was the career, regardless of the level of objective or subjective outcomes, motivated by the self-interest of the individual, or whether the motivation came from the individual's family or partner? Adding the third dimension, the locus of the career focus, created a flexibility that allowed for different institutional or contextual factors.

The majority of the interviewees recount what they consider as a successful host country career. Yet, many are underemployed and experiencing career stagnation. The interviewees' sensemaking of their instrumental host country career actions provides an alternative explanation for the phenomenon of skilled migrant underemployment. This is an addition to the existing literatures' narrative of migrant underemployment and lack of skill utilisation (e.g. Almeida et al., 2015; De Jong and Madamba, 2001). The interviewees' narratives recount voluntary underemployment, with the importance of the interviewees' experiencing subjective career success outweighing objective career outcomes. The 'been there and done that already' narrative looks back on what the interviewees see as a failed home country career, where their pursuit of a skilled

profession failed to provide the things that they considered important for their life, family or ambition. They make sense of their career transition by comparing their perceived failed home country career with what they perceive as a successful life and career in the host country, which has enabled them to provide the things that they considered important for their life and/or family. This successful host country career is, for most, achieved by working in an underemployed role unconnected to the home country profession. This finding illustrates how subjective career motivation (such as lifestyle and work life integration) goes toward explaining voluntary underemployment. The 'been there and done that already' view adopted by many led to the interviewees adopting a 'whole life' (Lee et al., 2011; Litano and Major, 2016) view of what their long-term host country career means to them. This led to the desire for a more subjective form of career success, and illustrates how subjective career motivation (such as lifestyle and work life integration) helps explain voluntary underemployment. The label of underemployed is not an issue brought up by the interviewees in the narratives. The interviewees' make sense of their careers in broad terms, a sensemaking that balances the actual job/profession of the individual with the overall life the individual has crafted for themselves and their family in the host country. The instrumental nature of the motivation behind the skilled migrants' career actions is an important finding when one considers the importance in HRM of understanding employee motivation.

An additional finding during the study of the interviewees' perceptions of career success was the dynamic nature of their perceptions of career success. The perceptions of what was important as regards career success changed with their career transitions. As shown in the exemplar interviews, what was perceived as career success in the home country tended to change in the host country, especially in the 'Consolidation' stage, where for many of the interviewees subjective career success tended to grow in importance. This is in contrast to the strong expressions of the desire for objective career success in the home country career (career progression/professional development) and 'Bridgehead' stage (financial improvement) of the host country career. However, changes of perception of career success were not just limited to the transition between the home and host country careers. Some interviewees' reported a change in perception of what a successful career is within their home career stage. Such as Ian whose view of career success changed from where professional development was a primary metric in how he measured success, to the pragmatic realisation that

higher wages to fund a decent quality family life were more important. New longitudinal studies, adopting a 'whole-life' career and using the multi-dimensional model of career focus, could plot the dynamic nature of individuals' perceptions of career success as the individuals' career evolves through its varied transitions. The use of the multi-dimensional model of career, with a 'whole-life' career focus, would explore the nature of career success from a more nuanced and holistic manner that, to date, most extant studies utilising existing models have not.

6.4 Conclusion

The study queries many fundamental assumptions in the literature on skilled migrants' careers, such as the negative narrative of under-employment (Al Ariss, 2012; Baruch et al., 2007; Cook et al., 2011), which was not found in the analysis of the majority of the interviews in this study (n=31). The study offers an alternative explanation for the underemployment of skilled migrants, and reveals that the majority of the interviewees have adopted an instrumental view towards their career and career outcomes in Ireland. However, there remains the concern that there is some evidence of career stagnation, which may lead to the question, are some of the interviewees actually happy, or just satisficing? This in turn opens up a wider research question regarding the role career expectations play in driving career outcomes.

As is illustrated by the skilled migrants' narratives, mapping the contextual effects on the dynamic career pathways of skilled migrants, and determining which perspective on career success, career theory or career anchor best 'fits' their career narrative, is complex as these vary over time and context. Rather, it is increasingly apparent that a blending of career theories and concepts best explain the career paths of skilled migrants. This research suggests that what constitutes career and career success for the research's sample population varies between their home and host country careers. Some respondents clearly prioritise the more objective aspects of career success, while some prioritise the more subjective aspects of career success. While, others again blend both objective and subjective success in their career construction, with the study offering a multi-dimensional model of career focus. The perceptions of subjective career success in Ireland and the 'relaxed' lifestyle were highlighted as 'sticky' factors in many of the interviewees' decision to stay in Ireland for the foreseeable future.

The interviewees display a 'whole life' (Litano and Major, 2016) career attitude, with the findings highlighting the instrumental nature of skilled migrant careers, which runs, to some extent, across all 38 interviewees. The adoption of this instrumental career attitude sees many of the interviewees' work serving as a means to a greater end, be that enabling a perceived better quality of life, family focus, or overall well-being. This has implications for career theory in practice, and for career development scholars interested in unpacking the motivations for employees to develop their careers.

The study highlights a different side to underemployment and the effects of subjective career success. The study illustrates how subjective career motivation (such as lifestyle and work life integration) goes towards explaining voluntary underemployment. Equally, objective career success needs to be unpacked in terms of the attributes under this dimension, with this study highlighting the relevance of objective financial success as a motivator and influencer for skilled migrants' career choices in the host country as well as in the home country.

Finally, this study contributes to the research on the contextual impact on careers, career theory and skilled migrants in the international human resource management domain, by opening and encouraging discussion regarding the country context, career theories and constructs that best explain skilled migrants' careers.

Chapter Seven – Limitations, Conclusions and Recommendations

*“Home is not where you are born; home is where all your attempts
to escape cease”*

from “Parerga und Paralipomena” (Schopenhauer, 1851)

cited by Jan Willem Moll (1934)

7.1 Limitations

Undoubtedly, this study has a number of limitations, which can be related to both the sample and the research design. As is common with the majority of qualitative studies, the sample population size of 38 interviewees is small. In addition, the sample population presented here, and their experiences, are specific to a particular time and place, so generalisation is not possible. However, the intention of this study was never to generalise the findings to a wider population. The intention was to unpack and gain an insight into the dynamism and complexity of the migrants' careers.

This was an exploratory study, where the research sample is visibly similar to the host country population, which is a white European population. Culturally many of the interviewees are also from similar backgrounds to Ireland, as in the Polish sample being from a country that was previously ruled by a once dominant neighbouring country, and had a strong Catholic and patriarchal background. The sample population, as EU citizens, were able to move freely to Ireland, in line with the EU policy of freedom of movement. Thus the findings are particular to this specific group of migrants in Ireland, and the researcher appreciates that a study of migrants from other nationalities and other migrants with more visible differences (such as ethnicity, religion etc.) may face more barriers and therefore have different experiences.

A further limitation of the study is its cross-sectional nature, in being a form of record of 38 individual career plans, actions and outcomes. A follow up study to assess the contemporary careers of the interviewees would add a longitudinal aspect to the study of skilled migrants in the host country. A longitudinal study would add to this research, using a diary method for the interviewees to record their thoughts over a longer period. This would be mixed with interviews at different stages (e.g every 3-5 years) to provide even more data to test the nature of career dynamics over a person's lifespan.

As a study undertaken by a single researcher the accusation of the study containing single-researcher bias may occur (Johnson and Christensen, 2013). However, the overall study, from start to finish, was shared with a second experienced researcher, whose feedback, suggestions and opinions were taken on board, which also encouraged a high level of researcher reflexivity in order to allow for possible bias.

Nonetheless, the aim of this study was to gather the career narratives of the sample, to analyse these, and to unpack the similarities between respondents. The depth and richness of qualitative research is apparent in the study, following and describing

skilled migrants' career journeys over time. The researcher considers the depth and richness of the study to be of as much value as the ability to generalise a portion of the overall study. This study shared the narratives as relayed and sense-made retrospectively by the interviewees; that is, these are subjective accounts. However, future qualitative research of larger samples of skilled migrants, as well as longitudinal studies that could objectively track skilled migrants' careers would help in unpacking the complexity of career success over time.

