The colour of youthful footprints along the career journey: Voices of Indigenous and Migrant youth on the transition from school to career

Lianne Britten PhD Candidate, School of Psychology,

Macquarie University, Sydney, Australia

Master of Counselling Psychology, University of British Columbia, Vancouver, BC, Canada

Diploma of Guidance (Grad. Dip), University of British Columbia, Vancouver, BC, Canada

Secondary Education Professional Development Program (Grad. Dip), Simon Fraser University, Burnaby, BC, Canada

Bachelor of Arts (Liberal Studies), Charles Sturt University, NSW Australia

Submitted on the 4th day of July, 2014

Declaration

This thesis has not been submitted for a higher degree to any other university or institution.

The work is predominantly that of the PhD candidate. Components of the thesis that involved collaboration have been noted as such. The Macquarie University Ethics Committee approved the research reported in this thesis on the 1st of May 2010 (ref: 5201000687).

Lianne Britten April, 2014

Acknowledgements

I would first like to thank the creator and acknowledge the elders past, present and future.

I would like to thank Associate Professor Mark Wiggins for his support, motivation and time. Throughout my candidature, Mark readily offered his time, expertise, feedback and insights. With Mark's guidance, my research dissertation is of much higher quality than it otherwise would have been.

I would also like to thank my adjunct supervisor, Professor William Borgen. His knowledge, advice and ongoing support throughout my postgraduate career have been seminal in creating the dissertation presented here. His expertise and guidance in preparing this dissertation has been invaluable.

It goes without saying that I would also like to thank the valuable contributions of my participants. Without their time and stories this dissertation would not have been possible. I would like to thank and acknowledge the elders, the communities and the many people who volunteered their time and support. I would like to acknowledge the ongoing inspiration their stories provide and the impact their lives have had upon me. I am honoured and inspired by each one of you, and thank you for being allowed to enter your world. As a person who is inspired by others I note the words of the grandfather of good friends and 'family' of mine "*May hope forever wipe away your tears*" Chief Dan George, Tsleil Waututh Nation, Burrard BC, Canada.

Finally, it is the threads of past and present that have wound through my story to bring me to this presented work. I would not be able to present this work without the support, motivation and love of friends, family, and colleagues. I would also like to thank family, and friends who began this journey with me but are no longer here on this earth, may you continue to be angels watching over us all. It is beings such as they to which I am indebted for pushing through when events and circumstance seemed overwhelming. Thank you to all for your support and love throughout my candidature.

The circle continues.

All my relations!

Preface

Situating the Researcher

As an addendum for the reader, the personal and private motivations for the undertaking of this research project are another lens onto what constitutes this proposed new paradigm of research and transparency for the researcher. The transparency that is required of a researcher working with indigenous and migrant participants, is a core value of this researcher and hence, the explication of the reasons for undertaking this research project are a requirement of furthering the proposed paradigm also with fellow academics. Resultantly, situating the researcher's personal motivations for the research programme is a necessary component of this proposed qualitative research paradigm. As a person who identifies as aboriginal and has indigenous family in three different countries, it behooves the researcher to inform the reader of her heritage. In the traditions of indigenous people past, present and future, it is of central importance to know connections and have a 'place' from whence one comes. For the researcher, however, this traditional place is as complex and layered as are the outcomes of this research programme presented in this dissertation. In a small snapshot, I am of mixed Australian and British heritage. My paternal lineage having arrived on the second fleet in 1792, ship 'Archive' with my ancestor being Sergeant William Britten of the New South Wales Army Corp. On my mother's side my grandfather emigrated from Britain as an eight year old, and my grandmother was born in Coonamble, New South Wales. Of more recent import however, is the chosen family and the families who have chosen me and their

stories of resilience and success that have long inspired me.

I am an adopted daughter of the Musqueam tribe, Vancouver, Canada. My aunt is Maori from Aotearoa. My nieces and nephews are proud Yuin people from Wallaga Lake, New South Wales. As a woman with indigenous families on three separate continents (Canada, New Zealand and Australia), as well as being a person who herself has migrated, it has been my own personal experience to see the impacts of migrant status, minority status, marginalisation, limited access to resources, financial stress, removal from known relatives and support systems, the reality of life on missions and reservations, and the impact of healthy families and communities upon my life.

I am an educated woman, having achieved multiple degrees on two continents, (Australia and North America), as well as being an invited participant for a summer programme of post-graduate research at the Oral history Institute of Columbia University, New York. I completed the majority of my childhood schooling in the New South Wales education system, and finished my grade 12 year in Minnesota, USA and sitting this system's university entrance exams. I have also volunteered, travelled and lived in numerous places around the globe, experiencing personally the life of privileged and underprivileged people in such places as Cambodia, Singapore, China, Turkey, and Mexico. It has been my honour and privilege to witness the resilience and joy of life that people from the margins possess despite sometimes overwhelming obstacles and hardship.

All these factors add complexity to the experiences I have had and all play an

important part of my journey as a successful female who desires to help reveal the stories of other underprivileged youth who have succeeded despite societal and economic limitations. Also, as a female I have personally experienced prejudice on a number of levels: firstly as a woman, secondly as a migrant, thirdly as a returning 'migrant' to the country in which I was born, as well as being a member of an indigenous family within Australia, and an adopted tribal member in Canada. These private experiences on multiple levels: personal, professional, policy-wise and academically, led me to undertake this programme of research.

The dearth of positive stories from migrant and indigenous communities in many countries around the globe did not fit with my own professional and personal experiences of many indigenous and migrant success stories with regard to career. Additionally, my personal insights into the entrenched systems and policies that tend to maintain extant structures of prejudice versus privilege, have given me an in depth understanding of the impact of being 'different' to the 'norm'. The stories of friends, 'family', relatives and colleagues who have overcome adversity, poverty, social inequity and disadvantage were, and continue to be, an inspiration to me. Sharing a detailed and contextualized background regarding my history serves a variety of functions. Initially this description underlies and hints at the power of shaped social meanings and languaging. Moreover, it moderates the extent of my knowledge as being defined by geography, political boundaries and economics. Finally, by situating ourselves as scholars and practitioners in a transparent socially defined environment, the myth of the neutral observer is challenged directly. As part of the

paradigm of hope for the future, this research programme was undertaken to help stem the negative tide of media and promote ‘positive’ stories from a number of communities more often maligned than celebrated in societies globally.

Summary

Career, transitions and marginalised young adults are of significant concern in the highly technological and mobile global economies in which we live today. Ensuring participation in the workforce and building strong economies with high levels of migrant and indigenous youth is a reality of the 21st Century world. Therefore, identifying the factors that facilitate successful transitions for marginalised young adults entering careers after leaving school is a priority for policy makers. This programme of research explores these issues. Even more crucial for policy makers is the investigation of the existence of any similarities of experience between diverse marginalised populations in these successful pathways to career and the potential utilization of knowledge to build infrastructures to support future growth in this sphere.

To achieve an understanding of this progression between school and career for indigenous and migrant young adults, a unique space needed be created for the sharing of their experiences, expertise and insights in this regard. Of priority to this enterprise was the concurrent need to encourage participants in this type of research programme to self-identify as successful on their own terms. Interviews were conducted to listen to the voices of 'marginalised' young adults, enabling them to reflect on the factors that helped and hindered their successful transition from school to career. The research programme identified similarities and differences of experience for migrant and indigenous young adults concerning this transition. From the space created and the sharing of stories, an opening was

produced from which lessons learned by these participants can inform policy makers and other associated professionals.

In order to explore the phenomenon of stories from marginalised youth, the research programme considered many qualitative methods and theories as the basis for this work from critical and community psychology, through to social justice and social constructionist theories. Critical and community psychologists (Fox and Prileltensky 1997; Dudgeon, 2008) show that a primary concern of psychologists should be the consequences of their actions. All researchers, Indigenous and particularly non-Indigenous should engage in self-reflective practices and strive to ensure that our actions are not revealed as misguided and detrimental in a future history. Social constructionist psychological theory also addresses the ideas that our interests and ideas are shaped by socialization across the lifespan, and include education, environment, community and multiple other influences that cannot be separated due to the complex nature of each factor influencing the lived experiences of us all (Blustein, et al., 2013).

The intersection of theories underlying this research are multiple. From critical theory, indigenous psychological theory, social constructionist, social justice, relational and systems-oriented theories form the basis of the social constructionist and critical race theory foundations of this programme of research. Relational theory, as discussed by Blustein, 2011, explores the ways in which meaning, support, intimacy and connections within society are formed through a variety of relationships. Formative to this programme of research is the

acknowledgement of how critical theory, and its antecedent, Critical Race Theory (CRT) have combined to underlie the ways in which we construct our own identities within the bounds of society, community, marginalisation and stereotypes that exist on the wider societal level in which we live. CRT details cross-sections between labelling, stigmatization, marginalisation and associated poor outcomes for people living in white European-based legal, educational and employment based societies (James, 2012; Kincheloe, McLaren, & Steinberg, 2011; Peters, Lanshear, & Olsen, 2003). According to CRT, stereotypes and labels overlap, intersect and reinforce extant societal structures (Howard, 2008; James, 2012; Felluga, 2012; Delgado & Stefancic, 2012).

Critical theory is founded on the proposition that injustice and inequity shape people's lives, and that more specifically, that individuals and groups have been acculturated to accept and feel comfortable in existing paradigms of 'domination and subordination' (Kincheloe, McLaren, & Steinberg, 2011). Critical race theorists hypothesize various ways in which we can promote social change and transformation, through an examination of views of those traditionally living in the subordinate roles, the oppressed, or marginalised, and hence, hear the voices of these oft ignored groups and individuals (Peters, Lanshear, & Olsen, 2003). The present dissertation fits the model for transformation through hearing the voices of those marginalised youth. Hernandez & Davis (2009) explain how the 'confluence of stereotyping' marginalize youth with labels of race, operate to 'structure' life opportunities, learning and social opportunities, and access to education. These tenets form

the foundations of this descriptive and exploratory study with indigenous and migrant youth.

After consideration of narrative (White, 2007; Payne, 2000) and grounded theories and methodologies, this programme of research utilized the Enhanced Critical Incident Technique (ECIT) as its basis. Butterfield, Borgen, Maglio & Amundson (2005) augmented the Critical Incident Technique (CIT) by adding nine steps to structure the usage of the CIT and an expanded contextual component at the beginning of the interview. These steps clarify the method and add credibility checks to standardize the procedure for researchers employing this technique for the purposes of eliciting rich, qualitative data vis-a´-vis previously unexplored phenomenon. This technique was named the Enhanced Critical Incident Technique (ECIT). This methodology uses the number of critical incidents (CIs) arising from the data, as the sample size. Using this methodology as a basis, the present research was designed to identify factors that have helped and hindered self-identified, successful indigenous and migrant youth in the transition between school and career.

Various methods could have been employed for the purposes of research with marginalised groups, particularly indigenous methodologies for the indigenous participants who participated in this research project. The choice of the ECIT over other narrative methods was due to the fact that this methodology had been used successfully in participatory research in this field, (Butterfield, Borgen, Maglio and Amundson, 2005 & 2009, Goodwill & McCormick, 2012) and due to the limited number of indigenous research methodologies with such use, was deemed appropriate for the purposes of this project (Goodwill & McCormick, 2012; Britten & Borgen, 2010). Other methods that were considered for this research project included narrative techniques,

grounded theory interviews, the construction of life stories, anecdotes, and case studies (Chilisa, 2012; Kenny, et al., 2014; Crespigny, Emden, Kowanko & Murray, 2004). These types of research methodologies were omitted as the researcher felt that the ECIT was suitable for encapsulating the spirit of honouring traditional oral story-telling and with its standardized techniques, was able to fulfil the ethical requirements as outlined below, of working with indigenous and special populations (Britten & Borgen, 2010; Britten, Borgen & Wiggins, 2012; Goodwill & McCormick, 2012). The ECIT offers a semi-structured interview format, allowing 'check-ins' with the participants to honour their voice, and has nine steps to ensure that the research undertaken is focused upon the research question and adherence to the ethical requirements for specialized work with vulnerable populations.

An additional reason for the choice of ECIT was the prior experience of the researcher, and the expertise of the supervisor. The ECIT also addressed the ethical need for ongoing involvement of the groups in the evaluation and dissemination phases of research (Prior, 2008; Britten & Borgen, 2010; Butterfield, Borgen, Maglio, Amundsen, 2005). The research engaged in consultation and negotiation with participating communities. The ECIT also requires an on-going research practice that is open to scrutiny by the participating communities/individuals. At the completion of the process, the ECIT and protocol advises that the interview tapes be returned to the participants and, in addition, that each participant receives an invitation to participate in article writing should they wish either during the project or at some point in the future. As a result of these participatory and ethical foundations of the ECIT, the author felt that the ECIT was a "best fit" for both the size of the project, the management of the data, the need for input from the participants and the communities, and the ethics of inclusion and honouring both marginalised and indigenous research methodologies (Gibbs, 2001). The ECIT also represented a 'good fit' for the mechanism of giving participants control over research outcomes through a standardized

procedure of check-in and approval of outcomes, in addition to adding to the possibility of transforming (Rigney, 1999). These standardized procedures are additions to the ECIT as a result of criticisms of previous qualitative methods, including the Critical Incident Technique (the check-in and approval of outcomes with participants was important for the researcher in her adherence to ethics and the precept that research should be inclusive and participatory, rather than the historic tradition of research being done 'on' special and vulnerable populations with little consideration of the impacts upon the participants.

Through pilot interviews and checks with participants and community groups, the questions for the research project were developed in a way that meant the researcher changed a question that did not seem to fit with the participant's needs for representation. Using the researcher's prior research experience with indigenous youth, and her interview guide as an example, she developed a series of open-ended questions. After consultation with an expert in the field of ECIT, and a community member from the target participant population, the questions were developed as open-ended, and these questions were designed to be further explored with prompts and probes. As each interview proceeded, if the participant was unclear about the intent of the question, the researcher/interviewer would rephrase the question until the participant was able to offer examples as to how some critical incident may have helped or hindered him/her during their transition between school and career. At all points throughout the interview, a transparent process of 'checking in' with the participant to ensure that he/she was: a) coping; b) understanding; and c) wishing to review what he/she had said was part of the ECIT technique. This was an element of the commitment of the researcher to represent ethically the voice of the participant, rather than the researcher. Through the process of ongoing consultation with the participants regarding how the research process was going for them, and what form the questions took, the researcher engaged in ethical adherence to approval and informed consent from the

participants during the research. Other elements ensuring that the researcher fulfilled her ethical requirements included giving back to the communities through volunteering and working with the elders to ensure that protocols and approvals were received. It also involved promoting ongoing contact with the researcher through communal ties as recommended by critical psychology and indigenous psychology practice (Rigney, 2001; Prior, 2006; Dudgeon, 2008). At the end of the process, communities associated with the research have been given access to any output from the research and, in addition, the participants themselves were given copies of their own interviews for their own personal records and to do with as they chose. These elements of this research project were designed to fulfill best practice research guidelines for research with special and vulnerable populations.

The phases of the research were related in that each phase followed on from the previous section beginning with an exploration of the ethical concerns of a researcher conducting cross-cultural research with special and vulnerable populations. The second question in the research programme was an examination of the variety of methodologies available to the researcher to fulfill the requirements of completing the research. The third, fourth and fifth questions were all related to the collection of data and answering the research question: what are the factors that help and hinder indigenous and migrant youth in their successful transitions between school and career. Figure 1 below illustrates the stages of the research and the variant research questions at each stage.

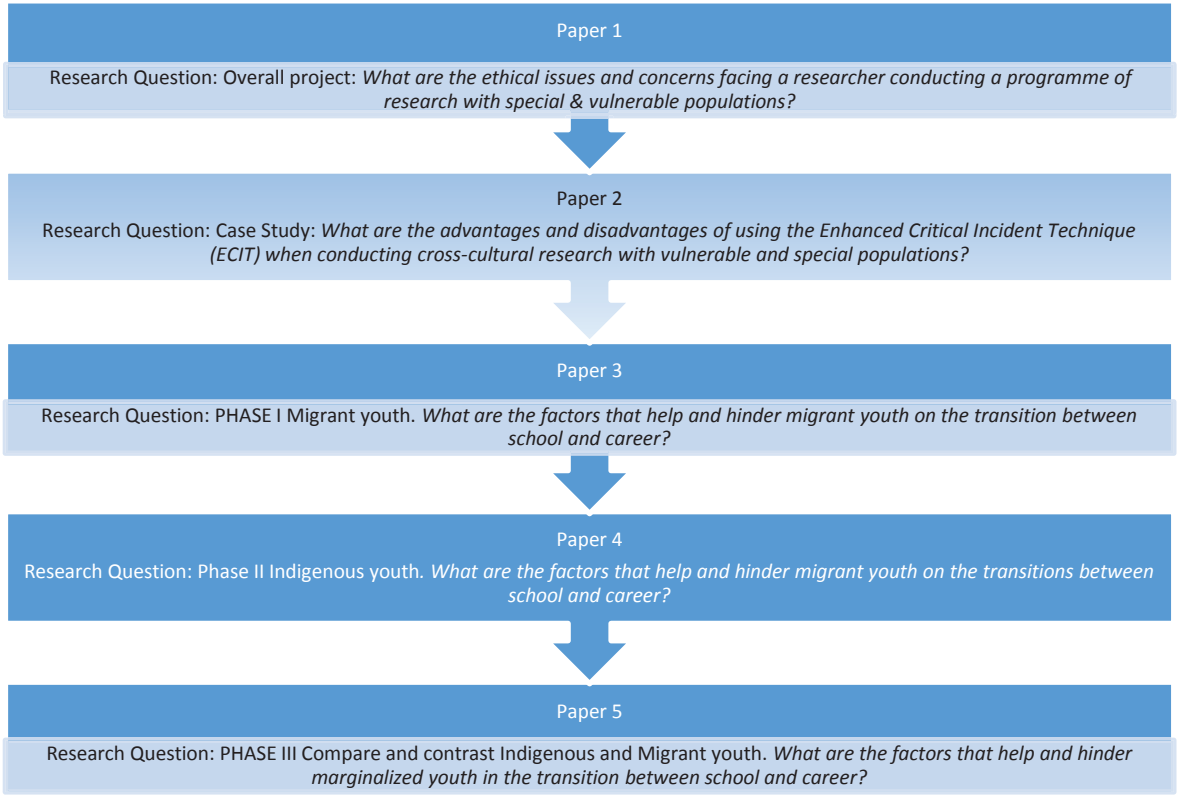

Figure 1: Phases of research and associated research questions.

Paper 1 explored the professional and ethical dilemmas associated with working with special and vulnerable populations. This paper suggested the necessity for researchers working with these types of participants to wear 'dual hats': that of researcher and of professional counsellor/psychologist. This paper discussed the exigencies of past traumas that may arise in seemingly unassociated, 'innocent' research questions and to be aware of ethical requirements and issues that may be raised while conducting such research.

Paper 2 discussed the use of the Enhanced Critical Incident Technique (ECIT) for the purposes of conducting ethical research with special and vulnerable populations. This paper

discussed the effectiveness of the technique for eliciting rich, qualitative data and the appropriateness of the ECIT for use with marginalised populations.

Paper 3 reported the outcomes from Phase I of the programme of research. Phase I was designed to explore the factors that helped and hindered migrant youth, aged eighteen to twenty-nine years of age, in their successful transition between school and work. Paper 4 followed a similar format to Paper 3 in reporting the outcomes of Phase II of the project. Phase II of the project outlined the factors that indigenous youth identified as helpful and hindering in their successful transition between school and career.

Paper 5 reported the outcomes of Phase III of the project: comparing and contrasting the helpful and hindering factors from the migrant and indigenous phases of the project. The ten major factors identified included: achieving a new level of self-understanding, family, community support networks, access to resources and community resources, wellness, role models, ethnicity/aboriginality and attachment to culture, and also the impact of racism and prejudice.

In combination, the results of this programme of research provides compelling evidence of similarities of experience for marginalised youth from diverse populations in the transition between school and career. The research programme also establishes a basis for a complex association between the type and levels of supports required for successful transitions for both migrant and indigenous participants. Moreover, the outcomes from the research presented support a proposal for a paradigm shift in research and policy making

regarding marginalised youth and career pathways. This paradigm shift includes collaboration and cooperation with marginalised groups to propagate, facilitate and replicate the success that these young adults engender. Furthermore, from this programme of research, a new framework for policy makers in the fields of career and transitions from school to career is proposed and discussed.

Introduction

Bridging worlds unknown and dreams of those unheard

Hegel - *'It is easier to discover a deficiency in individuals, in states, and in Providence, than to see their real import and value.'*

The history of research concerning marginalised groups has oft been typified by deficit positions rather than understandings of proficiency within these populations. Negative frameworks and media reports reiterate the shortfalls of people falling outside the mainstream. Hegel's assertion is an apt encapsulation of the Western research paradigm concerning marginalised youth. The present research programme proposes a new paradigm. While acknowledging oppression and respecting its consequences, this research dissertation suggests that it is time to move forward from a deficit position when undertaking research with marginalised young adults, especially with regard to employment and career pathways. This new paradigm commences with listening to, and learning from, stories of success and resilience in the transition from school to career from this population. A second point is to acknowledge that the term 'marginalised', in and of itself, may add to the deficit nature of studies, and for this reason, it is suggested that 'marginalised' is a term used by the researcher simply to denote that the participants in this programme of research do not occupy a majority proportion within the population of the country in which they live. Rethinking the appropriateness of this term calls attention to the prototype of critical awareness that this

programme of research proposes. It is this innovative, positive direction that underscores the framework of the research presented in this dissertation and represents a significant departure from the ideology that Hegel brings into question.

Characteristics & current status of labour participation of marginalised populations in a global context

Participation rates and employment are key markers of success for economic growth, stability and economic success (ABS, 2010; DIAC, 2002; US Dept. of Labor, 2012). Marginalised and special populations have traditionally been viewed as challenging targets concerning employment and education rates in many English-speaking countries around the globe (DIAC, 2012; ABS, 2010; Statistics Canada, 2010). Indicative of the importance of working with marginalised groups is the fact that rates of migration are on the rise! Australia has a 25% share of immigrants in its total population, the United States of America (USA) 13.6%, and the United Kingdom (UK) 10.2%. Statistics from government sources in the USA, Canada, the UK and Australia reveal that migrants comprise a significant percentage of the populations of global main English speaking countries. In Australia for example, 40% of females in the Australian workforce are foreign-born (Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS), 2012). Indigenous peoples' employment rates in the USA, Canada and Australia cause additional concern for policy makers (Closing the Gap, 2013; DIAC, 2012; Statistics Canada, 2010). The deficits continue when reviewing other marginalised groups around the globe, and these deficits are deepened when viewed from young people's perspectives.

Redefining definitions

Terms of choice

The presented programme of research begins from a paradigm of new beginnings. One of the elements of this new paradigm is to begin from a space of co-created definitions that may differ from those that have been accepted traditionally. To begin with, the terms 'marginalised' and 'minority' are presented here as terms that acknowledge people coming from the margins of society, perhaps by virtue of race, ethnicity, culture, language, socio-economic status, education, age, gender or any number of defining features that an individual identifies with. The reality may be that there are features of 'oppression' that exist in these individuals lives, but the terms 'marginalised' and 'minority' are offered as acknowledgements of difference, rather than as a presupposition of deficit. Moreover, the terms 'aboriginal' and 'indigenous' are used interchangeably throughout this dissertation as recognition of self-identification by participants as belonging to some of the many and diverse first nations peoples that have lived on the Australian continent for millennia. This term is an acknowledgement of identification of the individual participants as belonging to, and coming from, certain traditional lands, cultures and values that may not be visibly evident in external appearance, but comprise an element of the individual's identity. The terms 'migrant' and 'immigrant' are also meant to denote the participants who have identified perhaps as Australian by virtue of upbringing and education, but whose birthplace and/or parents may not have been born on Australian soil. These individual participants may also

identify as culturally, socially, linguistically and ethnically other than Australian, but also are proud to be 'Australian' and may be of many derivations such as for example Sri-Lankan Australian, or Fijian Australian or Chilean Australian. From this basis of extending the 'strict' definitions of these terms, this research project presents a new paradigm starting with the questioning of extant definitions and bringing forward those suggested by the participants' voices.

Young adults versus 'youth'

The definition of the term 'young adults' forms a dilemma with regard to understanding statistics that compare populaces around the globe. This research project interviewed young people aged 18 to 29 years of age. Defining this age group formed a dilemma because of the differing cut off points of inclusion and exclusion for 'youth' or 'young adult' based upon guidelines imposed through legislation in various countries. In terms of statistics for this age group, there is a crossover of ages between youth and adult, depending upon country of residence. This 18-29 year age group spans across varying notions of youth as 25 years and under in the USA (DIAC, 2012), versus 18 and under in Australia (ABS, 2012), under 19 in Canada (Statistics Canada, 2010), and under 18 in the United Kingdom (United Kingdom Parliament, 2012). Statistics vis-à-vis career and employment for young adults in this project aged 15-29 years are, therefore, complex. To illustrate the importance of age definitions in employment statistics, it is an important starting point for this programme of research to examine varying 'youth unemployment' rates around the

globe.

In the USA, those people under 25 years of age are classified as 'youth'. According to the United States Department of Labor (2013), youth unemployment is 16%, while teenagers have an unemployment rate of 24.5%. Furthermore, 50.2% of the youth population was employed while the number of unemployed youth in July 2012 was 4 million. However, there are stark disparities depending upon racial and ethnic lines. For example, according to the Department of Labor, the youth jobless rate for 'whites' was 14.9% compared with 28.6% for 'blacks', 14.4 % for 'Asians', and 18.5% for 'Hispanics'. The huge disparity where black American youth have an unemployment rate at double the national average for white American youth indicates areas of concern for policy makers.

Similar statistics are evident in all of the major English speaking countries (MESC). For example, according to Statistics Canada (2013), 12% and 14% of the total youth are neither in education nor employed (NEET). Canadian statistics reflect large deficits vis-a-vis aboriginal youth and employment. In 2009, the unemployment rate among First Nations jumped sharply from 10.4% in 2008 to 13.9%. In 2008, employment among aboriginal youth aged 15 to 24 years was 45.1% (Statistics Canada, 2010). Additionally, there has been a marked growth in the young Aboriginal Canadian population according to Statistics Canada, 2006, in the years 2001 to 2006 Canada's aboriginal population grew 20.1%. Consequently, indigenous populations are much younger than non-indigenous populations, with a median age of 27 or 13 years younger than of non-aboriginals. These statistics

reveal that, in the future, this growing body of young aboriginals across the globe will logically form a percentage of the population that must succeed in the transition between school and work. Not only is the ethnic component of labour force members important, labour retention is indicated as needing attention. Retaining workers whose median age is 27 years, and whose ethnicity is not Caucasian will be key for future strong economies and labour forces.

In the United Kingdom statistics reveal a similar deficit position for marginalised youth. According to the UK Parliament statistics from February to April 2013, 950,000 young people aged 16-24 were unemployed. While these figures had decreased from the previous year, the unemployment rate for those aged 16-24 was 20.5% (Mirza-Davies, 2013). These statistics reveal there is a worsening employment position for young people in the United Kingdom which currently continues.

In the case of marginalised youth, the statistics reveal even further disparities of experience than those exhibited by mainstream youth. This deficit is clear in Australia. The ABS (2012) indicates that, in 2008 nearly half of all indigenous young people were either in full-time work, full-time education or part-time education and part-time work. This figure represents a 34% deficit when compared to their mainstream counterparts. Furthermore, 39% of young indigenous people were not engaged in the labour force. The rate of young indigenous females not in the labour force was greater than that of young indigenous males (49% as opposed to 29% (ABS, 2012). While there have been some improvements noted in indigenous employment and education rates as a whole, Indigenous young Australians are at a

significant disadvantage when compared to non-Indigenous youth over a range of social areas.

Additional areas of concern surround marginalised youth vis-a-vis social issues on a wider scale than suggested by deficits in employment and education. In 2011, the United Nations State of Indigenous Peoples report found that the World's Indigenous peoples made up one-third of the world's poorest peoples. According to the report, an Australian indigenous child has a life span 20 years less than his non-indigenous counterpart. Suicide rates of indigenous peoples, particularly youth, are higher than their non-indigenous compatriots, for example, in Canada, the Inuit rate of suicide is 11 times the national average. In the United States this same report indicates that a Native American is 62% more likely to commit suicide than the general population. Health-wise, an Indigenous American is also 600 times more likely to contract tuberculosis than a non-Indigenous American (United Nations, 2011). Statistics such as these reveal stark deficits between marginalised groups, especially indigenous peoples, and their non-marginalised counterparts. These statistics are a cause for concern, and the deficits are not limited to the indigenous peoples within these MESC countries.

Employment amongst Marginalised Migrant Groups

Employment rates for migrant groups across the globe indicate that a large number of unemployed people who do not speak English as their first language are at a significant disadvantage concerning employment opportunities when compared to their non-migrant, non-indigenous counterparts. In the case of Canada, very recent immigrants having been in

the country less than one year, aged 15 to 64 years old are recorded as having less participation in the Canadian labour market in contrast to Canadian born participants of the same age. Remarkably, women have 15% participation, whereas migrant males only have 7% (Statistics, Canada, 2010). With more than 85% of migrant females still unemployed four years after arrival and 93%of migrant males not participating in the work-force questions are raised concerning the causes of this significant group of people remaining outside the labour force. These statistics are stark reminders of issues of inequity and lack of access to career opportunities for marginalised populations.

In Australia, of the overseas born unemployed population, almost three-quarters (73% or 142,600 persons) were born in non-main English speaking countries (non-MESC) while 27% (53,400 persons) were born in MESC. Recent migrants accounted for 42% (83,100 persons) of the overseas-born unemployed and 58% (113,300 persons) were long term migrants (ABS, 2010).

The disparities in career and successful career transitions between migrants from non-English speaking countries versus those who speak English need to be explored and understood. As a result of the challenges that confront indigenous and migrant groups, the issues of career, transitions and marginalised populations are under review by policy makers around the world. Policies such as ‘Closing the Gap’ and ‘No Child Left Behind’ are indicative of recent attempts by the Australian and United States of America’s government to

address some of the issues facing marginalised groups.

The ongoing issue within Australia regarding unaccompanied minors who are asylum seekers also points to a need for in depth policy review vis-à-vis this group. Policy reviews have an historical tendency to work from viewing these populations from deficit positions, often highlighting the issues of gainful employment, the retention of marginalised groups in the workforce, and opportunities for advancement for marginalised populations (Dwyer, 2003; Goodwill & McCormick, 2012; Santoro, 2012). The current international focus on employment in the post-Global Financial crisis (GFC) world has brought additional attention to the need to reconceptualise employment and definitions of such terms as 'career', especially with regard to marginalised populations (SMH, 2013; Closing the Gap, 2013; Bombay, Mathison & Anisman, 2010). The present research programme suggests a new conceptualisation of career that is designed to capture the nuances and depth of insight that more accurately represent the diverse views of the multi-ethnic participants.

When viewed separately, indigenous and migrant populations would seem to have widely disparate contexts, histories and socio-economic bases. The present research attempts a novel approach to cross-cultural career psychology by suggesting that there are indeed some similarities of experience and historical/socio-economical bases which have led to similarities in outcomes for these populaces in accessing careers and career paths. Further, it takes a unique approach in suggesting that, rather than looking at deficits within these oft maligned populations, that instead, there is a focus on positive stories to identify what has

helped, and/or hindered them along their journey towards a successful career.

