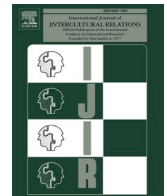




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Dancing to two tunes: The role of bicultural identity and strong ties in skilled migrants' value-driven protean careers

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ABSTRACT

Recent research has pointed out the lack of understanding of the way migrants manage career opportunities and barriers to mobilise their agency in the host destination. In order to better understand how some migrants succeed in host countries, we drew on interviews with 31 non-Western skilled migrants (NWSM) who felt they had achieved successful careers in Australia and the USA. Using a subjective value fulfilment approach, we analyse three illustrative cases from the NWSM sample to understand how bicultural identity, strong ties and protean careers operate together within a Western host country. The findings illustrate the protean career orientation of these skilled migrants. These cases also highlight the role of bicultural identity and strong ties in the formation of their career paths. Overall, the ability to harmoniously use and combine their bicultural identity emerges as a significant success factor in achieving protean careers. The findings also suggest that ongoing support from strong ties was influential and visible in the skilled migrants' protean career orientation. This was a dominant pattern of findings within the 31 cases of NWSMs, accounting for 90 % (28) of the participants. The findings contribute to extending the existing literature on career orientations by studying a cross-cultural sample through the lens of the generally Westernised career approach of the protean career. In doing so, we argue that unlike Western expatriates who may benefit more from weak ties to progress in their careers, these NWSM indicated strong ties to be instrumental in their value fulfilling career trajectories, most likely due to their collectivist home country cultures. Similarly, we contribute to the career literature on skilled migrants by highlighting the positive impact of bicultural identity and a value driven approach to these migrants' successful protean careers. Implications for skilled migrants, career counsellors and HRM professionals are also discussed.

Introduction

Most non-Western skilled migrants (NWSM) move to Western countries with the expectation of achieving a sense of personal fulfilment across different domains of life (Cao, Hirschi, & Deller, 2013). Many studies in the area focus on challenges that migrants

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face, issues affecting their life and careers and how some societies and organisations are unsympathetic toward migrants (e.g., Fernando, Almeida, & Dharmage, 2015; O'Connor & Crowley-Henry, 2020; William, 2012). Some migrants manage the challenges of migration effectively and experience an enrichment of their work-life (Pio & Essers, 2014; William, 2012). Recent research including Crowley-Henry, O'Connor, and Al Ariss (2016) and Pio and Essers (2014) has highlighted a lack of understanding of the way migrants manage opportunities and barriers to mobilise their agency in the host destination. The aim of our study is to explore the career success stories of skilled migrants by applying the theory of perceived subjective value fulfilment as an overarching concept (Oppenheim-Weller & Kurman, 2017; Oppenheim-Weller, Roccas, & Kurman, 2018) to understand how skilled migrants use a subjective value fulfilment approach to navigate their career orientation; in particular, to unpack nuances of how they use bicultural identity and social ties in this process. The recently introduced theory of subjective value fulfilment (Oppenheim-Weller et al., 2018) discusses the extent to which people feel they are capable of attaining what is important to their sense of personal fulfilment. The focus on successful career narratives of international skilled migrants is chosen to promote a strengths-based approach, in contrast to highlighting the problems and barriers, which have been well documented in the immigrant career literature.

Career orientation is described as the features of work that defines one's career goals, reflecting an individual's self-concept regarding his or her self-perceived values, interests, experience, skills and abilities (Bravo, Seibert, Kraimer, Wayne, & Liden, 2017, p. 503). As globalisation, technological advancement, economic restructuring and competitive forces spread, individuals are required to be more responsible for career self-management. In line with the subjective value fulfilment approach used in the present study, we focus on the protean career orientation (PCO) which refers to the extent to which an individual employee self-manages his or her career fulfilling subjective values (Briscoe & Hall, 2006; De Vos, De Hauw, & Van der Heijden, 2011).

Values are a core aspect of an individual's identity (Oppenheim-Weller et al., 2018). Therefore, when people migrate to another country, they attempt to fulfil their personal values while re-building their identity in the host destination (Cruz & Blanco, 2017). The subjective value fulfilment theory also emphasises that to fulfil values that are important to an individual's life, they need to develop personal and social resources (Oppenheim-Weller et al., 2018). Decades of research findings suggest that if migrants aspire to fit into the host society, they must constantly negotiate between their ethnic and host country identity (Benet-Martínez, Leu, Lee, & Morris, 2002; Berry, 2005; Schwartz, Montgomery, & Briones, 2006). As a result of this negotiation process, ethnic migrants can be positioned along a continuum of varying degrees of biculturalism (Benet-Martínez et al., 2002; Gunasekara, Grant, & Rajendran, 2019). Oppenheim-Weller and Kurman (2017) suggested that migrants have more incentive to develop and maintain bicultural identity when they perceive it as value fulfilling. Looking at bicultural identity from a value fulfilling standpoint, our interest is to explore whether it has some bearing on how skilled migrants combine these two processes of biculturalism and value-driven protean careers.

For the purpose of our study, we define a skilled migrant as having at least a bachelor's degree or equivalent, or extensive experience in a given field, and who has moved to work and live abroad permanently (Cerdin, Diné, & Brewster, 2014). The migration literature (Gericke, Burmeister, Löwe, Deller, & Pund, 2018) so far agrees that strong ties (such as connections with people from a similar background) have limited positive impact on their social integration, labour market integration and career success in the host country compared to weak ties (connections with other ethnic groups). However, to date our understanding is limited concerning the role of strong ties - deep connections with one's home country through close personal contacts - in facilitating migrants' protean career orientation (PCO). We support our findings by drawing on 31 semi-structured interviews with non-Western skilled migrants (NWSM) and extensively analysing three career narratives selected from this sample of NWSM in Australia and USA. In doing this, we aim to contribute to the literature on migrants' career management by answering two research questions - Do bicultural identity and strong ties facilitate NWSM's protean careers? If so, how does this occur? This paper also addresses and responds to Oppenheim-Weller and Kurman's (2017) call for future researchers to apply value fulfilment theory to different domains of life.