7.2 Implications

Adopting a social constructivist perspective, with a holistic view of career, this research relied upon the migrants' narratives to capture a 'whole-life' (Litano & Major, 2016) view of their career and world. A 'whole-life' view of career is where other life domains such as lifestyle, family and household are seen to play an equally important role in an individual's career (Kõu et al., 2015). The individual's 'whole life' view of career shapes their career expectations, which in turn drives career outcomes and this has relevance for scholarly understanding of career outcomes more generally. Yet skilled migrants' career motivations and outcomes, other than economic gain, are often neglected in the existent research on skilled migration. This is despite the fact that the decision to migrate is seldom based on purely economic reasons (Larsen et al., 2005). With skilled migration becoming a permanent feature of national and international economies (Crowley-Henry et al, 2016), a fuller understanding of the 'whole-life' rationale for migration is important. This 'whole-life' view of career is essential as careers are not only fashioned by skills and economic factors, but also by many factors beyond the lens of the narrow human capital view> These factors include family circumstances (Phan et al., 2015), gender (Van den Bergh and Du Plessis, 2012), ethnicity (Guo, 2015) or perceptions and experiences of the host country (Syed, 2008). From both the meso and micro level, this study's findings would strongly advocate that careers, to be managed in an efficient manner, should be approached from a "whole-life" career viewpoint. This recommendation is in line with the narratives' accounts that many career decisions and actions are shaped by the individual making decisions, or taking actions, in response to non-work situations (Greenhaus & Kossek, 2014). The "whole-life" approach to career is cognisant of the fact that career, and career development, do "not occur in isolation but in the context of the employee's personal and family needs, which change over the life course" (Litano and Major, p.52, 2016).

With the findings illustrating that the need for work–life balance is an important career priority for the interviewees, organisations that tend to their employees’ changing career, personal, and family needs, may improve their retention of valuable employees and also realise improved organisational performance (Ngo, Foley, & Loi, 2009). Clarke (2013) also maintains that many organisations have improved their organisational performance and effectiveness by recognising the advantages associated with being an active partner in managing employees’ career development and in addressing their work–life needs (Clarke, 2013).

The two new models that emerged from this study, the multi-stage career transition model and the multi-dimensional model of career focus, have applicability beyond the skilled migrant career field. Firstly, in the multi-dimensional model of career focus, the addition of the two extra dimensions to the subjective/subjective model also allows the effect of national culture on careers to be unpacked. For example, do migrants from a country with a more collectivist orientation (Hofstede, 2001), for example China, develop a relational aspect to their career motivations and actions, compared to an individual from an individualistic society, such as Australia or the UK (Darwish and Huber, 2003). Moreover, the two extra dimensions allow a more nuanced understanding of how individuals from countries where organisational loyalty is high, such as Taiwan, may emphasise organisational outcomes, compared to individuals from the USA or UK, who may emphasize individual outcomes at the expense of work group goals (Hofstede, 2001).

Secondly, the multi-stage career transition model, which was created to unpack the careers of skilled migrants. This model is also applicable to a wider range of career actors who experience transitions, and may be utilised to unpack career and transitions caused by diverse phenomena, such as redundancy, maternity leave or health issues. Further research is necessary to determine if the patterns uncovered here can be generalised across larger sample sizes. The four alternatives that emerged from the findings in this study could also be tested for application to larger and/or more diverse population frames. Further research, using the models and typology shared in this research undertaking, will be able to test the generalisability of the models and typology. These models and typology can therefore be added to the career researcher’s toolbox, to use in future research on careers with different populations and in different meso and macro contexts.

A longitudinal study would shed further light on various questions, such as how the individual migrant's career has developed since the interviews took place (conducted from December 2015 to February 2017). Do the interviewees still see their future based in Ireland? If so, have they undertaken new training or education to help establish a new long-term career in Ireland? Have their careers gone through further transitions? This would add immensely to our understanding of the long-term career patterns of skilled migrants. This would also allow policy makers at the macro level and organisations at the meso level to support skilled migrants in convincing them their skills could be transferrable. This could help return skilled workers, such as radiographers and psychologists, who are in scarce supply in Ireland, to their professions. A detailed understanding of the career patterns, plans, barriers and actions of the skilled migrant population would help national level training and development bodies to capture the potential and capital in skilled migrants, which, for various reasons, seems not to be visible to employers. This is also an important area for further research for assessing the age/retirement plans of skilled migrants, as this will have a multi-level (macro and micro) impact in both home and host countries, such as on state pensions and on remittances.

The extant literature contained clear ethnic or racial distinctions in the way they used the various terms for internationally mobile skilled workers. The literature review highlighted the different terminology used to describe the population explored in this study. Depending on the literature's viewpoint or interest, the terms utilised may vary, such as expatriate (corporate or self-initiated) or migrant, and this usage may also incorporate a certain number of assumptions (see chapter 2 on literature review). Yet, as theorists such as Al Ariss and Crowley-Henry (2013), Al Ariss and Özbilgin (2010) and Cao et al. (2012) found, the two categories, particularly self-initiated expatriates and skilled migrants, are not so different. This study found that the interviewees, at different stages of their careers, morphed from SIE to skilled migrant, and for those considering further career related expatriation, maybe back to SIE. This has implications for future research in this area. I recommend that scholars across internationally mobile worker categories cooperate on research and seek to integrate their research. This will promote dialogue among scholars researching different forms and populations of international mobility. Rather than seek to engage in a nomenclature war over concept definitions and attributions, this study highlights the need for future research to build on the common ground upon which the different forms of skilled

internationally mobile worker are based. Using the example study's models of career focus and career transition future work could, similarly, focus on adapting or developing models and frameworks that could be applied regardless of the nuance of the population.

The narratives in this study, at times contrary to the extant literature, strongly display the dynamic nature of migration and careers. This suggests the need to rethink how internationally mobile workers are presently conceptualised. Instead of replicating and supporting the stereotyped images and labels (Al Ariss and Crowley-Henry, 2013) that exist in the literature, this study finds there is a need to examine the role of the individual and their agency in the construction of their careers and career identity (Al Ariss and Syed, 2011). Future studies need to embrace and engage with the diversity of the expatriate population (Doherty et al., 2013), and to examine the interplay between self-initiation and migration (Scurry et al., 2013), instead of differentiating internationally mobile workers under static labels. The findings suggest studies need to consider if it is time to re-focus and acknowledge the 'dynamic and meandering' aspect of expatriate experiences, and for future research to move to creating to a more dynamic, evolving conceptualisation which would be more in keeping with the ever-changing nature and patterns of international workers' experiences. This call is in line with answering a call for more reflexivity in expatriate research (Al Ariss and Crowley-Henry, 2013, Swan, 2008), with future studies and research needing to concentrate on the 'action' aspect of expatriate experiences, rather than the present concentration on labelling the expatriate and their mobility.

From a career theory point of view, the ability of many of the contemporary career theories, such as the Protean and Boundaryless career, to effectively capture the nature of modern careers has also been questioned (Guest & Rodrigues, 2014). Many contemporary career theories have emphasized individual responsibility for career development, portraying boundaryless careerscapes with agentic career actors. However, the above perspectives do not conceptualise 'the individual as acting in a broad life context, constrained by family or personal life factors or events beyond the individual's control' (Lee et al., 2011, p.1533), where their individual agency may be limited by personal circumstances. While the balance of cumulative contemporary career research is certainly positive, the Boundaryless and Protean career theories do not take into the fact that careers are also shaped by the broad family, social and economic context. Such as the careers of many of the interviewees for this study; while

they display physical ‘boundaryless’ in the act of migrating, their host country career may become bounded by a lack of qualification recognition, language ability or the felt need for the security of any ‘well-paying’ job in the host country (Saunders, 2015). Consequently, this study calls for an unified approach to future career study, one that is equipped to resolve and take advantage of the multiplicity and variance in the careers field. This integrated approach needs to consider diversity in perspectives to, and contexts in, career studies.

While the macro (national) and meso (organisational) implications are not discussed in this paper, it is apparent that, in many cases, qualified migrants are not working in positions commensurate with their educational qualifications, and are experiencing career stagnation. The human capital pool in nation states is therefore under-utilised, with consequences for countries, industries and organisations, particularly if these under-utilised skills are in areas where skills shortages exist. This would suggest at the organisational level, the talent management strategies and programmes that are been utilised by organisations are failing to take into account skilled migrants (Crowley-Henry and Al Ariss, 2017).

7.3 Conclusions

This study focused on the lived career experiences of a sample population of skilled migrants living and working in the SME sector in Ireland. An exploratory study, it was designed to unpack the migrants’ career motivations, actions and outcomes in both their home and host country contexts, and to assess the effects, if any, of the career transition between home and host country on their career paths.

The findings contribute to filling gaps in the skilled migrant, international careers and IHRM literature (Crowley-Henry et al., 2016) at the individual (Al Ariss et al., 2014, Guo and Al Ariss, 2015, Zikic et al., 2010) and contextual levels (Smale et al., 2017), specifically pertaining to both the host and home careers of this particular cohort of skilled migrants. It has furthered our knowledge on the nature and outcomes of skilled migrant careers as experienced and lived by the sample population, as they adjusted to their international career transition between home and host country. The study utilised a number of theoretical frameworks that were deemed relevant to unpacking the individual narratives, and is based on a craftsman approach to research as devised by Watson (1994).