Migrant and indigenous youth participation in the labour force

One of the most important steps towards economic independence in society, and hence, strong sustainable societies in general, is entry into, and continued participation in, the labour force (ABS, 2010; Statistics Canada, 2012; DIAC, 2012; LSE Centre for Economic Performance, 2013). Conversely, being unemployed or not being able to participate in the labour force, has multiple negative impacts upon those affected including but not limited to: poverty, exclusion from mainstream way of life, and depression. Additionally, children's development is negatively impacted and unemployment often causes conflict within the home (Richardson, 2005). Over time, unemployment has derogatory impacts on the individual and his/her family, especially if it persists for a period of months and years. Within marginalised groups these impacts of unemployment exacerbate existing exclusions and financial issues that accompany migration and indigenous status (Richardson, 2005; Ungar, 2011; Gross, 2008; Fryer, 2012)

The Global Financial Crisis (GFC) has also brought the spotlight upon the need to understand the phenomenon of helping people transition into careers. With an increasingly integrated global economy, there is a critical need to understand how work and educational contexts for young marginalised individuals' affect career choice and hence, the transition into a career. Transitions are affected not only by career options and opportunity, these options and opportunity also impact career choice (Savickas, 1997; Dwyer, 2003; Britten & Borgen, 2010). Therefore, it is not only important to understand how individuals choose careers, it is important

to understand whether their choices are limited by factors affecting their transition into their chosen careers and how individuals respond to employment opportunities and mainstream work contexts. This programme of research is designed to establish the impact on transitions that opportunities, career access, and resources have upon young migrant and indigenous individuals trying to achieve a particular career pathway.

Success and career redefined?

Apart from the overwhelmingly negative global statistics, an additional component of the need for a paradigm shift in relation to marginalised groups is to acknowledge that existing definitions of career, from a Western cultural and theoretical base, may not be relevant, nor in fact, applicable to cultural groups from other points of origin. Western ideologies, while often representative of Western cultural norms, sometimes fail to incorporate the spectrum of factors that influence the 'lived' lives of people that inhabit predominantly Western economic and political systems (Ungar, 2011; Merritt, 2007; Kingsley, Phillips, Townsend & Henderson-Wilson (2010); Britten, Borgen & Wiggins, 2012). Thus, it has become apparent that there is a need for marginalised groups to self- define 'success' and 'career'. This need for creating collaborative definitions of these two distinct concepts springs from a desire to understand what the 'average' marginalised person understands about 'career' and 'success, rather than using existing 'superimposed' definitions which may not consider culturally differences. Furthermore, the premise of the research was to explore and illustrate the ways in which the unique personal experiences of migrant and indigenous youth have contributed to their definitions of 'career' and 'success'.

It has also become evident that using examples of excellence from mainstream society,

and as defined by Western knowledge bases, may not be useful for indigenous and migrant populations. For the purposes of achieving understanding of career and transition in an average individual or group's life, it is necessary to consider those people who inhabit the same group; that of the 'average' person. More specifically, for policies to be successful for the majority of the population, or the average member of the labour force, it is necessary to learn from these people i.e. the 'average' or majority member of the population's insights. To actively incorporate 'average' understandings of 'success' and 'career', rather than focusing on the rare examples of 'excellence' or the high achiever from any group, is to foster understanding of what the majority within marginalised groups consider is the 'norm' rather than the 'outliers' of these groups. The reality of life is that, amongst all populaces, the majority of people inhabit the medium range and only a rare few occupy the outlier ranges at both extremes of success and failure. For these reasons, this thesis focussed on marginalised young adult participants from all walks of life who self-identified as successful and sought to understand the factors that facilitated their success.

Transitions from school to career for marginalised young adults

Transitions, in and of themselves, cause stress. Transitions have been defined as a process undertaken as individuals move from one job, task, role or situation, to another. Super (1990) referred to these transitions as 'mini-cycles' and, as the world of work has changed from the idea of having and holding one career over the lifespan, so too has the definition of transition (Cable, 1999; Savickas, 1997). There are many models of transition in theory including those proposed by Super (1990), Myers & Cairo, (1992), Cable, (1999), Bridges, (1994), Giallo, Treyvaud, Matthews & Keinhuis, (2010), and Savickas, (1997). Kraft-Sayre & Pianta, (2000) offer an 'Ecological and Dynamic' model of transition that suggests that successful transitions are augmented by partnerships between individuals in transition, parents, family, teacher and

educational institution and the community. This model supports the notion raised in the constructivist life-career development model, as outlined by Savickas, (1993) and Cahill and Martland, (1996). These theories are based on the principle that a person's life situation influences work choices and also incorporates the notion that an individual's physical, social and cultural environment, and their values, experiences and languages affect their career pathways. For marginalised populations, these theories can apply.

Savickas (1997) also proposes the notion of a transition as a process, rather than a single, temporal event in time. According to Savickas (1997), in today's ever changing career world, the idea of 'career adaptability' was proposed as a replacement for the term 'career maturity' due to its usefulness in the exigencies of modern career development. The experience of being able to successfully manoeuvre the transition into a career by diverse individuals in a rapidly changing workforce is necessary for success for all populations within the world of twenty first century work (Cable, 1999).

Career and a working life or a life's work

A career has traditionally been defined as a 'job for life' but in the contemporary world of global recessions, new technologies and new organizational structures for work, traditional jobs and the idea of a 'career for life' are anachronistic (Bridges, 1994; Cable, 1999). Almost twenty years ago Bridges (1994) noted that "Today's organization is rapidly being transformed from a structure built out of jobs into a field of work needing to be done" (p. 64). In the contemporary workplace, his words are even more appropriate for a global society that has seen the rise of the internet, work-share options, working from home, and

huge global infrastructures that span multiple countries (Cable, 1999; Butterfield, Borgen, Amundson & Erlebach, 2009; Dwyer, 2003).

The acknowledgement of multiple changes in the technological, and employment bases of the labour force have resulted in a body of research devoted to career transitions and the questions surrounding the changing notions of career (Cable, 1999; Savickas, 1997; Santoro, 2012; Marshall, 2002; Butterfield, Borgen, Amundson & Maglio, 2005; Bridges, 1994; De Cieri et al. 2009; Super, 1990). Yet, with much acknowledged change occurring in the field of career psychology, career transitions and modern day life, there has been little research regarding these notions vis-a-vis marginalised populations and their successful career pathways in main English speaking countries (MESC) around the globe. Moreover, there has been little research in relation to career success and successful transitions from school to career, particularly for marginalised young adults (Britten & Borgen, 2010).

The quest for a new beginning and new definitions of successful career transitions

It was a core tenet of this programme of research to begin with a basis of 'not knowing' and 'not being the expert' in this field. This foundation came from a commitment to listening to, and ethically representing, the stories presented by marginalised groups, and also as a means of honouring stories that have traditionally been told to these peoples by researchers (Kingsley, Phillips, Townsend & Henderson-Wilson, 2010; Goodwill & McCormick, 2012; Ungar, 2011). Underpinning all aspects of the research programme was also the commitment to transparency and a spirit of collaboration.

The aim of this transparency and collaboration was to deliberately open a space within which to create new collaborative definitions of 'career' and 'success' and, ergo, a successful transition into a career. The participants' ideas and insights were the basis of these new definitions to more accurately understand how marginalised young adults achieved the benchmarks they deemed as 'doing well' on their own terms. The new conceptualisations (see below) created by this project feature components of change, culture and ethnicity and may not be succinct or concise to capture the essence of the phenomena.

Life journeys or journeys of life?

The journey of life begins at school and ends at the conclusion of a successful career, at least as commonly experienced within western theory and hegemony, but the question remains whether this assumption is applicable across the spectrum of the world's different ethnic and cultural groups. The pursuit of a successful career is not a one-step process (Cable, 1999; Bridges, 1994; Savickas, 1997), but rather a life-long journey, often commenced prior to graduation from the secondary school system (Bridges, 1994; Super, 1990; Savickas, 1997; Cable, 1999).

From this new reality of work and the ongoing changes in the field of employment and labour, many questions remain concerning the retention and attraction of skilled workers around the globe. Such questions include: How do we facilitate successful transitions from school to career for young people? Are all populations subject to similar constraints and obstacles? Are marginalised populations more at risk of not succeeding in their career

journey? Is the journey towards career similar across a spectrum of colours and ethnicity? Are the factors that help and hinder marginalised youth in this journey toward a successful career similar or disparate? Is it possible that, through listening to the voices of successful marginalised youth, we can learn from their experiences and teach future generations of policy makers that there are some similarities of experience and thus process, that facilitate successful careers for non-mainstream populaces? These are some of the questions that this research project was intended to resolve.

To augment successful career transitions through a myriad of changes including but not limited to factors such as: location, place, time, environment, society, culture, socio-economic status, family and multiple other factors, the logical approach is to listen to the voices of marginalised and ethnically diverse individuals who have successfully negotiated this transition. The shape, nature and range of experiences that constitute a transition from school to career in the 21st century should not be minimized or 'boxed' in by restrictive definitions.

For transitions and developments in careers for marginalised youth, it is necessary to show the need to expand and grow definitions so that different ideas and new meanings are co-created. This co-creation of definitions has the intent of giving depth and illuminating the multivariate components of successful coping strategies with transitions across the life span. Confusion, suffering, endurance, clarity, pain and achievement are all components of experiences that help and hinder individuals to negotiate change. Stories of survival, courage, resilience and triumph scatter the path of change, (Duncan, Miller & Sparks, 2007) especially

in terms of non-mainstream populations. In the present research, a variety of aspects are explored that have helped and hindered marginalised and special populations in their individual experience of the successful transition from school to career to bring a rich depth of understanding and improve perceptions regarding this widely underreported phenomenon.

Research aims and design

Cross-cultural psychology and indigenous psychology are fields that are continually expanding in dimensions of academic contribution, therapeutic interventions, careers, and counselling. Not only are these fields expanding as a result of the demand for social justice and inclusion, which is the result of a diverse and rapidly growing population around the globe, their expansion is also attributable to the recognition that a 'one size fits all programme' does not necessarily apply in most situations, especially when dealing with vulnerable or special populations (Goodwill & McCormick, 2012; Priest, Paradies, Gunthorpe, Cairney & Sayers, 2011; Case & Hunter, 2012). Debate in the field of cultural psychology suggests that researchers cannot separate individuals from the contexts within which they grow (Adams, 2005; Heine & Lehman, 2004; Kim & Markus, 1999; Markus & Kitayama, 1991).

According to Chen (2006), narrative methods create a space for participants to make sense of their lived experiences, and being able to share these experiences affords opportunities that free participants from existing societal restraints (Mirza & Joseph, 2010). This research acknowledges this philosophical perspective but moves forward to inhabit a

new space co-created with the participants, on a journey based on life stories, curiosity, respect and an expressed desire to learn.

The history of research with vulnerable and special populations has, until recently, been associated with hegemonic power structures, and often based on the failings and negative issues facing these populations (Kingsley, Phillips, Townsend, Henderson-Wilson, 2010; Merritt, 2007; Goodwill & McCormick, 2012; Whitesell, Mitchell, Spicer & the Voices of the Indian Teen Projects Team, 2009; Britten & Borgen, 2010). This history has been based on a number of factors which have led to outcomes that are problematic for marginalised groups (Kingsley, Phillips, Townsend, Henderson-Wilson, 2010; Ungar, 2011; Merritt, 2007; Britten & Borgen, 2012; Goodwill & McCormick, 2012; Case & Hunter, 2012; Woodger & Cowan, 2010; Whitesell, Mitchell, Spicer & the Voices of the Indian Teen Projects Team, 2009; Marshall, 2002; Santoro, 2010; Juntenen et al, 2001). The research revisits the positive and instead of employing external Western paradigms of extrinsic benchmarks of success, utilizes a methodology that explores a combination of factors using critical incidents. Therefore, it was a prime consideration in this study to ensure that participants were randomly self-selected; self-identified as successful, and were given the opportunity to review their semi-structured qualitative interviews for the purposes of editing/deletion or additional comments.

By framing the research in this way, it becomes based not on the social difficulties and problems of marginalised communities, but rather upon how marginalised young people

have negotiated living within the context of a Western system of politics, economics and society and have succeeded in their career transitions. The research also identifies the varying means that these youth have used to successfully walk through, alongside, outside of, or within this system to self-identify as successful in their current aspirations. Thus, this research project is a unique, positive view of learning from the experiences of marginalised groups of people.

Marginalised populations and the impact of imposed definitions

Aboriginals or indigenous peoples globally have long been recognized as having minority status (Juntenen, et. al, 2001). Governmental policy and programmes target the 'issues' that are presented by the people who are deemed 'minority'. A growing body of research has investigated the impact of marginalisation and 'minority' status, to find that the experience of belonging to a 'minority' group can have negative impacts including, but not limited to: lower self-esteem, internalized feelings of low self-worth and oppression, feelings of demoralization, and a decreased quality of life that comes from lower access to resources, and lower socioeconomic status relative to other non-minority status groups in society (Case & Hunter, 2012; Pederson, Anderson & Curtis, 2012; Woodger & Cowan, 2010; White, 2007).

According to Ungar (2011), from strong communities come strong families, and from strong families, come strong children. It follows, therefore that, from strong children, a positive, hopeful future may be initiated and sustained for youth from all populations, especially those from vulnerable populations (Britten & Borgen, 2010; Ungar, 2011; Masten, Best, & Garmezy, 1990). Despite this attention to indigenous people's well-being as a 'hot' political focal point in many post-colonial countries, (Closing the Gap, 2013; DIAC, 2012;

Statistics Canada, 2010) and a necessity for positive growth economically, little research in this field has included the voices of the population.

The increased attention on improving well-being for indigenous populations by governments around the world in post-colonial societies is a step toward the acknowledgement that these populations face increased health risks which concomitantly bring a number of interrelated issues to the population (Dept. of Health & Aging, 2010; Statistics Canada, 2010; ABS, 2010). Disparities in academic and health achievements between indigenous and non-indigenous populations have long been a concern in health and educational fields around the globe (Ungar, 2011).

Increased risk of failure to graduate, unemployment, drug & alcohol abuse, suicide, family separation, cannot be interpreted as an outcome of a single factor (Luthar, 2006; Horton & Wallender, 2001; Case & Hunter, 2012). It is more often the result of a series of complex causes, over periods of hundreds of years that cannot be dealt with in isolation. These causes need to be understood at a grassroots level, so that positive changes can be initiated at the level of bureaucracy and programme implementation, as well as within immediate families and the communities within which they exist.

Positive impacts of employment and labour participation

Migrant communities that are labelled as 'minority' by governments such as Canada, Australia, and the USA, (DIAC, 2012; Statistics Canada, 2010; ABS, 2010) may also identify as having minority status. At present little research is being done on the ways

in which this marginalised and often isolated group are managing the transition into career pathways when they are can proceed into the labour force, and their ability to access educational opportunities. The insights of the participants in this research project may also help facilitate career pathways for refugees and promote feelings of inclusion and value through participation in the workforce of their new society.

Being gainfully employed is one of the many factors that is well established as having positive effects on mental health (Brooks, 1996; Keating, 2009). Not being legally able to participate in the labour force, or having a history of not being welcomed into the workforce (Dwyer, 2003) has historically been shown to have negative ramifications, not only upon migrants but upon negative community perceptions of this populace. With negative prevailing attitudes from the community at large, any positive contributions that this group may bring to the society in general can be undermined (Di Cieri et al., 2009). The parallels between perceptions of indigenous peoples and immigrants by those who inhabit the 'so- called' mainstream majority are, interesting and simultaneously, reproving (Richardson, 2005; Ungar, 2011). It is not unusual, for indigenous people and all migrants, to be placed into one negative category, with little understanding of these populations' prevailing living conditions, or imposed legal guidelines regarding the ability to work.

The targeting of groups in society, ethnically and by geographic location has negative impacts on the community at large. Ungar (2011) argues that "Police seek and find more delinquency where they choose to look, meaning they are involved in an activity of co-

construction in which neighborhood strengths are overlooked or devalued" p. 1745. Nor is it common to celebrate the successes of the gamut of people and the wealth of knowledge and experiences of those who inhabit the spheres we define as 'marginalised'. Ungar (2011) contends that "it is important to understand that racial, ethnic and socioeconomic context are critical elements to consider when designing interventions that will not only prevent vulnerability but also promote the processes associated with community-wide resilience in situations where there is cumulative disadvantage" p. 1747. From this research programme that highlights experiences from the margins, there is an apparent need to make a more universally valid, contextually and culturally-relevant model of entering careers and feeling valued, and successful as a labour participant.

Comparing indigenous populations' experiences with those of migrants in relation to career and transitions is generally absent from the literature (Britten & Borgen, 2010; McCormick, 1996; Goodwill & McCormick, 2012). Indeed, many would argue that, to suggest that there may be similarities of experience between two such diverse groups, negates and diminishes the important and marked differences that separate these populaces. However, the aim of this research project was to build a bridge between the similarities of experience between two marginalised groups and to identify common experiences that underpin the experience of work and success. Bridges between populations, and the existence of some similarities between the experiences of marginalised populations, has been an integral component of post-modern cross-cultural theory (Chen, 2006; Bombay, Mathison &

Anisman, 2010; Merritt, 2007; Willis, 2008; Blum & Rinehart, 1997). The identification of these similarities does not diminish difference. Instead, through building bridges between experiences there can be an understanding of shared goals, shared beliefs in the future, and the hope for a successful and valued contribution to society as a whole.

In an academic setting there are a number of reasons, both necessary and ethically valid, to work proactively against extant stereotypes and generalizations, and to discourage the grouping of distinct communities under one banner. This research explores two distinctly different populations, with multiple distinctions each under the banner of 'aboriginal/ indigenous' and 'immigrant'. More than this, this research project explores 'individual' experiences. It is not the purpose of this research to generalize nor group these individual experiences into one indistinguishable conglomerate. Rather, it is the aim of this project to ask migrants and indigenous youth about their own individual experiences of the transition between school and career, and from these unique experiences, compare and contrast what these experiences might tell us of varying ways which policy and programmes may foster and reproduce these successes.

From these unique stories, this project will establish whether there are similarities of experience, and if so, what forms the basis of helping marginalised youth across a broad spectrum to successfully gain a foothold into the career of their choosing. From these semi-structured interviews, and after individual consultations with each participant regarding the validity of the themes identified from the interviews, it becomes apparent that while

differences are evident, similarities in experience between these diverse populations may also exist.

To ensure a continued commitment to transparency and ethical representation of voice, it was important to utilize a methodology throughout the research programme that would be capable of capturing the 'voices' of an ethnically diverse labour force and honouring the words they evinced. This methodology required a degree of thematic investigation that would allow a comparative analysis between ethnically diverse marginalised groups. This led to the implementation of the enhanced critical incident technique (ECIT) and the use of 'narrative' as the basis of interviews for the project. This was purposely selected to honour the multi-cultural traditions of migrant and indigenous oral story telling histories.

From the interviews and the use of the ECIT methodology, features were identified that participants' believed were helpful or hindering in their transition from school to career (Butterfield, Borgen, Maglio & Amundson, 2005; Britten & Borgen, 2010). The use of narrative to identify these features does not limit the inquiry but rather, expands the possibilities of research arising from the outcomes. Oral traditions, storytelling and the retelling of stories are a part of the historical and social traditions of many cultures around the globe, including indigenous societies (Kingsley et al. 2010; Abbott, 2004; McCormick, 1996; Carless & Douglas, 2007; Crossley, 2000; Reid, 2007). The principal concern of this project was not to wrestle with the historical veracity of the participants' stories but rather, to hear

their stories about what they believed to have happened and how these experiences helped them to successfully transition from school to career. This allowed rich stories to elucidate a phenomenon in ways that would not occur through a quantitative-based programme of research.

Specific Research Questions

Five papers are presented that examine the factors the help and hinder marginalised youth in their successful transition between school and career. Taken together, the papers address a series of research questions. These questions predominantly revolve around the ethics of conducting research with marginalised youth, successful transitions, and the identification of the factors that help and hinder these youth on their career journeys. Each research question, and the relevant paper, is summarized in Figure 1.

Paper 1 reports on the ethical issues regarding the conduct of research with vulnerable and special populations. It explores the ethical dilemmas facing a researcher conducting seemingly 'innocent' research questions, such as career transitions, and the reality of how even semi-structured interviews may trigger unexpected responses, or cause emotional distress on the part of the recipient. Hence, the duty of care facing the ethical researcher is critical in relation to research with vulnerable populations. This paper illustrates some of the dilemmas that may arise, and discusses the need for researchers to be aware of resources should participants suffer distress during research interviews, and in the pre or post interview period.

Paper 2 is a case study report of the specific methodology utilized for the project that is the subject of this dissertation. The paper discusses the various benefits of using the Enhanced Critical Incident Technique, rather than a variety of other qualitative methodologies. The importance of utilizing the ECIT springs not only from the narrative format, but also from the analysis of the data. In the ECIT, it is important to note that the sample size is based on the number of critical incidents (CIs) arising from the data, and not from the number of participants. In Paper 2, the history and standardization of ECIT is discussed, as are the advantages of using this technique when research participants come from special and vulnerable populations (Britten & Borgen, 2010, Goodwill & McCormick, 2012). The ECIT was employed not simply due to the standardization and credibility checks that are outlined, but also because this technique has been used previously with aboriginal and special populations (McCormick, 1996; Butterfield, Borgen, Maglio & Amundson, 2005; Britten & Borgen, 2010; Goodwill & McCormick, 2012; Britten, Borgen and Wiggins, 2012.

Paper 3 reported on the outcomes of Phase I of the research project: the factors that helped and hindered migrant youth to do well in the transition between school and career. The paper reports the outcomes that were identified by the participants as helpful or hindering to them in their journeys. The study described in Paper 3 was designed to determine whether factors that helped transitions from school to career could be categorized and if commonality of experience existed within this migrant group. The migrant phase identified the following factors as facilitating a successful transition into career: 1) Achieving a new level of self-understanding, 2) family, 3) wellness, 4) career/work, 5) education, 6) support networks, and

7) culture and ethnicity.

Paper 4 reported the outcomes of Phase II of the project: factors that helped and hindered indigenous youth in the transition from school to career. As in Paper 3, it was designed to determine whether factors could be categorized and if there was some commonality of experience among the participants. Analogous to Paper 3, the sample size was determined by the number of critical incidents, and not the number of participants. Outcomes from the indigenous phase of the project identified the following factors as helpful to the participants in their successful transitions between school and career: 1) family, 2) achieving a new level of self-understanding, 3) role models, 4) support, 5) wellness, 6) education, 7) stability, 8) community resources/access, 9) opportunity to access resources, 10) work experience, 11) aboriginality and cultural attachment, 12) finances, and 13) prejudice and low expectations.

Paper 5 reports the outcomes of Phase III of the research project. It presents the comparisons between the migrant and indigenous phases of the research project, and reports commonalities and differences of experience between migrant and indigenous youth in their experiences of a successful transition between school and career. This paper was designed to determine whether marginalised groups experienced similarities when identifying factors that helped them in their transitions to career. The outcomes from this phase of the research project identified the following factors as contributing to a successful transition into career for both populations: 1) achieving a new level of self-understanding, 2) family, 3) wellness, support

networks, 5) community resources/access, 6) education, 7) role models, 8) work & work experience, 9) stability, 10) ethnicity/aboriginality and cultural attachment, 11) prejudice & low expectations.

Paper 1: Self-awareness of Dual Roles When Using the CIT (Critical Incident Technique): Opening Pandora's Box?

Paper 1 discussed the ethics of research using the Critical Incident Technique as developed by Flanagan, (1956) and Woolsey (1986). It discussed the many issues facing an ethical researcher when using narrative or qualitative interviews for research purposes, and specifically when researching special populations. It also discussed the need for the researcher to be aware of the 'affect' of the interviewee and to constantly monitor interviewees for signs of trauma or other possible areas of concern. In effect, Paper 1 discussed the need for the researcher to wear dual hats while conducting research and being cognizant of the needs of the participants, even more so than the participants might be aware of their own needs.

In addition to the affective requirements associated with research involving potentially vulnerable populations, Paper 1 also considered the need for methodologies that honoured cultural and traditional mores when working with special populations. Specifically, it illustrated the need to allow space and freedom for participants to make sense of their own lived experiences and feel empowered by the research process.

Paper 1 Publication History

The author submitted the paper for review on October 9, 2011. The paper was accepted for publication and was published in 'Psychology Research' Feb, 2012. The author of the present dissertation contributed 90% of Paper 1.

Self-Awareness of Dual Roles When Using the Critical Incident Technique: Opening Pandora's Box?

Lianne Britten

Macquarie University

NSW Australia

William Borgen

University of British Columbia

BC Canada

Mark Wiggins

Macquarie University

NSW Australia

Author Note

Correspondence pertaining to this paper should be directed to Lianne Britten, Department of Psychology, Macquarie University, NSW 2109. Email: Lianne.Britten@mq.edu.au

Self-Awareness of Dual Roles When Using the Critical Incident Technique: Opening Pandora's Box?

Abstract

The issue of conducting ethical research that considers the wider impact on the participant is not a new idea in academia. It is the constant 'elephant in the room' that exists for any researcher who works with people and this is accentuated when working with vulnerable populations. This article is written as a cautionary note and offers an ethical and moral means of conducting research in the moral quagmire of honouring people's stories, words, behaviours and thoughts. The purpose is for the researcher to note the possible impact that the telling of such stories may have, not just on the storyteller, but also on the listener. It is meant to serve as one of the ways to minimize harm to participants and researchers, and maximize the potential of the widely used qualitative research tool, the Critical incident technique. Following in the footsteps of the pilot study by Butterfield, Borgen & Amundson (2009) regarding the impact of a qualitative research interview on participants, combined with previous post-modern analyses, it is clear that any type of research can have an impact on participants. This article positions itself as a means of advocating that a researcher working with potentially vulnerable populations should wear 'dual hats' when conducting research and, at all times, should be aware of the impact upon participants during the research process. Further, it explores the need to the potential impact first and foremost in the mind of the researcher prior to embarking upon any research with vulnerable and special populations.

Keywords: Critical Incident Technique, immigrant, career, youth, special populations

Self-Awareness of Dual Roles When Using the Critical Incident Technique: OpeningPandora's Box?

Origins of CIT

The Critical Incident Technique is a qualitative research tool that was introduced after World War II, growing out of the Aviation Psychology Programme for the US Air force (Flanagan, 1954). Its continued popularity, deployment and development has been driven by a desire, through organizational and industrial psychology, to identify key personnel for jobs, methods of determining job requirements, and effective system design.

Flanagan (1954) initially established the CIT as a set of procedures to enable the systematic analysis of effective and ineffective performance of pilots. The five steps include: i) to identify the aim of the study and the research question; ii) to identify the types of incidents to be collected; iii) to identify the means of data collection; iv) the analysis of the data; and v) the categorization and codification of the data. More generally, the CIT represents a set of procedures for systematically identifying behaviours that contribute to the success or failure of individuals or organisations in specific situations (Butterfield, Borgen, Amundson & Maglio, 2005). Since its inception, this technique has traditionally been applied with little regard to the psychological impact of using this technique upon the individuals who are being asked to recall events (Butterfield, Borgen, Amundson & Maglio, 2005, Bradbury-Jones & Tranter, 2008).

CIT has, typically, been used as a means of collecting data from an exclusively cognitive perspective. The main premise that underlies CIT is the recall and verbalisation of a critical incident (Butterfield, Borgen, Amundson & Maglio, 2009).Such incidents are typically thought to constitute memorable experiences.

However, the traditional method of employing CIT as a benign method of extracting information from 'experts' in the field, and not paying heed to the possible psychological impact on the participant, belies the fact that the critical incidents to which respondents refer, may trigger significant psychological distress. It is worth noting that Butterfield, Borgen & Amundson (2009) underscore this potential and suggest that ethical mandates need to be kept at the forefront of any research to minimize damage or 'harm' to participants. Ethical mandates pertaining to research are clear in their recommendation to researchers to place respect, reciprocity, equality, survival and protections, responsibility, spirit and integrity at the centre of any research project. However, the traditional approach to CIT is one that involves the collection of direct observations of human behaviour "in such a way as to facilitate their potential usefulness in solving practical problems" (Flanagan 1954, p. 327).

Flanagan (1954) defined the Critical Incident Technique as a qualitative research method designed to enable the recall and description of critical incidents, the data from which could be used to determine optimal strategies to fulfil job requirements such as personnel selection, job roles/responsibilities and identifying errors. Originally, Flanagan defined an incident as "any observable human activity that is sufficiently complete in itself to permit inferences and predictions to be made about the person performing the act" (p. 327). Norman, Redfern, Tomalin & Oliver, (1992) extended this definition in the context of CIT by suggesting that the term 'critical incident' refers to a defined event, by a person involved, who is enabled to make an evaluation of the positive or negative impact that the incident has had upon them or their situation. Further, Flanagan concluded that exhaustiveness or redundancy is needed to have been achieved for the event to be classified as a true 'critical incident'. Redundancy is achieved when there are no new critical incidents mentioned by the participants, or when one participant exhausts the category by no longer mentioning that category

throughout their interview (Butterfield, Borgen, Maglio & Amundson, 2009).

There are a number of steps associated with the process of CIT, the first of which is to identify the aim of the study and the research question. To help ensure clarity with regard the research question, it is important to be clear about the aim of the research. According to Butterfield, Borgen, Amundson & Maglio (2005) "understanding the general aim of the activity is intended to answer two questions: (a) what is the objective of the activity; and (b) what is the person expected to accomplish who engages in the activity?"(p.478). This initial step is critical in ensuring that the original aims are adhered to. If there is little clarity regarding the research question and the aims of the research, then the project itself will not be able to capitalize on the nature of 'critical incidents'. If there are no clear sets of events or behaviours upon which the project is based using CIT, then the focus will be lost and the project can lose direction.

The second step in CIT is to identify the types of incidents to be collected. The use of CIT is optimal when specific incidents, thoughts and behaviours are collected from those specifically able to judge if and how these incidents may be significant (Butterfield, Borgen, Amundson & Maglio, 2005). If there is no ability to collect 'specific' data, then the ability to judge the significance of the incidents is diminished and can lead to a profusion of ideas, categories while the analysis of the data could mean findings that are meaningless or have wide variations.

The third step of the CIT is the means of data collection, and this process can include direct observations, record forms, open-ended questionnaires, in person open-ended interviews, individual, or group interviews (Flanagan, 1954). While there are some disadvantages associated with open-ended interviews, including the possible distortion of events from a retrospective perspective of a situation, it is possibly the most frequently used method of CIT data collection (Angelides, 2001, McCormick, 1997, Britten &

Borgen, 2010, Butterfield, Borgen & Amundson, 2008, Butterfield, Borgen, Amundson & Maglio, 2005).

The flexibility of CIT is an advantage in collecting naturalistic data, since the optimal sample size can be determined by the number of critical incidents, rather than by the actual number of participants in the study. However, this can also lead to confusion, as some projects may have as few as eight participants and yet record over 550 incidents (Britten & Borgen, 2010) or may include multiple participants with relatively few incidents (Butterfield, Borgen, Amundson & Maglio, 2005 & 2009). According to Flanagan (1954), Woolsey (1986) and Butterfield, Borgen, Amundson & Maglio, (2005, 2009), there is no set guideline as to how many incidents is sufficient for the purposes of determining a critical incident. Rather, it is more important that there is sufficient detail relating to the incident in question.

The fourth step in the Critical Incident Technique is the analysis of the data. As outlined by Flanagan (1954), this step is seen as the most difficult and the most important in the CIT process. Woolsey (1986) and Butterfield, Borgen, Amundson & Maglio (2005, 2009) concur, noting that the analysis of the data is both time consuming and comprehensive. To maintain validity, large amounts of data must be analysed, cross-checked and coded rigorously and with expert attention to categorization and codifying. Creating a categorization scheme and codifying multiple incidents within these categories involves a three tier process as outlined by Butterfield, Borgen, Amundson & Maglio, (2005). The first step in this process involves identifying the frame of reference for the purpose of evaluation. Secondly, it is necessary to formulate categories that emerge from the data and which require insight, expertise and experience on the part of the analyst. Such insight, expertise and experience are difficult to acquire and it is for these reasons, that vast amounts of data are often accumulated.

The final step in categorization and codification is to determine whether the data will be reported in a specific or general manner. These decisions and the ultimate reporting of the data (step 5) can lead to wide variations in results and may also cause confusion for the researchers following the CIT. There are distinct differences in choosing to report the data in a more general manner, rather than focussing on specific categories and limiting the data to that area (Butterfield, Borgen, Amundson & Maglio, 2009). Yet, it is this openness and flexibility which gives CIT distinct advantages over some other techniques with regard collecting otherwise unknown or unstudied phenomena, while honouring the participant's voice and acknowledging the vast diversity of cultural and ethnic people.