The concept of protean careers

The recent career orientation literature has focused on career self-management constructs, in particular PCO (Briscoe & Hall, 2006; De Vos et al., 2011). PCO proposes that individuals prefer to take responsibility for their own career outcomes and to make decisions based on their subjective values and identity (Briscoe & Hall, 2006). Therefore, individuals who adopt a PCO are flexible and adaptable towards their performance and learning demands and use their own values to guide and measure career success (Briscoe & Hall, 2006, p. 5). As such the PCO is regarded as a mindset or an attitude towards one's own career, looking at work in the context of a person's life as a whole. Similarly, research by Rodrigues, Butler, and Guest (2019) emphasises that the PCO focuses on one's subjective career success (meaning and enjoyment of work and positive work values), rather than on objective career success factors (pay, promotion and power). PCO has been used as a conceptual framework to explain individual-level career orientations leading toward career success, employability (Briscoe & Hall, 2006; Colakoglu, 2011; Rodrigues et al., 2019) and well-being (Cao et al., 2013), but not linked to the bicultural identity of migrants.

Bicultural identity and protean careers

Individuals who come into contact with two or more cultures need to negotiate between cultural identities and often develop bicultural or multicultural identities (Berry, 2005). Within acculturation literature, migrants' bicultural identity is described as host country identity that is rooted in the ethnic identity (Birman, Simon, Chan, & Tran, 2014; Chen, Benet-Martínez, & Harris, 2008). Birman and Trickett (2001) described migrants' ethnic identity as a feeling of attachment, belonging and familiarity with reference to one's ethnic group, whereas host country identity is a feeling of attachment, belonging and familiarity with reference to the host

Table 1
Characteristics of bicultural individuals.

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • They have internalized at least two cultures • Demonstrate mixed cultural identities • Show awareness and knowledge of the history, rituals and everyday practices of two cultures • Are confident about living effectively within two cultures either by altering or blending two cultural identities • Are able to communicate ideas and feelings to members of both cultures and to develop culturally appropriate behaviour 	
High BII	Low BII
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Consider dual identity as compatible and easy to integrate both cultures harmoniously in the day today life. • They would say for instance – “I am an African American”. • Often find novel ways to combine two cultural identities so that they feel they are using a single individualised, third identity 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Consider host and ethnic identity as oppositional, mutually exclusive and difficult to integrate • They would say for instance – “I am an African in America”.

Developed from [Benet-Martínez and Haritatos \(2005\)](#), [Cruz and Blancero \(2017\)](#), [Schwartz et al. \(2019\)](#), [Ward et al. \(2018\)](#).

country. This attachment may be reflected in everyday practices such as use of language, food, media consumption, dress code and preference for celebrating cultural rituals ([Birman & Trickett, 2001](#)).

By introducing a bicultural identity integration (BII) framework, [Benet-Martínez et al.](#) suggested that there are significant differences in the way bicultural individuals manage their dual identities and their subjective perception of how much the two identities intersect and overlap in their daily life experiences ([Benet-Martínez et al., 2002](#); [Huynh, Nguyen, & Benet-Martínez, 2011](#)). Their findings further revealed that individuals high on BII identify their dual identity as compatible and find it easy to integrate both cultures in the day to day life (for instance – “I am an African American”) while low BII individuals consider host and ethnic identity as oppositional, mutually exclusive and difficult to integrate (for instance – “I am an African in America”). They further proposed that individuals who use their bicultural identity in harmony often find novel ways to combine the two cultural identities so that they feel they are using a single individualised identity as opposed to individuals who view their cultural identities are incompatible ([Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005](#); [Schwartz et al., 2019](#); [Ward, Tseung-Wong, Szabo, Qumseya, & Bhowon, 2018](#)).

[Oppenheim-Weller and Kurman \(2017\)](#) investigated subjective value fulfilment as an antecedent of BII, finding in their study of 611 Arab-Israeli and Druze-Arab Israeli citizens suggest that when they perceive their bicultural identity as value fulfilling, they have a higher tendency to develop and maintain bicultural identity in order to achieve a value fulfilling life across different domains of life. Subjective value fulfillment is the extent to which people feel they can attain what they desire which can be both general and context-specific ([Oppenheim-Weller et al., 2018](#)). According to these authors, individuals can have context-dependent feelings of value fulfillment that is aligned to their social identity. Therefore, ethnic group membership can provide migrants with the social setting that can either facilitate or inhibit the attainment of specific values in relation to their protean careers. [Oppenheim-Weller et al.](#)'s study confirmed that there were positive associations between value fulfilment and BII ([Oppenheim-Weller et al., 2018, 282](#)). Thus, in a related manner, we propose for our study of skilled migrants:

Proposition 1. Bicultural identity is an enabler of protean careers that can be compatible with subjective value fulfilment in pursuing a protean career approach.

[Table 1](#) below lists the characteristics of bicultural individuals according to this theoretical approach.

The role of strong ties in protean careers

The seminal work on social capital theory ([Putnam, 2000](#)) distinguished the nature of social ties between strong and weak ties. Strong ties are formed between family members or friends of the same ethnic background, who tend to share the same values and a high level of mutual trust – ‘ties with people who are similar to me’. On the other hand, weak ties are formed as a bridge between different ethnic or social groups who have less things in common compared to strong ties – ‘people who are unlike me in some important way’ ([Putnam, 2000](#)). Studies on migrants’ labour market integration have found positive associations between weak social ties and labour market outcomes, often suggesting that weak ties act as a valuable resource in settling into the host country and securing employment ([Gericke et al., 2018](#); [Lance, 2016](#)). However, there is a lack of research that explores the effectiveness or role of strong ties on career orientation, except for some research (e.g., [Crowley-Henry & Weir, 2007](#)) that argues migrant employees who come from collectivist cultures place a high value on family, considering family as the top priority compared to their professional careers. According to a recent study by [Benson, McIntosh, Salazar, and Vaziri \(2020\)](#), individuals from countries high in collectivism (institutional and in-group) are more likely to validate their career success internally and focus on outcomes such as self-development, satisfaction, and security (see also [Dries, Pepermans, & De Kerpel, 2008](#)). Thus, in this study we expect to further our understanding on how strong ties can be an enabler of the PCO of NWSM, bearing in mind this tendency for non-Western migrants to draw on a collectivist culture as part of their bicultural identity ([Hofstede, 2001](#)). We propose that collectivism is likely to lead to a stronger emphasis on strong ties, such as those associated with family and co-ethnic community members. Therefore, stemming from a subjective value fulfilment perspective ([Oppenheim-Weller et al., 2018](#)), we propose:

Proposition 2. If migrants perceive that strong ties can help them achieve a sense of fulfilment through value driven protean careers, they will be more motivated to use strong ties as a career resource.

The conceptual framework depicted in Fig. 1 shows how bicultural identity, strong ties and PCO operate together when looking at skilled migrants’ international careers from a subjective value fulfilment lens.

Methods

We developed a conceptual framework and used semi-structured interview data to explore and explain ‘how’ bicultural identity and strong ties can facilitate non-Western migrants’ value fulfilling careers in Western countries. Our approach enables us to look at the causal links in real-life career journeys which are too complex for quantitative surveys or experimental strategies to capture (Yin, 2009).

Recruitment of participants

While we share three exemplar cases in this paper, they stem from a more extensive international study on skilled migrants’ careers conducted in Australia and the USA. We conducted semi-structured interviews with 43 first generation skilled migrants, of which 31 were from non-Western backgrounds. These interviews were conducted in 2017 and 2018. Since the focus of our study is on bicultural identity integration, we analysed only the interviews with the 31 non-Western migrants for this study. The details of those 31 participants are outlined in Table 2. Initially, participants were recruited from researchers’ personal and professional networks. Using the snowball sampling approach initial participants were then encouraged to introduce new participants to the study (Browne, 2005). Given the aim of the study was to explore career success stories of migrants, our sampling approach was a purposeful one, and we only interviewed migrants with successful careers (Miles, Huberman & Saldana, 2020, p.28). Each interview was approximately 60–90 min long. All the interviews were audio-recorded, professionally transcribed, and reviewed for accuracy by the authors. We used the same topic guide to assess the convergence and divergence validity across national boundaries. The interview schedule included questions on topics such as (a) background - family, motivation to migrate etc., (b) adjustment - adjustment to host country, likes and dislikes, regrets etc., (c) career - current position, how they progressed, career aims, values, factors that influenced their career progression etc., and (d) identity - perceived ethnic identity, integration to host country etc.

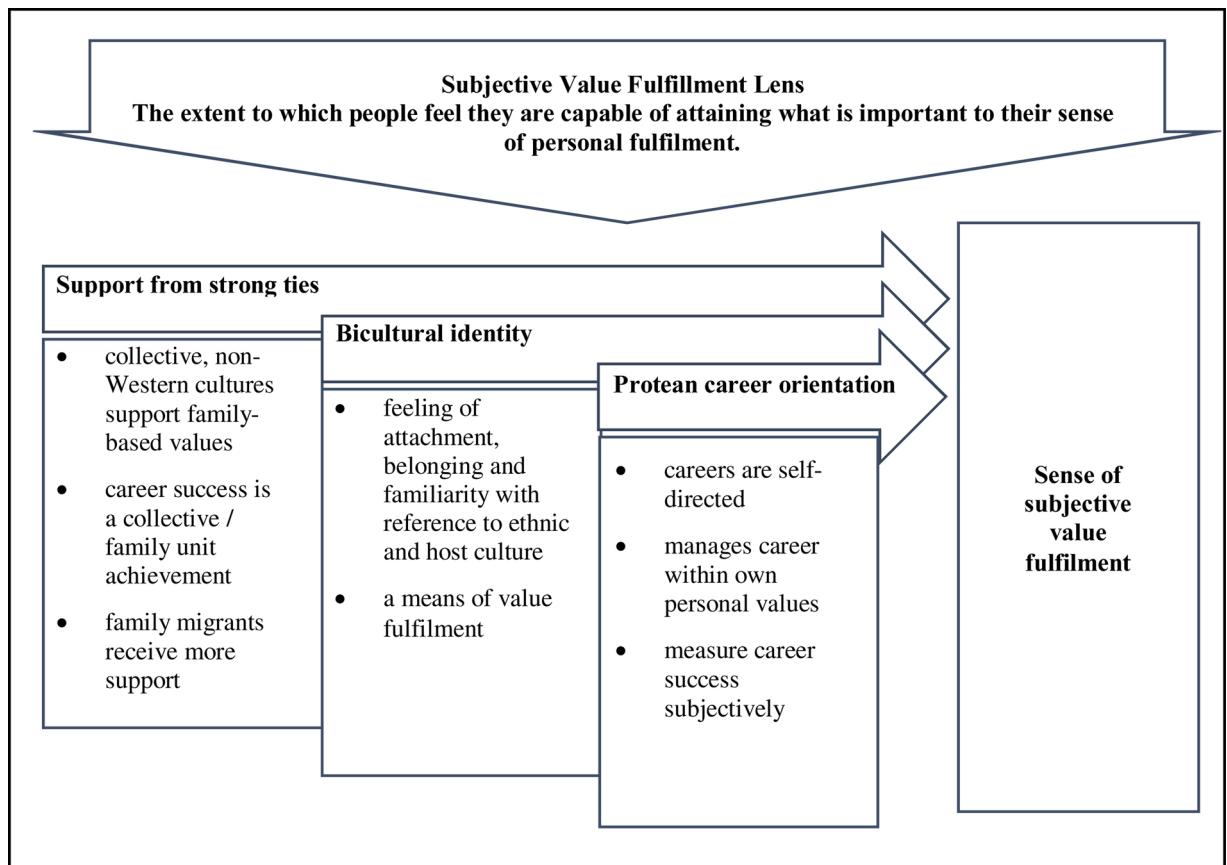


Fig. 1. Conceptual Framework – Support from strong ties, bicultural identity and protean career work together to achieve sense of subjective value fulfilment.