It is within this context of career transition and the relevance of the temporal period (such as the time of EU expansion) in which the population were then living that the research subject presented itself. Much of the extant IHRM, expatriate and international careers literature concentrates on either organisational assigned expatriates or self-initiated expatriates, much to the detriment of studies on further groupings of internationally mobile workers, such as skilled migrants. This research addresses this lacuna by answering calls for additional contextual level (Smale et al., 2017) and micro level empirical work (such as by Al Ariss et al., 2014, Guo and Al Ariss, 2015) on the career experiences of skilled migrants. This research combines a wide-ranging review of the extant skilled migrant careers literature with a comprehensive study of the career narratives of 38 skilled migrants living and working in Ireland. It highlights the importance of allowing for a full and in depth study of the contextually impacted career actions and experiences of a sample population. The career experiences, as in the career transitions, actions and outcomes, of this research's sample are unpacked and interpreted abductively. The study incorporates agency and volition at the micro level, along with structural issues at the macro level.

The research endeavoured to answer a number of questions. Firstly, the study sought to find out how the career transitions involved in the act of migrating (moving from a home country career to a host country career) affected the career plans, actions, and outcomes of the interviewees. In identifying and unpacking the three stages of this career transition (Home career – Host Country Bridgehead career – Host Country Consolidation career), the study suggests that the meaning of career and career success is dynamic and alters between the interviewees' home and host country careers. The study highlights the 'Instrumental' careers favoured by many of the sample, which the interviewees made sense of by perceiving the instrumentality of their host country careers being a consequence of their failed home career. The study also offers an alternative rationale for the prevalence and acceptance of underemployment among the skilled migrant population and unpacks the agentic decisions and rationale behind the underemployed migrants' career actions.

Secondly, the research unpacked how career and career success, for the sample population, varied between their home and host country careers. Some of the respondents, such as those identified as 'Professionists', clearly sought out the more extrinsic aspects of career success, such as promotion and professional development. Others, such as those identified as 'Instrumentalists', prioritised subjective career

success, with areas like work/life balance and quality of family life a priority. For all there was a certain amount of blending of both objective and subjective success in their career constructions. This outcome concurs with the extant literature's view that the two forms of career success co-exist in an interdependent relationship (Hall and Chandler, 2004), and are based on a cyclical model (Gunz and Heslin, 2005). However, the research found the objective and subjective dichotomy of career success was limited for unpacking the dynamic and complex career narratives. In response to this limitation a multi-dimensional model of career focus was created, which was designed to holistically unpack the interviewees' 'whole life' careers. The multi-dimension model of career focus examines the interviewees' perceptions of career success on three dimensions: success focus, motivation focus and achievement focus. This in depth examination allows the nuanced and holistic unpacking of career motivations and focus. From this multi-dimensional unpacking of the interviewees' careers, a typology of skilled migrant careers was fashioned. This new typology, with foundations in the work of Kanter (1989) and Thomas (1989), consists of four career scripts: The Instrumentalist, The Entrepreneur, The Professionalist and The Trapped. This typology should assist organisations, HRM professionals and academics alike in identifying and managing the career motivations and development of an important cohort of international employees. The perceptions of the interviewees' subjective career success in Ireland and the 'relaxed' lifestyle are also highlighted as the main 'sticky' factors in the interviewees' decision to stay in Ireland for the foreseeable future.

7.4 Closing remarks

This research, although limited by its small sample size, is relevant in that it unpacks the career motivations, actions and outcomes of skilled migrants beyond objective career success and under-employment categorisation. It presents a comprehensive and broad picture of the dynamic and agentic nature of their career crafting in a host country. The relational significance of family (spouse, children) and quality of life are weighed-up with objective career outcomes, such as status, title, salary. The findings show that theoretically mapping the interviewees' career pathway is difficult. While career theories are useful as background, the process of career reflection as shared in the interviewees' narratives could best be described as individual crafting of bespoke careers. These findings provide increasing evidence that skilled migrants' careers and career success are complex events, with interviewees displaying a 'whole life' career

attitude, crafting their careers over time and space. Moreover, the findings highlight the instrumental nature of careers for skilled migrants, in serving as a means to a greater end, be that enabling a perceived better quality of life, family focus, or overall well-being. A 'one size fits all' career conceptualisation is therefore not suggested for studying skilled migrant careers, but a more nuanced and holistic interpretation of the career influencing dimensions is required. 'Career' needs to be considered holistically as interwoven with other aspects of life. Lifestyle, well-being (health/stress levels) and family life tends to be prioritised by skilled migrants in this study, thus making the side effect of potential under-employment more readily acceptable to them. To finish, the findings of what career means for many migrants in this study was best summed up by one interviewee, David, who in his holistic view on career in Ireland stated; "Am I happy with my job? No, I wouldn't say that....Content? Yes, I'm content with my job....but I'm very happy with the life my job has given me".

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Appendices

Appendix 1. Interview Topic Guide

Black text is original guide – *Red italics were added to cover information/new questions developed during pilot interviews, which were then added to the topic guide as it evolved.*

i. Background to interview

Essential Question: ‘***Tell me about yourself, your background and life back home***’.

The focus here is gathering information on the migrant, their home country career capital and how the subjects see themselves leading up to making the decision to migrate. A migrant’s career capital is the motivation, expertise and network connections that they have accumulated through their career. This part of the interview focuses on the migrant’s past work experiences, past qualifications, education, social network and identity.

Probing Questions: What did you study in university? What did you work at back home in XXX? Was your job connected to your qualification? *Why not?* Can you elaborate on that? How did you get this job? Have you ever worked in a role that your qualification/degree/masters is connected to? *Are you married? Were you married before you decided to leave *****? Did you have family, children, before leaving? Had anyone in your family emigrated before you? Had you travelled before?*

ii. Motivation to Emigrate

Main questions: ***Why did you choose to emigrate? Why did you emigrate to Ireland?***

The theme this information is required for is the migrant’s reasons for migrating and the migrant’s reasons for migrating to Ireland. The research’s aim is to find out about their career experiences in Ireland, with the objective to obtain the migrant’s views on the following themes: Career Development, Push/Pull factors, Identity (migrant/SIE), (possible) Structural/Career Barriers, Capital Mobilisation.

Probing Questions: Were you working when you decided to migrate? *Why did you leave that job?* Why did you leave your ‘home country’? Did you have support or help from family/friends/organisation etc. already living abroad? *Did you come straight to Ireland? If not where did you migrate to first? What was your experience*

there? Why did you then migrate to/on to Ireland? *What did you know about Ireland?* What were your expectations for yourself in Ireland, career-work-lifestyle? Were your initial expectation met? *Did your wife/partner/family migrate with you? If not when did they travel? Was there a role model or influence in your decision to migrate, and in your decision to come to Ireland? How did you see yourself, a migrant?*

iii. Career and Work life in Ireland

Main questions: ***Tell me about your work life/career since moving to Ireland.***

The theme being explored here is the migrant's Career in Ireland. I want to find out about their career experiences in Ireland, with the objective to obtain the migrant's views on the following themes: Career Development, (possible) Career Barriers, Capital Mobilisation, Career Outcomes and Identity.

Probing questions: *What does career mean to you?* How has your career progressed to date? Who or what influences your career decisions? *Is your present role connected to your qualification/Trade/experience?* How did you get your job/role? Are, or were, your skills/experience/qualifications used or recognised in your work in Ireland experiences? What skills/knowledge/connections - forms of capital - if any, have been beneficial in their career development in Ireland? What have been the main obstacles to obtaining skilled work, or work more suited to your skills in Ireland? *Can you rate your job satisfaction; are you happy with your career?* If unhappy, or not satisfied, are you looking for a more suitable job? Why work at something that you are not happy doing? What steps have you taken to improve your career? How important is your work/job/career to you? *How important is your work/life balance?* How do you see yourself now, are you a migrant, Irish, what?

iv. Future Career Plans

Main Questions: ***Tell about your career and life plan for the future.***

The theme here relates to the migrants' future plans for their career (in Ireland). I will need to find out about their future career plans. Does this involve staying in Ireland, with the objective to obtain the migrant's views on the following themes: Future Career Development, Future Plans, nomenclature best suited to the population (SIE, migrant, localised worker)?

Probing Questions: Do you see yourself staying in Ireland? Why? Do you see your career changing if you stay? *What effect has your career experiences in Ireland had on you, your life?* Do you intend to obtain further training or education? If so why? *So can you say you are happy with your career in Ireland?*

Appendix 2. Interview Inclusion and Exclusion Criteria

Research Participant Inclusion/Exclusion Criteria:

- Male and female interviewees included. Ideal Balance 54% Male – 46% Female. Gender is a factor which is very relevant to my research as in 2007, when migration to Ireland peaked, female migrants accounted for 46% of migrants to Ireland (CSO, 2014c). Thus the participation of a proportionally correct amount of female migrants is important to gain a true picture of the careers of migrants, male and female
- All participants must be over 18 years of age and must be migrants in Ireland.
- All participants for this study must have emigrated to Ireland independent of any organisational or employer support.
- All participants must be “skilled” migrants, using the Iredale (2005) definition of a skilled migrant as a migrant having a university degree or extensive experience in a given field (Iredale, 2005).
- All participants must be working in the SME sector. SMEs are classified by employee numbers and are divided into three categories, micro, small and medium:
 - 1. Micro-enterprises have fewer than 10 employees
 - 2. Small enterprises have between 10 and 49 employees
 - 3. Medium-sized enterprises have between 50 and 249 employees
- All participants must be resident and working in Ireland
- All participants must have at least 4 years work experience in Ireland. This is to ensure the migrant has adequate time to settle and establish their career. Four years was chosen as a minimum time frame as this is to allow for possible re-training or a return to education, with a typical degree taking 3-4 years.
- There is no limit on how high or low skilled the migrant’s Irish based occupation is.
- The migrant’s original plans for employment or planned duration of stay in Ireland are not an issue/relevant.