The utility of CIT lies in its flexibility and the scope of the tool to inquire about a plethora of phenomena, behaviours and their impact. According to Flanagan (1954), it "does not consist of a single rigid set of rules governing such data collection. Rather, it should be thought of as a flexible set of principles that must be modified and adapted to meet the specific situation at hand" (p.335). Flanagan (1954) defined a number of steps in the CIT methodology for the purposes of replication and consistency in the process of conducting research with the CIT method, and these are the basis for suggestions by Butterfield, Borgen, Amundson & Maglio (2005), for the application of Enhanced CIT. (See Figure 1 below)

Due to a number of criticisms and limitations with regard to the validity of the CIT, Butterfield, Borgen, Amundson & Maglio, (2005), added nine steps for the purposes of assessing the credibility of the outcomes of CIT. These new additions have become known as the Enhanced CIT (ECIT). The ECIT is a development of CIT introduced by Butterfield, Borgen, Amundson

& Maglio (2005) for the purposes of adding some standardization to the tool, enabling credibility checks, and is one solution to some of the issues associated with using the CIT.

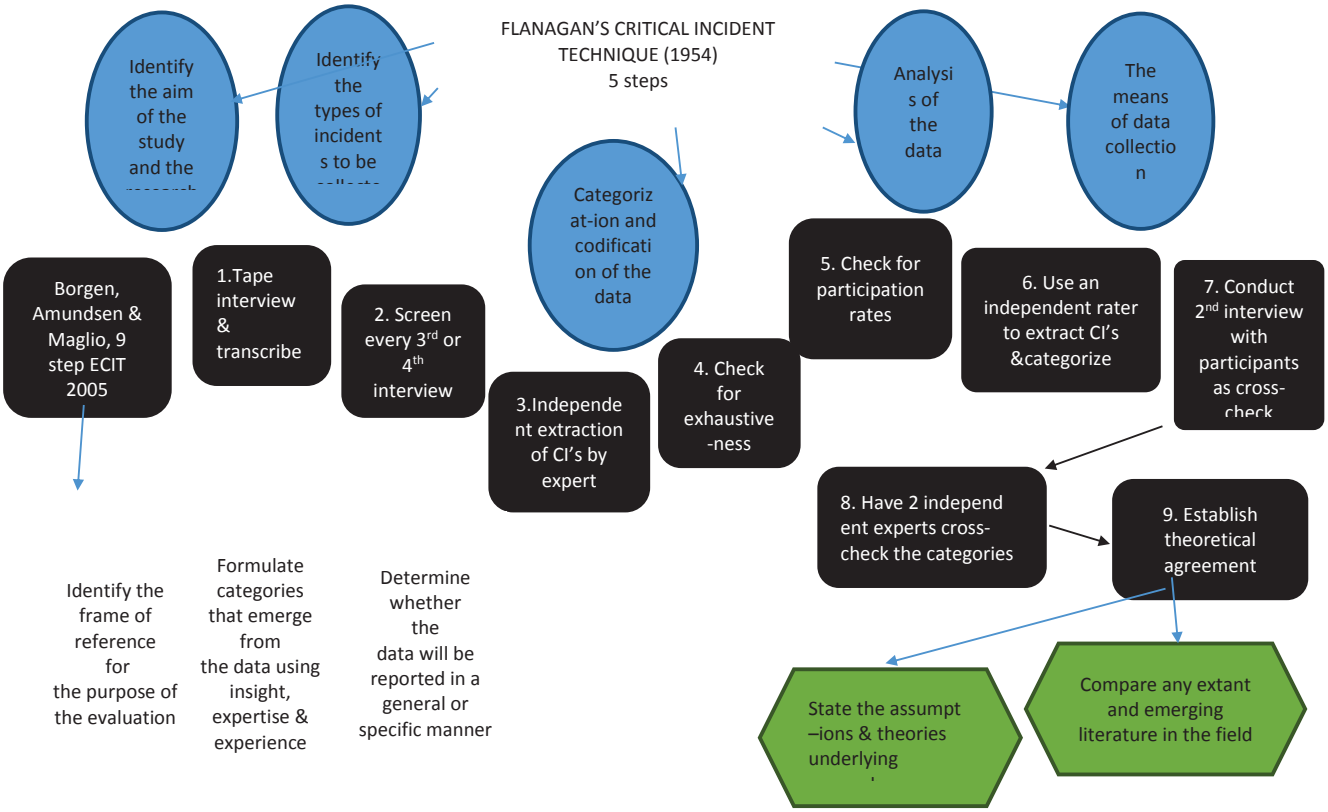

Figure 1: CIT & ECIT Steps

One of the criticisms of CIT has been the potential lack of validity of the tool in terms of the meaning of what constitutes a 'critical incident' (Bradbury-Jones & Tranter, 2008). This criticism stems from the flexibility of the term, but it is also a question based on the reality of the difference between the perceived impact of the critical incident on both the phenomenon being studied and the outcome of the critical incident. The question becomes more about how we know if an event actually fulfils the definition of the term 'critical incident'. Both Flanagan and Butterfield recommend a more positivist means of analysing and collecting data, which attempts to balance this uncertainty with a number of credibility checks as advocated by Butterfield, Borgen, Amundson & Maglio, (2005) in the ECIT. The credibility checks are added to the 'analysis and the reporting of the data' stage of CIT.

The first of the credibility checks in Enhanced CIT is to tape the interviews, and then to have these interviews transcribed verbatim. These interviews are then screened by an expert on a regular basis. Butterfield, Borgen, Amundson & Maglio, (2005) suggest that every third or fourth interview be included as a means of ensuring that the CIT protocols are followed and that the interviewer is not 'leading' the participant. This check not only functions as a means of ensuring that correct protocols are being followed, but it also serves as a measure of screening out 'white noise' or, incidents not critical to the phenomena, and focussing on the central elements of the research question. This does not eliminate the possibility of further explication and exploration of the phenomena, but with the word-for-word transcription and screening by an expert in the field, it strengthens the ability of the researcher to hone in on the more relevant concepts and events so that incidents can fit the definition of a 'critical incident' more clearly.

Butterfield, Borgen, Amundson & Maglio (2005) also suggest that there

should be an independent extraction of the critical incidents from the data by an expert in the specific field of research, to determine whether the incident fits a critical incident or rather a 'wish list' item. The independent expert for this research programme, were Dr. William Borgen, and Dr. Lee Butterfield. Both Dr. Borgen and Dr. Butterfield have pioneered the ECIT with marginalised youth and were considered exceptional experts in the field of career development, and marginalised populations (Butterfield, Borgen & Amundsen, 2005; 2005a; Butterfield, Borgen, Maglio & Amundson, 2009; Butterfield, 2001; Butterfield, Borgen, Amundson, Erlebach, 2010; Britten & Borgen, 2010; Britten, Borgen & Wiggins, 2012). The fourth credibility check is listed as checking for exhaustiveness, which is then followed by the fifth check for participation rates.

The sixth credibility check involves the use of an independent rater who also extracts critical incidents and places them independently into the categories. This occurs by having the independent rater, randomly choosing 25% of the incidents and placing them into categories. This should be matched against the researcher's match rate for a rate of not less than 80% (Andersson & Nilsson, 1964).

The seventh credibility check is the second interview which is the cross-check of the incidents and the categorisation of the incidents by the participant him/herself. The purpose of this check is to ensure that the participant's words have been honoured and to allow participants the opportunity to correct, edit or delete those incidents that they consider feel did not represent their story correctly.

The eighth credibility check involves having two independent experts in the field cross-check the categories and participation rates. Finally, the ninth step that Butterfield, Borgen, Amundson & Maglio (2005) suggest is a need for theoretical agreement in two ways. The first is to state the assumptions and theories underlying the research and the second is to compare any existent or emerging literature in the area

where the study is being conducted.

The additional steps that Butterfield, Borgen, Amundson & Maglio (2005) have added to the CIT not only add some form of standardization to data collection, but they also form a clear guideline for researchers. This helps to clarify the research protocol and maintain a consistent approach to the CIT interviews. However, while noting these changes, it is important to acknowledge that, even with these additions to the CIT, there remains a perception of a benign approach to data acquisition. It is also necessary, as noted previously, to understand that this assumption is not possible when using narrative as a form of research inquiry (Butterfield, Borgen & Amundson, 2009).

Advantages of the CIT

CIT can be used for a variety of study purposes and across a wide variety of areas (Butterfield, Borgen, Amundson & Maglio, 2005; 2009; Schluter, Seaton & Chaboyer, 2008; Britten & Borgen, 2010; Bradbury-Jones & Tranter, 2008). The foci range from looking at helping and hindering factors in the workplace, to studying effective and ineffective ways of behaving, collecting functional or behavioural descriptions of events or problems, or determining factors that are vital to an event or activity (Butterfield, Borgen, Maglio & Amundson, 2009; Bedi, Davis & Williams, 2005). In all of these studies however, there is a need for human participants to include their insight and expertise into the area of interest.

This opportunity for self-insight is one of the main advantages of the CIT, but it is also an area for caution. It is often necessary when using this technique to go beyond looking at the 'critical incident' as separate from the person talking about it and rather, to look at the wide ranging impact of such interviews and discussions on the individuals participating in such studies. This is a result of the unpredictable nature of storytelling. In narratives, the storyteller may divulge unexpected or possibly traumatic information, even in seemingly 'safe' research areas. It is often not possible to predict the ways in which oral narratives

can impact the participant. Whenever conducting research with vulnerable populations, the use of the CIT brings with it a need for constant awareness of any changes in demeanour or 'affect' on the part of the participant. This is necessary to ensure that any possible harm to the participant is minimized and appropriate referrals or actions are taken to ensure the participant's safety (Butterfield, Borgen & Amundson, 2009). Another advantage of the CIT is its ability to be used with cross-cultural populations. There is noteworthy evidence of the need for research within non- mainstream communities to be not only empathic, ethical and respectful, but also for it to follow epistemology that is regarded as central to the cultures that are being studied (Kingsley, Phillips, Townsend, & Henderson-Wilson, 2010; McKeough, Bird, Tourigny, Romaine, Graham, Ottmann, & Jeary, 2008; Hallet, Want, Chandler, Koopman, Flores, Gehrke, 2008; Britten & Borgen, 2010; McCormick, 1996). For example, McKeough, Bird, Tourigny, Romaine, Graham, Ottmann, & Jeary, (2008) argue that storytelling fits with aboriginal epistemology and is not only a traditional educational tool but is also culturally relevant. Similarly, Kingsley, Phillips, Townsend, & Henderson-Wilson, (2008) recommend using research methods which consider notions of negotiation, mutual understanding, respect, recognition, involvement, shared ownership, reciprocity, skills development and methodological flexibility.

Using the Critical Incident Technique in a narrative format with semi-structured interview questions, and working in conjunction with an organization to oversee and help guide the process, helps to fit with non-mainstream or cross-cultural epistemologies that value storytelling and oral narratives. Within indigenous cultures, storytelling is a traditional teaching tool, and across many ethnic and migrant cultures, oral history is also familiar and culturally relevant (McKeough, Bird, Tourigny, Romaine, Graham, Ottmann, & Jeary, 2008; McCormick, 1996; Angelides, 2001; Pedersen & Barlow, 2008). Further, through collaboration with organizations and cultural experts, the researcher is made more aware of the various cultural protocols and

ethnic traditions that may impact the participant. This awareness is important for conducting culturally appropriate and sensitive research (Day & White, 2008).

Flexibility

The flexibility of the multiple methods of data collection and analysis in CIT adds options for data collection that can overcome some of the limitations associated with standardised tools. Standardized tools have been seen by non-mainstream populations as failing to account for non-standardized populations, and are not seen by many cultures as being valid in terms of their own cultural and traditional mores (Kingsley, Phillips, Townsend, & Henderson-Wilson, 2010; Pederson & Barlow, 2008). For example, the use of open-ended semi-structured interview questions allows for considerable scope in the researcher's ability to probe further into the incident, thereby ensuring that additional, meaningful data are acquired.

In a cross-cultural research design, it is important to note that individual, social and cultural variations are part of the design (Kim & Berry, 1993). Using an experimental research method design works well for some basic psychological processes but, according to Wundt (1916), it is not appropriate for use with processes that are shaped by language and culture. In cross-cultural and indigenous research, it is necessary to incorporate culture, speech, myth, art, religion, literature, laws, customs and morality to understand the culture's 'human qualities' (Kim & Berry, 1993; Danziger, 1979). Further, not all psychological processes are universal, and not all cultures have an individualistic cultural base. Therefore, using standardized tools fails to capture the variations of non-standard populations, (Wundt, 1916, Danziger, 1979, Kim & Berry, 1993).

When studying cultures, it is also necessary to understand a particular culture from its own frame of reference. This frame of reference includes historical and comparative analyses of symbols, culture, language and other factors. Without some referencing from within each culture being examined, it will not be possible to

understand the underlying dynamics of the human psychological processes within that culture, (Berlin, 1976; Kim & Berry, 1993). The failure to account for these cultural variations can lead to cultural 'arrogance' and distortions of the research findings through researchers using judgements based on their own standards of reference, rather than an understanding of the cultures which they are studying (Wundt, 1916; Berlin, 1976; Kim & Berry, 1993; Filbert & Flynn, 2010).

Indeed, the CIT represents an effective tool for generating detailed data, and descriptions of phenomena from participants (Angelides, 2001; Butterfield, Borgen, Amundson & Maglio, 2005; Andersson & Nilsson, 1964). The CIT also has the potential to go beyond traditional means of acquiring data and provide scope for the researcher to probe unknown phenomena in a deep, meaningful and rich context (Butterfield, Borgen & Amundson, 2009). Finally, CIT is useful for the purposes of achieving exhaustiveness and giving a more complete picture of the phenomenon being studied (Butterfield, Borgen, Amundson & Maglio, 2005; Andersson & Nilsson, 1964).

Rich, contextualized data is a necessary component of research when working with particular populations, and the CIT provides great scope for the researcher to achieve the goals of ethical research while honouring voice and tradition. For cross-cultural research to achieve acceptance in the communities affected and included in the work, the researcher must also be accepted. Given the history of imposition, prejudice and oppression for many of these non-mainstream cultures with regard to research practices and governmental policies, it is important that all participants from these vulnerable populations be given respect, and that the researcher be accountable for honouring words, tradition and cultural mores (Kingsley, Phillips, Townsend, & Henderson-Wilson, 2010; Filbert & Flynn, 2010). It is, therefore, important to recognize the voice of the participants and operate such research in an ethical manner so that when

working with certain populations and research questions, the lived experience of the participant is explored.

Risks

CIT research has been used for almost six decades and has been based on the perhaps implicit belief that the role of the research process is rather 'benign'. The researcher is typically seen as someone who enters an organization or environment, extracts information from personnel and then walks away to analyze the information for the purposes of dealing with an issue to improve existing processes. As a result, there is often little consideration given to the reality that the participant imparting information may have been significantly impacted by the nature of research process. For example, even in the case of a topic like human error, significant psychological distress may be elicited in the recall and recounting a critical incidents in which human error featured.

The risks of exploring such detailed memories can mean that traumatic triggers may be exposed (Butterfield, Borgen & Amundson, 2009). If this is the case, it is necessary for the researcher to be aware, and to work with the participant to minimize harm and recommend/refer the participant to the necessary point of assistance if required. While both the original CIT and the Enhanced CIT have merit, there remains the potential that, while conducting research, one might be driven by theoretical desires without taking into account the underlying experiences of the participant.

Another risk associated with CIT is the reliance of the research technique on memory and recollection. Memory recall is not a 'reliable source' of information due to distortion and 'rewriting' the history (Flanagan, 1954; Woolsey, 1986; Butterfield, Borgen, Amundson & Maglio, 2005). For this reason, most researchers using CIT try to use events that have occurred in the recent past, and even put a time limit of up to 6

months on the collection of information (Butterfield, Borgen, Maglio & Amundson, 2009). According to Flanagan (1954), the more detailed the recollection of an event, the more accurate the recollection. Therefore, it is important that all the descriptions and explanations surrounding an incident be explored to reduce the impact of memory recall errors (Butterfield, Borgen, Maglio & Amundson, 2009), not to improve the recall, but to ensure that the details surrounding an event are as detailed as possible to ensure as much accuracy as possible in the retelling of an event.

Bringing awareness to ethical issues

Ethical codes and personal values of the researcher are key elements of conducting research with vulnerable populations. There are many pitfalls that a researcher can fall into without even being aware, if measures are not taken to ensure that the research is accountable and responsible. Many steps can be taken to limit issues when using a tool such as CIT. The interview itself is one place where ethics can be breached and a researcher must be cognizant of this at all phases of the research project.

According to Flanagan (1954), the skills of the researcher are important to 'tease out' specific, accurate and precise descriptions of an incident or behaviour. It is important therefore, for research interviewers to be trained consistently and to have access to specific, expert, and timely feedback with regard the content and conduct of the interviews. This feedback is integral in ensuring that the interviews follow required protocols, question format, guidelines and probing questions. It is also necessary to ensure that the information provided by the participants is as specific as possible in their descriptions of the phenomena, incidents and the behaviours that they felt were either helpful or not helpful to them with regard to the research question and aims. Therefore, the screening of interviews by an expert is an important element of the ECIT's credibility checks for good reason. This screening is based on

checking for questioning techniques, focus on the research question, and the absence of leading by the interviewer, as well as reviewing the suitability of the questions and probes by the interviewer. It is necessary in a research project to keep the interviewer, and hence, the interview, on track and focussed on the research question.

Interview screening by experts is also a means to ensure that, should any cause for concern for the wellbeing of the individual participant arise, not just the researcher, but two qualified, expert, and registered psychologists, can also add their lens to the issue and make suggestions. Thus, the screening of the interviews and the cross-checking of incident transcription data is not simply a validation technique, but also a means of ensuring that the participants were under the scrutiny of a number of experienced researchers.

In addition to screening, another validity check associated with Enhanced CIT concerns the application of the second interview. Flanagan (1954) maintains that the process of data collection should be focussed on the participant's perspectives and that the second interview is a means of ensuring this occurs within the research design. Butterfield, Borgen, & Amundson (2009) discuss the importance of the second interview as: 1) the need for the participant to review the researcher's interpretations of the data; 2) the need for the participant to review the themed categories that were decided upon by the researcher; 3) the need for confirmation that the item was a critical incident or a wish list item; and 4) the need to ensure that the participants' voices have been heard accurately reported and honoured.

The second interview is also an opportune time to assess the participants' wellbeing following the initial recount. The time frame for this second interview can be anywhere from three –twelve months after the first interview, dependent upon a number of factors including the size of the research participant base, the turnaround times for transcription

and the analysis of the data itself, as well as the need to complete validation checks for the categories and the placing of incidents within categories. It also allows both the researcher and the participant the scope to monitor the progress and state of the participant should any unforeseen incident trigger a response that the participant may have been unaware of, or unprepared for. Thus, the second interview is an especially important element in the conduct of ethical research with vulnerable populations.

In addition to these credibility checks, it is important to pay attention to the continued and consistent training of the researcher, following the guidelines established by the Enhanced CIT. Ensuring that the researcher and interviewers have experience with the CIT contributes to ensuring a consistent approach to not only the collection and analysis of data but also to the wellbeing of the participants. This is not always possible since the pool of participants and the size of the database may sometimes require additional personnel for completion. However, it should be noted that the requirement for additional personnel can be addressed by paying close attention to the training of research teams, as well as adherence to the recommended ECIT protocols, including screening of interviews and cross-checks, as these measures can mitigate the potential for a lack of consistency with regard to interviewing techniques, data collection and analysis.

One other means of reducing possible harm with regard to the use of the CIT is to ensure that participants are pre-screened as to their appropriateness for inclusion in the study. Pre-screening performs two roles. Firstly, it ensures that the participants who are going to be interviewed actually fit the criteria for the research question, and secondly, it ensures that potential participants are screened for specific vulnerabilities and/or mental health issues that may be triggered during an interview. This then gives the researcher the opportunity to offer counselling for prospective participants deemed needing assistance, and also screen for participants for whom the experience might be

seen as unhelpful. Pre-screening is also an opportunity for the researcher to inform prospective participants of the nature of the research and answer any questions that they may have prior to participation, to fulfil ethical requirements of informed consent (NHMRC, 2003; AIATSIS,2000).

In addition to the need for voice, there is a need to maintain participant confidentiality, and understand the need for circumspection with regard to the identification of locales, communities and even the ethnic identities of participants in these specific types of research projects with special populations. It is imperative that any identification of third parties, geographic locations or any possible identifying features be removed from the data reported to maintain the anonymity of the participants and their respective communities or people.

This key point regarding the maintenance of confidentiality is significant when dealing with reporting back to communities and organizations. For example, Flanagan (1954) states that 'The research worker is responsible for pointing out not only the limitations but also the degree of credibility and the value of the final results obtained' (p. 355). For these reasons, the second interview can also be used as a means of ensuring that the participant accepts the manner in which the data are reported and whether words such as 'mother' or 'father' etc. might need to be removed and replaced with family member or some other less specific term. These small but important details can add to the value of the research when reporting back to small communities, as it helps to limit the issue of 'who' said 'what' and instead, lead to the focus towards the identification of solutions.

To fit with the notion of exploring unknown phenomena in depth and understanding the cultures from their own frames of reference, it can be useful in CIT studies to use basic framing questions for the research project. Such guiding questions for the purposes of collecting data for any CIT study can be based on such questions as: Is this capturing the essence of what preceded or contributed to an incident or

phenomena? How did the participant act or not act with regard to the incident, and what was the outcome of those actions/inactions? The final question is based on the point of view of the participants and how this may have helped or hindered them in their journey (Schluter, Seaton & Chaboyer, 2007; Butterfield, Borgen, Amundson & Maglio, 2005). This question is aptly addressed by the intention of the CIT to "explore an unknown area of research" (Britten & Borgen, 2010, p.106). CIT offers an unparalleled means of gaining insight into rarely studied experiences, particularly when working with populations whose voice has rarely been heard or accepted.

In research involving personal experiences, the importance of allowing ample time for the participants to tell their stories must be balanced against the need to be aware of the duress and/or endurance of the participants. Many interviews will last for extended periods of time. Ethically, however, it is necessary to assess the mental and physical state of participants both verbally as to their ability and willingness to continue. Following the assessment, the interview needs to be drawn to a close with the reminder that there is a second, check-in interview whereupon important themes, ideas and events could be revisited. For many of the participants, the process will be considered not only enjoyable, but also a rare opportunity for them to speak about things that they had not been able to do so previously.

It is also important to inform the participant of the recourse to counselling should that be required for any reason. Advice should be provided at the beginning of the first interview, at the signing of the consent form, and again at the end of the completion of the first interview. Further, at the check-in, second interview, the author should ask the participants, in general, how they feel about their participation and reiterate the availability of counselling.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the CIT is an extremely useful, flexible tool that provides an unparalleled opportunity for researchers to explore and explain previously unstudied phenomena or add to academic research in a rich, in-depth manner. The Enhanced CIT is a means of ensuring that the research conducted is standardized and able to be assessed for credibility through a number of protocols. However, both of these tools have limitations. Implicitly, both Flanagan's original CIT and the ECIT as proposed by Butterfield, Borgen, Amundson & Maglio (2005) are consistent with a more positivist tradition. It is important for the researcher working with sensitive and special populations to mediate between the positivist tradition of imposing a theoretical framework upon the research, with the need for a lens that uses culturally sensitive and aware theory or phenomenology to explore the area.

It is the continued paradox of the perception of 'benign' research being able to be conducted with an objective analysis of what can often be very personal and 'critical' events to the respective individual participants. Therefore, it is necessary to note that, while the CIT and ECIT offers an unparalleled means of gaining previously unknown data, there is also a need to balance adopting a 'top-down' data acquisition format with a 'bottom-up' analysis of those same data. The compromise is the acceptance of the structure for a useful protocol and a standard means of acquiring data,

while simultaneously adopting a grounded theory perspective in the analysis. The ethical and moral obligations to do in particular environments such as 'cross-cultural' research make the imposition of a positivist ideology anathema to the whole notion of cross-cultural psychological theory.

Yet, while conducting research with certain populations, it is important to filter the results through a lens where ethics and moral values suggest

that such exploration must be conducted with the intent to provide 'voice' to the participants, rather than imposing a theoretical model upon the research. It must be noted that, when using the CIT, as with any research tool, the researcher must be cognizant of possible issues for the participants and walk into the world of the research with dual hats: That of a researcher, and that of an ethical psychologist or professional. The need for both hats is evident when working with the nature of narrative stories that may involve some reflection upon events across the lifespan, or of critical importance to the narrator. Therefore, by maintaining an awareness of the nature of critical incidents and their unknowable impacts upon the story-teller, the researcher who uses CIT may be enabled to walk the fine line of conducting ethical research while simultaneously exploring what could possibly be information concerning a traumatic nature and affect.

On a final note, it is important to understand that cross-cultural and indigenous research projects be conducted with the idea that there are unique cultures and these do need to be understood within their own frames of reference, but there is also the possibility that from such research may arise some universal truths. It cannot be assumed that a finding from one culture is unique only to that culture. Conversely, it cannot be assumed that these findings can, in any way, be generalized. It can only be posited that there is a possibility of the existence of universal truths. In Australia we do not have a single mainstream to which minorities or indigenous peoples relate to in a'neat' or compartmentalized manner. To try to understand the mosaic of multicultural and diverse societies, it is therefore important to use research designs that 'allow' for, and include, these multiple cultural and traditional variations. The CIT offers one means of looking at the Australian cultural mosaic in a respectful, consistent and open manner that values oral narrative. From such research, it is possible to find new collaborative meanings, phenomena and definitions for populations that do not fit with popularized,

mainstream ideas.

References

Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Island Studies. (2000). Guidelines for ethical research in Indigenous studies. Canberra: AIATSIS.

Andersson, B.-E, & Nilsson, S.G. (1964). Studies in the reliability and validity of the critical incident technique. *Journal of Applied Technology*, 48(6): 398-403.

Angelides, P. (2001). Using critical incidents to understand school cultures. *Improving Schools*, 4(1): 24-32.

Bedi, R., Davis, M.D, Williams, M. (2005). Critical incidents in the formation of the Therapeutic alliance from the client's perspective. *Psychotherapy: Theory, Research, Practice, Training* Educational Publishing Foundation 42(3): 311-323.

Bradbury- Jones, C. & Tranter, S. (2008). Inconsistent use of the critical incident technique in nursing research. *Journal of Advanced Nursing,* 64(4), 399–407.

Berlin, I. (1976). *Vico and Herder: Two studies in the history of ideas.* New York, Viking.

Britten, L. & Borgen, W.A. (2010) Footprints of colour along the career journey, *Procedia Social and Behavioural Sciences,* 5, 104-115.

Bryman, A., (1984). The debate about quantitative and qualitative research: A question of method or epistemology? *British Journal of Sociology,* 35(1), 75-92.

Butterfield, L., Borgen, W, & Amundson, N., (2005). Fifty years of the critical incident technique: 1954–2004 and beyond. *Qualitative Research,* 5(4), 475-497.

Butterfield, L., Borgen, W.A, & Amundson, N., (2005). The impact of a qualitative research interview on workers' views of their situation. *Canadian Journal of Counselling / Revue canadienne de counseling*, 43(2), 120-130.

Butterfield, L, Borgen, W, Maglio, A, Amundson, N, (2009). Using the Enhanced Critical Incident Technique in Counselling Psychology Research, *Canadian Journal of Counselling / Revue canadienne de counseling,* 43(4), 265- 282.

Danziger, K. (1979). Origins and basic principles of Wundt's völkerpsychologie, in A.R. Buss (Ed.) *Psychology in social context*. New York: Irvington

Day, A & White, J, (2008). Ethical practice from the perspective of the forensic psychologist: Commentary on the uses and value of the Australian Psychological Society (2007) Code of Ethics, *Australian Psychologist*, 43(3), 186-193.

Filbert, K.M., & Flynn, R.J. (2010). Developmental and cultural assets and resilient outcomes in First Nations young people in care: An initial test of an explanatory model. *Children and Youth Services Review,* 32, 560–564.

Flanagan J. (1954). The critical incident technique. *Psychological Bulletin,* 51, 327–358.

Hallett, D., Want, S.C., Chandler, M.J., Koopman, L.L., Flores, J., Gehrke, E.C. (2008). Identity in flux: Ethnic self-identification, and school attrition in Canadian Aboriginal youth. *Journal of Applied Developmental Psychology*, 29, 62–75.

Kim, U. & Berry, J. (Eds.) (1993). *Indigenous psychologies: Research and experience in cultural context.* London: Sage Publishing.

Kingsley, J. "Y", Phillips, R., Townsend, M. & Henderson-Wilson, C. (2010). Using a qualitative approach to use research to build trust between a non-aboriginal researcher and aboriginal participants (Australia). *Qualitative Research Journal* 10(1), 2-12.

McCormick, R. (1996). Culturally appropriate means and ends of counselling as described by the First Nations people of British Columbia, *International Journal for the Advancement of Counselling,* 18,163-172.

McKeough, A., Bird, S., Tourigny, E., Romaine, A., Graham, S., Ottmann, J. & Jeary, J., (2008). Storytelling as a foundation to literacy development for Aboriginal Children: Culturally and Developmentally Appropriate Practices, *Canadian Psychology*, 49(2), 148–154.

National Health and Medical Research Council. (2003). *Values and ethics: Guidelines for ethical conduct in Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander health research*. Canberra: National Health and Medical Research Council.

Norman I.J., Redfern S.J., Tomalin D.A. & Oliver S. (1992). Developing Flanagan's critical incident technique to elicit indicators of high and low quality nursing care from patients and their nurses. *Journal of Advanced Nursing, 17(5)*, 590– 600.

Pedersen, A., & Barlow, F.K. (2008). Theory to social action: A university-based strategy targeting prejudice against aboriginal Australians. *Australian Psychologist,* 43(3), 148-159.

Rice, P.L. & Ezzy, D., (1999). *Qualitative research methods: A health focus.* Oxford University Press: Oxford.

Schluter, J., Seaton P., & Chaboyer, W. (2008) Critical incident technique: a user's guide for nurse researchers. *Journal of Advanced Nursing, 61(1*), 107–114.

Woolsey, L.K. (1986). The critical incident technique: An innovative qualitative method of research. *Canadian Journal of Counselling,* 20(4), 242-54.

Wundt, W. (1916). *Elements of folk psychology: Outlines of a psychological history of development of mankind.* (E.L. Schaub translation). London: George Allen & Unwin.

Paper 2: The Enhanced Critical Incident Technique: Using semi-structured interviews to work with vulnerable and marginalised populations.

Paper 1 discussed the exigencies facing an ethical researcher when dealing with special populations. It also considered the need for the researcher to wear dual hats while conducting research and being cognizant of the needs of the participants, even more so than the participants might be aware of their own needs. Further, this paper discussed the need for using methodologies that allowed space and freedom for participants to make sense of their own lived experiences and feel empowered by the research process. Therefore, the aim of Paper 1 was to discuss the very real demands on the researcher, and hence this research project, in the pursuit of qualitative interviews with potentially vulnerable research participants.

Paper 2 elaborates on the choice of the Enhanced Critical Incident Technique (ECIT) methodology selected for the project and explicates the reasons surrounding the choice of the ECIT when working with vulnerable and special populations such as aboriginals, and refugees/migrants (Britten & Borgen, 2010; Butterfield, Borgen, Maglio & Amundson, 2005). The ECIT has a history of research regarding previously unstudied phenomena (Goodwill & McCormick, 2012; Butterfield, Borgen, Amundson, & Erlebach, 2009; Britten& Borgen, 2010; Flanagan, 1956; Woolsey, 1986). This paper was written for early career researchers who have little to no familiarity with the ECIT. The SAGE case studies book is essentially for training/education and was written according to the SAGE requirements hence it is in first person and while different in format and style to the other papers in this thesis is representative of the researcher's commitment to transparency and shared knowledge. This case study describes how to implement the ECIT, tips for ease of use and the helpfulness of the structure which it provides, especially for early qualitative career researchers. It also explicates the

credibility checks required and the standardized techniques which have been added to address concerns with the nature of the critical incident technique (CIT) as proposed by Flanagan (1954) and amended by Woolsey (1986).