Table 2
Details of 31 non-Western skilled migrant participants.

No	Pseudonym & country of birth	Occupation	Gender & age	Marital Status/ Children	Support from strong ties	BII status	Prominent Career Orientation
Australia							
1	Adam Pakistan	Risk Manager	M 30–35	M (2 children)	Spouse, family/ religious and ethnic student community.	High	Subjective - work life balance, achieve broad range of opportunities to flourish for all family members
2	Max Peru	Finance Manager	M 30–35	M	Spouse	High	Subjective – display a strong attitude towards life is more than career, high work ethics
3	John India	Mechanical Maintenance Planner	M 25–30	S	University student community and professional membership groups	High	Subjective – look for meaning and purpose to create an impact through work and personal connections to community
4	Mel Sri Lanka	Senior Manager Finance	F 30–35	M (2 children)	Spouse/ parents	High	Subjective – work life balance, achieve broad range of opportunities to flourish for all family members
5	Ned Sri Lanka	Finance Officer	M 50–55	M (2 children)	Spouse, extended family and religious community	High	Subjective – Seeking spiritual connection, work life balance, achieve broad range of opportunities to flourish for all family members
6	Zahi Pakistan	Sr Project Manager IT	M 30–35	M (2 children)	Spouse, religious/ ethnic community group	High	Subjective - desire to learn/help others be a role model are main career related values
7	Andi Colombia	Snr Network Engineer	M 30–35	M	Spouse/ religious/ ethnic community group	High	Subjective – work life balance and personal growth
8	Fred Lebanon	Lecturer	M 30–35	M (2 children)	Spouse/ religious/ ethnic community	High	Subjective – Doing good and engaging in meaningful work
9	Rosemary Sri Lanka	Manager Deal Management	F 30–35	S	Ethnic community and professional membership groups	High	Subjective – work life balance and personal growth
10	Christian S. Korea	SMSF – Manager	M 30–35	M	Spouse/ Religious/ ethnic community group/friends	High	Subjective and Objective - Value for total career success is prominent/ lifestyle/spiritual values
11	Victor Vietnam	Application Services Offering Lead	M 45–50	M (3 children)	Spouse/ religious/ ethnic community group	High	Subjective - High family-based values and subjective career success/lifestyle/value for nature
12	Michelle Singapore	Manager - Accounts	F 35–40	M (2 children)	Spouse/religious/ ethnic community group	High	Subjective – High priority for work-life balance/career decisions are based on family priorities
13	Jenene India/Fiji	Director	F 45–50	M (2 children)	Family/Ethnic community group	High	Subjective - Very high values for quality of life and professional ethics
14	May China	Big data analyst	F 30–35	M	Spouse/family/ethnic community group	High	Subjective – High value for work-life balance and quality of life
15	Irene Sri Lanka	Director Finance	F 50–55	M (1 child)	Spouse/family/ethnic community group	High	Subjective - priority is given to personal ethics when selecting a job role, works only in not-for-profit sector
16	Samantha Sri Lanka	SMSF – Manager	F 40–45	M (2 children)	Spouse/family/ethnic community group	High	Subjective - Family is a high priority, overall career success is valued
17	Sen Sri Lanka	Business Operations Manager	M 40–45	M (1 child)	Spouse/family/ethnic community group	High	While he has achieved both subjective and objective career success- high priority is given to work life balance, family and community
18	Liz Malaysia	Director Finance and Admin	F 30–35	M	Spouse/family/ friends	High	Subjective – High value for quality of life, leisure and impact driven work
USA							
19	Sam India	IT director architecture	M 40–45	M (1 child)	Spouse/family/ethnic community group	High	Subjective – High value for family and work life balance
20	Bill India		M 45–50	M (2 children)	Spouse/family/ethnic community group	High	

(continued on next page)

Table 2 (continued)

No	Pseudonym & country of birth	Occupation	Gender & age	Marital Status/ Children	Support from strong ties	BII status	Prominent Career Orientation
21	Nate India	Director - Technical business development VP/GM	M 45–50	D (2 children)	Spouse/family/ethnic community	High	Subjective - family based values, work life balance is a high priority, impact driven career Subjective - pursuing authentic career, family-based values, education for children are highly valued
22	Rob India	Architect, Oracle	M 50–55	M (2 children)	Spouse/family/ethnic community	High	While he has achieved both subjective and objective career success- high priority is given to work life balance and family.
23	Tony Jordan	Plant controller	M 35–40	M (1 child)	Spouse/ ethnic community/religious community	High	Subjective – Church based values impact career orientation and career decisions/lifestyle and freedom
24	DJ India	Educationalist	M 35–40	M (1 child)	Husband and wife support each other/ limited support from the family	Low (more connections to home culture)	Objective – Pursue objective career values/ value family success
25	Jake India	Business software consultant	M 55–60	M (1 child)	Spouse/family/ethnic community	High	Subjective - family based values/ work life balance have high influence on career decisions
26	Niall Pakistan	Marketing Director	M 45–50	M (2 children)	Spouse/family/ethnic community	High	High in both objective and subjective career values - high priority is given to work life balance and family.
27	Mike India	Associate Professor	M 45–50	M (1 child)	Spouse/family/ethnic community	High	High in both objective and subjective career values – family-based values and impact driven career values have played a significant role in his career
28	Fred Pakistan	IT manager	M 45–50	M (3children)	Spouse/family/ethnic community	High	Subjective - family based values /children's education have influenced career decisions
29	Paul India	IT manager	M 40–45	M (2 children)	Spouse/family/ethnic community	High	High in both objective and subjective career values – high value for impact driven career
30	Rita India	Higher Education Administration director	F 40–45	M (1 child)	Husband and wife support each other	Low (more connections to home culture)	Objective - Multiple career changes to achieve objective career success/ value for family success
31	Linda Taiwan	Assistant professor	F 30–35	S	Partner/friends (support from strong ties is not prominent)	Low (more connections to host culture)	Objective - very early stages in the career/value for objective success