Appendix 3. Example of Interview Reflections

Assumptions prior to interview:

Never met 'Alan' face to face before. Only contact was via e-mail/phone. He was recommended to me by 'Terry', with whom I have had a lot of contact. 'Terry's' descriptions of 'Alan' have created an image of a very driven and clever individual. We are to meet on Alan's business premises.

Post interview observations:

Impressive person, and a free flowing interview, but felt a bit 'shallow' at times. 'Terry's' description not wrong. He has a very strong entrepreneurial flair and seems very success driven. Not 100% sure about his comment on feeling the need to 'give back', because he goes on to describe a profit making business, no mention of charity work, assistance etc. All commitment and drive seems to be business focused. One note for next interview is that Alan, in discussing his relationship with Terry (who is next interviewee), has created an image of Terry as someone who likes the nice things that success brings. Gut feeling after interview is of someone very driven, but I felt he was over playing it, bragging even! – Proud???

Post transcription main points:

Very assured – Knows what he wants from life. Very career driven – Entrepreneurial Career/Boundaryless Career. Strange given his only reason for coming to Ireland was 'love'. Pull factors are similar, along with 'business opportunities. If his 'love' had not come to Ireland (for nursing career) he probably would not be here. Agent career decisions, few barriers mentioned.

Career anchors: entrepreneurial creativity and lifestyle anchor

Capital: financial – savings and sale of business back in Poland, social –business contacts in Poland and Ireland Cultural capital –previous work and entrepreneurial experience, education (masters).

Sticky factors: companies and business established in Ireland. Ease of doing business in Ireland. Partner developing her career in Ireland. Lifestyle and 'relaxed' way of life in Ireland may play role. Home is now Ireland. Long term future in Ireland, as is his expatriate friends, which is something he commented on...

Objective career success. Some mention of lifestyle, alluded to future family life in Ireland. No issues on where home is (Ire) and how he sees himself as staying in Ireland long term, career ID, as business man, seems important.

NB: He feels lack of self-confidence and fear are holding most migrants back, but sees under-employed as offering better value for wages, and therefore an asset for Irish employers. He feels migrant employees are in general happier with their lot in Ireland.

Appendix 4. List of Open Codes

<u>First round open codes</u>
'multi-dimensional ' job
Ability to buy home
Adventure/Personal Growth
Agentic career decision
Anxiety
Atrophy
Availability of Work
Barriers
Back home ID – Interviewees who refer to back home when talking of their homeland
Back in country ID - Interviewees who refer to Poland, Estonia etc. when talking of their homeland
Bad previous ex-pat experience
Better future
Better future for family main driver
Better health benefits
Better lifestyle quality of life
Better than England
Better wages
Bigger family
Blended Career
Blended nationality
Business friendly
Business Opportunities
Business owner
Capital
Career change-ID change-changing passions
Career ID
Career progression
Career concept/theory
Career Theory Authentic
Career Theory Boundaryless
Career Theory Entrepreneurial

Career Theory Protean
Career Theory Traditional
Career sacrifice for family
Career within own community
Changing/developing due to expat experience
Confined by SME
Content with work
Continuous development
Contract work
Coping with weather
Cost
Cover cost of
Career driven
Cultural issues/difficulty settling initially
Dangers of labelling people
Dynamic life/career as migrant
Ease of doing business in Ireland
Economic
Education
Employer assistance
Employer assistance Motivate to fill potential
Employer assistance Utilise full potential
English language
English lessons
Entrepreneurial/self employed
Equality
EU impact
European
Evidence of career plan
Evidence of TM
Exclusion by other ethnic group
Family business
Family help/aid
Family life

Family back home/ties to home
Family/children more Integrated
Fear in changing job
Fear/Lack of confidence
Financial
Financial betterment
Financial prep
Foot in the door job/career
Foreigner
Friend in host country
Friendly, helpful host nationals
Friends/family
Further travel/migration
Ghettoisation among other migrants
Good life back home
Good place to raise family
Good relationship with host country
Good work/life balance
Grasping opportunities
Happy back home
Happy and content in Ireland
Happy with host career progress
Happy with work
Happy with work but pay limiting factor
Happy, no issues
Holistic view
Home Career Plan
Home degree
Home Masters
Home nationals' attitudes towards migrants
Home native support network
Homeowner
Homophily
Homesick

Host career plans
Host degree
Host family plan-Marriage/Children
Host masters
Impact of poor English
Impact of proficient language ability
Impact of underemployment/unemployment
Impact on
Impact on ID/views on ID
Importance of Family/Friends
Importance of host network
Importance of networks for business info
Importance of preparing for expatriation
Importance of keeping touch with fellow nationals
In business together
Initial plans Reason for change
Initial plans Unrealistic
Initial settling/contentment
Integration
Integrated
Integrated due to location
Interests/Hobbies
International Worker
Ire or England
Irish-Polish very similar
Irish Government support/training
Issues caused by working in SME
Issues with Hiberno-English
Job to come to
Just getting by day to day - no future
Justification
Keeping up to speed with area of expertise
Lack of agency
Lack of family support structures

Lack of independence
Lack of opportunities/promotion
Lack of Org support/management
Lack of org training/development
Lack of security
Lack of social capital
Lack of trust by Irish managers
Lack of work life balance
Lessons to improve capital
Life changing
Lifestyle
Little or no prep for move
Living/supported by parents
Long hours/depending on OT
Long term settling /contentment
Losing links to home
Love
Love/relationship factor
Luck/Serendipity
Means to an end
Migrant
Migrant social circle
Minority/Ethnicity
Mixed feelings
Mixed social circle
Mutual benefits
Native
Naturalised- idealism
Naturalised-Pragmatism
Need for finance/security inhibiting career
Need for security
Need for Security inhibiting progress
Need for security of job
Never worked in home country

No career plan - open to chance
No future back home-Better in Ireland
No papers for qualification
No plan
No plan for longer stay
No repatriation plans
No/vague plans
Nostalgia
Not an issue/not important
Not happy with host career progress
Not like the others
Not useful
Not using qualifications - lack of confidence
Objective success
Organisational impact
Overcoming Fear/low confidence
Partner/relationship
Perceived Career opportunities
Perceived Discrimination
Perceived Exploitation
Perceived use of skills/experience
Place to stay on arrival
Place to stay on arrival Base to start up
Plans to bring family to Ire to live
Political Factors
Poor host language
Poor integration with home country nationals
Poor language ability excuse
Poor Pay
Poor pay/lifestyle
Poor quality job
Poor self-confidence
Poor standard of lifestyle
Poor TM

Poor work/life balance
Poor working conditions/pay
Post-colonial attitude affecting drive, motivation
Post-colonial issue
Positive expatriate experience
Previous experience
Previous expat experience
Pride in home country
Proactive attitude
Promotion
Qualification/skills recognition
Qualification Papers in order
Quality of Life
Realistic time spent on decision
Recession
Recruitment agency
Regrets over early path
Relaxed friendly attitude/values
Relaxed lifestyle of Ire
Remittances
Repatriation
Repatriation-Family factor
Repercussions of Family/friend/partner Break-Ups
Research for move
Respect
Savings
Self-employed/Entrepreneur
Settled career/job
Settling for second best/Satisficing
Sexism
Skilled Trade
Social Circle
State support business
Staying in touch with home culture

Stepping stone location
Specialised training
Stuck in job-trapped
Subjective success
Too stressful
Treated poorly by other migrants
Treated poorly/Looked down on
Underemployed but better pay
Unemployed
Unemployed/redundant
Unemployment
Unhappy but endure for income or experience
Vol demotion
Voluntary unemployment
We are very like Irish.
Work as a means to live
Work Permits
Work related to interviewee's /skill
Work to finance
Work-Family role model incompatibility
Working to support
<u>Second round open codes</u>
Anger/resentment
Back in home country experience
Building belief/confidence through experience
Capital
Capital Cultural Knowing how- career capital
Capital Financial
Capital Importance of English Language
Capital Knowing Why - Career Capital
Capital Lack of/problems with recognition
Capital Social
Capital Social Knowing whom - Career Capital