Paper 2 Publication History

Paper 2 was sent as a proposal for invitation to submit to the call for papers for a case studies book from SAGE Publications. The author was invited to submit based on the content of the proposal. The paper submitted for review on April 5, 2013. The paper was accepted for publication on July 24, 2013. The author of the present dissertation wrote 100% of Paper 2.

The Enhanced Critical Incident Technique: Using semi-structured interviews to work with vulnerable and marginalised populations.

Lianne Britten

Macquarie University,

Sydney, Australia

Keywords: Aboriginal, Immigrant, youth, career, Enhanced Critical Incident Technique, special populations

Word count: 5047

Britten, L. (2014). The enhanced critical incident technique: Using semi-structured interviews to work with vulnerable and marginalized populations. *SAGE Research Methods Cases.*

DOI: https://dx.doi.org/10.4135/978144627305013508499

Paper 3: Colour Blind: The complex stories of migrant youth on bridging the gap between school and career.

Paper 1 illustrated the complex demands upon the ethical researcher when conducting research with vulnerable populations. Paper 2 discussed the Enhanced Critical Incident Technique, the history of its development from the Critical Incident Technique from Flanagan (1956) and its application when conducting research when researching special and vulnerable populations. It also discussed how the ECIT helps the early career researcher not only fulfil ethical requirements, but also how this method can be followed easily due to the protocols and credibility checks outlined within the technique (Britten & Borgen, 2010; Butterfield, Borgen, Maglio & Amundson, 2005). Finally, Paper 2 discussed the ECIT as a suitable tool for honouring cultural traditions and conducting oral interviews.

Paper 3 discusses the outcomes of Phase I of the research project, examining the factors that help and hinder migrant youth, aged 18 to 29 years of age, in their successful transition between school and career. It elaborates on the factors identified by the participants as helpful including: The seven helping categories were: achieving a new level of self-understanding, family, wellness, education, support networks, career/work, and culture/ethnicity. It also established the factors that were considered hindering to the participants in their transition between school and career, including: wellness (lack of), family, support networks, instability, issues with identity formation, career/work, culture and ethnicity, and education. Moreover, Paper 3 considers the usefulness of these findings with regard to future policymaking and programming in the area of careers for migrants.

Paper 3 Publication History

Paper 3 will be submitted for publication. The author of the present dissertation contributed 90% of the paper.

Colour Blind? The complex stories of migrant youth on bridging the gap between school and career.

Abstract

Understanding why some migrants succeed in the transition from school to career and others do not is a significant area of debate globally. Transitions for young migrants between school and career have rarely been studied and, as such, form a significant gap in current research. This article explores migrant youth insights into their transition from school to a career of their choice, using the Enhanced Critical Incident Technique to explore helping and hindering factors. Family, role models, healthy support networks and cultural attachment formed a complex network that facilitated success in this transition. Such research is necessary in the diverse cultural milieu that is the 21st century world and is important for other global multicultural societies by shedding light on a rarely researched phenomenon to support increased migrant participation in the workforce.

Keywords: Culture, immigrant, career, youth, transitions, narrative research

Culture, immigration, and young migrants' perspectives of the transition between school and career.

Migration is central to social, educational and economic policy around the globe. Tertiary educated, foreign-born employees comprise 7.8 per cent of total employment in Australia, 9.7 per cent in Canada, and 2.1 per cent in Europe (European Commission, 2008: 49). The importance of ensuring that migrants succeed, feel welcome and achieve in their adoptive countries cannot be underestimated (Feliciano, 2005; Warren, Ramaiah & Teagle, 2010; Urban, 2012). Yet, research in this field is scant. This article explores otherwise unheard stories of success from young migrants that refer to their successful transition into a career of their choice. Such insights help to facilitate a healthier and positive society for future generations of migrants where workforce participation is often seen as having negative outcomes for migrants (Van Riemsdijk, 2013; Feliciano, 2005; Urban, 2012).

Despite the significance of this topic, there is a paucity of research in the field. Given the multiple impacts that the act of migration itself imposes, it is clear that facilitating transitions for this population into meaningful work is important. Listening to the ways in which success occurs from the viewpoints of migrants themselves is central to understanding how to facilitate the increase of migrant participation in the workforce (Britten & Borgen, 2010; Urban, 2012; Feliciano, 2005). Fitting home cultural traditions into host cultures can cause confusion and emotional distress for many migrants. However, such change can also offer the opportunity of creating new definitions, new traditions, and new cultures that bridge gaps between host and migrant communities (Talbani & Hasanali, 2000; Redfield, Linton & Herskovits, 1936; Angelides, 2001). This renegotiation of roles, identities and traditions within families, communities and the society in general, is an important component of re- establishing oneself, and offers migrants and host communities alike opportunities to create new 'spaces and places' for communication (Urban, 2012;

Feliciano, 2005). Therefore, it is important that new research, and new insights from migrants, and particularly young migrants, be heard and responded to so as to ensure the successful integration of foreigners into their host countries. Such positive integration can help reduce the more difficult impacts of immigration and potentially foster a healthy, secure and accepting society for all people where career and employment options are multiple and diverse.

Migrant youth and transitions into career

There is substantial evidence that migrant youth face multiple challenges in the transition between school life and post-school career options (Butterfield et al. 2010; Warren, Ramaiah & Teagle, 2012; Sturm, 2001). These concepts have rarely been researched simultaneously as an interlinked set of phenomena (Britten & Borgen, 2010). Negotiating the transition from school to work forms a notable gap in the literature addressing career development in immigrant populations. Mapping the impact of cultural influences, worldview differences, experiences, beliefs, and attitudes on this process is difficult for any group, let alone those groups with even greater diversity due to culture, tradition, language, experience and backgrounds (McCormick, 1995; Barley & Salway, 2008; Filbert & Flynn, 2008). Hence, concepts of 'career', 'success', 'transition' and 'career development' may not fit well with non-Western paradigms of research, cross-cultural populations, and immigrant communities' perceptions of these constructs (Britten & Borgen, 2010; Hallett, et. al, 2007; Urban, 2012). Moreover, for youth, the transition from school to career engenders multiple meanings and developmental stages (Talbani & Hasanali, 2000; Schoon, Martin & Ross, 2007). This transition is further complicated when such youth are migrants with varying languages, educational levels, socioeconomic status and considered by themselves, and others, as not 'belonging' to the society they have arrived into, nor existing school cliques (Van Riemsdijk, 2013). The additional confusion that young immigrants feel as a result of the experiences they encounter is in the change from the

culture in which they were born and the new culture in to which they have moved. This can lead to associated problem behaviours and has led to higher dropout rates, higher substance use, and higher rates of chronic illness than in their more acculturated peers (Perez, 2011).

A core concept within this research, and a recurring theme that emerged as both hindering and helping simultaneously, was the complex notion of culture and ethnicity. Culture can be defined as the customs, languages, traditions, practices, ideologies and values that characterize various social groups based around such things as nation, geography, common interests, and may include religion, gender and sexuality (American Psychological Association, 2002). Identifying with a particular culture or cultures has been recognized as an important component of self-identity and relational ability (Filbert & Flynn, 2010; Arrendondo, 1984). This 'cultural identity' can be based on any one of these concepts or a combination thereof. The malleability of 'culture' adds to the complexity of finding ways to assist people who have multiple cultural identities. It is also cause for research which gives voice to many different ideas of culture and how it operates to help or hinder individuals in their transition between school and career, (New Zealand, The Social Report, 2010).

In summary, while there is a growing body of research into cross-cultural issues, there is a dearth of literature in the field of career, transitions, and how migrants successfully manoeuvre the path between old culture/nation, new school, career paths and adulthood.

The research question

The present research was designed to respond to the research question: What is the nature of the journey undertaken by immigrants to achieve success toward a career while making transitions of culture, nation, and education systems when entering adulthood? The participants were also asked how they defined career, and what 'doing well' meant to them. As part of the semi-structured interview process, the participants were then asked to provide examples of events that had occurred during the process of achieving success,

particularly regarding their chosen career, and the factors that had helped or hindered them during the process.

Methodology

A qualitative design, the Enhanced Critical Incident Technique (Butterfield, Borgen, Maglio & Amundson, 2009) was selected for this study. This technique has been used previously with vulnerable populations to allow for accurate representations of voice (Butterfield, Borgen & Amundson, 2005; Britten & Borgen, 2010; Britten, Borgen & Wiggins, 2012; McCormick, 1996; Goodwill & McCormick, 2012; Angelides, 2001). This technique has also been useful in identifying factors that have helped and hindered people in their developmental journeys (Butterfield et al. 2010; Britten & Borgen, 2010; Goodwill & McCormick, 2012). Further, the semi-structured, open-ended interviews allowed participants to not only tell their own stories, it provided the participants with a second interview that allowed them the opportunity to reconsider their stories and change or modify those items that they felt inappropriate or perhaps had been forgotten during the initial interview.

The ECIT was developed as a consequence of criticism of Flanagan's Critical Incident Technique and provides a more standardized means of conducting qualitative research by providing a number of credibility checks to ensure the accuracy of the data and interpretations (see Table I) (Barley & Salway, 2008; Butterfield, et al, 2005). It is important to note that with the use of this methodology, it is the number of incidents that arise from the data collected, and not the number of participants in the study that constitute the sample size (Andersson & Nilsson, 1964; Butterfield et al, 2005). Critical incidents are participants' accounts of incidents that take place in their lives (Tripp, 1993). For Butterfield, Borgen & Amundson (2005), the inclusion of these events is illuminated when a participant is being interviewed and identifies the experiences that he/she considers critical.

The ECIT has also been identified as an efficient method for collecting rich, qualitative data and has been demonstrated as capable of eliciting deeper social processes (Angelides, 2001; Britten & Borgen, 2010; Butterfield et al. 2010; Butterfield, Borgen & Amundson, 2005). This framework can then be used to arrive at a more holistic understanding of research conducted with vulnerable populations. Finally, in the opportunity for a second interview, ECIT also allows increased participant involvement and addresses concerns from vulnerable populations regarding empowerment of research participants (Angelides, 2001; Butterfield, 2001; Britten & Borgen, 2010; Butterfield et. al, 2005; Butterfield et. al, 2010).

The Participants

A total of seven young immigrant adults aged between 19 and 29 years from the Sydney metropolitan area in Australia, were recruited to participate in this study through word of mouth and flyers distributed with the permission of local cultural and migrant centres. The primary inclusion criteria were that the youths had left the school system for three years or more, were between the ages of 19-29 years, and self-identified as 'doing well' in their career-related transition from high school. The seven participants were aged between 20 and 29 years of age and all had been out of the high school setting for a minimum of three years. The participants' had emigrated from Chile, Brazil, Italy, Fiji, and Sri Lanka. Five participants were male and two were female. Three of the males were undertaking university study (n=43%) or had completed university study at the time of the study, and two (n= 28.5%) were in the process of completing apprenticeships and/or training courses. The two females (n=28.5%) had both completed an undergraduate university degree and one was pursuing a Master's degree.

The Interview Process

The ECIT suggests following a process of pre-screening, followed by two interviews with the participants. Pre-screening questions involved determining the suitability for inclusion in the study, and identifying a 'safe' venue for the interview. The first interview involved signing

consent forms and building rapport with the participants. After questions from participants were answered and consent was signed, the first interview proceeded and was audio-taped. This first interview followed a semi-structured interview format that sought responses from participants about their journey and what they experienced as being helpful or hindering in the transition between school and career. Finally, after transcription and analysis of the first interview, a second interview was conducted to clarify and confirm the categorization of the incidents, as well as determine whether the participants considered that any information should be added or deleted from these categories.

Data Analysis

The purpose of the study was to investigate the ways in which young migrant adults were successful in the transition from high school to career and vocational pursuits. This meant that the frame of reference was restricted to incidents that helped or hindered the participants along their successful career journey. After the incidents were identified, the incidents were then categorized into groups.

To ensure attention to detail and the accurate reporting of data, a number of credibility checks were employed, as outlined by Butterfield, et al. (2009). These checks also acted as a measure to ensure adherence to ethical guidelines and critical incident technique protocols. The protocols included having a second expert screen the interview tapes and ensure that the interviewer was following the procedure and not 'leading' participants in telling their stories. Furthermore, consultation with an expert in the field was undertaken to ensure that the categories were 'named' appropriately. Consistent with this approach, an independent expert was also employed to check that the incidents had been correctly identified from the transcripts and that these incidents were then placed correctly into appropriate categories. According to Andersson & Nilsson (1964) and Butterfield, et al. (2009), a minimum 75% agreement rate is required for the information to be credible. The interviews were conducted until no new categories emerged, meaning that exhaustiveness

was achieved when no additional categories arose.

As a final credibility check, these categorized interviews were then shared with the participants to ensure that the summarized data corresponded to participants' evaluation in the second interview. On the basis of these categories, only those categories with participation rates of at least 25% were included in the results (Borgen & Amundson, 1984). Finally, the results that emerged were then compared to existing research literature and reported with relevance to extant research. These credibility checks indicated that the categories that emerged from the interviews were trustworthy and credible.

Results

The seven participants in this study identified a total of 1058 critical incidents (helping and hindering). Following the first three interviews, major themes began to emerge. After the fifth interview, redundancy in the categories had been achieved. After these interviews were transcribed, a total of 1038 critical incidents were extracted. Of these, 764 were helpful incidents, and 294 were unhelpful/hindering incidents. These incidents were then placed into seven 'helpful' categories, and seven 'hindering' categories. These categories are outlined in the table below. The incidents were placed in order of highest number of helping incidents combined with percentage participation rates. According to Andersson & Nilsson, (1964), in order for a category to be included in the study, a minimum participation rate of 25% should be achieved. All categories included in this article achieved participation rates above this recommended rate, with the lowest being 57% (see Table 1).

Table 1

Critical Incident Categories

	Helping Critical Incidents (*N* =)			**Hindering Critical Incidents (*N* =)**		
	Participants (*N* = 7)		**Incidents**	**Participants (*N* = 7)**		**Incidents**
Categories	***n***	***%***	***N***	***n***	***%***	***n***
Achieving a New Level of Self-Understanding	7	**100**	164			
Family	7	**100**	158	5	**71**	53
Wellness	7	**100**	154	7	**100**	62
Career/Work	7	**100**	98	6	86	39
Support Networks	7	**100**	81	5	71	15
Education	6	**86**	63	5	**71**	15
Culture/Ethnicity	5	**71**	46	4	**57**	16
Identity Formation Issues				7	**100**	43
Instability				6	**86**	51

Helping Categories

A variety of factors emerged from the participants' stories as being helpful and hindering in the journey to establish themselves on their career pathway and hence, asserting individual power over what were perceived to be barriers or obstacles. The seven helping categories were: Achieving a New Level of Understanding, Family, Wellness, Education, Support Networks, Career/Work, and Culture/Ethnicity. These seven categories yielded 764 helping incidents. The nature of the various participants' experiences have revealed that, on an individual level, the importance of support networks, and an ability to perceive obstacles and barriers as valuable, were considered particularly helpful in the journey, and characterized self-identified success. These interconnections and interwoven factors revealed a complex network of reasons that functioned on multiple levels to help the participants overcome setbacks and continue on a journey towards success.

Achieving a new level of self-understanding

'Achieving a new level of self-understanding' emerged as a category in the first and subsequent interviews. Elements of this category included: learning from experiences and bouncing back from adversity, identity development, being respected and respecting others, being believed in, being grateful, giving back, trusting one's instincts, maturation and associated rites of passage, reading/writing, journalling, taking time for reflection, and being altruistic. Each participant highlighted how he/she had learned from experience and reflected upon each incident that was recounted. Part of this new understanding was gained from the knowledge attained during that reflection. The notion of 'review' meant that, while perhaps difficult at the time, some negative experiences had provided opportunities to learn valuable insights about themselves and about the world around them. The 'review' category was the most frequent characterisation of the incidents, totalling 164 events (n=164) or 22% of the total helping incidents. The critical incidents cited included finding personal motivation and

inspiration, becoming more self-confident as competencies were achieved, realizing self-worth and value, being a self-starter, being able to make sacrifices to achieve goals, understanding personal backgrounds and its influence upon life, and generally finding satisfaction in the service of benevolence. One male participant expressed the satisfaction that he gained from coming to understand his own uniqueness in the world, and the contentment from internally 'knowing' where he belonged, despite feeling very isolated as a result of his language, culture and immigration experience.

> I don't know, I guess, it kind of reserved the fact that I am kind of unique in this country, uniquely respected, [have a] unique way of doing things and it is not, it is not it is not very common and I think because I did grow up with a lot of South American families, they were all like that, they are all very comfortable with it and never really felt ha, never really, really felt like ostracized in one part of anywhere, just because you always have that... (Male participant)

Another participant described the ability to reflect upon all experiences, good and bad and to realize that, in that self-reflection, all things could be a learning experience and help you to grow.

> I think from all bad experiences, you can always get something good out of it, so it doesn't matter how bad it is, there is a saying that goes, there is a lot of sunshine after the rain so I believe in that and I always know that once I have gone through hard part or whatever it is, I know eventually things would be okay, just a matter of time, and I know that I will look back and I will understand why it happened because I believe things happen fairly so I tried to see, usually you don't really understand why you are going through those things but we say those are the things that makes you strong so somewhere along those lines, I really believe in that, and I think that, you know from all the bad things, so I don't really think that any of the things not helpful because at the end of the day, they all help. (Female Participant).

Thus from all the participants, an ability to review life and see that, even though some things may have been difficult at the time, all experiences helped each individual to grow and become the person they now felt proud of.

Family

'Family' also emerged as a category in all of the interviews. It included family support, nuclear and extended family, non-biological 'family', parental expectations for

success, parental social class, family ethnicity, family background, family socioeconomic status, relationships with father and mother and siblings, reliance on grandparents, family responsibilities, role models within the family, and mentoring family members. This category was one of the most commonly cited factors that participants considered had helped them succeed on their journey toward a successful career. This category was cited 158 times yielding 21% of the total helping incidents. All seven of the participants mentioned family as an integral facet of their support networks. For many participants, siblings were an important component of growing up, being responsible and becoming a 'better person'. One male participant summed up the influence of his brother as follows:

> [P]robably it was my brother that sort of took me aside and basically shook me up a bit and said, like he asked me where am I going... you are not going to go anywhere, and ... you are going to end up some-where you probably ... in prison and I think that was the thing that sort of shocked me, and was a big part of my decision ...not because I was scared of police or jail time it was just because it sort of reminded me...of...the fact that it was not honesty, it wasn't honest work... (Male participant)

The impact of family on all participants, and the positive effect that family, in whatever definition that the participants ascribed to this notion, was considered an integral component of each person's successful transition between school and career.

Wellness

Wellness emerged as a category for all participants as a helpful factor in their successful transition between school and vocation. This category was associated with 154 incidents accounting for 20 % of the helping incidents recorded. Wellness incorporated many different aspects of health, physical and mental, including diet, exercise, self-esteem, self-confidence, political and personal independence and freedoms, social activities, emotional and life stability, and healthy lifestyles which also included music, art and dance as forms of expression and exercise. The World Health Organization (WHO) views mental health as: 'a state of well-being in which the individual realises his or her own abilities, can cope with the normal stresses of life, can work productively and fruitfully, and is able to make a

contribution to his or her community' (WHO, 2001, p. 1). Three of the participants also mentioned having pets as being a factor helpful in their journey. Two participants mentioned luck/fate or karma as contributing to their overall emotional wellness. For the male participants in particular, sport was much more than just healthy exercise. It gave participants an outlet for emotions, a feeling of community and belonging, and as the following quote illustrates, it also provided a means of increasing self-confidence and generally feelings of well-being.

> I think that people just think it is just a rugby game but I think it is much more than that ...It is really more than just, more than just a game, it is like you [are] winning, like a whole team, like you feel so much better when everyone feels the same... here now, we would have a win and everyone would come in, would think where do we drink up now, as a group and stuff, it is like bonding stuff ...It makes you feel good about yourself like... if I was to put off a good hit, and will definitely builds up my confidence so next time, ... I can do it again. (Male Participant)

Thus for participants, the idea of wellness as incorporating a sense of emotional, physical and spiritual components, was helpful in their individual transitions from school to career.

Work/Career

'Work/career' emerged as a category amongst all seven participants. 'Work/career' incorporated many elements of the employment sector, including access to opportunities for work experience, good managers and management, opportunities for advancement, job satisfaction, achieving competence and being trusted, finding meaning and reward in work, volunteering, being supported at work, having work/life balance and being able to access work easily through transport or location. This category accounted for a total of 98 helping incidents equating to 13% of the total helping incidents. Many participants mentioned the helpfulness of having work experience, both paid and unpaid, in preparing them for life after school. For some participants, it was not only a learning experience, but it also created an opportunity for the realization that doing certain work was both unfulfilling and not what they desired as a career. The following quotes illustrate the helpfulness of work experience.

> And then when I actually started doing my work experience..., I was actually kicking myself for not having it done soon enough, I said yeah this is exactly where I want to be and you know I finished it. I did have it was hard time but may be looking back and considering how... I was... just so used to getting back... it has been large transition to me, now to get into work and being able to just to do what I wanted to do, and not really being limited... (Male participant)

> Because all of my work experience prior to that was in something like retail hospitality and I had always felt really disconnected with whatever... I did not really enjoy my work and I ... tried to imagine working in a government department like the foreign affairs, we learnt a little bit about foreign aide as well and I ... really cannot [see] myself doing that... [I]t wasn't until I started volunteering for not a profit that I was like 'Oh you know this is actually something that I could do that would actually give me a little bit of enjoyment as well as work'. So that is what I made it. It inspired me to pursue something that I was interested in. (Female participant)

Work experience and the opportunities it afforded participants to decide whether their chosen path was the right one for them, was considered to be an important facet of each person's individual successful journey between school and career.

Support networks

The category 'support networks' emerged from all participants and reflected the participant's own views that, without support in all forms, community, family, school and culture, success may not have been achieved. One male participant stated that "without the [Community centre]... I probably would not be here today!" The importance of these support networks cannot be underestimated given the salience to all participants' of family, friends, teachers, mentors, cultural events within their lives. Support networks accounted for 81 incidents, or 11% of the helping incidents. One helpful factor for one of the participants was the availability of a community resource (youth centre), that provided homework and tutorial assistance, free computer use, and filled a gap with regard helping to consider future career opportunities. None of these resources had been easily accessible or even available to him elsewhere.

> More they started this programme for looking up jobs and stuff when I was at home, I didn't have a computer... And...they had all that ...They had home-work club and that's where you can do job seek programme zone when that also help us look for jobs and tell us what's on that pay once you are

> enrolled...First... when I was at the youth centre they kind of pretty much helped mefind what I want like, I don't want really pick up too much heavy stuff, I wanted it to be just enough for me for my understanding, my knowledge and stuff, but not too complicated... And yeah... just probably if it wasn't for them I probably wouldn't be here right now ... (Male participant)

For the participants in this programme of research, support networks in terms of community groups, family, school and other networks were integral components in their successful transition between school and career.

Education

'Education' was referred to by all participants, and included the school's motivation/expectations for success, the opportunity to have a successful, safe education, access to opportunities for tutoring and assistance, and the importance of building a good rapport with good teachers. Education was not only perceived as being offered within a school setting, but it was also closely associated with travel as a means of learning. A total of 63 incidents emerged in this category and accounted for 8% of helping incidents with six of the seven participants referring to education as a significant factor. Some participants outlined the ease of access to school, as well as the importance of actual proximity to school as providing opportunities for success. One participant acknowledged the importance of safety in travelling to and from school, given that this had not been the case in his original country.

> Yeah I mean, it just starts from, grass roots level like the ease of even getting to school, the fact that we can just walk 5 to 10 minutes to school rather than having to catch like for me really had a driver but the thing is that traffic there in Sri Lanka is ridiculous and it, we have to leave like you know an hour, 2 hours early just to drive like, which is like may be 10 to 20 minutes' drive so just the getting to the school is a huge difference, it is safer as well and you know with the road rules and the crossings and everything's, it is much more civilized and organized and yeah that is the starting point and then going further from that... if I was in Sri Lanka ...I don't know, even now if I would have gone to university... I don't know what sort of job I would be doing... (Male participant)

Another participant indicated that the immigration experience had given him options that he felt he would never even have been aware of, had it not been for the educational value of

travel.

> Ha, just opened everything up and I can't imagine not knowing about everything that I know now like travelling overseas, meeting different people, experiencing different things and cultures and doing like basically whatever you want, because I think if I was still there, I probably wouldn't have left the city, the area, I would be doing same thing that everyone does ... I probably wouldn't and never tasted any of the type of food other than Chilean food. We don't get very main immigrants there, so I probably would never meet anyone that wasn't Chilean, thinking that, thinking about that it is scary now... (Male participant)

The participants clearly expressed the benefits of immigrating over the issues associated. While this may in part have been due to the participants all self-identifying as successful, this understanding of how many opportunities were opened up for them was mentioned by all migrants in some form and reiterated the significance of this event in their lives.

Culture/Ethnicity

Pride in feeling part of a certain culture was a category that emerged from the interviews and included the support of the culture, the nature of the cultural environment, including food, and the rituals associated with the culture or participation in cultural events. Participants mentioned attachment to cultural icons, or religious/spiritual affiliation associated with culture as helpful in weathering the journey between the old and new country. Five participants or 71% of the registered incidents were associated with this category. This involved 41 incidents (n= 41) or 5% of the total incident categories. Interestingly, culture came to mean not only the originating country's culture, but also the culture and ethnic composition of the newly adopted neighbourhood within which the participants grew up. The feeling of community and safety in a new country was mentioned by the participant as being an important helping factor, especially as many people in the area were from similar cultural backgrounds to the participants.

> We grew up in [a Sydney suburb], ...where it [is] suburban in there, lot of high concentration of all the South American there so we knew lot of South American families when we grew up and I grew up around a lot of and it was very close, very tight group... Ha, as a kid yet you feel free like you feel like, you feel like running around and playing, ...you feel like you own this place, you feel like you know asking questions, you feel like just have, just have a good time, like still one thing I was friendly, I was just riding bikes, and with friends were not, having big barbeques and lots of, lots of families there, lots of foods, lots of music, lots of dancing... (Male participant)

Attachment to culture and the traditions of family was indicated by many participants as not only helpful in their transition from school to career, but also for their growing sense of identity.

Hindering factors

The items identified as being hindering (not helpful) to the participants overlapped considerably with the 'helpful' categories. Hindering items included the negative effects of a family suffering dislocation, emotional distress, the loss of support networks, and extended familial support. Also unhelpful to the participants were educational factors that included a feeling of having no one care, with very little attempt on the part of counsellors or teachers to bridge the language and cultural gaps. A lack of stability and the impact of moving or feeling insecure were also identified as hindering factors, as was the incidence of racism and stereotyping. The lack of certain family members through death, or leaving them behind, was perceived as unhelpful for many participants as was an unsupportive workplace, with uncaring employers and no opportunities for advancement. The eight hindering categories which emerged were wellness, (lack of), family, support networks, instability, issues with identity formation, career/work, culture and ethnicity, and education. A total of 279 incidents were recorded as hindering by the participants.

Wellness (absence of)

The absence of wellness emerged as a category in all interviews as a perceived hindering factor on the journey to success. It included depression, unhealthy lifestyles including smoking, drinking, sleep deprivation, pressure, anger, repressed emotions, the loss of control and emotional instability, death and loss, and the accompanying emotional stressors. A total of 62

incidents were recorded by six participants which comprised 22% of the hindering category. Many participants mentioned the feelings of isolation they experienced when they arrived in their new country. The following participant, although many years on from the incident, still distinctly recalled the feeling of being alone and having no-one to speak with. He recalled specifically the isolation he experienced when he first arrived in Australia.

> I could imagine trying alone, trying to raise us, dealing with the family situation then getting remarried into so like that, but really you know isolated as well and during that period of time, I never felt more like than I did it before even when we first came to Australia you know, there are stories about me, as a kid coming first to Australia and like, in preschool I spent a year without talking like to anyone and you know the teachers meetings with my, with my parents you know saying it could be something wrong with your kid you know being, so I always felt really isolated from the society... (Male participant)

The sense of not belonging, of feeling isolated and having no connections was noted by participants as being one of the biggest obstacles on their journeys toward a successful career.

Family

'Family' emerged as a category and included family expectations and reputation, dislocation/isolation from the family of origin, loss of parental role models, divorce, loss of family support, instability, arguments, unhappiness, and parent's or other family members' emotional issues. Five participants recorded incidents in this category, with a total 53 incidents (n=53), accounting for 19% of the total hindering incidents. Family was influential in a variety of ways in the hindering category, but especially in the case of parental arguments and emotional unhappiness. The emotional instability that the participants' mentioned often centred on the emotional unhappiness of their parents and, in particular, their mothers. The following participant recalled his own feelings of depression when his mother was unhappy and how that impacted him on a daily basis for months.

> "...how your mom's unhappiness doesn't help you to do well... Well, if she is like that, been really, it's kind of like [depressing]...Ha probably in, [that]

> ...she wasn't happy because you don't know for how many days, and weeks longer, your day is pretty much sad I guess....Ha; it doesn't help you for stuff like that..." (Male Participant)

Additionally, familial arguments, and problems within the household was mentioned as being a significantly hindering factor by some of the participants, as illustrated by the following quote.

> [I]"[Y]ou have just mentioned that your mom and dad arguing is not so helpful..."
> [P] [It] just it makes you feel like crap hey. I don't like it when they fight, it doesn't make anyone in the house feel good and then there's just awkwardness in the house..." (Male Participant)

On the helping side, family was indicated as a big factor in the successful transition between school and career for the participants. However, the impact of family dischord and dysfunction as well as familial separation, as a result of the immigration process, was deemed hindering by the participants in this research programme.

Stability

'Instability' emerged as a category in the initial interview, and six of seven of the participants recorded hindering incidents in this category. This category included the transition from one country to another, a school or community, war and civil strife in the original country, the lack of finances for housing, school, and general items of day to day living. A total of 51 incidents (n=51) were recorded, or 18% of the total hindering incidents. Two male participants mentioned the feelings of safety in their adopted country in comparison to their originating country. The general feeling of a lack of safety in their home country was identified as a hindering factor.

Further instability appeared to be experienced from the lack of finances when the immigrants and their families arrived in the new country. A lack of financial resources was identified by many participants as an unhelpful factor and was also seen as contributing to a lack of options in terms of employment for their parents.

> The school... I was still in primary school at that time, it used to close, even at sometimes months at a time, because of civil war and so whenever there was a threat, they closed the school down and so coming here with that sort of threat not present, it is safer as well and you know with the road rules and the crossings and everything's, it is much more civilized and organized and yeah that's is the starting point and then going further from that, it's just, you can go to school for one... To you, you feel safer, it is accessible... (Male Participant)

> They wouldn't have had very much to choose from to start making money, but they needed money to make sure that me and my brother were able to go to school... (Male Participant)

As with the other factors in this study, the negative side of each category could be seen to cause issues for the participants. Having no stability throughout many parts of each participant's life, was deemed by six of seven participants as being not helpful in their transition from school to career.

Identity formation issues

'Identity formation issues' arose during the first interview and all participants recorded incidents in this category. It included a lack of self-confidence and self-competence, issues of identity/self-efficacy, not being trusted, not being respected, lacking confidence, shyness, negative self-concepts, no sense of direction or goals, no sense of belonging, and not being believed in. This category yielded 43 incidents, accounting for 15% of the total hindering items. Many participants identified experiencing a loss of confidence and not belonging as they tried to fit in. A female participant identified feeling the need to be 'someone else' in order to be accepted in the social cliques at school.

> Because I think [it] ... comes from the lack of confidence and lack of feeling like you fit in somewhere and I think those things are just crucial to you becoming who you should be and being who you are and being comfortable and just being yourself. So I probably was not myself for three years that is a long time... (Female Participant)

One male participant also identified losing direction and motivation in the year after leaving school. He identified the period as being one where he simply did not engage with society and lost his way.