Participant characteristics

Over 75 % of the participants had a post-graduate qualification. They worked in professional /managerial / knowledge worker roles within organisations. Due to the purposeful sampling method used, we consider our participants to be elite informants (McDowell, 1998) with substantial professional expertise in their area (Vaughan, 2013). A majority of the sample consists of male participants (65 %), while 35 % are females. Of the total sample, 85 % were between ages of 30–50 years, 10 % were over 50 years, while 5% were under the age of 30 years. We interviewed 13 (42 %) migrants living in the USA and 18 (58 %) migrants living in Australia. Given our focus is on the role of bicultural identity and its relationship to career orientation, the narratives and participants chosen here are all from collectivist cultures (Hofstede, 2001) where the wider family influence and involvement is an integral aspect of their culture. Of the total participants, eleven had migrated from India, six from Sri Lanka, four from Pakistan and the rest from Singapore, Vietnam, South Korea, Malaysia, China, Taiwan, Peru, Columbia, Lebanon and Jordan. Further details about the participants and key findings on their level of bicultural integration, support from strong ties and protean career orientation are outlined in Table 2.

Data coding and analysis

Phase 1

Our design employed two phases of data analysis using a grounded theory approach (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). The research team used monthly meetings to discuss findings and themes to reflect on the career narratives. In the first instance, using an open coding approach, all the researchers manually coded one USA transcript and compared all the initial codes. Next, all the researchers manually

coded 1–2 interviews they conducted using open coding approach. At this stage we also used different colours to highlight the transcripts, make notes next to the data associated with specific codes and inserted comments to reflect on each other's manual coding system. The primary coding phase aimed to understand how the different researchers/authors interpreted the data. Codes were then compared as they developed and assigned then to main themes identified in the conceptual framework (Locke, Feldman, & Golden-Biddle, 2015). However, manual coding for all 31 interviews became cumbersome and extremely time-consuming, thus we used NVivo 12 software program to code all 31 interviews.

Phase 2

The purpose of phase 2 was to compare and contrast the career narratives of the 31 participants in the most authentic manner that captured the rich lived experience through a themed analysis. Thus, the researchers immersed themselves in the data so that the narrative of the participants was deeply encrusted into the research and 'co-construction of experience and meaning' could occur (Charmaz, 2000, 2006).

We had bi-monthly online meetings to compare the narratives of the interview transcripts and used a reflective dialogue to compare and contrast the meaning-making of data analysis. Tracy (2013) indicates that this is an important strategy to make sense of the data and to consider a variety of interpretations where collective reflection can help to absorb and marinate in the data. This helped us to validate the themes and the conceptual framework by cross comparing the narratives of skilled migrants from the two countries. As a result of this comprehensive process of data analysis, we selected three representative cases from our larger sample for this study, following a similar approach used by Pio and Essers (2014) and Van Laer and Janssens (2017), who drew upon three exemplar cases to illustrate theory development. We believe this depth of analysis was necessary to unpack nuances of the career narratives of the migrant interviews we focused on.

Findings

In this paper, we use three exemplar career narratives to deeply explore how and whether bicultural identity and strong ties facilitate the protean careers of first-generation NWSM in English-speaking Western countries. Though career narratives of some of the participants among the 31 interviews are slightly different, these three exemplars represent the dominant pattern of career narratives of 90 % of the sample (n = 28) across BII, use of strong ties and value driven career orientation. Thus, the findings are based on stories shared by a majority of participants, although there were some differences in the timing of the PCO by the interviewees, with some displaying this pattern later in their host country settlement experience. In the following section, we present detailed vignettes, including background information to give context to the way these skilled migrants' careers unfolded over time in the host country, including the historical temporal factors that influenced their career directions.

Victor

Victor, who was originally from Vietnam, completed his computer science and mathematics degree in a non-English speaking Western country. He lived and worked there as an IT professional for 17 years. After he and his wife had their first child, they moved to Australia.

Explaining his ethnic identity, he said he had multiple identities and was very comfortable being multicultural. Nonetheless, he emphasised that he mainly identified himself as an Australian, demonstrating his tendency to be high BII.

"I have triple identities. It depends on [the] scenario, but most of the time [I] say I am more of an Aussie now"

Victor gave insights into the subjective value-fulfilling motivations behind his migration decision. He was motivated by the attraction of Australia as a destination, rather than moving for professional career reasons.

"I could have gone to UK or I could have gone to the US easily; get a transfer within the company to these locations. I think the only reason why we were thinking of Australia is: it was very exotic back then".

The following quote explains how he self-directed his career to fulfil subjective values. Victor explained how he stepped down from a very senior role, which required a lot of travel and managing across 30 countries, in order to have more time with his family in Australia.

"I actually spent more time in countries outside Australia than within Australia. Then you know, that wasn't so affordable. As I mentioned I have two younger children, I just felt guilty travelling all the time and left everything behind and all the house chores and support to my wife and you know, to have young kids at home. I didn't want to do that, so I said, 'oh, let me settle down', and I became the Sub-Regional Manager".

Victor emphasised in his narrative his preference to have a well-balanced lifestyle. His narrative empirically aligns with the PCO – it is self-directed and driven by a strong commitment to family life (Briscoe & Hall, 2006).

During the initial settlement period in Australia, Victor explained that he received very little support:

"we had no support, no relatives, no friends and it was shocking to me then [that] the relationship between colleagues here remains very professional".

Victor's situation is different to other migrants we interviewed. He had not received much support from his extended family, friends or from colleagues. His wife took responsibility for the childcare in the family unit. It is possible that not having any support from their extended family or not relying on paid childcare support had influenced the career orientation in their family unit. They both decided

that only Victor would go to work while his wife looked after the children.