Capital Symbolic capital
Career concept Blended work/life focus
Career concept Entrepreneurial focus
Career concept Life focus
Career concept Work focus
Career progression
Change of career
Children more Integrated
Exclusion among Irish workers
Family Influence
Family/Relationship – effect of breakup
Fear of change/unknown
Fear/Lack of confidence
Freer Lifestyle – independence/political
Further dev/training/
Happy with job but pay affecting career
Home Life-
Home Life-Underemployed
Home nationals attitudes
Host country culture/social life
Importance of English language in career progression
Importance of Family/Friends
Lack of effort to integrate in fellow migrants/Ghettoisation
Lack of initiative in fellow migrants
Lack of opportunities/promotion
Lack of trust by Irish managers
Lack of/problems with recognition
Make money and go home
Migrants exploiting system
Minority/Ethnicity
Misogyny in Irish firms
Mixed feelings – the good and bad of Ireland
Negative views of/issues with new migrants
No or little career progression

Objective of move
Perceived Discrimination
Plan to develop business further
Planned short duration of stay
Political Factors
Poor integration with home country nationals
Pride in home country
Racism
Reputation being damaged
Skilled Trade
Skills /Experience not used
Staying but looking for new job
Staying in host country
Training/ for obtaining work in host
Unrealistic plans
Utilising experience/qualifications
Where is home?
Work related to interviewee's /skill
Working in two jobs to make a living

Appendix 5. List of Axial Codes

Anger Resentment

Anger Resentment\self

Anger Resentment\home

Anger Resentment\fellow migrants

Anger Resentment\host country

Barriers

Barriers\Anxiety

Barriers\cultural barriers to using skills/education

Barriers\Fear/Lack of confidence

Barriers\Ghettoisation among other migrants

Barriers\Issues caused by working in SME

Barriers\Lack of agency

Barriers\Lack of family support structures

Barriers\Lack of social capital

Barriers\Lack of trust by Irish managers

Barriers\Lack of work life balance

Barriers\Need for finance/security inhibiting career

Barriers\No plan

Barriers\Perceived Discrimination

Barriers\Poor host language

Barriers\Poor integration with home country nationals

Barriers\Poor pay/lifestyle

Barriers\Poor TM

Barriers\Post-socialism issue

Barriers\Qualifications/skills recognition issues

Barriers\Settling for second best/Satisficing

Barriers\sexism

Barriers\Work Permits

Capital

Capital\cultural

Capital\financial

Capital\habitus

Capital\symbolic

Capital\social

Career concept

Career concept\traditional

Career concept\contemporary

Career Theory

Career Theory\boundaryless

Career Theory\protean

Career Theory\authentic

Career focus

Career focus\blended

Career focus\life

Career focus\work

Career focus\entrepreneur

Career anchor

Career anchor\lifestyle

Career anchor\independence-autonomy

Career anchor\managerial competence

Career anchor\security stability

Career anchor\internationalism

Career anchor\technical/functional competence

Educational impacts

Education\home degree

Education\home masters

Education\host degree

Education\host masters

Education\host PhD

Education\skilled trade

Family/Relationships

Family/Relationships\better future main driver

Family/Relationships\career sacrifice for family

Family/Relationships\impact on career

Family/Relationships\impact on future plans

Family/Relationships\impact on education

Family/Relationships\need for security

Family/Relationships\remittances
Family/Relationships\work-family role incompatible
Family/Relationships\effect of break up

Future Plans

Future Plans\Change of career
Future Plans\Develop business further
Future Plans\Further dev/training/education
Future Plans\Further travel/migration
Future Plans\Host family plan-Marriage/Children
Future Plans\No repatriation plans
Future Plans\No/vague future plans
Future Plans\Repatriation
Future Plans\Staying but looking for new job

Home Life/Work Experiences

Home Life/Work Experience\lack of independence
Home Life/Work Experience\Never worked in home country
Home Life/Work Experience\Poor pay
Home Life/Work Experience\poor quality job-underemployed
Home Life/Work Experience\Post-socialism attitude affecting drive, motivation
Home Life/Work Experience\Pride in home country
Home Life/Work Experience\Recession
Home Life/Work Experience\Cover cost of education
Home Life/Work Experience\Entrepreneurial/self employed
Home Life/Work Experience\Family business
Home Life/Work Experience\Good life back home
Home Life/Work Experience\Happy with work but pay limiting life
Home Life/Work Experience\Home Career Plan
Home Life/Work Experience\qualifications/experience used in career
Home Life/Work Experience\Just getting by day to day - no future

Host country career experiences

Host Country Career\'multi-dimensional ' job
Host Country Career\Agentic career decision
Host Country Career\Confined by SME
Host Country Career\Content with work
Host Country Career\Continuous development

Host Country Career\contract work
Host Country Career\Ease of doing business in Ireland
Host Country Career\Employer assistance
Host Country Career\Equality
Host Country Career\Evidence of career plan
Host Country Career\Evidence of TM
Host Country Career\Exclusion by other ethnic group
Host Country Career\Fear in changing job-need for security
Host Country Career\Good work/life balance
Host Country Career\Grasping opportunities
Host Country Career\Happy with host career progress
Host Country Career\Holistic view
Host Country Career\Impact of poor English
Host Country Career\Impact of proficient language ability
Host Country Career\Importance of network
Host Country Career\Initial settling/contentment
Host Country Career\Lack of opportunities/promotion
Host Country Career\Lack of Org support/management
Host Country Career\Long term settling /contentment
Host Country Career\Luck/Serendipity
Host Country Career\Means to an end
Host Country Career\Mixed feelings
Host Country Career\No career plan - open to chance
Host Country Career\Not happy with host career progress
Host Country Career\Objective success
Host Country Career\Organisational impact
Host Country Career\Overcoming Fear/low confidence
Host Country Career\Perceived Exploitation
Host Country Career\perceived use of education/experience
Host Country Career\Poor work/life balance
Host Country Career\Poor working conditions/pay
Host Country Career\Promotion
Host Country Career\Qualification papers in order
Host Country Career\Recruitment agency
Host Country Career\Self employ/Entrepreneur
Host Country Career\State support/education/training
Host Country Career\Stuck in job-trapped
Host Country Career\Subjective success

Host Country Career\Underemployed
Host Country Career\Work as a means to live

Host country experiences – Non work

Host country experiences\Admires Irish values
Host country experiences\Better future
Host country experiences\Better health benefits
Host country experiences\Better than England
Host country experiences\Bigger family
Host country experiences\Coping with weather
Host country experiences\Cost
Host country experiences\Cultural issues
Host country experiences\Dynamic life/career as migrant
Host country experiences\Good relationship with host nationals
Host country experiences\Happy, no issues
Host country experiences\Home nationals' attitudes towards migrants
Host country experiences\Home native support network
Host country experiences\Issues with Hiberno-English
Host country experiences\Lack of security
Host country experiences\Life changing
Host country experiences\losing links to home
Host country experiences\Migrant social circle
Host country experiences\Mixed social circle
Host country experiences\Previous expat experience
Host country experiences\Relaxed lifestyle of Ireland-quality of life
Host country experiences\respect
Host country experiences\Staying in touch with home culture
Host country experiences\Stepping stone location
Host country experiences\Treated poorly/Looked down on

Preparation for emigrating

Preparation for move\English lessons
Preparation for move\Financial prep
Preparation for move\Friend in host country
Preparation for move\Ireland or England
Preparation for move\Job to come to
Preparation for move\Little or no prep for move

Preparation for move\Place to stay on arrival
Preparation for move\Research for move
Preparation for move\Training/education for obtaining work in host

Early host country plans

Initial plans\Initial plan changes
Initial plans\Make money and go home
Initial plans\Objective of move
Initial plans\Planned short duration of stay
Initial plans\Reason for change-Family
Initial plans\Unrealistic/naive/no experience

Pull factors

Pull Factor\Adventure/Personal Growth
Pull Factor\Availability of Work
Pull Factor\Better lifestyle
Pull Factor\Better wages
Pull Factor\Business opportunities
Pull Factor\Education
Pull Factor\English language
Pull Factor\Friends/family
Pull Factor\Independence/freer Lifestyle
Pull Factor\love
Pull Factor\Perceived Career opportunities
Pull Factor\Previous experience

Push factors

Push factor\Career progression
Push factor\Economic
Push factor\Escape personal problems
Push factor\Family Influence
Push factor\lack of independence
Push factor\Love/relationship factor
Push factor\Minority/Ethnicity
Push factor\Personal development (lack of)
Push factor\Political Factors
Push factor\Poor standard of lifestyle
Push factor\Underemployed

Push factor\Unemployment

Identity

Identity\Back home ID

Identity\Blended nationality

Identity\Career as identity

Identity\career change-ID change-changing passions

Identity\Changing/developing due to expat experience

Identity\Dangers of labelling people

Identity\European

Identity\Family/children more Integrated

Identity\Foreigner

Identity\impact of underemployment/unemployment

Identity\Importance of keeping touch with fellow nationals

Identity\Integrated

Identity\Integrated due to location

Identity\International Worker

Identity\Justification

Identity\Migrant

Identity\ 'More than a migrant'

Identity\Native identity

Identity\Naturalised- idealism

Identity\Naturalised-Pragmatism

Identity\Not an issue/not important

Identity\We are very like Irish.