> I remember losing a lot motivation like again, not really until I start working in the factory, like that would have been, how afterwards you know 18 years, not 10 but around 8... I think So 8 odd years, not really you know engaging with life at all, just kind of existing that is what it felt like, like I was just existing... (Male Participant)

For most participants, having difficulty understanding who they were and creating their own identity was found to be a hindering factor in their transitions between school and career.

Career/Work

'Career and work' emerged as a category in the first interview and six participants recorded items in this category with a total 39 hindering incidents (n=39) accounting for 14% of hindering items. This category included concepts such as bad management, a lack of care, a lack of opportunities for advancement, difficulties in accessing work through location or perceptions about abilities, no work-life balance, a lack of a challenge, no support or motivation from employers, stereotypes, a lack of recognition, and a lack of meaning in the work itself. All of the participants in this category identified 'bad management' or 'no challenge' as an issue in employment. The failure to have empathic, experienced and qualified management, supervisors who were neither 'mentors' nor 'guides', and/or a lack of opportunities for advancement or challenges, were identified as significant hindering factors by the participants in this category, as illustrated by the following participant:

> You know things like that; they just learn and go so they don't have any management skills you know, they, a lot of them they have degrees, they just don't really, just as I they didn't even have good management so they just think that that's the more and that's why it is a mess because you know, you know how when you are a child and you see you know don't do certain things and nobody told you that that's wrong,
> you didn't doing same thing, or just somebody, why did you do this? (Female Participant)

Participants clearly distinguished between helpful work experiences and hindering work experience, career options. Bad management, lack of access to opportunity and lack of variety of opportunity in terms of work and career were some of the issues highlighted by participants as being a hindrance in their successful transitions between school and career.

Support networks (Lack of)

Five participants mentioned the lack of support networks as being a hindrance during their transitions to success. This category included the lack of resources within communities, cycles of violence, alcohol and drug prevalence within communities and resultant dislocation, stereotypes and classism, a lack of transportation, and general feelings of having meaningful, supportive relationships. A total of 24 hindering incidents were recorded in this category, (n=24) or 9% of the total incidents in the category. A female participant was very aware of the division of classes and the difficulty of trying to make 'meaningful' friendships in a place where wealth and prestige were important. She mentioned the superficiality of some of the friends she had had in high school and how this was a hindering factor in her journey.

> So that made it hard and I struggled to make meaningful friendships with students in the course because they tended to come from, I don't know why but the people who I am close came from very different backgrounds to mine, and I think it fairly had something to do with the university ...and make the prestige of the course may be, but they came from quite wealthy to do families and very conservative families and after trying to make friends with these people and try and kind of succeeding on the superficial level ... when I would out through face book.. I wasn't friends (Female participant)

Male participants also mentioned classism, or stereotyping, and 'guilt by association' simply by virtue of the geographic area in which they congregated. They also mentioned the negative impact of 'peers' that caused trouble even when the participants themselves were not engaging in illegal behaviour. Stereotypes and problem communities were specifically identified by some participants as not being helpful.

> Just like by association like a couple of us, were sober or even tho' we hadn't been drinking... that we were hanging out with and so you just get negative attention from the police trying to move on and want to search your bags and it was just because that you hang out with people that were drunk and being ...yeah sort of wasn't very good... wasn't very helpful. (Male Participant)

Lack of support networks and the impact of having a relatively small circle of support was found to be a hindering factor in the transition between school and career for many of the

participants.

Culture & Ethnicity

The category of 'culture and ethnicity' emerged in the first interview and was subsequently mentioned by four participants. The total number of incidents cited for this category was 16 (n=16), comprising 6.5% of the total hindering factors. The factors identified by the participants included racism, both overt & covert, cultural and ethnic affiliations and stereotypes, and language. The participants in this study made unsolicited comments about the impact of racism and other forms of prejudice. The male participants within this category specifically identified how people viewed them when they mentioned the areas they were from, and, how in social situations, the participants could experience violence simply as a result of their non-white appearance.

> It tends to be harder to meet people whether ... it is harder to meet to people like... very much professionally just when it comes time to talk about yourself... just as soon as you mention where you are from ... it's not everyone like again it gets better as well but when we were growing up, it was difficult especially in school just because [of our culture] on the odd chances that we managed to go out somewhere into the city or something, we always find ourselves in trouble, in fights with people that just wanted to make trouble for nothing... (Male Participant)

One participant identified how the culture in which he was immersed as a young migrant did not prepare him for living and working in the dominant culture of his adopted country. He felt that the 'separated' community was not a true indication of the culture of the outside world of the country that he was now a part of, and that this was unhelpful to him in his journey.

> Living in little South America [in Australia] how was that not helpful... Just because it was such shock like I come home and the time I spend in the area in the neighbourhood, it was just complete comfort and then... it will be like culture shock... but because the way things work here [in Australia] wasn't the way that we were living in the neighbourhood... (Male Participant)

This participant illustrated the paradox of being proud of his heritage, feeling safe in his community and conversely the costof staying within the confines of a migrant community.

Education

Education was a category mentioned as hindering in the first interview. However, an interesting part of this category is the fact that all five males mentioned school as hindering, but this view was not shared by the females who participated in the study. Education as a hindrance included not belonging, a lack of assistance and support, a lack of access, teachers who did not care, the failure to build relationships within the school setting, feeling isolated in the education setting, and not feeling as though they belonged. Five of the seven participants contributed to this category, all of whom were male. It comprised 15 incidents (n=15) and this constituted 5.5% of the hindering categories. The males also mentioned having no friends as a result of being both 'different' in looks and also because they did not speak the language (English) in the school and this did not seem to be helped by the school personnel in any way. This was identified as a hindering factor for many of the participants in this category and illustrated by this quote from one male participant.

> I remember starting school and I think... I didn't know anyone like I spent... like I had, I had no friends. People I had to spoke in school in that block and I think it was because we came here and I was really shy kid because of the whole new... how quickly it happened, like I believe a lot of people that I knew and I didn't really want to come here, like I didn't know why we were coming here, but I think it was a mixture of the fact that I was new and I didn't really speak English, combined with the fact that I was different... (Male Participant)

The male participants also identified the failure of staff and the system to notice when there was a problem. One male participant identified how the school environment and personnel did not assist him during a time when he was suffering as a result of the death of his mother. He identified feeling isolated in school and having no counselling. He also mentioned that because he was not a 'problem' and his grades just slipped, no attention was given to the fact that something may have been wrong because his grades were falling. This feeling of isolation within the school was identified as a hindering factor.

> And so I had lot, you know so there was still that...in the school I felt a bit alone I was like that but as soon as that, got taken away off

> after my mother passed away, so, there is ... this is horrible isolation you know despite being in the middle of the all the [students]... I was never a bad student but I think I got progressively worse you know towards the end of high school, I ended up barely graduating, barely passing my HSC... (Male Participant)

On the one hand, education was identified as a key helping factor in the transition of each participant between school and career, yet this 'education' was also able to shift and become hindering depending upon the individual experiences of the participants in schools.

Limitations

The limitations of qualitative research that apply to this project include the possibility that the interviewees were trying to please the researcher, and respond in perceived socially appropriate ways. Moreover, the findings from this research are not necessarily generalizable insofar as it is meant to represent an exploration of individual experiences and therefore, offers an in-depth, rich review of the data. Finally, the self-selection amongst participants based on 'success' and 'doing well' may have impacted both the number and the range of hindrance factors that were reported.

Discussion

Previous studies in this field have included an examination of the factors that have impacted success for people transitioning between school and career. However, research is scant with regard the impact of culture and immigration upon this transition. One extant study (Pak, 2005) indicated that a variety of social and cultural forces that influence careers were identified as helping or hindering the journey between school and post-school life. These included: (1) the role of women, (2) accessibility to education and career education, (3) the changing demographic distribution, (4) the growth of a world economy, (5) male mentors/role models, (6) parental expectations, (7) expectations for success individual (self-efficacy), cultural and in an educational setting (teachers/mentors), and (8) socio-cultural and ethnic variables (Schoon, Martin & Ross, 2007). In a similar vein, the present study explores the individual needs and characteristics that are generally identified with the early stages of a

person's career, from the viewpoint of immigrant youth. This study used the Critical Incident technique to consider a variety of perspectives from migrants to Australia with diverse socio-cultural and socio-economic backgrounds. Consistent with Pak (2005), the issues raised included accessibility to education and career education, mentors, and the availability of role models from all age groups and genders, parental expectations for success, cultural and educational environments, and individual self-confidence and efficacy.

Hindering factors with regards to transitions from school to career

As expected, migrant youth in the present study identified a number of issues associated with moving from country to country. It is noteworthy that most participants, on reflection of events that, at the time, seemed onerous and disconcerting, subsequently perceived them as 'helpful' in the long run. A number of hindering factors were identified by the participants which, in effect, mirrored the opposites of the helpful factors, such as family, education, culture/ethnicity, work, wellness, and stability. Hindrances included learning new languages and losing the security of family and an established support network, trying to 'belong' in a society that views you as 'other', disruptions to schooling and social life, exclusion from social groups, feelings of isolation and fragmentation not only in school, but the family and the workplace. According to the Social Exclusion Unit Report on Mental Health and Social Exclusion '*it is rare that people from ethnic minority groups access individual support for any mental health issues, and it is even more rare that these supports are culturally sensitive*.' (Social Exclusion Unit, 2004, p. 43). Statistics supporting such findings are commonplace in many British health surveys and reports (Woodger & Cowan, 2010, Keating, 2009, Willis, 2008, Healthcare Commission, 2006b) and as such, would point to the idea that these are common issues for all countries with high rates of immigration and varying ethnic groups (Light, Roscigno, & Kalev, 2011). Therefore, more qualitative and quantitative research is required into the nature and extent of this phenomenon.

During this project, the impact of culture was revealed as an important helping factor

for the participants while transitioning from their original countries and during other transitions that they experienced across their young life span. For the participants, having support from anyone who understood their culture, or who had experienced similar changes, was considered helpful to them. Other factors that were mentioned by the participants that they found to be helpful in their journey include changing their own 'culture' (building a new cultural identity) which was different to the culture that they remembered as a child and in which their parents had been raised. Yet, this new identity incorporated, or acknowledged this 'old' culture as a point of uniqueness and gave them pride. This phenomenon needs further exploration at the individual level, as culture was also identified as a hindering item for the participants. It is necessary to understand the changes that occur for these participants, not only on an individual level but also in terms of motivation, reinterpretation of life values and cultural values. All of these changes need also to be understood from a wider social perspective.

Significant by its omission from each participant's story was the complete absence of any mention of specific government programmes or policies. Only two participants mentioned community organizations as being especially helpful to them during their journey. The organization they mentioned was a grassroots, youth-based community organization driven by the passion of its director, a migrant, and the hands-on work with the actual youth by other migrants or multi-ethnic workers. If further research with other youth, families and communities also reveals that it is not government organizations that impact youth positively or are helpful to them, this could point towards a significant need for a change in policy and programming.

There were some interesting categories that did not achieve the 25% participation rate recommended by Andersson & Nilsson (1964) but could be important for future research. One such category was the use of Facebook as being hindering during school and, in some other aspects of building identity. This was mentioned by two participants and bears further examination with regard the current preoccupation with cyber-bullying and the associated issues of online social networking. Further, it may be worthwhile for future research to examine the helpfulness of travel as an educational tool, and how perhaps this could be capitalized upon with the migrant population.

As an outcome of this research project, a glimmer of light has been shed upon the stories of young, successful and contributing members of society. While considering the limitations of the research, it is critical for future policy makers and programme service providers to consider the viewpoints of stakeholders. At this critical juncture in history, where economic and political turmoil is occurring around the globe, we need to celebrate such success and promote it. By creating security and stability in the lives of young people who have been uprooted from their country of birth, it is possible to create further security in society. As mentioned by our participants, having stability, some guidance, hope, and opportunity, meant that they took a path of being helpful, positive, contributing members of society. Our young participants have created a strong model for other young migrants, and it is important that such success be recognized and honoured.

In conclusion, it is clear that our global society is not monochromatic. The world is neither black, white nor other; rather, we are all members of a large global structure that is humanity. As such, one goal is to ensure the success and continuation of success of all people by their positive contributions to society. Through such stories of success and the examples of managing change and overcoming obstacles as are illustrated here, we can begin to see directions and possibilities for the future. By fostering success, building on programmes that promote strong support networks and assist others, it is possible to build a

newer, more cohesive fabric of society. Such research and projects, in turn, could help to build a strong, resilient, stable society with multiple opportunities for success for the youth of tomorrow no matter what the heritage or ethnicity.

References

American Psychological Association, 2002. *Guidelines on Multicultural Education, Training, Research, Practice, and Organizational Change for Psychologists.*

Angelides, P. (2001).The development of an efficient technique for collecting and analyzing qualitative data: The analysis of critical incidents. *Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education,* 14(3), 429-442

Andersson, B. and Nilsson, S. (1964) 'Studies in the Reliability and Validity of the Critical Incident Technique', *Journal of Applied Psychology,* 48(6), 398–403.

Arrendondo, Patricia M. (1984), Identity Themes for Immigrant Young Adults, *Adolescence*, 19(76), 977-993.

Barley, R. & Salway, S. (2008) Ethical practice and scientific standards in researching ethnicity: methodological challenges of conducting a literature review. *Ethnicity in UK social science research: ethics and scientific standards.*

Britten, L. & Borgen, W.A. (2010) Footprints of colour along the career journey, *Procedia Social and Behavioural Sciences,* 5, 104-115.

Butterfield, L.D. (2001). *A critical incident study of individual clients' outplacement counselling experiences.* (Unpublished master's thesis), University of British Columbia, Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada.

Butterfield, L., Borgen, W, & Amundson, N., (2005) Fifty years of the critical incident technique: 1954–2004 and beyond. *Qualitative Research,* 5(4), 475-497.

Butterfield, L., Borgen, W.A, & Amundson, N., (2005). The impact of a qualitative research interview on workers' views of their situation. *Canadian Journal of Counselling / Revue canadienne de counseling,* 43(2), 120-130.

Butterfield, L. Borgen, W.A., Amundson, N. & Erlebach, A. (2010). What helps and hinders workers in managing change. *Journal of Employment Counseling*, 47, 146-156.

Butterfield, L, Borgen, W, Maglio, A, Amundson, N, (2009*),* Using the Enhanced Critical Incident Technique in Counselling Psychology Research. *Canadian Journal of Counselling / Revue canadienne de counseling,* 43(4): 265-282.

Feliciano, C, (2005) Does selective migration matter? Explaining ethnic disparities in educational attainment among immigrants' children. *International Migration Review,* 39(4), 844-871.

Filbert, K.M., & Flynn, R.J. (2010) Developmental and cultural assets and resilient outcomes in First Nations young people in care: An initial test of an explanatory model. *Children and Youth Services Review* 32, 560–564.

Flanagan J. (1954). The critical incident technique. *Psychological Bulletin* 51, 327–358.

Hallett, D., Want, S.C., Chandler, M.J., Koopman, L.L., Flores, J., Gehrke, E.C.

(2008). Identity in flux: Ethnic self-identification, and school attrition in Canadian Aboriginal youth. *Journal of Applied Developmental Psychology*, 29, 62–75.

Healthcare Commission. (2006b). *Variations in the Experiences of Patients Using the NHS Services in England*. London: Commission for Healthcare Audit and Inspection.

Keating, R. (2009). African and Caribbean men and mental health. *Ethnicity & inequalities in health and social care,* 2(2), 41-53.

Light, R., Roscigno, V.J. & Kalev, A. (2011). Race, racial attitudes and stratification beliefs: evolving directions for research and policy: Racial Discrimination, Interpretation and legitimation at work. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science,* 634, 39-59.

McCormick, R. (1996). Culturally appropriate means and ends of counselling as described by the First Nations people of British Columbia, *International Journal for the Advancement of Counselling,* 18,163-172.

Ministry of Social Development, (2010). *New Zealand Social Report*. Available from http://www.socialreport.msd.govt.nz/ (accessed December 2011).

Pak, J. H. (2005). Narrative analysis of Korean American women's acculturation and changing self. *Dissertation Abstracts International: Section B: The Sciences and Engineering.* 66 (6-B), 3421.

Perez, R. M. (2011). Linguistic Acculturation and Context on Self-Esteem: Hispanic Youth between Cultures. *Journal of Child & Adolescent Social Work.* 28:203–228 retrieved online: 20 Sept. 2011_ Springer Science+Business Media, LLC 2011.

Redfield, R., Linton, R., & Herskovits, M. J. (1936). Memorandum on the study of acculturation. *American Anthropologist,* 38: 149–152.

Schoon , I., Martin, P., & Ross, A. (2007). Career transitions in times of social change. His and her story, *Journal of Vocational Behaviour,* 70(1), 78-96.

Sturm, S. (2001). Second generation employment discrimination: A structural approach. *Columbia Law Review*, 101, 458-568.

Talbani, A. & Hasanali, P. (2000). Adolescent females between tradition and modernity: Gender role socialization in South Asian immigrant culture. *Journal of Adolescence*, 23, 615–627.

Tripp, D. (1993). *Critical incidents in teaching: Developing professional judgement*, London: Routledge.

Urban, S. (2012). University Education as a Compensation Strategy among Second-Generation Immigrants. *International Migration Review*, 46(4), 919-940.

Van Riemsdijk, M. (2013). Everyday Geopolitics, the Valuation of Labour and the Socio- Political Hierarchies of Skill: Polish Nurses in Norway. *Journal of Ethnic &*

Migration Studies 9(3), 373-390.

Warren, K., Ramaiah, S., & Teagle, R. (2010). Compilation of a local profile of immigration using GP registration data. *Ethnicity and Inequalities in Health and Social Care* 3(2), 6-12.

Willis, R. (2008). Advantageous inequality or disadvantageous inequality? Ethnicity and family support among older people in Britain. *Ethnicity and Inequalities in Health and Social Care*, 1(2), 18-23.

World Health Organization (WHO) (2001) *Mental Health: Strengthening mental health promotion*. Factsheet No. 220. Geneva: World Health Organization. Available from: www.who.int/mediacentre/factsheets/fs220/en/ (accessed January 2012).

Willis, R. (2008). Advantageous inequality or disadvantageous equality? Ethnicity and family support among older people in Britain. *Ethnicity and Inequalities in Health and Social Care*, Volume 1(2), 18-23.

Woodger, D. & Cowan, J. (2010). Institutional racism in healthcare services: using mainstream methods to develop a practical approach. *Ethnicity & inequalities in health and social care*, 3(4), 36-44.

Paper 4: Shadowlands: Coming out of the shadows into the light

Paper 3 discussed the outcomes of Phase I of the research project, examining the factors that helped and hindered migrant youth, aged 18 to 29 years of age, in the transition between school and career. It elaborated on the factors identified by the participants as being helpful and those that were not helpful in achieving a successful transition into a career of their choosing. Paper 3 also elaborated on migrant youth ideas of success and career. It also discussed the usefulness of these findings with regard to future policy making and programming in the area of careers for migrants.

Paper 4 discusses the outcomes of Phase II of the research project, examining the factors that helped and hindered indigenous Australian youth, aged 18 to 29 years of age, in the transition between school and career. It elaborates on the factors identified by the participants as helpful and hindering including: achieving a new level of self-understanding, wellness, family, support networks, community resources and access to these resources, role models, education, work and work experience, stability, ethnicity, aboriginality and cultural attachment, and prejudice and low expectations. It also discusses the usefulness of these findings with regard future policy making and programming in the area of careers and education for indigenous peoples.

Paper 4 Publication History

Paper 4 will be submitted for publication. The author of the present dissertation wrote 90% of the paper.

Shadowlands: Coming out of the shadows into the light.

Abstract

Why do some indigenous youth succeed in the tumultuous transition between school and career whereas others do not? Given current economic conditions and governmental commitments to improving indigenous lives with regard to career success in the 21st century, this topic is timely and important. Indigenous voices must be heard, particularly in terms of the factors that help and hinder the transition between school, work and culture. The absence of such research is a significant gap in understanding. This research project has opened up new, positive, stories of success from this population, to shed a sliver of light on a rarely studied phenomenon. It explores some of the realities of the transition from school to career for indigenous youth, in their own words. Family, self-concept, identity, cultural attachment and a multilayered network of supports were identified as helping factors during the transition between school and career. A qualitative methodology was selected to allow indigenous youth to tell their stories, honour oral traditions and give a rich understanding of their transitions between school and vocation. Such research is necessary in the 21st century multicultural world.

Keywords: Indigenous, career, youth, transitions, oral history, narrative research

Stronglines: Voices from the margins on the successful transition between school and career

In the burgeoning field of career and development, voices and experiences of indigenous peoples from around the globe are starting to come out of the shadows and be heard in many areas of mainstream academia. Many statistics show that some indigenous populations are not doing well (ABS 2010; Department of Health & Aging, 2009; AIATSIS, 2000). According to the Australian Bureau of Statistics, the unemployment rate for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Australians remains more than three times higher than the rate for non-Indigenous Australians (5% in 2008). In actual fact, the employment rate for indigenous Australians fell from 23% in 2002 to 17% in 2008. Many different programmes have been designed to help indigenous peoples but they do not appear to be succeeding. There is global condemnation of Australia's legislative and practical treatment of their first peoples (Aston, 2010). Canada has also not escaped criticism of their treatment of their first peoples.

Legislation around the globe mandates working effectively with indigenous populations in industry, education, health and social settings. The promotion of indigenous peoples' success has been both legislatively and socially prioritized in many governmental programmes. More recently, Amnesty International has also issued statements condemning the Australian federal government with regard to its treatment of Australian aboriginals, and Canada's treatment of its First Nations' peoples (Amnesty International, 2012). It is clear that government programming and funding is not necessarily providing the answers to the issues confronting indigenous peoples and therefore, it is opportune to listen to the voices of the indigenous peoples themselves to see what helps and hinders them to do well.

The concepts of aboriginal/indigenous ideas of career, and these two concepts going hand in hand with success and youth have yet to be examined, except for one extant study (Britten & Borgen, 2010). This highlights the difficulty associated with accurately measuring the career success of a population if notions of success from the very populations being studied are different from mainstreams concepts. Indeed, the very concepts of 'career' and 'success' being defined by populations considered vulnerable and non-mainstream, would appear to be a necessary component for measuring the success of people from that population.

While the voices of indigenous people in general are often absent from the current literature, such voices do exist. Voices from indigenous youth, not only exist, but are, in fact, growing in number despite the multiple challenges and adversity that they face. Statistics from the ABS (2010) & Statistics Canada (2010) indicate that, for many indigenous populations, there are solid improvements being experienced by youth, despite still lagging behind the non-indigenous population. For example, over a six year period from 2002 – 2008, an increase of 4% was experienced in the rates of graduation from high school for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples in Australia (ABS, 2010). Additionally, for indigenous males, there was a 2% increase (up to 52%) in workforce participation (ABS, 2011). Stories from this vibrant and resilient population are demonstrating that despite what are often myriad obstacles and 'strikes' against them, they are succeeding, and in fact, overcoming obstacles (Britten & Borgen, 2010; Goodwill & McCormick, 2012; McCormick, 1996). Thus, it is now important for psychological literature to respond to this positive growth of indigenous voices around the globe. This could help to build positive futures for the indigenous young people.

The research question

The purpose of this study was to help understand the ways in which young migrant and indigenous youth are able to become successful in their choice of career. This programme of research is to help understand this phenomenon and explore the phenomena surrounding individual indigenous youth's experiences of thriving during the transition between school and vocational choice. Specifically, this project was designed to respond to the research question: What is the nature of the journey undertaken by indigenous youth to successfully transition between school and career? The participants were asked to define what the terms 'career' and 'doing well' meant for them, as well as describing the factors that helped and hindered them in their transition from school to career.

Fundamentally, this research project relies upon a 'strengths' based; positive approach, hearing the voices of successful indigenous youth. Combined with the use of the Enhanced Critical Incident Technique (ECIT), this approach is unique insofar as it mixes qualitative interviewing with elements of positivist data analysis, using Atlas Ti.

Methodology

A qualitative design, the Enhanced Critical Incident Technique (ECIT), was selected as the methodology for this research project since it is designed to explore behaviours that are directly observable and considered helpful or hindering to a specific result (Flanagan, 1954; Woolsey, 1986; Butterfield, Borgen, Maglio & Amundson, 2005; Andersson & Nilsson, 1964). The ECIT has empirical support regarding its effectiveness in eliciting comprehensive descriptions from participants, including special populations and indigenous populations (Goodwill & McCormick, 2012; Britten & Borgen, 2010; McCormick, 1996). The ECIT utilizes interviews and has added

conformity to the procedures for conducting interviews and data analysis, which has additional credibility checks and standardization to Flanagan's (1954) critical incident technique.

When using the CIT methodology, sample size is determined by the number of incidents collected, rather than the number of participants (Woolsey, 1986). Hence, the actual participant numbers are not as important as the incidents arising out of the data collected.

The Enhanced Critical Incident Technique (ECIT)

The ECIT builds upon the methodology developed by Flanagan (1954) and Woolsey (1986), and has added credibility checks and protocols for standardizing the technique (Butterfield, Borgen, Maglio & Amundson, 2005). It focuses on observable, specific incidents that are described by participants as events that have led to a specific outcome (Flanagan, 1954; Woolsey, 1986). This qualitative methodology reflects participants' voices and honours oral story traditions. Additionally, the ECIT has added steps for participants to cross-check the nature of the data acquired. The interview questions allowed the researchers to discern categories of helpful and hindering events that were perceived as influential in the transition between school and career acquisition. The basic principles of ECIT that were important to the research include the following: the identification of categories through the use of Atlas Ti, the participant demographics, data analysis and screening, and validation procedures.

Participants

The participants were all informed about the project directly by the researcher and recruited through word of mouth and through writing. The participants were contacted via family connections, and networks, in the Sydney area, as well as rural areas within the states of New South Wales, and Queensland. All of the participants were informed

that the researcher identified as aboriginal and had acquired extensive experience with indigenous populations both within Australia and abroad. The participants aged in range from 19 to 29 years of age. All eight participants identified as aboriginal people living in or close to his/her family of origin and/or traditional lands at the time of the study. The primary inclusion criteria was that the youths had left the school system and self-identified as 'doing well' in his/her transition from high school to career. Four participants were female and four were male. Two of the females were attending university to complete an undergraduate degree; one of these is undertaking a double degree. The other two females were studying at community and technical colleges and working. Three of the males were attending university, two of whom, were undertaking dual degrees. The other male was working full time.

The Interview Process

The ECIT suggests following a process of pre-screening, followed by two interviews with the participants (Britten, Borgen & Wiggins, 2012; Butterfield, Borgen, Maglio & Amundson, 2005; Goodwill & McCormick, 2012). A pre-screening interview took place to build rapport with the participants and to determine their suitability for inclusion in the study. Interviews took place at a venue considered 'safe' and comfortable for the participants, including a local aboriginal organization, homes, and at university campus libraries or offices. The first interview involved signing consent forms, building rapport with the participants, and data collection. The interview followed a semi-structured format that sought responses from participants about their career/life journey and what they experienced as being helpful or hindering in the transition between school and career. These interviews were then transcribed verbatim, and events were extracted as critical incidents (CIs) according to requirements as set out by Flanagan (1956). All of the interviews were assigned a code number for the purpose

of confidentiality. These incidents were then screened by the researcher's adjunct supervisor to ensure that they were complete enough to be considered incidents as set out by Flanagan (1956).

Using the Atlas Ti programme, the researcher highlighted an event/experience, and assigned a thematic code to the identified event. According to Flanagan (1956), for an incident to be classified as a CI it must clearly state what occurred, be a reasonably complete elicitation of the event, and show an outcome or result as experienced by the participant. After the analysis was complete, the participants were asked if they would like to see the verbatim interview transcript and to check/modify/delete the information so as to remain true to their words.

Data Analysis

The purpose of the study was to investigate the ways in which indigenous young adults were successful in the transition from high school to career. The frame of reference was restricted to incidents that helped or hindered the participants along their successful career transition. After identifying critical incidents, they were then categorized into groups. A number of credibility checks, as recommended by Butterfield, Borgen, Maglio & Amundson (2005), were employed to ensure the accurate reporting of the data. Ethical guidelines and critical incident technique protocols were also adhered to as a result of using the following checks (Butterfield, Borgen, Maglio & Amundson, 2005; Goodwill & McCormick, 2012). A second expert screened the interview tapes and ensured that the interviewer was following correct procedures, and not interfering with the participant's stories. Consultation with an expert occurred to ensure appropriate naming of categories. Further, an independent expert checked that the incidents were correctly identified from the transcripts. This same independent expert took a random 25% of the incidents identified and categorized these incidents into the

named categories. According to Butterfield, Borgen, Maglio & Amundson (2005) and Andersson & Nilsson (1964), a minimum 75% agreement rate in category placement is necessary to ensure credible results. Exhaustiveness was achieved as the interviews were conducted until no new categories emerged. Finally, the categorized interviews were then shared with the participants to ensure that the data as summarized and reported was a true reflection of the participants' own thoughts/experiences. As recommended by Borgen & Amundson (1984), only those categories with minimum participation rates of 25% were included in the results. Extant literature and research was then compared with the results. All of the credibility checks were necessary to indicate that the categories that emerged from the interviews were credible and trustworthy.

Results

The categories that emerged from this project mirrored previous research with some additional interesting layers of complexity. The categories that emerged were based upon support networks in a variety of settings. The categories that emerged as both helpful and hindering were: 1. Family, 2. Achieving a new level of self-understanding, 3. Wellness, 4. Role Models, 5. Support; 6. Aboriginality and cultural attachment; 7. Education; 8. Stability; 9. Community/Resources & Access; 10. Work experience; 11. Finances; 12. Opportunities; and 13. Prejudice/Low Expectations (see Table 1 below).

Table 1

Critical Incident Categories

	Helping Critical Incidents ***(N=)***			**Hindering Critical Incidents** ***(N=)***			**Total Critical Incidents**
	Participants Incidents ***(N = 8)***			**Participants Incidents** ***(N=8)***			
Categories	***n***	**%**	**N**	***n***	**%**	**N**	
Family	8	**100**	94	5	**62.5**	25	**119**
Achieving a New Level of Self Under-Standing	8	**100**	85	6	**75**	15	**100**
Role Models	8	**100**	88	4	**50**	6	**94**
Wellness	7	**86.5**	68	6	**75**	15	**83**
Support	8	**100**	57	5	**62.5**	25	**82**
Aboriginality & Cultural Attachment	5	**62.5**	42			13	**55**
Education	7	**86.5**	38	5	**62.5**	13	**51**
Stability	7	**86.5**	30	4	**50**	8	**38**
Community Resources/ Access	7	**86.5**	19	7	**86.5**	14	**33**
Work Experience	6	75	30	Nil		Nil	**30**
Finances	4	**50**	23	4	**50**	7	**30**
Opportunity/ Access to Resources	7	**86.5**	23	7	**86.5**	5	**28**
Prejudice/ Low Expectations	3	**37.5**	18	4	**50**	9	**27**

Other categories mentioned in passing and of interest for future research included luck, gratefulness, travel, and rejection (meaning that being rejection could be both devastating and also a springboard for motivation). These categories were mentioned by various participants but did not reach the required 25% participation rates,

or they were not complete stories (source, description and outcome) as required by Woolsey (1986) to meet the defining criteria for a critical incident.