“my wife, couldn’t work because you know the baby was too young, so it was a bit sacrifice for her and so between [the] two of us, we decided to have this sort of agreement: ok you help with the child and I am going to work and earn the bread for the family and you know someone has to sacrifice something”.

This suggests the primacy of subjective values in this particular career story. The strong tie between the spouses provides the necessary mechanism for Victor to pursue a protean career path.

Victor’s bicultural approach is demonstrated by his strongly positive, almost utilitarian and strategic attitude towards integrating into the Australian culture.

“Like it or not, Australia is a white country and you have to be connected with white people. So, the challenge for us Asian people [is that] we have [a] different type of mentality, mindset cultural attributes, but you have to adapt to the white people ways of thinking, things they talk about. Otherwise you will not be accepted”.

In summary, Victor’s family was very well integrated into the Australian culture. They maintained a mixed social circle, identified themselves as ‘Aussies’ while holding Vietnamese identity and the identities of the country that he studied and lived in for 17 years and Australia, and they blended their multiple identities in harmony, showing characteristics of high BII (see Table 1). He highlighted how his wife had sacrificed her career to enable him to flourish in his career, illustrating the influence of this very strong tie in his career. Similarly, Victor noted how the family decision to migrate to Australia was mainly based on a desire for subjective value fulfilment rather than pursuing objective career progression for himself. We argue that this general observation is common across most (28) of the participants in our study, as the following examples and Table 2 also show.

Samantha

Samantha was a chartered accountant from her country of birth working in a large consulting company in Australia. She migrated with her husband and her child in 2007. Samantha described her identity as follows:

“I consider myself as a Sri Lankan – I have no problems with that. I have made mixed friends: we tend to move with a lot of Sri Lankan families, got other friends and colleagues that make really good friends and talk about personal things. But my kids, all of their friends are of different nationalities, they don’t have any Sri Lankan friends”.

Even though she preferred to identify herself as Sri Lankan, further accounts she shared (“I believe I have integrated quite well to the Australian society and I have no issues moving between two cultures” and “I have spent more time with non-Sri Lankan people apart from the family in the last 13 years”) showed that she was very well integrated into Australian society and comfortable using her dual identity in harmony, showing high BII (see Table 1). She emphasised the value of adapting to a bicultural identity.

Samantha was the mother of two children. At the time of the interview, she was the main income earner in her family, although she explained she would prefer to reduce her working hours of 45–60 h per week at the time of interview. Her values revolved around providing quality education for her children and a desire for flexible work hours to support the family. Samantha had self-managed her career by moving across jobs and organisations to fulfil her family’s needs. She noted that she maximised the support of her extended family (parents and in-laws) to take care of her children, by bringing them to Australia for long periods of time in order to provide childcare support.

“I have my parents and my husband’s parents coming every other year to help. That was a great help. Otherwise I think I could not have advanced my career”.

Samantha’s husband had a flexible job and was therefore able to take on much of the family responsibilities.

“He is the one doing school runs every day. He travels though. When he travels, I get to do kids’ things and all that, but he does help me in the cleaning and those things, he’s being a great help”.

In terms of her career progression, Samantha explained her expectations, however, she expressed caution in terms of its potential impact on her immediate family’s overall quality of life.

“I would like to go up to either principal or partner. If I am really keen, then there is no issue that I can’t do that, but I have to think about how it is going to affect my family - the working hours”.

Like Victor, Samantha’s move to Australia was a subjective value fulfilment decision. Samantha acknowledged that her colleagues in Sri Lanka had attained objective career success, but she personally valued overall quality of life more than prioritising objective career related achievements. She explained,

“I talk to them when they (Sri Lankan colleagues) come here for holidays. They don’t like what they are doing, ... whereas I ... work 60 hours and I don’t have much help but I enjoy [it] ... more than them. They have those job titles, but I don’t think they are enjoying their life”.

The following story that she shared describes how she had navigated her self-directed, value driven career by giving her family a higher priority.

“they did not have [a] flexibility of working from home’ policy in the company at all and I said, ‘I just can’t do this job’ because they moved the office, which is quite a bit of a drive, so I had to resign as an employee and then I had to join as a sub-contractor”.

Samantha pointed out that she enjoyed what she was doing as it gave her greater flexibility to attend her family needs as well.

“What I am doing now I enjoy at the end of the day. This team has given a lot of flexibility for me because of my kids, so I work from home and they understand, they recognize me every single day and I get the recognition from the team for what I do”.

In summary, as in the case of Victor, Samantha seemed to move easily between two cultural identities. Samantha seemed to have benefitted from a greater level of support from her strong ties - her parents, parents-in-law and her spouse. Her story is an exemplar of how migrants can achieve a subjective value-driven approach to their careers. In particular, the exemplars support our propositions set out earlier in the paper and in our framework in Fig. 1, that both the bicultural identity and support from strong ties can be enablers of PCO, when looking through a subjective value fulfilment lens.

Bill

Bill moved from India to the USA with his wife to complete his master’s degree in software engineering. Bill’s dream was to study and live in the USA as a software engineer and to make the USA his home. By the time they went to the USA, many of his friends and family had already moved there, so that integrating into the university system and society in the USA seemed to have been an easy transition.

“There were a lot of international students from India at xxx University, so we became good friends with them”.

Bill remained in a job that allowed him to travel between the USA and India for business purposes so that he could fulfil his strong desire to maintain connections with family and friends in India.

“my job required me to travel to India so I would always come by and fly through Bangalore and so I would get to spend some time in Bangalore over the weekend and spend time with family”.

Despite his strong connection to the Indian culture, Bill said he was able to transition between the Indian and the US cultures quite smoothly or use his bicultural identity harmoniously, indicating features of high BII. Bill referred to his identity as combining both ethnic and host country identity.