Stickiness

Stickiness\Business Opportunities

Stickiness\Business owner

Stickiness\Family life

Stickiness\Financial

Stickiness\Happy and content in Ire

Stickiness\Home owner

Stickiness\Lifestyle

Stickiness\Mutual benefits

Stickiness\No future back home-Better in ire

Stickiness\Partner/relationship

Stickiness\Plans to bring family to Ire to live

Stickiness\Relaxed friendly attitude/values

Stickiness\Social Circle

Stickiness

Appendix 6. Lichtman's (2013) 10 Principles of Ethical Conduct.

Lichtman's (2013) 10 Principles of Ethical Conduct.

1. Do no harm; Lichtman (2013) claims that of all the ethical principles this is the cornerstone of ethical conduct.
2. Privacy and Anonymity; Participants should have a reasonable expectation that privacy and anonymity will be maintained.
3. Confidentiality; Research participants have a reasonable expectation that information provided to the researcher will be treated in a confidential manner. They should also expect that their contribution will not be shared, and only used for the project for which informed consent was obtained.
4. Informed consent; Research participants have a reasonable expectation that they will be informed of the nature of the study and may choose whether or not to participate, and that consent will not be coerced in any way.
5. Rapport and Friendship; Lichtman describes developing rapport with participants in order to get information from them, but differentiates between rapport and, what she describes, as 'faking friendship' in order to get more information.
6. Intrusiveness; Participants who agree to take part in the study should not experience the research as being excessively intrusive.
7. Inappropriate Behaviour; The participant/researcher relationship should not develop into a sexual or personal relationship.
8. Data Interpretation; Information supplied by participants should be analysed in a manner that avoids misrepresentation, misstatements or untruthful analysis.
9. Data Ownership and Rewards; Researchers, in general own the data, but questions over ownership, legal rights to data and shares of financial have all risen at some stage.

Other issues; The influence power and control may have over research participants, feminist concerns with power, respect and gender issues are two issues dealt with under the tenth, generic heading 'other issues'. The list is concluded with the view that the main concern for the researcher is 'the ethics of care for the research participants' (Lichtman, 2013, p.58).

Appendix 7. Ethical Approval Application Form

Maynooth University

Social Research Ethics Sub-Committee

Protocol for Tier 2-3 Ethical Review of a Research Project Involving Participation of Humans

Please note the following:

1. The ethics committee will review the protocol and have the final decision on Expedited Review submissions. If the committee decides that this project is not eligible for expedited review you will be notified and the protocol will automatically be accessed by standard review.
2. Before submitting this application, all researchers named within it should have read and agreed the contents.
3. While attachments may be appended, it is important that you do not simply refer to them, but that you fully address all points in the text of this form. Please keep in mind that your application could be read by someone who is not a specialist in your field, so it is important to make your explanations as clear and thorough as possible.

INSTRUCTIONS: Place your cursor inside the box that follows each question and begin to type – the box will expand as you type. Please submit this completed form, with all supporting documentation, to the Maynooth University Research Support Office Ethics Committee Secretariat. Please include selected review level in the e-mail subject line:
research.ethics@nuim.ie

1. Select Review level

Tier 2 Expedited Review []

Tier 3 Standard Review [X]

2. Specific criteria

Please select the specific criteria, from the following

<https://www.maynoothuniversity.ie/research/research-development-office/research-ethics> list that entitles the project to be exempt from standard review.

Tier 2, Select from Criteria Number 1 to 4 (if applicable)

3. Information about the researcher(s), collaborator(s), and/or supervisor (if the researcher is a postgraduate student)

Please include letter from the supervisor (*see template at the end of this form*) outlining how the student is suitably prepared/qualified and will have adequate support to carry out the type of research proposed.

Name:	Qualifications or Student No:	Dept.	Email:	Tel.	Role in the project:
Edward P. O'Connor	10726717	School of Business, Rowan House, Maynooth University	EDWARD.OCONNOR.2 011@ nuim.ie	7086520	PhD Researcher
Dr. Marian Crowley Henry	PhD	School of Business, Rowan House, Maynooth University	marian.crowleyhenry@n uim.ie	7084756	Supervisor

4. Previous ethical approval for this project (if applicable)

(Please attach a copy of your approval letter)

Other Ethical Approval	Reference
Maynooth University Ethical Approval [] Yes [X] No	SRESC-201x-xxxxx
Other Institutions [] Yes [X] No [] Under review	Name and Address of organisation
<p><i>If you are carrying out research in collaboration with another organisation/group you might require ethical approval from this organisation/group as well as Maynooth University. It is the researcher's responsibility to ensure such permissions are in place. Please indicate whether or not such approval is required. Where applicable provide a copy of the application and letter of approval.</i></p>	

5. **Title.** Brief title of the research project:

Skilled Migrants and International Careers: An Exploratory Study of the Careers and Capital of Skilled Migrant Workers in Ireland

6. **Research Objectives.** Please summarize briefly the objective(s) of the research, including relevant details such as purpose, research question, hypothesis, etc. (about 150 words).

The objective of the overall research is to explore the individual careers of skilled migrants working in the SME (Small to Medium Enterprise) sector in Ireland, with a focus on the migrant's capital deployment and the effect this capital mobilisation has on migrants' career development. Based on the questions:

- How can skilled migrants' careers in Irish SMEs be theorised?
- What capital is pertinent in skilled migrants' careers in Irish SMEs?
- How effective is this capital mobilisation in their career outcomes?

The research is qualitative and will consist of semi structured interviews, conducted at sites of interviewees' choosing, with skilled migrants who are working in Ireland for at least the past 4 years.

7. **Methodology.**

a. Where will the research be carried out?

Location(s)	Will be conducted on a one to one basis at locations in Ireland, mainly Leinster. The locations will be chosen to suit the research subject. The interviews will NOT be conducted at places of work.
Proposed start date	<i>Feb 2015</i>
Approx. Duration	<i>6-8 months, depends when data saturation is reached</i>

b. Please describe briefly the overall methodology

The research is exploratory in nature due to the dearth of academic literature on both the careers and capital usage of skilled migrants and TM in Irish SMEs. As a qualitative researcher with phenomenologist ontology I will use career narratives, collected during semi-structured interviews with a sample of skilled migrants, to answer the questions. Drawing from a social-constructivist position, interviews will focus on the capital usage and career development experiences of skilled migrants. The narratives will be analysed using content analysis techniques to identify themes, facilitators and challenges encountered by the group. Interviews will number in the region of 30-50, dependent on quantity needed to achieve data saturation.

Due to the specificity of the sample coming from a particular population grouping (skilled migrants in Ireland) I will adopt a purposive sampling approach. At first I will use my personal judgment to select individuals I believe will initially help me answer my research questions. Then I will use 'snowball' sampling. To counter possible group vulnerabilities (language issues, fear of negative repercussions) snowball sampling (interviewees recommend other potential participants) is the most appropriate sampling technique.

As the research concerns the individual migrant's career there will NOT be any contact or communication with their employers, present or past. This will help negate the possibility of adverse effects of any negative views the interviewee expresses towards their employer.

c. Depending on the methods/techniques to be used, please elaborate upon the research context(s), potential questions / issues to be explored, tasks/tests/measures, frequency/duration of sessions, process of analysis to be used, as appropriate.

The research population for my research are skilled migrant workers, with the objective of the overall research is to explore the individual careers of skilled migrants working in the SME (Small to Medium Enterprise) sector in Ireland, with a focus on the migrant's capital deployment and the effect this capital mobilisation has on migrants' career development.

Borjas (2001) views the skilled migrant workforce to embody a significant resource of skills that can provide a solution to the issue of skills shortages in specific sectors. However is the 'skilled migration equation' (Wagner and Childs, 2006, p.49) this simple, with skilled migrants easily slipping into the skills gaps where their skills and experience are best suited? The literature indicates that this is not the case for many, with Pearson et al. (2011) finding many migrants are employed in roles lacking parity with their skills and experience.

Semi structured interviews will be utilised to obtain the skilled migrant's narrative on their career development in Ireland and what skills, connections, attributes (their capital) they used to further their career development. The narratives will be analysed using content analysis techniques to identify themes, facilitators and challenges encountered by the group. Interviews will number in the region of 30-50, dependent on quantity needed to achieve data saturation, and interviews will be one off. However, I will meet with all interviewees a week before interview to explain research, its rationale, what interview will entail confidentiality of process and use of interviews. I will also explain the informed consent forms at this stage. The interviewee then has a week 'cooling off' period before interview takes place.