Family

Family emerged as a category in the first interview and all subsequent interviews. The participation rate was 100%. Critical incidents numbered n= 94 (helping) and n = 25 (hindering) for a total of 119 critical incidents. Family included immediate parents, father or mother, or both, grandparents, either grandmother, grandfather or both, and extended family, including aunts, uncles, cousins and 'adopted' family. The helpful aspects of family included: support, being held accountable, having expectations from the family, being a responsible member of the family and living up to expectations. In keeping with indigenous cultural traditions, 'family' has a broad definition and is not limited to nuclear family bloodlines. One participant described the helpful aspect of family as follows:

> Well I guess like seeing the struggles that they had to go through in their lives and because they never wanted for us as kids. I guess for me, I wanted to make, I want to make them proud, is the biggest thing as well...I don't know like it pushes me to do well because I want them to be proud because I feel like they are being invested so much in me as well like and they want me to do well so making them proud is I don't know, I just want to make them proud and I am not going to, be like everyone else, because that's what, that's the biggest thing my parents said me like, don't be like the rest of your cousins!... (Female participant)

This quote shows the clear relationship between the helpful and hindering aspects of the family category. A male participant defined how his brother was a role model and helped him to understand that he could achieve his own dreams and follow his lead in the following way:

> Yeah just that he [older brother] has done it, you know like, got 2 degrees and you know good job and things like that, and insists [it's] something that [I] can aspire to do... (Male participant)

Family, or rather extended family was also seen as a hindrance in that sometimes the familial role models were not optimal. One female participant described the influence of her cousins upon her own decisions as follows:

> [T]he main reason why I dropped out, [was] because my cousin was pregnant at that time and she [wouldn't] go to school and my other cousin has gone through that phase of running away from home so I decided to drop out.... (Female participant)

These quotes also illustrate the complexity of extracting single categories from the data as the quotes clearly illustrate the intertwined nature of family, role models and the hindering potential of family relationships.

Achieving a New Level of Self Understanding

The category 'achieving a new level of self-understanding', included: issues of identity formation, maturation, self-confidence, belief in oneself, and a sense of direction, alongside a growing knowledge of values/goals. This category was mentioned by all participants as being a helpful part of the process of transition. A total of n=85 helping CIs, and n= 15 hindering incidents were recorded which totalled 100 incidents overall. The participation rate was 100%. Periods of self-doubt, loss of motivation and direction, immaturity and not knowing their own identity were the negative components that were mentioned as hindering the participants' journeys. The following quote exemplifies the understanding of how periods of time, and gaps where no direction could be found, helped the participant to understand himself more fully, and gave him direction.

> But it was not, to make that transition, I guess high school to university would have been a big step because I was very, I guess immature, leaving high school. Then I guess that gap year gave me time to mature and grow up, and really assess what's important and seeing what I really want to do... (Male participant)

In another participant's eyes, the support and positive environment enabled her to believe she could achieve. All categories had duality in that support, aboriginality, role-

models, community or other combinations often interacted to help increase self-confidence and form the participant's identity. Maturity and a growing understanding of the impact of attitudes in the wider world were also an underlying element of this category. These factors were all helpful in achieving a growing sense of self and identity for the participants.

> Well, could learn from it by being, if we friends had a problem, you know just want to be help them, being helpful you know... Well, it helps, I would like to say, it makes me feel good about myself and it makes me good and a better person. (Female participant)

The hindering elements of achieving a new level of self-understanding included being bored and, as a result, getting into mischief, a loss of motivation and a loss of self-confidence and a sense of direction. One male participant described the issues associated with this as follows:

> I think that's where boredom factor kicks in and that's where your immaturity and 'unwiseness', if that's the word, kicks in and you make some bad decisions! And you know, although you are the one, you are in control of your actions. Sometimes you don't have a choice but you are just looking for something to do. If you are not doing enough, you are going to go insane so that's mischief and, like I said, not very smart decisions to take... (Male participant)

Role Models

The 'role models' category was introduced in the first interview and subsequently recorded a total of 94 incidents. Role models as a category incorporated people who were influential either by example or by simply being a part of the participant's life (positive or negative). All of the participants cited role models as a helping factor in their journey between school and career. Critical incidents in this category totalled 88 (helping) and six (hindering) with a 100% participation rate. An interesting facet of the research was the helpfulness that participants felt from both positive and negative role models. As mentioned in the family category, the participants felt that they learned as much from watching others doing things they should not do, as they did from models

that they wished to emulate. The participants often expressed this duality clearly as illustrated by the following quote:

> Yeah around 15, I think I was pretty lucky that I didn't, I am unlucky and lucky at the same time. That's normal! He [my brother] was on the same path as me like he was quite good athletically and then had to get injured. Like you know after a game and then was never able to come back to it and then, went and studied. He went quite well off that. So I realized that, you know it was never going to last forever, sports was never going to last forever. I want to get study finished, get education backing [me]... and then have another go, and I might and might not. But I realized that, you know, it cannot last so long so you could have something to you know to have forever because you are not going to be able to play forever, but, I will be able to teach, educate... (Male participant)

Understanding the nature of life and 'the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune' (Shakespeare) was a result of seeing both good and bad events happen in the lives of role models. Further, role models were seen to inspire certain behaviour as shown by the following participants' quotes:

> I guess the stereotype of indigenous people you know unemployed, uneducated someone like that but to see someone like, you are close to and someone that you have grown up, someone that you looked up to who just go and do something is very inspiring I guess! …You feel proud of that person as well and you feel, if they can do it, then what's stopping me from doing it? (Male Participant)

> I guess they go in that phase, they want to be experience stuff, they chase it because they are friends. You know they see their friends doing it, they didn't learn it from me they used to smoke and I guess they were kind of pressured in it, it just seems, seen their closest friends do it. I guess they decided to do it, because they thought it was cool you know? If you are not doing it, you are not cool and stuff. I guess they just want to do it to make it feel better, yeah! (Female participant)

For the participants, the most hindering aspect of the lack of role models was feeling unique and alone, or isolated in their experiences. The lack of role models from the indigenous community was not mentioned often but it was a clear loss in the participants' minds as illustrated by this male participant's quote:

> Ha, it is ridiculous that the only aboriginal people I have seen work or the people who work at aboriginal employment services so it is like, that's it like you went, I noticed 1 black woman and that was it! Oh yeah they train in Australia to work in the mines... (Male participant)

Wellness

'Wellness', as a category, threaded its way through all the participants' journeys and was mentioned in every participant's story. Wellness incorporated a number of factors in the helping side including: emotional health, physical health, inclusion in sports (especially aboriginal sporting programmes and funding), life/work balance, spirituality/prayer and meditation. On the helpful side, the participation rate was 86.5% and, on the hindering side of wellness, the participation rate was 75%. A total of n=68 helpful and 15 hindering incidents were recorded. The hindering components of this category included the impact of mental illness, including depression, the use of drugs and alcohol, and physical ill health.

At a helpful level, one female participant described the impact of positive mental health upon what she felt to be her positive direction in life.

> Being positive! Being positive and without the support I wouldn't be where I am today! But personally to me just being positive with myself! Telling myself I can do it, because I don't want to be, I didn't want to have the same life my mother did! You know she chose that life! I wanted to be something. (Female participant)

A male participant described the impact of being healthy as follows:

> We have to be healthy, you know, to fix your mind state, it affects your emotions like your confidence, and I am very judgmental myself, very self-conscious and stuff, so they are like, you know to be fit like it may affect ... every aspect of [life], it's a bit premature to face that, but yeah as a sport, you have fun while maintaining fitness, so it is very important... (Male participant).

From a hindering perspective, wellness issues included mental ill health such as depression, the over-use/addiction to alcohol and drugs, together with physical injuries, being generally unwell and the impact of ongoing stress.

> The drugs, it just used to make you, didn't make you feel good at all, you know once you are addicted… and if you wanted to give up, you have to get away from it and that's what I had to do to get away from it... (Female participant).

In the following quote, a male participant discussed the ongoing impact of stress on everyday life and how it was hindering to him:

> While going to school, stress and everything it's over everything like that, you know few options, either quit work or quit playing football or studying and going to uni, like I want to do it, but there is stress all that time... (Male participant)

Support

Support as a category was mentioned by the first participant and achieved a 100% participation rate. The category was focussed around the idea of support, as distinct from familial support. It included the support of peers, partners and, in particular, the aboriginal-specific tutoring and assistance schemes such as ITAS (Indigenous Tutorial Assistance Scheme) and aboriginal assistants within the school/class setting at high school. This category recorded 57 helpful critical incidents. As a hindering factor, 25 CIs were recorded. The total critical incident count equalled 82.

Helpful incidents were commonly associated with ongoing support provided through targeted indigenous programming and university organizations that were indigenous and offered a 'surrogate family' atmosphere. One female described the support she received as follows:

> It takes me a while to get things so that I have to have someone there to talk through it after school. You know at each other classroom for the tutor it was just one on one [study help]... it just, it helped me so much through the HSC and stuff with English actually. (Female participant)

A male participant also discussed the positive impact of the aboriginal-specific tutoring programmes as follows:

> Yeah it is part of, you know aboriginal students, just apply for I can get free tutoring for a few hours a week, so it is ITAS support or something like that, which is really good! And with science, I don't think even if I was able to do the work, I would have gone any better. (Male participant)

> It has been really good! Then I have got one tutor for English though I had them for a couple of years... they had helped me out, as I said, and assisted me. Like I have had that for a couple of years... (Male participant)

> It was really helpful for me, due to we had been in year 12, we had a few assignments, we had assessments to do for English and assessment for maths and all the tests that we do in class, she was always helping whenever needed, [right] in the class... (Female participant)

Hindrances recorded by the participants centred on the reality of isolation (both physical and as a result of perceived differences), together with the general lack of services and support within the general community and environment. One male participant mirrored a female participant's words regarding homesickness and feeling 'cut off' from family by the distance between their university studies and their 'homes'.

> [I was] cut off geographically... that's how I work because I miss them so much while away... I miss them regardless, but I miss them much more everyday... (Male participant)

Another participant described how a lack of support and what he perceived as 'bad teaching' meant he felt as if he was not included and his heritage was left out of any positive inclusion in the curriculum.

> ...coming back to [the subject of] school, could have really shown that, because it didn't have any, it comes back to bad teaching as well! Like teachers never really thought, you know, didn't have much inclusion, or positive aboriginal perspective and things like that so I did not [feel] part of it... (Male participant)

Aboriginality & Cultural Attachment

The category 'aboriginality and cultural attachment' arose in the first interview and was subsequently mentioned as helping for a total of 42 critical incidents and hindering for a further 13. The total participation rate was 62.5%. This category included identifying as indigenous/ aboriginal, having familiarity with, or access to, culture, either through local resources, traditions, activities and/ or history. All of the participants in this category mentioned the helpfulness of aboriginality and access to their culture via family, traditions, history. However, only four participants discussed the hindering aspects of this category,

and it is interesting to note that three of the four participants who reported hindering incidents were male.

Helpful incidents included the discussion of having aboriginal sporting programmes, specific aboriginal assistants or access to assistance provided on their missions, including cultural and financial support, or sporting and educational programmes. A wider perspective of the helpfulness of aboriginality was also based around the notion of non-aboriginal support, and having the support of the wider community in the provision of specifically aboriginal cultural events, education and financial support.

> Some of the oldest came in for the talks to the kids, told them the stories, they had like a class of being. They did aboriginal dance class, so the [culture] was there, showed the kids how to dance a bit, they showed them like, you know, a few instruments like... They showed them and talked about it. They had a whole class where they, it was just amazing! When I went into that school, there was absolutely nothing, like even for me to say, when I used to go to school in like, you don't mean how it was, and for me to even tick the boxes being aboriginal! I remember teacher saying to me, so I ticked it, why did you tick the box for being aboriginal, you are not aboriginal, I was like...Excuse me? (Female participant)

> I mean being indigenous is a big thing! I mean, I guess acknowledging the fact of passing justice and working together indigenous and non-indigenous to create equality in Australia between indigenous and non-indigenous! It is a very good thing, it might be a very good thing! I mean, it gives the sense that you know indigenous people are not just doing it alone... (Male Participant)

In contrast, the hindering component of this category that formed a total of 13 incidents were based around the ideas of how being aboriginal could have caused alienation, isolation, a point of difference, and shame, including the impact of the stolen generations upon this newer generation. Discussions of mothers or grandmothers, fathers having been stolen and listening to stories from aunts and uncles of their experiences of being 'stolen' and not knowing to this day to whom they were related to or where their family was/are, was important to the participants. These incidents had twin emotions, negative and positive and the participant would state that their culture/aboriginality was helpful or not helpful, or both.

> Just like the rich history, it sort of, it is a positive and the negative, it is like probably at the same time, because you see, like with culture you see, some of the Asian cultures, you see how rich their culture is and then you look at how, sort of my culture is so dead! So it sort of sucks at the same time but it is inspiring sort of want to learn at the same time, so that's yeah, that's how I said it is a positive and a negative... (Male Participant)

> Just as I said, I didn't have any positive perspectives on the abnormality, being aboriginal, always go back to, like sitting in class and watching friends. And people you know digging negative out and stuff like that! And then being singled out and stuff, so just that was on bad thing! Having the positive side is just, you know, really good! Yeah! (Male Participant)

Education

Education was mentioned as a category in the first interview and subsequently achieved an 86.5% participation rate with all males participating and three of four females also participating. The category elicited 38 helpful critical incidents and 13 hindering incidents for a total of 51 CIs. The category was centred on around the idea of good teaching, good relationships and a good environment in school, as well as the helpfulness of actually receiving an education as a means of 'opening doors'. An additional component of this category was the need for a positive work or study space as a means of capitalizing upon the educational opportunities provided.

One participant described the good feelings of being able to succeed in a school despite being the only indigenous student as follows:

> It is a good feeling like you know, all the application that she [the teacher] had helped me fill it in and, she had to write, and she is I guess, a good [teacher]. Even though I was in a school that ... didn't have any... indigenous students. My dad has actually helped the school and my principal, she is only just came in to principal like when I was going through year 11 and 12! Now they do welcome to country, my brother already got an aboriginal flag up. They now fly the aboriginal flag, this is a private school... (Female participant)

For one male, education was simply:

> Well, knowledge is power, so then you know you are enabling that person to be more fulfilled, I guess because they are just not stuck... (Male participant)

Education was seen as hindering with regard to an unsupportive school environment, rejection by university, unsupportive teachers and geographic location and feeling isolated

within the school setting. The participants illustrated the varying nature of how education was not helpful in the following ways:

> ...At university people put me down and were saying you know you can't do this and like, I pretty much had that, all my life! (Female participant)

Other participants described how the lack of assistance and stress was considered a hindrance to performance at school in this way:

> I had a hard time with English and stuff, it was just not getting through a paragraph of writing. It was hard for me to take it in and read it, it was hard... I didn't have someone to explain to me what it was… (Female participant)

For the participants, support and assistance that was specifically designed for them as aboriginals was seen as an essential component of being successful.

Stability

The category of 'stability' arose in the first interview of the project and was subsequently mentioned by seven of eight participants for a participation rate of 87.5%. The category incorporated a stable day to day life, a stable home and family life, stable relationships, and a continued, stable person in the lives of some participants. Underlying elements included financial stability and personal security. The helping incidents equalled a total of 23, and hindering incidents totalled eight.

Participants described the importance of feeling safe, and having stability in non-Western ideologies such as having the stability of food, while another described the idea of 'personal stability' defining it as follows:

> It's a good feeling like, I feel safe, and I know lot of people don't feel safe, a lot of others don't! Interviewer: How is that helpful to feel that you are safe? (P) [It] makes life easier, I don't have worries on my mind and like you know, daily struggles to get food so I could never imagine what that means... (Female Participant)

From a hindering perspective, instability was the main issue evident. Further elaboration of the concept of instability illustrated such elements as familial instability, social instability and feeling personally 'unstable' or being unsteady. It

was unhelpful because it prevented the participants from moving forward, or feeling happy about their progress, and for one participant, familial instability was understood by her to cause her HSC results to drop. One male participant described the instability as follows:

> Just, probably just going over same thing like, getting out of bed and... at the moment, I am just trying to do stuff, going to paint the room and stuff like that, just to do things! But this is like I should take a holiday! ...[T]he last few weeks at uni I had so much more work, that I really didn't think about what I was going to do, ha, so I was a bit unstable, not academically but you know ...I didn't think (Male Participant).

Community Resources/Access

'Community Resources/Access' arose in the first interview and subsequently achieved a participation rate of 87.5%. There were 19 helping and 14 hindering incidents for a total of 30 incidents. The category incorporated community networks, resources, elders, support and support services, as well as transportation and a sense of belonging to the community. All of the aspects were underscored by the ability of the community to be seen as more healthy than unhealthy with regard the environment and the mental health of their members. One female participant described the helping aspects of a community in the following way:

> Well, these days it is all about trusting! You know trusting others, being very [open]. These days we talk about abusive stuff that's happening to children, especially in indigenous communities, it is pretty sad, children grow up being abused, they never tell anyone, they keep it themselves, just getting to know that children, you know talking to them, being, like being as, being one, to being friendly and stuff. I have tried really get a, just wanted to be their friend you know really like talking them about, making them feel welcome and they come to day-care, you know teaching them to be you know, to be yourself and stuff, you tell your parents [about it]! You know never blame yourself for it! (Female Participant).

Community issues were described as hindering with regard to the community not speaking out about issues, or a 'code of silence', particularly regarding abuse. Additionally, the isolation of communities and lack of transport or a long transit to work or educational opportunities was seen as a hindrance. One participant described the issues in the following

way:

> Participant: “Because you know if the domestic violence happening to the children, and the mother doesn’t want talk about it, how we are going to help the children, you know!” Interviewer: “So the silence is really not helpful thing because...?” Participant: “We can’t have their children that see it and they really can't help. And how we are going to help if we don’t know what’s going on and you see the son every day, you know within the abusive family, just the children reactions, just the how they react around other children.” (Female participant)

Again, it is important to note that, despite the gravity of the critical incidents mentioned by participants as hindering, they viewed the impact of having access to resources within their communities as a key component of their success in overcoming difficulty and, ultimately, being successful.

Work Experience

“Work experience” emerged as a category in the first interview and subsequently six participants articulated reasons as to why work experience was helpful. No hindering incidents were recorded in this category, although there was a duality of both good and relatively bad experiences as helpful. The category revealed a total of 30 helping incidents. The category included work itself, work experience as organized by schools, cadetships in university, and good managers at the workplace.

> She is boss of course! She does most of the work around here. She gives us assessments and things to do. She also help me with my models and every time I come to work. She is always here, most of the time she is always supportive of what I do and what choices I make... (Female participant)

The following participant described the duality of having both a negative environment and simultaneously loving the actual work. The quote illustrates the resilience of the successful youth and their internal capacity to triumph despite difficulty:

> I don’t know, I didn’t enjoy it, but I lacked what I was learning but that didn’t work in the industry, that makes sense... It didn’t make me happy because it was just so, bitchy... I just didn’t care. Then it was like other people, they were good. But although that made sense, it didn’t make me happy so...I was happy [in the actual work] which I love, different types of material, like cotton, companies and all that type of stuff. Materials, pattern making, how an outfit comes together, so when I see like, it would be cut out, different materials that work! I did illustration as well, which absolutely I love... (Female participant)

Finances

Finances were raised as both helpful and hindering by four of eight participants for a total number of incidents of 27. Helping incidents totalled 20 and hindering incidents totalled seven. Finances incorporated money, access to money, and the receipt of scholarships or cadetships that helped finances, including accommodation scholarships. At a hindering level, the most important issue was family poverty, a lack of financial assistance and the ever present concern of meeting financial payments. One female participant described the need to have a car due to the distance between her home and university, and having a 3-4 hour transit per day. According to the participant, purchasing the car would not have been possible without financial assistance and without the car, and she also believed that due to the long transit, her grades at university were affected.

> That was $300, nearly $400 a month! My parents don't really have money as paying for school fees and they are struggling themselves so just having that car! I am not a morning person! I woke at 5 o'clock every morning, getting ready, and I have my breakfast, leaving home, had to get to the train station by certain time, otherwise I wouldn't get [there] on time, buying my train ticket, it was costing me $27 a week...So taking on my car payments, I owe my parents money from the debt they have already paid! So I am slowly saving to pay them back as well. They pay for my textbooks but the university, I already have scheme where, no indigenous students have to buy law textbooks, we can buy them so all my social science books are everything they are paid for! So like, that's really, really good as well! (Female participant)

Simply put, not having finances or financial support in the form of scholarships/aide or parental support was perceived as hindering for the participants.

> All that kind of stuff, it was tough being at university... that's why I had to work, because I didn't want to that burden on my parents as well! So even though they did help me... I didn't put pressure on my parents, I know that they already had pressure in finance and everything so I tried my best to work and get money to paid for these things, they did assist me ... (Female participant)

Opportunity/Access to Resources

Access to resources was referred to by seven of eight participants with 23 incidents recorded. It was a significant category with an 87.5% participation rate. Opportunity was

seen as the ability to access resources, financial and otherwise, that helped facilitate access to education, or improved career options. This category also introduced 'luck' as a component of 'opportunity' in the sense that they were lucky enough to escape what many others in the community could not, and to go to university, or to gain a cadetship, or receive a scholarship. All of these facets of opportunity were helpful if they existed and were known about, or were considered a hindrance, if they did not exist or their existence was not made known to the participants. A total of 19 helping and 4 hindering incidents were recorded. Like most of the categories, participants articulated the double-edged nature of opportunities and their receipt. Given the reality of some of the participants' lives, not simply with in terms of geography, but also with a view to their history, socio-economic status and education, opportunities perceived by mainstream youth may not be perceived as such for indigenous youth. This paradox is clearly illustrated by the following participant's quote:

> At the end, they are not going to be able to go there- university, with what [education] they have got. So it is a bit hard you know and the school ... they could create aboriginal [programmes]! That is definitely something that would be good to sort of work towards. That's what I want to by getting [teaching in] a good school, so I can get more kids in! You know have them trial it out. But then again I think it is frustrating because, it's just going to make it worse, like its bit of a gamble sort of thing. (Male Participant)

As is evidenced from this quote, participants felt that the issues facing indigenous youth, sometimes preclude taking advantage of 'opportunities' such as scholarships, or even achieving a basic school education, because they are often faced with other hindering factors. Most participants acknowledged the positive aspects of having opportunities, but these participants also conceded that the path to success often involved conquering adversity.

Prejudice/Low Expectations

This category of 'prejudice/low expectations' emerged in a surprising fashion. Participants described how their attitude and own identity helped them when they experienced the negativity of prejudice and low expectations, such that this category

recorded more helpful incidents than hindering (18 helpful versus 8 hindering). While registering a total of only 26 incidents, the idea of suffering the effects of prejudice as forming a strong part of self-esteem and motivation, (the achieving a new level of self-understanding category) was also an illustration of the duality of the participants' experiences and added to the complexity of analysis, because all of the categories that emerged need to be understood in the context of other categories, rather than in isolation. This was clearly enunciated by both male and female participants.

> Well in a way basically it [racism] can either do two things, it can either push you down, and allow you to fall in to that stereotypical kind of thing and make you doubt yourself or it can push yourself! And for me, for me...it hurts! I am not going to say that it is easy, because it is not, it does hurt! But for me, I allowed me to push me through because I always had my dad being you know the one supportive, you can do it! No matter what you can! So, when people are racist... it, you know what it hurts but I can do it! (Female Participant).

> You look at it like these people fought so, you know the next generation, myself and others can go to university, I mean it is big thing, you know to challenge adversity, challenge racism! I mean so it is an enormous thing! That push to change, to allow change to happen, to allow equality I guess, to set the foundations for equality! (Male participant)

The hindering nature of low expectations and its impact for indigenous youth within the western-based educational environment was most evident in that it made participants feel that they had few options and that they were in fact, going to be nothing as the following participant illustrated:

> ... and the person who you are told by parents and everyone is going to teach you and so you listen to them like regardless of if you want to be there! No you are going to listen to them stay with that and if you know whatever they say! You figure [the person] who is educating you, well, that's what you learning so if they are going to say that you are going to be nothing, that's what they are teaching you and therefore, yeah there were right, I am going to be nothing! (Male participant)

The experiences of lack of understanding and respect in educational and the low expectations by educators for these research programme's participants, was found to be unhelpful in their transition between school and career.

Limitations

This study was a qualitative approach and, therefore, the results are not generalizable insofar as this research project is meant to explore the rich, unique experiences of individual participants, and to offer an in depth review of the data collected. This project may also be limited by the possibility that the interviewees were trying to please the researcher, and respond in perceived socially appropriate ways. Finally, since this study targeted self-identifying successful youth, the self-selection amongst participants based on "success" and "doing well" may have impacted both the number and the range of hindrance factors that were reported.

Discussion

This research revealed a complex set of factors that helped, and, yet simultaneously hindered, indigenous youth in their transition from school to career. The interrelationship between factors cannot be underestimated as it is this layering of experience that details the complex experience of successful transitions, despite many barriers. For example, a thread of pride in aboriginality and culture operated simultaneously with the knowledge that the history of prejudice against aboriginals had left negative intergenerational effects, the results of which could be seen as either quite depressing, or conversely, inspirational.

The most important category that arose from the data was the influence of family. Participants highlighted the helpfulness of having a supportive family (be it parents, aunts, uncles, cousins, or grandparents) and how this support was a key element for their success in the transition into a career of their choice. The influence of family, and the need to have 'healthy' families sustained in healthy communities accords with indigenous cultural traditions, where family is not only viewed as the nuclear family, but rather, as an extended community of people that can be loosely related but are 'aunties', 'uncles' or 'cousins' regardless. This sense of 'family' is

intricately linked to a wider perspective of self, environment and culture.

Participants mentioned the idea of family as also being 'blackfellas'. A male and female participant both mentioned feeling a sense of solidarity with their aboriginal 'family' which was now their core university group, rather than the classes in which they were in, or their actual degrees. Each participant mentioned a need to feel as though he/she belonged to a 'family' and that this family could be blood-tie based or kinship based, or based on 'familiarity'. This idea of 'family' and the need for aboriginal families to be strengthened and recognized is discussed at length in the indigenous health literature (Berry & Kim, 1993; Chandler & Lalonde, 2008; Goodwill & McCormick, 2012; Britten & Borgen, 2010; Abbott, 2004). The notion of helping to strengthen families at a grassroots level so that resilient, healthy communities are strengthened, needs further research.

Another important finding from this research was the identification of the need for more role models and the helpfulness of having role models. Each male participant in this project lamented the fact that he had few male role models in his life. All of the participants, male and female, desired to be a role model for future generations, and/or to be helpful in creating more opportunities for future generations of indigenous youth, including being good role models themselves. Breaking barriers and forging new grounds to create hope for future generations, as well as being role models for other indigenous youth, was a key element of these young participants' motivation. For males especially, three of the four male participants mentioned having no male role models. One male described the need for more males in his field, especially helping aboriginal males to develop in the future:

> [A]s far as I know, I am the only male aboriginal male, here at UNSW doing social work and at the winter schools in July, I am the only male participant in social work. I hope I might supervise, also groom him up to come in! I've got all the right connections, I get nice marks! With all that, I groom him up and you take my spot, I'll look after him you know! If you got into a classroom of over

> 100 people, [there are only] 3 or 4 males you know, it is a very female sort of dominated field... (Male participant)

This finding accords with the literature and statistics regarding the significance of role models (Goodwill & McCormick, 2012; Ball, 2010; Burack, Blidner, Flores & Fitch, 2007; Perez, 2011). The lack of positive involvement of fathers in children's lives has been associated with poor academic achievement, problems with social and emotional wellbeing, and further, has negative effects on the father's mental health (Ball, 2010). Positive involvement of fathers has been associated with increased wellbeing on a number of levels, including a decrease in accidental and premature deaths, criminal convictions, hospital admissions and substance abuse (Pleck and Masciadrelli, 2004; Ball, 2010).

Yet, as is reflected by the high rates of male suicide in regional areas and the concomitant loss of 'fathers' as role models in these communities, the gap between what research suggests is optimal for healthy adolescent and child development would seem hard to achieve given the insights of participants in this research. This categories identified in this project were multi-layered in relation to the loss of male role models and the renewed hope to be a male role model at some time in the future. Such narratives wound their way through most participants' stories, and for males, was enunciated as something that had been missing from their lives, unless an uncle or grandfather filled the gap of a father. Significant by their absence was the mention of father's specifically as being helpful. Only two of eight participants, mentioned their father specifically, as being helpful, and these two participants were female. This interesting dilemma, wherein the results showed family as being the most helpful factor in the transition between school and work, and yet the lack of fathers' impact in that 'familial' role, is an issue that needs further research. It also implies that, while there are deficits in this population, these deficits can be overcome through supports that may not

traditionally be seen as ‘optimal’, yet nonetheless are having positive effects upon youth, such as the roles of grandparents, and uncles and aunts in providing ‘missing’ links during childhood.

Achieving a sense of self and being able to understand the pieces of lives that helped these young people to succeed in the transition between school and career was closely aligned with an attachment to culture. Separating out categories watered down the impact of each separate category, because when taken as a whole, it could be the complex layering of family, role model, self-understanding and culture that all manifested themselves in creating a more ‘resilient’ and stronger person capable of overcoming the obstacles they faced. In one participant’s mind, it was clear that being able to learn from watching others’ experiences, and being able to reflect on these situations was helpful in achieving an identity that was unique to them. This interlocking of helping factors has been noted in prior studies and needs further research (Britten & Borgen, 2010; Britten, Borgen & Wiggins, 2013; Goodwill & McCormick, 2012; Abbott, 2004).

The effects of various types of overt and covert racism was raised by all of the participants in a variety of ways, including poor access to education, resources, financial constraints, geographic isolation, instability and the underlying current of ‘missing parents or people’ in their stories. Current research illustrates that the negative impact of racism on health generally has been associated with distress and mental ill-health (Bourke, 2003; Goodwill & McCormick, 2012; DeGagne, 2007). Mental ill-health has wide ranging effects on any given population. However, when mental issues are combined with a number of other complex adverse factors as may exist in many regional and indigenous populations, the results are disquieting. This project demonstrated how the combination of isolation and a lack of transportation was felt to be a hindrance to indigenous participant’s journeys

between school and career.

The participants in this project revealed that, for them, various issues with access to employment, education and access to resources were exacerbated by isolation and race. One participant discussed the history of oppression and how, after hearing stories that his grandparents and ancestors would never have been able to attend university, that it was gratifying to see indigenous youth at university. However, paradoxically, the reality was believed by the three male university attendees, that they were a part of a very small percentage. They felt that participation of indigenous males in university was minimal. Another participant enunciated the sadness of life in his regional town where aboriginals were only employed in either government aboriginal work placements or the mines. Such personal insights indicate that participants felt that rising above low expectations and prejudice was an important aspect of their successful journeys.

According to the Australian Bureau of Statistics (2010), Deimer and Ortega (2010), Rumbaugh Whitesell, Mitchell, Spicer, and The Voices of the Indian Teens Project (2009), social exclusion and the experiences lost as a result of the concomitant reality of this exclusion, has caused rural and aboriginal youth to suffer consequences which include constraints upon career development and occupational attainment (Daly & Smith, 2005; Ball, 2010). The impacts of geography, a history of oppression, culture and racism have a variety of consequences that need to be assessed both from an individual and community-based methodology and understanding. Failing to take into consideration the wide variety of experiences of unique, special populations could mean that any results are not indicative of what may be a general impact across wide populations compared to those that are more community specific.

This research project has shown that the indigenous youth interviewed

understand, and are subject to the duality of a history of oppression. The clear examples of the impact of prejudice and governmental policies show the damaging effects, as well as what could be viewed as current motivations for success. This duality is seen by the participants in this research project as a part of life as an indigenous person and was described as a simple part of his life story.

> ... [H]e had already gone through that, that pain, identifying his aboriginal [side] from Nan, aunties, uncles. [It] wasn't really a big thing, like I thought. So my Nan and uncles and aunties were knowing that they were aboriginal but they never talked about it, because my father never talked about it... [It was as if it was shameful]... (Male participant)

Such duality is reflected in the historical literature where figures rise above adversity to become powerful figures, (e.g. Barack Obama) or can become mired in deleterious behaviour (Burack, Blidner, Flores & Fitch, 2007; Bombay, Matheson & Anisman, 2010) or a combination of both. All of the participants mentioned the helpfulness of having aboriginal people they could look up to, and yet simultaneously, the dual impact of some 'role models' being hindrances associated with family or their people, being part of the negative stereotypes often associated with indigenous people. The interesting and surprising finding that prejudice and racism could be 'helpful' in motivating participants to fight the odds, needs further research.