“I would say I am Indian-American or American-Indian”.

Like Samantha in the last narrative, the main factor that enabled Bill to self-manage his career in the US was the support he received from his parents and in-laws to raise his young children. He explained that the support received from his extended family was critical to his career progression as he had to travel frequently for work. He made a strategic decision to remain in his organisation as it provided him the opportunities to travel to India for work purposes while he was able to maintain connections with his family and friends in India. Bill went on to elaborate his wife’s role and his subjective value fulfilment intentions in their careers.

“To me, work life balance is probably the number one priority. As long as I’m happy with what I’m doing, I’m perfectly fine. For both of us, we like the jobs we are doing. There’s a lot of responsibility, but at the same time there’s a lot of flexibility too. That’s important to both of us. Both of us are not constantly chasing titles or constantly chasing more money”.

In summary, Bill’s career narrative resonates with the career narratives of Victor, Samantha and many others we interviewed (see Table 2) and how they used a protean self-directed, value driven approach with the help of strong ties.

The above three narratives exemplify how NWSM can manage opportunities and barriers, mobilising their agency in the host destination to fulfil subjective values. They also show how NWSM may navigate an international PCO which allows them to fulfil subjective values while they maintain a high level of their bicultural identity and receive support from strong ties.

Discussion

This section briefly discusses the common findings that emerged from our study under three main topics: protean career orientation, bicultural identity perspectives and the role of strong ties. In addition, we also have highlighted how one’s life stage and marital status may intersect value fulfilling careers.

Protean career orientation

Our study contributes to literature on skilled migrants’ protean careers, particularly in relation to the career orientations of NWSM permanently living in Australia and the USA. The evidence from the narratives suggests how they self-manage their careers while accentuating their subjective value fulfilment (Briscoe & Hall, 2006; Modestino, Sugiyama, & Ladge, 2019). All three study participants indicated that they migrated to a Western country to achieve subjective value fulfilment rather than to gain individual career progression. They seemed to be preserving the initial intention of moving to a Western country and adopting a PCO quite well.

As we discussed earlier in the narratives, these NWSM believed that their friends and colleagues in the country of origin had achieved comparatively greater objective career success (e.g., higher ranks, pay and other benefits) than they had in the host country. In line with the findings of Crowley-Henry and Weir (2007), our NWSM study participants also believed that they would have achieved better objective career success if they had stayed in the country of origin. However, they did not seem to regret the decision to migrate permanently with their families. Rather they expressed subjective satisfaction with their work-life domains. This shows that NWSM do not always move to a western country expecting objective career success or material wealth (Robinson & Carey, 2000), but that some may pursue subjective value-based personal fulfilment in the way they self-manage their careers. As such, the motivations for migration and the subsequent career orientation in the host country may not be purely or even predominantly economic. Based on our 31 interviews we found that subjective values – such as quality of life, the desire for adventure, professional learning, clean air or space,

civic freedom or freedom from corruption, education opportunities for children etc. can be more dominant motivations. This is especially apparent within our sample of NWSMs leaving densely populated countries of very different political, economic and/or socio-cultural values to those of the host country.

Bicultural identity perspectives

As shown in [Table 2](#), 90 % of our study participants show high BII status. [Cao et al. \(2013\)](#) found that Chinese self-initiated expatriates with low BII in Germany had experienced adjustment difficulties which negatively impacted their protean career attitude, such as less mobility preference and a less flexible approach to jobs. In the present study, we found that NWSMs who displayed high BII seemed to exercise greater agency in their career related moves. In particular we found that NWSM who (a) attempted to integrate into the host society and (b) were able to use their bicultural identity in a fluid manner at work and outside the work context were more likely to self-manage their careers in a way that fulfilled their subjective values. [Hirschi, Herrmann, and Keller \(2015\)](#) pointed out that identity clarity and high levels of self-awareness in relation to an individual's values are important variables in a protean career attitude. Accordingly, in our cases, it is evident that NWSM who are comfortable in their bicultural identity enjoy clarity of values and can pursue value fulfilment purposes successfully to navigate their protean career in the host country. For instance in Bill's example, he had decided to remain in a job that allowed him to travel between India and USA to fulfil the subjective value of maintaining relationships with extended family in India, as opposed to a migrant who follows an assimilation strategy who may not place a high value on frequent contacts with the family and friends in the country of origin ([Chen et al., 2008](#); [Gunasekara et al., 2019](#); [Tadmor, Galinsky, & Maddux, 2012](#)).

Strong ties

As opposed to findings from other migrant studies (e.g., [Gericke et al., 2018](#)) our NWSM participants' narratives suggest that the support they received from strong ties (parents, spouses, in-laws, ethnic community) was a major contributing factor that enabled them to develop and maintain protean careers. This is not to suggest that weak ties did not also help, some migrants indicated that they had supportive managers, but rather these narratives emphasised the significant role of these strong ties compared to weak ties. One possible reason for this contradictory finding could be that the skilled migrants we interviewed possessed high levels of human capital (e.g., skills, qualifications, experience and a positive attitude towards life) which may in turn have positively influenced their perceived employability ([De Vos et al., 2011](#)). This perception of increased employability may have given them some freedom to self-manage their careers and prioritise value fulfilment. For instance, Samantha was confident enough in her human capital know-how that she quit her job for a contractor role which facilitated her better being able to fulfil subjective values. This could be one reason why they were less dependent on weak ties, particularly at the mid-career stage. It is also possible that at the early, entry level of migrants' careers, having weak ties in the social network could help migrants to find employment commensurate with their educational qualifications ([Gericke et al., 2018](#)), but at the mid and latter stages, strong ties are more helpful as they can provide the operational support that migrants need to achieve a protean career that is better suited to permanent settlement of their family unit. It is also worth observing how NWSM drew on traditional collectivist cultural values from their home countries to access assistance from these strong ties. The fact that parents and in-laws (in two of our exemplar narratives and 18 from our overall sample) were prepared to move regularly and for long periods between countries to care for grandchildren suggests a strong commitment to the overall welfare of the family. As such they were prepared to act as regular temporary migrants in order to support their relative's migrant career. Biculturalism in this context appears to offer advantages as by drawing on both ethnic and host cultures, these NWSM were able to utilise strong ties to support their protean careers.