Due to the specificity of the sample coming from a particular population grouping (skilled migrants in Ireland) I will adopt a purposive sampling approach. This means at first I will use my own personal judgment and my own contacts to select individuals I believe will initially help me answer my research questions. I have developed many links to the migrant community from my previous work experience and my voluntary work with St. Vincent de Paul, where I manage their Kilcock shop on Saturdays. The list of inclusion/exclusion criteria for my choice of initial interviewees is included as a separate document. I will then use 'snowball' sampling to fill out my research population. A snowball sample is a non-probability sampling method that is suitable for use in research when the members of a research population are difficult to locate. A snowball sample is one in which I collect data from my own contacts in the migrant community, ones that match the criteria of my target population, then I ask these initial interviewees to use their work and social networks to provide me with the information and contacts needed to source other appropriate members for my research interviews. And this becomes an iterative process until data saturation is achieved.

An added benefit of 'snowball' sampling is it helps to counter possible group vulnerabilities (language issues, fear of negative repercussions) as in snowball sampling (interviewees recommend other potential participants) the prospective interviewee receives the recommendation for the interview from a peer or friend, helping to establish both trust and contact between me and the next interviewee.

8. Participants.

a. Who will the participants be?

Skilled migrants working in the Irish SME sector. Inclusion/Exclusion list attached

b. Approximately how many participants do you expect will be involved?

30-50, dependent on quantity needed to achieve data saturation

c. How will participants become involved in your project? If you have formal recruitment procedures, or criteria for

inclusion/exclusion, please outline them here.

d. What will be the nature of their participation? (E.g. one-time/short-term contact, longer term involvement, collaborative involvement, etc.)

First communication with interviewee will be to explain the research, its objective and get consent. Second meeting will be actual interview.

e. If participants will include those with whom the researcher engages in a relationship of power e.g. student/employee/employer/colleague, explain how the possibility of the power relationship and/or conflict of interest will be minimised.

N/A

f. Will the participants be remunerated, and if so, in what form?

No

9. Persons under 18.

a. Will the research be carried out with persons under age 18? Yes No

Please see section Child Protection Policy (in particular section 5)

<http://foi.nuim.ie/section16/documents/ChildProtectionPolicyandGuidelines.pdf>

b. If yes, will the sessions be supervised by a guardian or a person responsible for the individual(s)?

Yes No

NOTE: If the sessions are to be unsupervised, you are required to undergo Garda vetting. Research cannot begin until Garda clearance has been completed. For Maynooth University researchers, this is facilitated by the Maynooth University Admissions Office (708-3822, admissions@nuim.ie).

10. Vulnerable Persons.

a. Will the research be carried out with persons who might be considered vulnerable in any way?

Yes No

b. If yes, please describe the nature of the vulnerability and discuss special provisions/safeguards to be made for working with these persons.

As my interviews will be with foreign migrants, language proficiency may be considered as classifying my research population as vulnerable. However as the migrants are be interviewed about their career development in Ireland they will need to have been resident in Ireland and working in the Irish SME for at least 4 years, which will lower the number of subjects with poor English proficiency. However, if needed, translators will be used when required to ensure clear and concise communications. To counter possible group vulnerabilities (language issues, fear of negative repercussions) snowball sampling (interviewees recommend other potential participants) may be the most appropriate sampling technique.

NOTE: Depending on the nature of the vulnerability, sessions may need to be supervised or the researcher may need to undergo Garda vetting as stated above under point 4. In such cases, the researcher must also be prepared to demonstrate how s/he is suitably qualified or trained to work with such persons.

11. Risks.

a. Please describe any possible risks or conflicts arising from the research techniques or procedures such as: power relationships or other conflict of interests i.e. supervisor-student relationship, physical stress/reactions or psychological emotional distress or reactions.

As this research will involve detailed interviews about the career development of migrants I must consider and treat the information obtained as sensitive personal information. I will give full consideration to the potential effects, adverse or otherwise, that this information could have on the interviewee's career and future employment prospects.

b. If you anticipate the possibility of risks, how will these potential risks be addressed and what measures have you put in place to minimize them?

Before any interviews commence I will ensure that clear and informed consent will be sought from all interviewees.

All interviewees will be over the age of 18.

All data will be stored securely and access will be via secure password.

Research participants will be giving pseudonyms and their data made anonymous. The master key for pseudonyms will be kept separately and in a secure location.

All interviewees will be informed of their right to withdraw from process at any stage and will have my full contact details.

All data will be destroyed in a recognised professional manner when research is completed.

Data will only be used for the research purposes stated and will not be used for any other purposes.

As the research concerns the individual migrant's career and not their role in any one organisation there will NOT be any contact or communication with their employers, present or past. This will help negate the possibility of adverse effects of any negative views the interviewee expresses towards their employer.

12. Informed Consent.

Please answer the following questions about how you inform participants about your research and then obtain their consent:

NOTE: Please see the template at the end of this form showing standard information that must be included on all consent forms.

a. Do research participants sign a written consent form and receive a copy for their records? If not, do they receive an information sheet that provides what they need to know before deciding to participate?

Yes they will sign a written consent form and also receive a copy of this consent form.

b. When, where, and by whom is consent obtained?

Consent will be obtained, in a place of choosing by research subject, in advance of interviews commencing. If requested, or I perceive any doubts during the initial contact, there will be a 'cooling off' period to give the research subject time to consider all aspects of consenting to being interviewed.

c. If children or vulnerable persons are involved, please explain your procedure for obtaining their assent.

As I see language proficiency as a possible vulnerability I will start my interviews with foreign migrants I know have fluent English. These relationships were developed during my working career and role as a volunteer worker for St. Vincent de Paul. As I am using 'snowball' sampling the person who recommends the next interviewee will advise on their language ability. I will make initial contact to explain research and obtain consent, and at this time assess language ability. As stated previously I then will allow potential interviewee a 'cooling off' period, during which, if I feel it is needed, I will organise a translator. The translator will be chosen in consultation with the interviewee. If, after this process, I have any doubts about interviewee's ability, comfort working with translator etc. I will not proceed with interview.

d. For projects in which participants will be involved over the long term, how will you ensure that participants have an ongoing opportunity to negotiate the terms of their consent?

N/A

e. What will the participants be told about the study?

Participants will be fully informed of content, purpose and planned outcome of research

f. What information, if any, will be withheld about the research procedure or the purposes of the investigation?

Please explain your justification for withholding this information. If any deception will be involved, please be sure that the technique is explained above under methodology, and explain here why the deception is justified.

N/A

13. Follow-up. As appropriate, please explain what strategies you have in place to debrief or follow up with participants.

All interviewees, who request such, will be contacted when research nears completion and their interviews contribution will be highlighted, explained and discussed.

14. Confidentiality/Anonymity of Data.

Please consult Maynooth University data protection procedures:

http://dataprotection.nuim.ie/protection_procedures.shtml

a. Recording of personally identifiable information about research participants

Identifier	Y/ N (Select all those applicable)
<i>(Typically, by their very nature projects involving repeated contact with research participants require the collection and retention of identifiers)</i>	
Name and Contact Details	Y
Details regarding Geographical location, culture, ethnicity etc.	Y
Video recording	N
Audio recording	Y
Other please specify	Education level, work experience, occupation.
Not applicable	

b. If yes, to any of the above please explain how confidentiality and/or anonymity are assured?

All data will be stored securely and access will be via secure password.

Research participants will be giving pseudonyms and their data made anonymous. The master key for pseudonyms will be kept separately and in a secure location.

c. If yes, to any of the above please explain the following: how you will safeguard this information; if identifiers will be removed from the data, at what point will they be removed; if identifiers will not be removed, why they must be retained and who will retain the key to re-identify the data.

Data will be secured, encrypted, in a secure location.

All interviewees will be informed of their right to withdraw from process at any stage and will have my full contact details.

Pseudonyms will be used from start of process, key to pseudonyms will be held in a secure location separate from the location where data, interviews, transcripts etc. are stored.

All data will be destroyed in a recognised professional manner when research is completed.

Data will only be used for the research purposes stated and will not be used for any other purposes.

d. After data analysis has taken place, will the data be destroyed or retained? Yes No

If the data will be retained, please explain for how long, for what purpose, and where it will be stored; if there is a key code connecting subjects' data to their identity, when will the link be destroyed?

N/A

e. If the data will be destroyed, please explain how, when, and by whom?

Audio data will be erased and electronic data will be deleted/overwritten by professional software. Paper data will be destroyed by confidential shredding; all of the above measures will be witnessed by an Independent third party.

NOTE: Include this information in the consent form, information sheet, or consent script.

15. Ethics in subsequent outputs. What are your plans for protecting the safety and integrity of research participants in publications, public presentations, or other outputs resulting from this research? How will subjects' permission for further use of their data be obtained?