Resilient communities lead to resilient individuals

This research project has shown that youth can succeed despite multiple barriers. Participants have detailed experiences that show the myriad factors that have led them to be successful in their journey between school and career. As evident in the participants' stories, successful experiences for the participants highlights the nexus between family, community, identity creation, financial resources, stability, and support networks. Often, it was the combination of several factors that culminated in participants thriving. Burack, Blidner, Flores & Fitch, 2007; Tsey & Avery, 2000; Britten & Borgen, 2010; Daly & Smith, 2005; Ungar, 2011, and Kia-Keating, Dowdy, Morgan & Noam, 2011, have all shown that, through some

multivariate combination of individual personality, environmental influences, and intellectual or emotional qualities, successful individuals manage to manoeuvre through the mire of risk and emerge triumphant on the other side.

The outcomes of this research points to the need to consider the phenomenon of 'indigenous resilience' as perhaps being more aligned to the ability to get through multiple barriers, utilizing a complex set of internal and external factors in an environment where deficits are the norm. The outcomes also point to evaluating environments for differing concepts of resilience given the participants' descriptions of being subject to prejudice and 'low expectations', and succeeding in spite of the existence of these factors (Ungar, 2011; Merritt, 2007; Bombay, Matheson & Anisman, 2010). From this research project, more questions regarding indigenous resilience have arisen, especially regarding the idea of individuals rising above prejudice and low expectations.

In conclusion, success and inspiration despite multiple odds is occurring within young indigenous communities. Dealing with a long history of endemic racism, systemic paternalism and oppression, and the subsequent effects of such policies and realities for indigenous peoples around the world, means that all future career programmes must first acknowledge where and how this history has impacted the individual population, families, and communities before moving forward with programmes designed to offset or mitigate those realities.

A 'one programme for all' vision fails to reflect the diversity and variety within any population, let alone the cultural milieu of aboriginal populations. With collaboration, cooperation and proactivity, by stakeholders from all indigenous and mainstream populations, there is hope for positive growth and fostering success for indigenous people. Future research, programmes and educational reforms need to incorporate the voices of those previously left outside the framework. Otherwise, it would seem that current failures of the system could be repeated and the improvement

so desired and aimed for could continue. To move forward means to bridge this gap and allow the many strong indigenous voices to emerge triumphantly from the shadows to fill the foreground of career programming and career policies.

References

Abbott, K. (2004). Return to the heart, *Aboriginal and Islander Healthworker Journal,* 28 (2), 4-5

Andersson, B. and Nilsson, S. (1964). 'Studies in the Reliability and Validity of the Critical Incident Technique', *Journal of Applied Psychology,* 48(6), 398–403

Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Island Studies. (2000). *Guidelines for ethical research in Indigenous studies*. Canberra: AIATSIS.

Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Island Studies. (2006). Canberra: AIATSIS retrieved online: http://www.aiatsis.gov.au/research/health.html.

Australian Bureau of Statistics, (2010). *The Health and Welfare of Australia's Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples*, retrieved online: http://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsf/mf/4704.0/

Australian Bureau of Statistics (2010). *Framework for Measuring Wellbeing: Aboriginal andTorres Strait Islander Peoples*, ABS retrieved online: http://www.abs.gov.au/AUSSTATS/abs@.nsf/lookup/4704.0Chapter200Oct+2010

Andersson, B. and Nilsson, S. (1964). 'Studies in the Reliability and Validity of the Critical Incident Technique', *Journal of Applied Psychology,* 48(6), 398–403.

Aston, H (2010). UN slams treatment of Aborigines, *Sydney Morning Herald*, Aug. 29, 2010.

Ball, J. (2010). Indigenous Fathers' Involvement in Reconstituting ''Circles of care', *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 45,124–138.

Bombay, A, Matheson, K & Anisman, H (2010). Decomposing Identity: Differential Relationships Between Several Aspects of Ethnic Identity and the Negative Effects of Perceived Discrimination Among First Nations Adults in Canada, *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology,* 16(4), 507–516.

Bourke, L. (2003). Toward understanding youth suicide in an Australian rural community, *Social Science & Medicine* 57, 2355–2365.

Britten, L. & Borgen, W.A. (2010). Footprints of colour along the career journey, *Procedia Social and Behavioural Sciences*, 5, 104-115.

Britten, L., Borgen, W.A, & Wiggins, m. (2012). (submitted). Colour blind: The complex stories of migrant youth on bridging the gap between school and career.

Burack, J., Blidner, Flores, Fitch.T (2007). Constructions and deconstructions of risk,

resilience and wellbeing: A model for understanding the development of Aboriginal adolescents. *Australasian Psychiatry*. 15, Supplement.

Butterfield, L., Borgen, W, & Amundson, N., (2005). Fifty years of the critical incident technique: 1954–2004 and beyond. *Qualitative Research,* 5(4), 475-497.

Butterfield, L., Borgen, W.A, & Amundson, N., (2005). The impact of a qualitative research interview on workers' views of their situation. *Canadian Journal of Counselling / Revue canadienne de counseling,* 43(2), 120-130.

Butterfield, L. Borgen, W.A., Amundson, N. & Erlebach, A. (2010). What helps and hinders workers in managing change. *Journal of Employment Counseling*, 47, 146-156.

Butterfield, L, Borgen, W, Maglio, A, Amundson, N, (2009*).* Using the Enhanced Critical Incident Technique in Counselling Psychology Research. *Canadian Journal of Counselling / Revue canadienne de counseling,* 43(4), 265-282.

Chandler, M. & Lalonde, C. E. (2004). Cultural continuity as a moderator of suicide risk among Canada's First Nations. Kirmayer, L. & Valaskakis, G. (Eds.). *The Mental Health of Canadian Aboriginal Peoples: Transformations, Identity, and Community*. University of British Columbia Press.

Chandler, M. J., & LaLonde, C. E. (2008). Cultural continuity as a protective factor against suicide in First Nations youth. *Horizons,* 10, 68–72.

Daly, A. E., & Smith, D. E. (2005). Indicators of risk to the wellbeing of Australian indigenous children. *Australian Review of Public Affairs*, 6 (1), 39-57.

Daly, A. E., Henry, R. & Smith, D. E. (2002). *Welfare and the domestic economy of indigenous families: Policy implications from a longitudinal survey, CAEPR discussion paper* No. 239, CAEPR, Australian National University, Canberra.

DeGagne, M (2007). Toward an Aboriginal paradigm of healing: addressing the legacy of residential schools. *Australasian Psychiatry*, 15(Supplementary), S49-S53.

Deimer, M.A. & Ortega, L. (2010). Social Inclusion and Critical Consciousness in Australia. *Australian Journal of Career Development*, 19(1), 13-17.

Department of Health and Aging, (2009-2010). *Indigenous Health,* retrieved online: http:// www.health.gov.au/internet/budget/publishing.nsf/Content/2009- 2010_Health_PBS

Department of Health and Aging, (2009-2010). Rural Health, retrieved online: http:// www.health.gov.au/internet/budget/publishing.nsf/Content/2009-2010_Health_PBS

Flanagan, J. (1954). The critical incident technique. *Psychological Bulletin* 51, 327– 358.

Goodwill, A & McCormick, R. (2012). Giibinenimidizomin: Owning Ourselves Critical

Incidents in the Attainment of Aboriginal Identity. *Canadian Journal of Counselling and Psychotherapy*, 46 (1), 21-34.

Gross, K. (2010) Review: Reasons for living: Education and young people's search for meaning, identity and spirituality. A handbook. *Youth Studies Australia*, 26(1), 57.

Juntenen, et al. (2001). American Indian Perspectives on the Career Journey, *Journal of Counselling Psychology*, 48 (3), 274-285.

Kia-Keating, M., Dowdy, E., Morgan, M.L., & Noam, G. G. (2011). Protecting and Promoting: An Integrative Conceptual Model for Healthy Development of Adolescents. *Journal of Adolescent Health.* 48, 220–228.

Kingsley, J. "Y", Phillips, R., Townsend, M. & Henderson-Wilson, C. (2010). Using a qualitative approach to use research to build trust between a non-aboriginal researcher and aboriginal participants (Australia). *Qualitative Research Journal* 10(1), 2-12.

McCormick, R. (1996). Culturally appropriate means and ends of counselling as described by the First Nations people of British Columbia, *International Journal for the Advancement of Counselling* 18, 163-172.

Merritt, S. (2007). An Aboriginal perspective on resilience: Resilience needs to be defined from an aboriginal context. *Aboriginal and Islander Health Worker Journal*, 31(5), 10-12.

Pleck, J. H., & Masciadrelli, B. P. (2004). Paternal involvement: Levels, sources, and consequences. In M. E. Lamb (Ed.). The role of the father in child development (4th ed., pp. 222–271). Hoboken, NJ: Wiley.

Rumbaugh Whitesell, N., Mitchell, C.M., Spicer, P. and The Voices of Indian Teens Project Team, (2009). A longitudinal study of self-esteem, cultural identity, and academic success among American Indian adolescents. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology,* 15(1), 38–50.

Perez, R. M. (2011). Linguistic Acculturation and Context on Self-Esteem: Hispanic youth between cultures. *Journal of Child & Adolescent Social Work* 28:203–228 retrieved online: 20 Sept. 2011_ Springer Science+Business Media, LLC 2011.

Statistics Canada (2010). *Aboriginal peoples, general statistics*, Retrieved online: http://www5.statcan.gc.ca/subject-sujet/result-resultat.action?pid=10000&id=10000&lang=eng&type=STUDIES&pageNum=1&more=0

Tsey, K. & Avery, A. (2000). Evaluating Aboriginal empowerment programs: the case of family wellbeing. *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Public Health,* 24 (5), 509-514.

Ungar, M, (2011). Community resilience for youth and families: Facilitative

physical and social capital in contexts of adversity, *Children and youth services review*, 33(9), 1742-1748.

Woolsey, L.K. (1986). The critical incident technique: An innovative qualitative method of research. *Canadian Journal of Counselling,* 20(4), 242-54.

Paper 5:

Paper 4 discussed the outcomes of Phase II of the research project, examining the factors that help and hinder indigenous Australian youth, aged 18 to 29 years of age, in the successful transition between school and career. This research was based upon positive stories from indigenous youth who self-identified as successful in the transition into a career. It elaborated on the factors identified by the participants as helpful and hindering in that transition identifying a number of important factors that facilitated successful transitions for indigenous youth into a career of their choosing. It also considered indigenous young people's ideas of success, career and 'doing well'. Finally, Paper 4 suggested areas for future policy makers to consider with regard to careers and education for indigenous peoples.

Paper 5 discusses Phase III of the research project using the same participants from Phase I and II of the research programme. This phase compared and contrasted the experiences of these migrant and indigenous youth in their successful transitions between school and career. This paper elaborated on the similarities and differences of experiences between these two marginalised groups, and discussed points of departure for both populations in their experiences of successful transitions into careers of their choosing. Paper 5 was based upon the experiences of young migrants and indigenous individuals who self-identified as successful in their career transitions. Further, paper 5 suggested future areas of concentration vis-à-vis career and educational programming for policy makers. Paper 5 explicates factors identified by marginalised youth from indigenous and migrant groups as both helpful and hindering in the successful transition from school to career.

Paper 5 Publication History

Paper 5 has been submitted for publication with the Journal of Ethnography. It was submitted for review May 30, 2014. The author of the present dissertation contributed 90% of the paper.

Serpentine visions: Learning lessons from the lessons learned by 'the other'.

Abstract

In a world of recession, global financial crises, highly mobile populations, and high rates of unemployment, global economic initiatives are intended to stimulate employment, careers, and thus, economies world-wide. One of the puzzles in the field of career psychology today is how to overcome inequality on a broad basis to increase marginalised populations' participation in the global workforce, promote increased employment, increase productivity and ultimately, lead to a strong, forward focussed progressive economy. Against this backdrop, the definition of 'career' has to be re-examined, reconstituted, and reflect the dynamic conditions of today's highly diverse society. Today, young people are increasingly educated, highly mobile and technologically conversant. This research project sought to examine the experiences of non-mainstream youth regarding the complex transition from school to career with a view to inform policy makers and explore similarities in experience occasioning successful career transitions between diverse marginalised populations. The outcomes of this study, comparing and contrasting the experiences of unique successful marginalised groups regarding the transition between school and career, show the importance of achieving a new level of self-understanding, family, community resources, wellness, work experience and cultural attachment in career transitions. The research results provide guidance and information to modify the current programme delivery model to improve performance and outcomes.

Keywords: Career, marginalised youth, Critical Incident Technique, Indigenous, Migrant

Outside the margins: Hearing voices otherwise lost in the 'main' streams

The numbers and diversity of the world's cultures, indigenous, and migrant, living in economically powerful, multicultural cities around the globe are microcosms of global society. Society today is marked more by its diversity and uniqueness, than its homogeneity. Diverse indigenous and migrant populations form increasing numbers in the world's main English-speaking economies. According to Bureaus of Statistics in Canada, the USA, England, and Australia, one of the most important steps towards economic independence in society, and hence, strong, sustainable societies in general, is entry into, and continued participation in, the labour force (ABS, 2010; Statistics Canada, 2012; LSE Centre for Economic Performance, UK, 2013). Marginalised populations, whose individual members are able to find 'meaningful' employment, are able to gain financial independence, integrate more readily into mainstream societies, contribute their experiences and talents to positive production, and gain networks and support systems. Indicators of such participation in the labour force include employment and unemployment rates in a variety of countries worldwide (DIAC, 2002).

Employment and participation rates are key gauges of economic success, stability and vital for economic growth (ABS, 2010; DIAC, 2002; US Dept. of Labor, 2012). As such, promoting successful transitions between school and career, or providing access to career options, is an essential component of policy and programming for all economies around the globe, especially in the ongoing aftermath of the Global Financial crisis. In addition, within this context of economic growth and fluctuations, the importance of promoting successful careers in marginalised populations around the globe cannot be underestimated. This research project identifies ways in which marginalised youth

successfully transition from school to career and become a key component of labour force participation around the globe.

According to the United States Bureau of Statistics, in 2011, the average unemployment rate for the United States was 8.9 percent but this rate varied among racial and ethnic groups. Non-Hispanic Blacks experienced the highest rates of unemployment (15.9 percent) followed by American Indians and Alaska Natives (14.6 percent). The lowest unemployment rates were non-Hispanic Asians (7.0 percent) and non-Hispanic Whites (7.2. percent). The jobless rate was 13.6 percent for persons of two or more races, 11.5 percent for Hispanics or Latinos, and 10.4 percent for Native Hawaiians and Other Pacific Islanders. Within the USA, immigrants accounted for more than 16 percent (25.7 million) of the 156.6 million workers engaged in the US civilian labour force in 2011. The percentage of foreign-born workers in the civilian labour force tripled between 1970 and 2011, increasing from 5 percent to 16 percent. Furthermore, the proportion of foreign-born members of the total population grew from almost 5 percent to nearly 13 percent during the same time period. The large numbers of migrants and the high rates of unemployment for both migrants and Native Americans are a global concern.

The demographics and statistics in the United States are repeated around the globe. In Canada, the average employment rate for Aboriginal people was 57.0%, almost 5% less than non-Aboriginal people (61.8%). The gap in employment widened to 4.8 percentage points from 3.5 percentage points in 2008 (Statistics Canada, 2010). Very recent immigrants aged 15 to 64 years old are recorded as having less participation in the Canadian labour market in contrast to Canadian-born participants of the same age. The difference is 15% for women, and 7% for men (Statistics, Canada, 2010). These are

stark reminders of issues of inequity and lack of access to career opportunities for marginalised populations. In Australia, at approximately the same time period, the unemployment rate rose sharply for Aboriginal people, rising from 10.4% in 2008 to 13.9% compared with the rate of 8.1% for non-Aboriginal people (ABS, 2010). Simultaneously, in July 2009, there were 599,600 unemployed persons of which 33% (196,400) were overseas born. Of the overseas-born unemployed population, almost three-quarters (73% or 142,600 persons) were born in non-main English speaking countries (MESC) while 27% (53,400 persons) were born in MESC. Recent migrants accounted for 42% (83,100 persons) of the overseas-born unemployed and 58% (113,300 persons) were long term migrants (ABS, 2010). This disparity between migrants from non-English speaking countries versus those who speak English needs to be understood.

In the UK, similar trends with regard to the immigrant population are evident, as immigration rates to the UK have steadily increased from1995 to 2008 (LSE Centre for Economic Performance, 2013). By late 2009, 14% of the UK's working age population had been born abroad, increasing from around 8% in 1995. There are now 5.3 million adults of working age in the UK who were born abroad. The UK has a lower share of immigrants in its total population – (10.2%) compared to Australia (25%), or the United States (13.6%). These statistics are further compounded by the variety of the countries of origin of immigrants which is also increasing (LSE, 2013).

Such statistics indicate the failures of existing policies in relation to the career hopes of marginalised groups globally. If these statistics are an indication of the employment issues pertinent to the current vast numbers of marginalised peoples within major English-speaking economies, they are also indications of the future probability of

continued deficits in career development for the ever increasing numbers of marginalised populations around the globe. Hence, the relative successes or failures in the labour force of these populations would suggest two things: 1) that ensuring success of young, marginalised populations in the transition between school and career should be of utmost importance to policy makers and economic goals, and that 2) current policies/programmes are not succeeding in this regard. Capitalizing on this burgeoning population and guaranteeing the participation of these groups within the labour force could not only increase productivity within struggling economies, it could also provide an ongoing flow of production, and stronger economic bases for the future.

Koegel et al. (1995), and Juntenen et al. (2001) profess the recognition of diversity when creating policy, and recommend reflecting the voices and needs from individual minority communities, rather than comparing minority communities to mainstream populaces in the context of career research. Subich, 2001, Walsh, 2001, and Butterfield, Borgen, Amundson & Erlebach, 2010 also call for the need for qualitative, valid studies that explore in rich depth, the everyday experiences of individuals with particular regard to decisions of vocational importance. Statistics that show poor performance and labour participation indicate that the time for research exploring the factors that facilitate successful transitions between school and career, and associated policy change is now (Britten, Borgen & Wiggins, 2013; Butterfield, Borgen, Amundson & Erlebach, 2010). Such statistics would also suggest the need for research exploring the factors that help and hinder marginalised groups in the successful transition between school and career. This research project compares and contrasts the experiences of successful youth from two marginalised groups – indigenous and immigrant Australian youth.

The objective of this research was to compare and contrast marginalised populations' concepts of helpful factors that facilitate successful transitions between school and career, and thereby, build on existing strengths, potentially replicating extant success. From the identification of, and explication of, the individual experiences, and information gathered from the participants and representative of marginalised youth, it is the intention of the researchers to build a framework utilizing stakeholders' views, and experiences, to promote further success within individual communities. This research is based on the notion that such a new framework can be established without the assumption that 'one size' fits all, but where taking from one part or another of the framework, might work for many or even some youth who currently are not experiencing success. The aim is to encourage a paradigm shift with regard to the ideas and beliefs surrounding successful careers for youth from indigenous and migrant populations.

Postcolonial theorists argue that people know their worlds through their interactions and lived experiences (Mirza & Joseph, 2010). Yet, lived experiences, original representations of voice, and successful career examples of any special populations are noticeably absent from academic scholarship in relation to marginalised youth and career. Scholarship detailing career and transitions for young marginalised people is almost non-existent. Emerging indigenous and cross-cultural theory and research is indicating that top-down governmental programmes are not meeting with the success hoped for with regards to employment and education (Britten, Borgen & Wiggins, 2013; Darou, 1987). Therefore, it is necessary for researchers to listen and learn from successful individuals who have carved a path into society despite barriers, and are thriving in careers on their own terms. It is also necessary to begin a paradigm shift in ways of viewing these populations. Using a strengths-focussed approach, and

building on the stakeholders' identification of, recognition of, and affirmation of positive skills, rather than coming from a deficit position, may help to provide a new lens with which to begin new collaborative career policy and programme development.

The research question

The present research was designed to respond to the research questions: What are the ways in which marginalised youth achieve success in the journey between school and career? What are the similarities/differences in these experiences? Finally, the research addressed how these insights might contribute to a broader picture of career transitions that recognizes individual differences and needs, while also understanding common elements that might be indicators of success within these populations. The participants were asked how they defined the term 'career', and what 'doing well' meant to them in an effort to gain a deeper understanding of marginalised youth's interpretations of career and how to become successful from their viewpoints.

Methodology

A qualitative methodology was employed for the purposes of comparing and contrasting diverse populations' experiences. Incorporating the Enhanced Critical Incident Technique (ECIT) was important for identifying categories that would be used to compare and contrast experiences in the transition from school to career. The ECIT has been used with marginalised and vulnerable populations to gain rich, meaningful data and give accurate representations of voice from participants. The usefulness of the ECIT as a means of exploring otherwise unknown experiences, and career transitions has been well documented (Butterfield, Borgen & Amundson, 2005; Britten & Borgen, 2010; Britten, Borgen & Wiggins, 2012; McCormick, 1996, Goodwill & McCormick, 2012; Angelides, 2001; Britten, Borgen & Wiggins, 2013).

The ECIT has also been used to identify specific categories with regard to career and career transitions, and provides the added bonus of using standardized credibility checks to ensure accuracy in the reporting of the data (Butterfield, Borgen, Amundson, Erlebach, 2010; Britten & Borgen, 2010). The use of this methodology enabled this project to utilise a comprehensive, previously validated research method, allowing for the gathering of rich, qualitative data on an unresearched phenomenon. It also provided the project with the capacity to compare and contrast incidents arising from the qualitative interviews for the purpose of finding similarities between the experiences of marginalised populations with regard to career transitions.

Participants

Participants in the project identified as either indigenous or migrant, or both, and furthermore, these participants self-identified as successful in their career journey. Immigrants were defined as either first-generation people who had migrated from other countries at some point in their lives to find employment, attend school, or university in Australia, or they may have been second generation migrants, defined as children of newly immigrated parents who were actually born in Australia, but still identified ethnically or culturally with a culture from overseas.

Indigenous participants self-identified as aboriginal (having indigenous Australian heritage or family). Participants ranged in age from 19 years to 29 years of age. Of the eight Aboriginal participants, four were female and four were male and came from rural and urban New South Wales (NSW) and three did not reside in metropolitan Sydney. One participant came from the far north of Queensland, one from rural southern NSW, and one from the NSW Central Coast. Of the eight immigrant participants, five were male and three were female. The participants represented six

countries: Brazil, Sri Lanka, Fiji, New Zealand, Chile and Italy. All immigrants were residing within the Sydney metropolitan area at the time of the study.

The participants were recruited in a variety of ways. They were recruited by word of mouth, through letters of introduction distributed at local events and with the permission of a multicultural centre in suburban Sydney. Participants then contacted the researcher either via telephone or email. Pre-screening telephone interviews were then undertaken with potential participants to see if they met the requirements for participation. If they did meet those screening requirements, this telephone interview was then used to arrange a suitable venue for meeting with the participants to gain consent to conduct the initial interview. At this first in-person meeting, the informed consent form was reviewed, and any questions from the participants were answered before signing the consent form and proceeding with the interview. The participant also received a copy of this consent form to adhere to ethical guidelines when working with special populations (Britten, Borgen & Wiggins, 2012; Kingsley, Phillips, Townsend, & Henderson-Wilson, 2010). Following official signing of the informed consent, the interviews were commenced and audio-taped.

Results

Careers and successful transitions into careers for non-mainstream youth is an individual experience which is highly differentiated by gender, geographic region, race/ethnicity, socio-economic status, class, age, religion and political circumstances. No ‘one’ circumstance or experience can be said to be the same for all participants in this project, nor in the populations at large. However, while acknowledging that no single experience is the same as another, this research project shows evidence of some similarities in the experience of the transition between school and career was shown to exist among diverse marginalised youth. Even though participants came from very

disparate populations, racial and ethnic origins and yet, fit the definition of 'marginalised populations', a more global picture of helpful and hindering factors in terms of transitions emerged from the data. It is these similarities that form the cornerstone for identifying some universal constructs of the transitions from school to work for marginalised populations. The results from this project showed a significant emphasis from both populations on a growing sense of self-understanding, the impact of family, wellness in a general individual and community sense, and support networks are the most helpful factors in the transition from school to career. (See Table 1 below.)

Table 1: *Factors that help and hinder indigenous and marginalised youth in the transition between school and career.*

	HE HI	**Participation rate**	**Total helpful**	**HE**	**HI**	**Participation rate**	**Total Hinder**	
Categories	n (Ab) n(I)	%	N	n-Ab	n(I)	%	N	TOTAL N He+Hi
Achieving a New level of self-understanding	85 195	100	280	15	44	8 I 6 Ab 87.5	59	339
Family	94 165	100	259	25	54	5 Ab 7 I 75%	79	338
Wellness	68 181	100	249	15	64	6 Ab 8 Im 87.5	79	328
Support Networks/ Community Resources	122 134	100	256	51	39	6 Ab 6 Im 75%	90	345
Education	38 70	100	108	13	31	5 Ab 7 Im 75%	44	152
Role Models	88 53	100	141	6	0	4 ab 0 I 25%	6	147
Work & Work Experience	30 100	6 Ab 8 Im 87.5%	130	0	39	0 Ab 7 Im 43.75%	39	169
Stability	30 24	7 ab 6 Im 81.25%	54	8	53	4 Ab 4 Im 50%	61	115
Ethnicity/ Aboriginality & Cultural Attachment	42 46	5 ab 5 Im 62.5%	88	13	19	4 Ab 5Im 56.25%	32	120
Prejudice/ Low Expectations	18 1	3 Ab 1 Im 25%	19	9	4	4 Ab 2 Im 37.5%	13	32

Achieving a New level of self-understanding

'Achieving a new level of self-understanding' recorded the highest number of incidents with a total of 280 helping incidents and 59 hindering incidents. This category achieved 100% participation and a combined total of 339 critical incidents. 'Achieving a new level of self-understanding', included issues of identity formation, maturation, self- confidence, belief in oneself, and a sense of direction, combined with a growing knowledge of values/goals was mentioned by all participants as being a helpful part of the process of transition. In this category, many of the incidents had 'duality'. This occurred as a result of the fact that separating incidents into categories was difficult, as the categories interacted or overlapped and factors such as support, aboriginality, ethnicity, role models, community or other combinations often interacted to help increase self-confidence and help to form the participant's identity. Thus, it was in conversation with the participants that it was decided to place the incident into the category they felt to be most applicable for their understanding of the significance of the incident. Maturity, and a growing understanding of the impact of attitudes in the wider world were also an underlying element of this category.

The hindering elements of achieving a new level of self-understanding included being bored, and getting into mischief as a result; a loss of motivation; a loss of self-confidence; and a sense of direction. Periods of self-doubt, loss of direction, immaturity and not knowing their own identity were other negative components that were mentioned as hindering in the participants' journeys.

> Well I think if you think of a flip side, if you are not happy or things aren't going well, you'll live on a day to day basis, able to do things efficiently and I think that's a huge telling sign that things aren't going well but as soon as you can function and... maintain what you need to be doing to stay healthy... that's a positive thing... I think that comes a lot from what you do! [Y]ou need to read a lot so as it is your studies or your job, those things [Some things] aren't positive and not feeding into positive activities being, it is not good for you as a person, I

> think that is it.... but I think if you were seek security... you know like wait for next month, things are going to be alright... and have food on the table and have good social life, you know not social but you know have positive support, I think that's important as well, I think that is a sort of security (Migrant female)
>
> And it gave me another, full idea if it didn't really work out... [I]t sort of made me realize... and seemed wise at the time... at the end of the day I wasn't so young.... to make that transition... high school to university would have been a big step [had I immediately gone to university] because I was very... immature leaving high school... I guess that gap year gave me time to mature and grow up, and really assess what's important and seeing what I really want to do.. (Aboriginal male).

The interviews revealed a growing level of self-understanding as the most important factor in helping marginalised youth successfully transition between school and career. The enunciation of this complex personal understanding by the participants was the cornerstone of their growth into a career. Participants described incidents or phenomena regarding their journey of building identity, maturity, gaining self-confidence and having a sense of direction. The participants saw this growth as being facilitated by a combination of supports from family, school, community through to more esoteric concepts such as having 'hope' and 'opportunity'. All of the participants mentioned gaining an understanding of their own personal goals and values and this accords with scholarly findings regarding healthy developmental goals within aboriginal and migrant communities, as well as the wider population (Phinney, Cantu, Kurtz, 1997; Goodwill & McCormick, 2012; Kia-Keating, Dowdy, Morgan & Noam, 2007; Filbert & Flynn, 2010; Gross 2010). The ability of some people to withstand what may amount to substantial deficits/risks and overcome these hurdles to achieve positive outcomes has a long history of research (Filbert & Flynn, 2010; Masten & Reed, 2006; Lalonde, 2006; Chandler & Lalonde, 2008). Most research has pointed to the building of assets or resources, as a means of achieving psychological resilience (Chandler & Lalonde, 2008; Ungar, 2011). The outcomes of the present study accord with this body of literature that has shown that building identity and an understanding of oneself, in the

wider context of supports or ‘resources’, was a key component of the participants’ successful journey in the transition between school and career.

Family

‘Family’ had an extended definition that incorporated not only blood relatives but people whom participants ‘adopted’ as family. The ‘family’ category achieved 100% participation and a total of 259 helping incidents and 79 hindering incidents. The predominant helpful factor was family support from the mother or father, siblings, or extended families, particularly grandparents and/or aunts and uncles. However, notions of ‘family’ also extended to cousins, and people who ‘became’ family through proximity or ‘being there’ for the participants.

> Well because my dad is being pushing me, and my dad has been positive influence in my academic and even my working life, I suppose if you tell me I can't do something, it makes me turn around and think all the stuff I can do.(Aboriginal female)

> [Family] provides you with the stable platform... and a foundation and support so you know if you are struggling with something, if I was struggling at school, something like that, I always knew that my parents were there to, I could talk to. I mean they will be able to sort it out, and also the fact that my grandma was also here, was a big factor. She devoted her life, life of 18 years or so to me so I mean we used to share the second place where we stayed at, we shared a room, my grandma and I and she had somewhat, most of lot of books along the right hand side of her bed, so like she completely devoted herself to me so and so hey I have a lot to respect for her (Migrant Male).

Family was the second highest scoring category in this project. As with all categories, it is important to note that most categories were multi-layered in that family, support networks, stability and role models could all be mentioned as important but one factor was considered most significant by the participant. In the second interview or during probing questions in the first interview, the participant mentioned specifically a name or helping factor, into which category the incident should be placed. ‘Family’ was based on the notion of not only the nuclear family, but the extended family, with particular reference to grandparents and aunts/uncles in addition to parents. Migrant

youth expressed mourning the loss of extended family connections, including grandparents and cousins. Similarly, indigenous youth expressed mourning the loss of family, traditional lands and community ties, particularly when moving to urban areas, for the purposes of attending university or starting employment opportunities that were not always available to them in rural or remote areas.

The healthy family unit is a key marker of success for individuals (Tsey & Avery, 2000; Smith & Silva, 2011). The outcomes of this project accord with the literature regarding the impact of healthy families and the existence of familial ties. Family loss/separation and the impact of moving were seen to be unhelpful and would indicate that any framework for success would necessarily incorporate policies designed to strengthen families and promoting means of maintaining communication when movement/immigration or travel is necessary.