Value fulfilling careers – intersectionality

In line with the conceptual framework we presented, our data suggests the majority of the study's participants pursue value driven careers from the beginning of their career in host destination (for instance, Liz, Joel, Irene, and May). However, some of the narratives showcase that other NWSM in the sample (for instance Linda and Paul), perhaps due to no immediate family commitments, pursue objective career values during the early stages of their career. As presented in [Table 2](#) and the related vignettes above, by and large the career stories of our study participants suggest that their career purpose changed through their lives, eventually leading towards value driven careers (e.g., Paul said *"I worked in IT, I enjoyed but I felt something was missing. So, how I define my life is - I define my life as someone changing people's life"*. Irene said, *"I chose to work for a non-profit because you know you want to do good but if you are going for commercial, their ethics and values didn't sit well with me"* and Victor said *"My priorities in my life are to have a family, live in a nice place, have fun, do sports, go up to the mountains, to see the world. They are way more important than making money or becoming a head of an organisation or a professor"*).

We also observed that family migrants (or migrants with children) received or sought support from strong ties such as parents, in-laws or other members of the ethnic community more than single migrants. Family migrants in this sample used strong ties specially to take care of their young children. Our study participants who placed a high value on bicultural identity believed that use of strong ties was an important avenue to maintain bicultural identity values, which otherwise may difficult to pass down to the next generation when they are raised in a different culture. This is one indication that the nature of the values being fulfilled might have a link to the home country culture of the skilled migrants, particularly the desire to transmit the home culture to the children's BII. However, two participants (Rita and DJ), who were both family migrants, who did not use much support from strong ties, believe host and home

cultures are mutually exclusive, and maintain very high level of country of origin identity appear to pursue objective career values. Due to the low number of career narratives that did not support our conceptual framework ($n = 3$ while 28 cases supported), we did not have enough evidence to explore what contributed to their differences in comparison to the other migrants we interviewed. As indicated in Table 2, 90 % (28) of the participants self-managed their careers based on subjective values, and they used the support of strong ties while displaying high BII.

Limitations and suggestions for future research

Our exploration of NWSMs' career orientation suggests that an elaboration of the value-oriented and self-directedness components of protean careers to include affinity with biculturalism and social ties is warranted. Our study focused on NWSM who had successfully navigated their careers in the host country and, as such, we only looked at how their bicultural identity and value orientation impacted their career success. We did not look at how NWSM overcame the cultural barriers related to their career pathway. We term this elaboration an 'international PCO'. We have built up propositions to support our conceptualisation here and used exemplars to illustrate the conceptualisation in practice. The in-depth analysis we have presented in this paper suggests a fruitful area of future enquiry. It indicates the importance of biculturalism and strong social ties together with a value-driven approach to careers for international skilled migrants in Western host countries. It also indicates that some skilled migrants at least are motivated by more than purely economic or traditional, objective career paths within organisations.

Conducting larger, quantitative studies in this area should establish more data about the patterns of relationships between the three variables – biculturalism, social ties and PCO. However, it is only through detailed qualitative studies that we can understand the how and why of these phenomena more thoroughly.

At a theoretical level, a limitation of the study is that it does not address the issue of the direction of causality – whether these NWSM had self-selected for migration based on their value driven approach to life and therefore pursued protean careers, or whether their value-driven approach was facilitated by the opportunities afforded in a non-Western professional environment. Another limitation is the particular professional occupations involved in these studies – finance and IT were areas of skill shortages in Australia and the USA at the time of interviewing, suggesting that our interviewees may have enjoyed greater opportunities to pursue their protean career orientation compared to NWSM in other professions or industries.

Implications

Despite the limitations, our study has some important implications for career scholars with our proposed advancement/extension of the international PCO, also for NWSM in Western countries, migrant career counsellors and policy makers. Firstly, for migrants, our findings suggest that if migrants aspire to achieve a protean career to fulfil their subjective values, their positive attitude towards bicultural identity and the support they receive from strong ties bring added advantages. A great deal of migrant literature addresses the challenges that NWSM have to go through in their careers (see for example – Almeida & Fernando, 2017; Dietz, Joshi, Esses, Hamilton, & Gabarrot, 2015). However, our findings suggest the possibility of achieving subjective career success to fulfil their values. Therefore, the second implication is relevant to migrant career counsellors, teachers and HRM professionals working with NWSMs. They need to be aware of different motivations and career orientations and be open to the possibility that NWSM have a value driven approach to their career. As such, the consideration of opportunities and rewards for these professionals could also rest on non-monetary aspects of career. The biculturalism that skilled migrants may display also has implications for the different cultural values that these NWSM draw on in their careers. Professionals working with NWSM would need to be aware of these dual or mixed cultural value sets. By recognising the potential value of strong ties to NWSM careers, we can understand how best to facilitate and support those careers, for the benefit of themselves and their organisations and the broader society.

To the best of our knowledge, this is the first study that has used a value fulfilment lens to explore how bicultural identity, strong ties and PCO can operate together to fulfil migrants' subjective values in their careers. The findings suggest that (a) personal value fulfilment can play a central role in migrants' career orientation. Though the migrants we interviewed were capable of achieving far better objective career success, their subjective value driven attitude supported them in developing and maintaining a PCO and (b) migrants' bicultural identity allows them to fully embrace both ethnic and host identity, and comfortably engage in PCO and (c) the support they received from strong ties appeared to be a great advantage in self-managing their careers in a way that enhanced their subjective career success and sense of subjective value fulfilment. We propose that more research be conducted into these positive and agentic ways that NWSM pursue employment and careers in Western countries as well as the costs and benefits to themselves, their organisations and to the broader society.

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