Real names, exact locations and job titles will not be used. The possibility of information being used in future publications will be explained and discussed at initial meeting with interviewee. Consent for future publication will be obtained at time of consent form signing

NOTE: If the data is not anonymised, additional consent would have to be obtained before the data could be deposited in an archive such as the Irish Qualitative Data Archive (<http://www.iqda.ie/>) or the Irish Social Science Data Archive (<http://issda.ucd.ie/>).

16. Professional Codes of Ethics. Please append a professional code of ethics governing research in your area to this protocol, and/or provide a link to the website where the code may be found.

http://www.sociology.ie/docstore/dls/pages_list/3_sai_ethical_guidelines.pdf

There is no established code of ethics related to Management in the Irish context. However, since my research is adopting a sociological approach, I will be guided by the Sociological Association of Ireland's Ethical Guidelines.

The Sociological Association of Ireland's Ethical Guidelines' general principles detail the importance of integrity, respect for others, respect for diversity and the researcher's social responsibility. All aspects of ethics that I feel strongly about. The attention to research ethics (p.6) will act as a moral compass for me during my research.

17. Declaration

This declaration must be signed by the applicant(s) (**electronic signature is sufficient**).

I (we) the undersigned researcher(s) acknowledge(s) and agree that:

- a) It is my (our) sole responsibility and obligation to comply with all Irish and EU legislation relevant to this project.
- b) That all personnel working on this project comply with Irish and EU legislation relevant to this project.
- c) That the research will be conducted in accordance with the Maynooth University Research Ethics Policy.
- d) That the research will be conducted in accordance with the Maynooth University Research Integrity Policy.
- e) That the research will not commence until ethical approval has been granted.

Signature of Applicant(s): *Edward O'Connor* Date: 22 Sept. 2014

Appendix 8. Interviewee Consent Form

Consent for Participation in Interview Research – Please read carefully and when you are satisfied you understand each section please tick the check box at end of each section. Do not tick box or sign form until you are satisfied you fully understand all sections.

Researcher:
Edward P. O'Connor, BBS (Hons).
PhD Researcher.
Irish Research Council Scholar &
John & Pat Hume Scholar.
School of Business,
Maynooth University.

Tel: +353 1 708 8520
Fax: +353 1 7088519
Email: EDWARD.OCONNOR.2011@nuim.ie

Researcher's Supervisor:
Dr. Marian Henry-Crowley
Lecturer,
School of Business,
Maynooth University

Tel: +353 1 708 4756
Email: marian.crowleyhenry@nuim.ie

I, _____ volunteer to participate in a research project conducted by Mr. Edward O'Connor from the School of Business, Maynooth University.

I understand that the project is designed to gather information about the career development of skilled migrants working in the Irish SME sector. I will be one of approximately 30-50 people being interviewed for this research. The use of the information gained from my interview will be confined to this research project only and to publications directly linked to this research.

1. My participation in this research is voluntary. I understand that I will not be paid for my participation. I may withdraw and discontinue participation at any time without penalty.

2. If I decline to participate or withdraw from the study, my contact with Edward O'Connor will remain confidential and any data concerning me will be returned to me and/or all copies or traces of my data will be erased and destroyed by Mr. Edward O'Connor and will play no part in any way or in any form in his research or findings.

3. I understand that if I feel uncomfortable in any way during the interview session, I have the right to decline to answer any question or to end the interview at any time.

4. Participation involves being interviewed by Edward from Maynooth University at a place of my choosing. The interview will last approximately 30-45 minutes. Notes will be written during the interview. An audio recording of the interview, and subsequent dialogue, will be made. If I don't want to be recorded a full handwritten transcript will be compiled.

5. I understand that the researcher will not identify me by name in any reports using information obtained from this interview, and that my confidentiality as a participant in this study will at ALL times remain secure. Any subsequent uses of my interview will be strictly confined to this single research project and will not be used as data for any new project.

6. I understand that disguised extracts from my interview may be quoted in the thesis and any subsequent publications derived from Edward's thesis. My identity, place of work or home address

Appendix 9. Interviewee Information Letter

Research Interviewee Information Sheet

Researcher:

Edward P. O'Connor, BBS (Hons).
PhD Researcher,
Irish Research Council Scholar &
John & Pat Hume Scholar,
School of Business,
Maynooth University.

Tel: +353 1 708 6520
Fax: +353 1 7086519
Email: EDWARD.OCONNOR.2011@nuim.ie

Researcher's Supervisor:

Dr. Marian Henry-Crowley
Lecturer,
School of Business,
Maynooth University

Tel: +353 1 708 4756
Email: marian.crowleyhenry@nuim.ie

Dear Mr. Sir/Madam

Following our conversation, I would like to formally invite you to take part in a research study to examine the careers of skilled migrants working for small and medium sized companies in Ireland.

Before you decide whether to take part in the study it is important that you understand what the research is for and what you will be asked to do. Please take time to read the following information and discuss it with others if you wish. It is up to you to decide whether or not to take part. If you decide to take part you will be given this information sheet to keep. You will also be asked to sign a consent form. You can change your mind at any time and withdraw from the study without giving a reason. You are welcome to phone me if you would like any further information.

I am trying to find out why some migrants have successful careers, while others are not so happy with how their careers have developed since moving to Ireland. I would like to interview you to ask you about your career experiences in Ireland, what skills, personal contacts, education etc. you have used to gain employment in Ireland. I will also ask you about the training and education you got back home in (insert country) and ask you how much of that education and experience from (insert country) you have used in your employment in Ireland. In general I would like you to tell me all about your working life in Ireland, including the good and bad parts, how easy or difficult it was to get work, is this work you want to do and do you feel you are using all your abilities, skills and education. What would you improve if you could make changes to the way you were treated since coming to Ireland. Any information you feel is important to you will be very helpful to my research.

The information gained from this research will be used to make recommendations for HR practice in Irish companies, will be used to help understand what our new migrants want from their careers and what they can offer to companies in exchange. The research will offer insights into the career experiences of skilled migrants working in Ireland. The results of the study may also lead onto further studies into this area as it may identify areas that have not yet been researched.

The interview will be recorded onto a digital voice recorder and then transcribed onto a computer. The recordings will be stored in a locked secure place at all times and the computer data will be protected from intrusion. Please note that ALL DATA will be destroyed at the end of the study. Everything you tell me will be in confidence and your actual details WILL NOT be revealed in any part of the research. Your name, address or where you work will not be identified. I will give you a false name, just a general address and a general job description. For example I describe interviewees in

general terms, such as 'Patrick from Latvia, living in west Dublin and working on a factory production line'. Your actual details will be locked in a filing cabinet that is not in the same building used to store my interview recordings or details. However, it must be recognized that, in some circumstances, confidentiality of research data and records may be overridden by courts in the event of litigation or in the course of investigation by lawful authority. In such circumstances the University will take all reasonable steps within law to ensure that confidentiality is maintained to the greatest possible extent.'

You can request a copy of the interview transcript if you wish. The interviews will be analysed by me and I will use a computer package to aid this process. At the end of the research I will write a thesis and some excerpts may be published in peer reviewed journals and conference papers. No research participant will be identifiable from any of the possible form of publications. This study has been reviewed and approved by the Maynooth University Social Research Ethics Sub-Committee.

Please do not hesitate to contact me if you need further information.

Thanking you in anticipation,

Yours sincerely,

For further information, please contact:

Edward O'Connor,
School of Business,
Maynooth University.

Tel: +353 1 708 0520

Fax: +353 1 7080619

Email: EDWARD.QCONNOR.2011@mumail.ie

Appendix 10. Supervisor's Letter to Ethics Committee



Maynooth University School of Business
Roinn Gnó Ollscoil Mhá Nuad

Maynooth University Ethics Committee

15th September 2014

Dear Sir / Madam,

I am the PhD research supervisor of Mr Edward O Connor. Edward began his four-year full-time PhD programme in Maynooth University's School of Business in September 2013. He received the Maynooth University Hume Scholarship to undertake his PhD studies. He has been awarded an IRC scholarship to complete his PhD research (from October 2014).

Edward's research explores the careers of international migrants residing in Ireland. He intends to undertake qualitative research in order to collect detailed career narratives from a sample of international migrants currently residing in Ireland. His interview sample will consist of adult international migrants, aged more than eighteen years of age. His research is overt, in that he will recruit his sample of participants/respondents openly, informing them of his interest in hearing their career experiences in their respective workplaces in Ireland. Since some of the data relayed to him during interviews may be sensitive in nature, he will assure anonymity for all respondents in his research undertaking. I will guide him during this process, in my capacity as his PhD supervisor.

I am confident that Edward has the competence to complete his empirical research in keeping with ethical guidelines and standards. As his supervisor, I am readily available to him to address any concerns he may have in this regard.

If you would like further clarification regarding the above, or if you require more information, please do not hesitate to contact me.

A handwritten signature in blue ink that reads "Marian Crowley-Henry". The signature is written in a cursive style and is contained within a light grey rectangular box.

Marian Crowley-Henry, PhD

Lecturer, Maynooth University School of Business