Wellness

The 'wellness' category achieved 100% participation with a combined total of 328 critical incidents, comprising 249 helping and 79 hindering incidents. 'Wellness' incorporated a number of factors on the helping side including: emotional health, physical health, inclusion in sports (especially sporting programmes and funding), life/work balance, spirituality/prayer and meditation, and feeling respected, giving back/being grateful. Two examples of the idea of 'wellness' as seen by the participants are as follows:

> League is... I really didn't know much about league but as I grew up... I don't know whether it was the team or the people in it, it was something it wasn't right, like everybody was there on individual player whereas here [union] everyone is pretty much a part of the team... well everything is like a win, you feel so much better like a team win, yeah everyone's in it like here we work for that, everyone put their little bit into win the game. (Migrant male)

> This one time in church, I was a kid at that time, 7 or 6 and this older lady, she was like old, she it was the last one to leave because we had 2 ways before we join the man that takes us to Sunday... we had to wait for him to pick us up. I was waiting for him, sitting in a church, singing and stuff and the old lady she came, her son I think came picked up and she went... Before we left I looked around and I could see a handbag, in the chair, and I went over and I picked it up, I looked and saw... it was like all these money and stuff and I said, John there is a bag here that old lady left it... he said well thank you, it was very kind of you and then next Sunday she is seeing me, she is like well thank you for helping me, it means a lot to me, because that money towards my building stuff, I felt good you know being, knowing that I helped someone, that really needed their personal stuff, it really makes you feel better yourself... It's helpful and stuff and you know and you really get a reward back in that like you get a reward back later on in life. (Aboriginal female)

The concept of giving back, of feeling a part of a 'bigger team' whether it was sports, school, or community is documented in the literature (Abbott, 2004; Rhatigan, 1996; Fuqua & Newman, 2002). The outcomes of this project support the literature concerning the notion of 'gratitude'. Research has shown the positive health effects of being able to maintain genuine gratitude in a broader context (Fuqua & Newman, 2002). In this research programme participants were able to enunciate their blessings, despite the existence of difficult and sometimes hostile circumstances, and focus on the positive, rather than dwelling on the negative. This proved a helpful factor in the participants' successful transitions from school to career.

On the hindering side, wellness issues including mental ill health including depression, the over-use/addiction to alcohol and drugs and also injuries, being unwell and the impact of ongoing stress.

> I went off the rails, go out partying every night, see for me, I was never allowed out, I would never be, before everything happened, I never got out, my dad was very overprotective ... I suppose for me, back then it allowed me a way to cope. I never actually, I was keeping in so much during the HSC, I was trying just an escape I suppose, I never actually got to deal with it... I don't know, like it just, it makes me frustrated because it makes me think, what's wrong with us like because my dad is complete 360....But I was going out partying, I was always going to party always, running, I was running absolutely [wild], me and my best friends, that were doing the diploma, like I look back now and I just think oh my god!... (Aboriginal female).

> I become the exception... so I think that could have been an effect... but also I think it was interesting... I wasn't eating, I was trying to do things that other people were doing, that I was not being allowed to, so it was risky and the strain resulted in being unhealthy and therefore unhappy... (Migrant female).

Wellness was the third highest ranking category in this study. All of the participants, both aboriginal and migrant, recorded incidents in this category but there was an overwhelming number of helpful incidents recorded by the migrant participants totalling 181 of the 249 incidents identified. This wide variance suggests that despite the well-researched phenomenon of trauma, transition and acculturation processes experienced by migrants, (Gong, Xu, Fujishiro & Takeuchi, 2011; Chen, 2006), the interviewees were able to overcome many of these issues to achieve general 'wellness' as defined by the participants themselves. The smaller number of wellness incidents in the aboriginal participants' stories (68 versus 181 from the migrant cohort) could also be indicative of the past histories that have influenced ideas of 'wellness' (McLean, 2010; Goodwill & McCormick, 2012; Britten & Borgen, 2010; DeGagne, 2007; McLean, 2008).

'Wellness' included the helpfulness of life/work balance, being involved in healthy relationships, maintaining good physical health and feeling included generally. This accords with extant literature regarding physical and mental wellbeing for ethnic populations (Smith, & Silva, 2011; Syed, & Azmitia, 2010). The hindering effects of depression, drug and alcohol addiction and ongoing stress have been widely documented in literature, but interestingly, rare mention in current literature is made of how watching others suffer from their choices can also have a helpful impact upon marginalised youth in their journey between school and career. This was actually perceived as 'helpful' for the participants. The participants discussed the impact that negative role models provided concerning how their lives could be negatively impacted

should they have chosen to follow that negative path they witnessed in others. In most western literature, positive role models are acknowledged as important factors in positive development for youth. The finding from this research supports the hypothesis that in regard to cross-cultural psychology, negative role models prove helpful as well.

Support Networks

The 'support networks' category achieved a 100% participation rate with a combined 185 critical incidents. This comprised 144 helping incidents and 41 hindering incidents. The category was focussed around the idea of general support – from community organization, peers, and cultural workers, as distinct from familial support. It included the support of peers, partners and, in particular, specific tutoring and assistance schemes that targeted migrant and indigenous youth such as ITAS (Indigenous Tutorial Assistance Scheme), community cultural centres, English as a Second Language classes, and aboriginal assistants within the school/class setting at high school.

> No just the support that being indigenous students at receive here from [university aboriginal programme] is probably the best! I mean you get tutoring, extra tutoring for free, have people there that will help you with your subject. If you complete your draft you can take it to one of the academic support staff, they will run over and say [what needs to be done]... It helps you to get into uni but then after you are in, they want to sustain that, they want to keep you, they want to provide every possible opportunity for you! (Aboriginal male)

> Through high school I had one tutor that tutored me, you know I always had sports and stuff and swimming... [It was]...Massive help [to have a tutor]. It takes me awhile to get things that I have someone there to go through it after school, you know at each other class room for the tutor I was just one on one, it's just, it helped me so much to the HSC and stuff with English actually...It is just fine, some stuff like my work, very supportive. (Aboriginal female)

Hindrances in the category were focussed upon issues of lack of support especially the impacts of real isolation (both physical and as a result of perceived

differences) and also the general lack of services and support within the general community and environment.

> Well it just made it a lot easier because sometimes you get something on the computer and it is just too much like you... don't understand or anything... And it is good when someone is there, to help you go through it, makes it a lot easier... Yeah that was also with my assignments and stuff for actual schoolwork...You can just talk but you know, sometimes it is as when you talk to teacher, you are [well it is] pretty hard to explain to them whereas if you speak to one of these youth people, they kind of know where you are coming from.
> ...Yeah, it was just easier they actually knew what you are talking about, whereas the teacher would get frustrated and just be like, yeah, this way, but you are not really kind of getting it but at the youth centre, they would actually simplify it for you. (Migrant male)

The support networks identified by all the participants came from a variety of sources including community centres, youth centres, friends and school/university programmes. Again, this would indicate the need for government programmes to be supportive of local, sustainable and community-oriented programmes to increase the facilitation of successful transitions into career for marginalised youth.

Community resources/opportunity and access to resources

The 'community resources/opportunity and access to resources' category achieved 100% participation with a total 99 critical incidents. This comprised 72 helpful incidents and 27 hindering incidents. The category of community resources/opportunity and access incorporated community networks, resources, elders, support and support services, as well as transportation and a sense of belonging to the community. Other important components within this category included a financial aspect. Finances were also incorporated as a helpful factor in relation to access to money, and the receipt of scholarships or cadetships that helped finances, including accommodation scholarships. Anything that helped facilitate increased education, or improved career options was also included into this category. Interestingly, this category also included 'luck' as a

component of ‘opportunity’ in the sense that they were lucky enough to escape what many others in the community could not, and to go to university, or to gain a cadetship, or receive a scholarship. Immigration itself was considered by five of the migrant participants as an ‘opportunity’.

One male migrant participant described the act of immigration in the following way:

> So that ... [immigration] kind of impacted me since... only when I started becoming educated, now that I have more educated, I have been able to come like, break free, it's kind of like, just the routine of, not just a routine but just you know, just being like that cog in the wheel, that cogging machine that I was in the factory and start you know being able to exert much more of an influence... to bring out... the necessary change, not for just myself but for the community around me...

Other participants described their experiences in the following ways:

> Yeah, it was easy like, if they [community centre] didn’t do that, I wouldn’t have the apprenticeship because if it wasn't for them, I would have not have gone, [they were] saying when enrolment started, [without them] I didn’t have a clue. (Migrant Male)

> As I said it is just… it is up to you, it is not really a restriction of, it is not a rule, [or a] lack of opportunity,[it is] your lack of motivation that can stop you here I think… if you want to achieve something, you can, you just need to work at it... I just understand it is definitely the circumstance where it might hold them [indigenous students] back but... like for me the opportunities [here] I mean like school, I went to the primary school, high school, university, and I got a job, and I am employed…[I]f I was in Sri Lanka and I am 27 in Sri Lanka I don’t know, even know if I would have gone to university, and from there, I don’t know what sort of job I would be doing... (Migrant Male)

> Ha, I think [my] parents [were supportive] financially… I guess it means… that they really did give me those resources, which I needed to succeed, which was all that stuff [around education and support] including not just tutoring but also the sports side and music side... (Migrant Male)

Community issues/access were described as hindering in terms of the community not speaking out about issues, or a ‘code of silence’ regarding abuse, the physical/geographic isolation of communities, and/or a lack of transport or a long transit to work or educational opportunities. All of these facets of opportunity were helpful if they existed and were known about, or were considered a hindrance if they did not exist or their existence was not made known to the participants. Financially, the

most important hindrance was family poverty, a lack of financial assistance, and the ever present concern of meeting financial payments, or simply not having finances or financial support in the form of scholarships/aide or parental support.

The participants in this project enunciated the helpfulness of financial assistance/scholarships and/or community programmes that filled gaps that may have existed in the homes of the participants, (e.g. no internet or computer, or even a 'place' at home within which to study). They also saw benefit in being able to access financial programmes or community based scholarships/mentoring groups. This was a key element of the participants' successful transition into careers.

> More they [the community youth centre] started this programme for looking up jobs and stuff when I was at home, I didn't have a computer... And it is, they had all that...They had homework club and that's where you can do job seek programme zone when that also help us look for jobs and tell us what's on that pay once you are enrolled. (Migrant male)

> Yeah ... the scholarship is pretty awesome, it is better than what I would have got it, so yeah it's good that I kind of got my foot in the door [of university]. (Aboriginal female)

The hindering aspects of not having the finances to attend school were clearly enunciated by the aboriginal participants in particular.

> I did ask mom and dad for money all the time... they were happy to do it! But they were always [helping]. It made me feel kind of like, like I didn't want to do it! I didn't want to ask them for money and stuff! I would rather me just doing it myself, like I think it cost me 10 grand for the year, just on the material... (Aboriginal female)

> All that kind of stuff, it was tough being at university... filling your car every week! It was like $70 and then $25 parking fee ticket. That's why I had to work, because I didn't want to that burden on my parents as well. So even though they did help me, I always had... work for me. I didn't put pressure on my parents. I know that they already on pressure in finance and everything so I tried my best to work and get money to paid for these things. They did assist me so coming down here was absolutely tiring. (Aboriginal female)

Other aspects associated with unhealthy communities and a lack of opportunity included access to drugs and alcohol, and a lack of extracurricular activities. Additional mention

was made of a community's failure to deal with issues of domestic violence and dysfunction, and the existence of a 'code of silence' in relation to these issues.

> [P]robably the abundance of [illicit drugs and alcohol in our community] like wherever you went to, every house that you went to, every band that you went to see, every-time you go out, people just... are really generous with it, which is not good... in a sense because you could just get as much of it as you wanted whenever you wanted, and it wasn't just alcohol, it was cigarettes, marijuana, nothing hard at that time, just the fact that we were so young and how easy it was [to access]... (Migrant male)

> The [community] code of silence is not helpful because you know if the domestic violence happening to the children, and the mother doesn't want talk about it, how we are going to help the children, you know...We can't have their children that see it and they really can't help.. [H]ow we are going to help if we don't know what's going on and you see the son every day, you know within the abusive family, just the children reactions, just the how they react around other children... Some children want to be alone, you know, some children get agitated, fight the other child for the toy that they want, they argue, the behaviour has changed... (Aboriginal female)

From this category of responses, it was clear that both populations felt that healthy communities, the availability of community centres with work and sporting programmes, and access to opportunity, were key facilitators of successful transitions into career. It is also interesting to note that no mention was made of government programmes or institutions as helpful. University scholarships, and financial assistance in the form of accommodation made available to students were mentioned by participants as helpful, but no reference was made to such programmes as 'Close the Gap'. This omission suggests that top-down government programmes and policies may be failing to reach those most in need. Recent reports on the lack of success of such programmes as 'Close the Gap' in Australia, and admissions of the failures of these programmes are further indications of the need for reassessment of these existing policies. (Prime Minister's report, Feb 2013; ABS, 2012; Altman, 2013).

Education

The ‘education’ category achieved 100% participation with a combined 139 critical incidents. There were 108 helpful incidents and 31 hindering incidents recorded. The category was centred on the idea of good teaching, good relationships and a good environment in school, as well as the helpfulness of actually receiving an education as a means of opening doors. An additional component within this category was the need for a positive work or study space as a means of capitalizing upon the educational opportunities provided.

> So the schooling itself academically was excellent and you had passionate teachers involved, teachers dedicated, no side distractions, putting that lot of extra effort to help you get through ... (Migrant female)

> Well I guess, qualifications are always, they always help you, I guess the experience and experiences only takes it as far, when if you got that sort of backing behind you, then you know in yourself that you are a remarkable candidate and I know like I know that I feel that I am remarkable candidate like if I am looking to move from ... Uni, for the work that I am doing, I know that, like I got 6 years’ experience in, I got 4 years’ experience in private sector and by the time I leave it was 2 to 3 years in this public sector, it was semi-government so it was pseudo probably and I have got my double degree and my CA so I know that I can sell myself! (Migrant male)

> [T]hen I transferred into [an] education [degree] just ... I thought originally that, it was going to be what I was going to be able to like accomplish at uni. [T]here was a degree I thought I was capable of... completing and then looking at it now, it is something that... it’s definitely needed for myself and for the community like good teachers and educators and different perspectives so that’s why I am really locked into education at the moment. (Aboriginal male)

Education was considered hindering where the school environment was unsupportive, where there was a the feeling of not belonging, rejection by university, unsupportive teachers, lack of access or financial ability to attend post-secondary institutions, geographic location, and/or feeling isolated within the school setting.

> I have been pretty fortunate going to a good school, that I have got, I would say good education but you know I had to work pretty hard to sort of get there so I have been really fortunate, in that regard because... It was just you know great education and just good people really like, they weren’t you know... aboriginal,

> they didn't really identify too much because you know in the area no one really cares about it... (Aboriginal male)

Progress with Australia's own 'Closing the Gap' targets has been underwhelming at best with most results showing no improvements and some results showing regression. According to Australian National Assessment Program – Literacy & Numeracy (NAPLAN) results in 2012, 14 out of 20 indicators showed the gap between mainstream and indigenous education had widened compared to the results in 2011. There is an average gap of 80.8% between mainstream populations and indigenous student results in very remote schools in the Northern Territory, with an average gap of 23.8% nationally and 37.5% in remote areas. While there has been some increase in the rates of graduation from Year 12, there is no indication that this is a result of the 'Close the Gap' policy (Scullion, 2013).

Role Models

The 'role model' category achieved 100% participation with 98 critical incidents. There were 92 helpful incidents and only 6 hindering incidents. The relatively small number of incidents does not dispute the importance of role models but, rather, is partially explained by the fact that sometimes the role models crossed over 3 categories (family, role models and culture/ethnicity) and hence, if the participants discussed the importance of family first, the incident was defined as family, rather than 'role model'. Role models, as a category, incorporated people who were influential either by example or by simply being a part of the participant's life (positive or negative). The low hindering incident component can be explained by the fact that even when a role model was considered hindering in one way, upon reflection, the participants viewed the role model as helpful by showing them the path they did not want to take. This facet of the category contributed to the overwhelming number of helpful incidents.

> Well it pushes me, it is something that instilled in me, to drive to do that up, I don't know, I just feel so lucky to be able to be able to, even though everything that happened in the past, so many families were broken down, broken apart and to know that I can go back and talk to my aunties about what they went through back in their days, my uncle, he tells me everything what happened you know and my aunty as well, like you know my uncle, all that stuff that happened in the life, you know all my cousins go into prison, that kind of stuff, l want to be a role model as well I suppose for that...It is helpful because it drives me, if you want to be role model, l got to push through all the barriers that exist so then when I have my children, I can show them that you know you can do it, you can actually get the and I want my children to know about everything that happened today, aunties, uncles and cousins! Because it is one thing that has as well, knowing what they have been through and had to deal with their lives like it stories are just painful, I want to push through, I want to show that aboriginal people can do something with their lives, we are not just people that you know like, you still on the dole, end up pregnant or, like I won't show that!... (Aboriginal female)

> I just feel so lucky to be able, even though with everything that happened in the past, so many families were broken down, broken apart and to know that I can go back and talk to my aunties about what they went through back in their days. My uncle, he tells me everything what happened you know and my aunty as well, like you know my uncle, all that stuff that happened in the life, you know all my cousins go into prison, that kind of stuff, l want to be a role model as well I suppose for that [reason]... (Aboriginal female)

Hindering aspects of the lack of role models include: feeling different and alone, or isolated in their experiences, and the lack of role models from both the indigenous community and some of the migrants' communities.

> .. Seeing from an environment that's just not that good, to what it could be and seeing how, because there was a bit of time my sister was doing really bad in the school, when she started up [and took the wrong road] ... Seeing her kind of like not really utilize it and realizing it was because of this just, not horrible family situation but it just wasn't great...as soon as we kind of like got that sort of fixed up a bit and you know started to create that supportive environment really let her know, we liked her, and kind of like, doing the best we could do, to create the opportunity for her as well, same as like my brother got. (Migrant male)

The helpful outcomes regarding role models, and the nature of duality in the reflection about good and bad role models, was clearly expressed by both migrant and indigenous participants. All of the indigenous participants in this project mentioned the helpfulness of having role models of aboriginal status who were employed or studying,

and they specifically mentioned wishing for more of these role models.

> There has been a few before me, I think in [this university] I am the 4th indigenous male social worker ... It's good because you are mindful as to your actions is going to impact the next one that comes along so yeah I guess it makes it proud that, you also going to realize that, you are leaving the mark for the next person, you are setting a standard in a sense that ....what I am doing is going to affect my sons, because they are so much younger but the fact that okay, what I am doing is actually opening doors for people so I am achieving what I want for my sons... (Aboriginal male).

The aboriginal participants noted the lack of role models and the relatively small number of aboriginals attending university. The aboriginal participants also noted the helpfulness of having even one male role model who worked or studied, and how watching that role model study and work was a key part of successful transition into a career.

> All the time pop was going to night T.A.F.E. He was living in (outer suburb) and he wouldn't get there, work all day and go to T.A.F.E. and ... Just, I know it is good to knowing having a good role model that sets good examples... A good role model [is] my grand pop... (Aboriginal male) * T.A.F.E is the Australian equivalent of a vocational/technical college. The acronym stands for Technical and Further Education. In Australia, it is one of the prime apprenticeship and vocational training and educational facilities.

It was the relative lack of such role models that was perceived to be unhelpful for the aboriginal participants. This programme outcome accords with the literature concerning the lack of opportunity and positions available for aboriginal people (Dwyer, 2003; ABS, 2010; US Dept. of Labor, 2012). While aboriginal participants acknowledged the changes that are slowly occurring, most noted that it was they themselves, who were the vanguard of the new generation of role models, and that they had to break through barriers to be role models for the next generation, usually their own children, cousins or siblings.

> The idea of indigenous male coming to university, I guess was not a realistic idea... [But now] It's... not as a big of a shock! I mean to see indigenous people at university! It is a great thing, it’s encouraged more, to have indigenous presence at university to have indigenous people achieving an higher education, you know achieving university, I mean, in contrast to, you know back 50 years ago, an indigenous person going to the university would have

> been unheard of until in the 60s so I guess, it is a really big thing… (Aboriginal male)
>
> Ha, it is ridiculous that the only aboriginal people I have seen work or the people who work at aboriginal employment services so it is like, that's it like you went, I noticed 1 black wall for employment... That's it! Oh yeah train in Australia to work in the mines! (Aboriginal male)

In stark contrast to these experiences, the migrant participants discussed many aspects of the helpfulness of work, employment, work experience, but they did not mention the need for having role models who were employed. Role models for the migrant participants were specifically identified as family members, often fathers or mothers. These role models, combined with the fact that these family members provided housing and food, were regarded as helpful in the migrant group.

The role of family work role models was a point of major difference between the two groups. One explanation for the disparity between work role models available in the migrant group and the aboriginal group may be the historical differences between the nature of employment opportunities and access for indigenous and migrant groups. More specifically, the history of oppression and paternalism, the lack of employment opportunities and the 'glass ceiling' with in terms of management positions and careers for indigenous peoples, (Dwyer, 2003; Fryberg, et al. 2012; Britten & Borgen, 2010; Chandler, Lalonde, Sokol & Hallett, 2003; Juntenen, et al. 2001; Arredondo, 1984) stand in stark contrast to the history of immigration to most English-speaking countries for the purposes of filling gaps in the workforce (ABS, 2010; Stats Canada, 2012; US Dept. of Labor, 2012; LSE Centre for Economic Performance, 2012).

Work & Work Experience

The 'work & work experience' category achieved participation of 87.5% with 130 helpful incidents and 39 hindering incidents. The category included work itself, work experience as organized by schools, cadetships in university, and good managers in the workplace. The real contrast between the two groups in this

category was the number of incidents recorded by the migrant group (100 helpful and 39 hindering versus 30 helpful and zero hindering for the aboriginal group). This outcome bears further investigation. Questions that arise from this stark disparity indicate that work and work experience may not have been seen as available to, nor an option for, the aboriginal group in comparison to the migrants. This could also account for the fact that no hindering incidents were recorded in this category by the aboriginal group, as work experience was seen as not only helpful but also a privilege in many ways as parents and extended family may or may not have been engaged in the workforce for an extended length of time for some of the aboriginal participants' families.

The hindering side of this category included not having access to the same jobs due to issues of location, transport, cultural attachments and education, as well as poor managers, and a lack of support in the workplace.

> And then when I actually started doing my work experience for it, I was actually kicking myself for not having it done soon enough, I said yeah this is exactly where I want to be and you know I finished it… It was a hard time but looking back and considering how we... w[ere] just doing what we can to succeed. It has been a large transition to me, now to get into work and being able to just to do what I wanted to do, and not really being limited... (Migrant male)

> When I was mucking around, I didn't get the things I wanted whereas when I worked… I got paid that weekend! I was like yeah, I can go buy myself sneakers or food or some clothing or whatever I wanted like it was actually money I earned myself! (Migrant male)

These quotes show the importance for the participants of having access to work opportunities and work experience. Research in relation to career and high employment rates/inclusion has long emphasised the importance of economic participation and employment for the settlement of immigrant populations (Smith & Silva, 2011; Ethnic Communities Council, 2008). It also helps to promote social cohesion, 'hope' and economic stability in indigenous communities (Smith & Silva, 2011; Goodwill & McCormick, 2012; Ungar, 2011). It is important that government and communities

establish effective, collaborative policies and programmes to combat discrimination and facilitate meaningful employment outcomes for all people, male, female, rural, urban and remote. This is especially necessary in those communities that are more at risk of suffering discrimination and poor access to education, employment opportunities and opportunities to attain meaningful work (Ethnic Communities Council of Victoria, 2008; Joseph, 2013).

Stability

The category 'stability' achieved participation of 50% for the hindering factors, with a total 95 critical incidents. This comprised 34 helpful incidents and 61 hindering incidents. Stability was raised by the indigenous participants as helpful in the transition between school and work. The migrant participants did not raise the issue of stability as helpful, although it was acknowledged as helpful in terms of having a stable family and stable community support. Outcomes from this study showed that both the migrant and indigenous participants considered instability as unhelpful in their journey toward a successful career. The category of stability incorporated a stable day to day life, a stable home and family life, stable relationships, and a continued stable person in the lives of some participants. Underlying elements included financial stability and personal security. This category included the importance of feeling safe, and having stability in non-Western ideologies such as having the stability of food, housing, a safe place to live/sleep.

Instability was mentioned as being unhelpful in the context of familial instability, social instability, and feeling personally 'unstable' or being unsteady, and having no stable food or housing source.

> [Stability]... Gives piece of mind...You know that you got work, not to worry about things. That's good to have, I guess it is good to have, when you are stable, you have good routine... (Aboriginal male)

> [T]he school we went to... like just, I was still in primary school at that time, it used to close, even at sometimes months at a time, because of civil

> war and so whenever there was a threat, they closed the school down. So coming here with that sort of threat not present... It is safer as well and you know with the road rules and the crossings and everything. It is much more civilized and organized and yeah that is the starting point and then going further from that, it's just, you can go to school for one. (Migrant male)
>
> Yeah, having stability like I guess those kinds of aims in front of me, this is what you should do, if you want to get somewhere in life, and you wanted to do well for yourself and you want to be like everyone else! You know! It was good because I guess... the fact, parents bought me a car, when they wanted me to do so many things, having them believe in me even though they pushed me and told me you should be doing that, I think I wouldn't be university if I didn't have that stability. (Aboriginal female)

Since very few migrants mentioned stability as helpful in their journey implies that stability was a factor that they assumed as existing in their life and not something that was necessarily missing. This disparity in the outcomes illustrates the point that, for the indigenous participants, having a stable environment was vital for their successful transitions between school and career, whereas for the migrant participants, this stability was perhaps accepted and not seen as 'unusual'. This need for stability as the basis for successful performance accords with the literature (Goodwill & McCormick, 2012; Brooks, 1996.

Ethnicity/Aboriginality and cultural attachment

The category 'Ethnicity/Aboriginality and cultural attachment' achieved a 75% participation rate. The 120 critical incidents comprised 88 helpful incidents and 32 hindering incidents. This category included identifying as a particular ethnicity or culture and/or having indigenous/aboriginal heritage, having familiarity with or access to their culture either through local resources, traditions, activities and/ or history. Helpful aspects with this category included: aboriginality and access to their culture via family, traditions, history, aboriginal sporting programmes, specific aboriginal assistants or access to assistance provided on their missions including cultural and financial support, or sporting and educational programmes. A wider perspective of the helpfulness of aboriginality included having the support of the wider community in the

provision of specifically aboriginal cultural events, education and financial support.

> Oh being able to feel good about it [aboriginality]... especially in the indigenous community and having proud to be indigenous and being proud to get your HSC, being proud to gone to study at university is a very big, it is very empowering... (Aboriginal male)

> I think, I think it helped with, to help me like pretty much transform identity... I don't entirely consider myself Chilean but very much consider myself South American like, it wasn't really to high school, until I started hanging out with, with a lot of Australians and their families, going over with friends! Before that, you know pretty all the time with South American, you know so you do start to see contrast there, like in high school that you know they don't, quite, it is not different, you know, somehow I start putting to words but being an immigrant, it is not quite the same so... (Migrant male)

The hindering components of this category were based on ideas of how being aboriginal could have caused alienation, isolation, a point of difference, and shame, including the impact of the stolen generations upon this newer generation. The loss of mothers or grandmothers, fathers having been stolen and listening to stories from aunts and uncles of their experiences of being 'stolen' and not knowing to this day whom they were related to or where their family was/are, was important to this category.

> Well I think when I was like, you know 3 or 4 years old, it's very much like, this physical isolation because that emotional tie with my parents is still there but that was, that emotional bond was broken when my mother not being here and just you know the emotional isolation with rest of my family so it was very much a different kind of isolation, you know physically, it was the reversal of what happened before, physically we were still you know my life was still the same (Migrant male).

> My best friend is half Australian, half Italian but he is rich and they have a holiday house in (small town) I am not sure exactly where it is and it is a nice place but you can sort of tell that they don't get a big mix of people and especially because it is such small community, and just walking around town is just weird because that people literally stare. I have never had anything like that but just you just, you can't help but feel different they sort of... (Migrant male)

These quotes illustrate the variant definitions that each participant had used to create his/her own identity. Further these quotes are illustrative of the importance of being able to identify and define oneself in relation to the ethnicity/culture and traditions, that each individual affiliated with over time, and was not just a static

phenomenon.

Ethnicity, aboriginality and cultural attachment arose as an important element of success for both migrants and indigenous participants, with a total of 13 out of 16 participants recording incidents in this category. Seven (7) indigenous and six (6) migrant youth recorded incidents in the category. This finding accords with the literature regarding the concept of identifying with a larger group providing social support networks and a sense of belonging (Smith & Silva, 2011; Ruiz, 1990; Phinney, Cantu & Kurtz, 1997). According to the literature, having some cultural or ethnic attachment can assist individuals and communities build a sense of competence, self-awareness and resilience when facing dilemmas or issues (Ruiz, 1990, Smith & Silva, 2011). The twin blade of cultural attachment and identity was perceived as sometimes hindering for participants in this project. This outcome accords with research that has found that possessing a strong ethnic identity can aggravate emotional distress in some situations (Yip, Gee, & Takeuchi, 2008; Smith & Silva, 2011; Bombay, Matheson & Anisman, 2010). For example, Syed & Azmitzia (2008) found that people with stronger ethnic identities were more likely to report discrimination. Furthermore, McCoy & Major, (2003) found that individuals with stronger ethnic affiliations experienced distress as a result of perceived discrimination. This outcomes of this project tends to reflect Smith & Silva (2011) which recognized the shielding effect of ethnic identity but also countered this with the knowledge that threats to a group which one identifies with can lead to experiences of suffering and concern at an individual level.

Similarly, Chandler & Lalonde, 1998, in their research in British Columbia with First Nations people, identified protective cultural assets at the community level, were designed to preserve and enrich native culture assisted aboriginals to maintain their identities over time and, experience positive outcomes (Filbert & Flynn, 2010). The outcomes of the present study concur with these findings and suggest that the extant literature should reflect the

duality of the helpfulness and hindering aspects of cultural attachment for marginalised groups within society.

Prejudice/low expectations

'Prejudice/Low Expectations' arose as a category distinct from culture and attachment. This category illustrated the negative impacts of being the victim of prejudice or being perceived as not really having much hope for a positive future. The discussion of this category was clearly enunciated as distinct from the idea of the participants being attached to culture. This category achieved the minimum recommended participation rate of 25% with a total of 32 incidents (19 helpful and 13 hindering) but this category is one of the most intriguing in the study. This category centred upon instances of being negatively targeted as a result of ethnic/aboriginal origin. An additional component was the participant's feelings of shame regarding their ethnicity. Some participants expressed also feeling a need to hide their ethnicity if there were no external signs of belonging to some 'other' culture. Three aboriginal participants recorded helpful incidents totalling 18 events, whereas only one migrant female recorded a single helpful incident in this category.

The category 'prejudice/Low expectations' included a variety of opinions regarding the impact of prejudice/racism or stereotyping including the fact that prejudice could be seen as helpful. This surprising finding was the result of participants describing experiences wherein each individual had been the victim of racism/prejudice or stereotyping, and that this experience had motivated them. Thus, in their own words, the negative event had been reconstructed in their minds and had led to a positive outcome over the longer term. This finding requires further research since, even though it was clear from the participants that racism and prejudice was in no way positive in the firsthand experience of it, a positive outcome was articulated. However, it remains unclear as to whether this positive outcome was a result of possessing their own support systems – family, friends, community or culture, and having internal assets or communal resources, or if some other factors had enabled each

participant to reframe the incident upon reflection, and externalize the prejudice.

This outcome, in no way, endorses being a victim of racism as a positive event. Rather, it reflects the fact that three of sixteen participants felt that suffering some form of prejudice had strengthened their own identity. As a result of the reflection and reframing for each participant, the incidents of racism they experienced over time had caused them to become more strongly entrenched in their cultural affiliation and strive to be more vocal or more successful to show that they could succeed in spite of these prevailing attitudes. For some of the participants, these experiences had led to contradicting the stereotypes, and an internalized belief that was expressed as the idea that suffering from prejudice had helped them to form a stronger idea of self. This experience had also helped the participants' to build self-esteem and cultural pride. For the two aboriginal youth that recorded helpful incidents in this category, these experiences were a cause of motivation to change other's perceptions. Two examples of this idea are illustrated as follows:

> Well in a way basically it can either do two things, it can either push you doubt yourself or it can push yourself and for me, for me it hurts, I am not going to say that it is easy, because it is not, it does hurt, but for me, I allowed me to push me through because I always had my dad being you know the one supportive, you can do it, no matter what you can do so, when people racist it, you know what? It hurts but I can do it! (Aboriginal female)

> I guess the stereotype of indigenous people you know unemployed, uneducated someone like that but to see someone like, you are close to and someone that you have grown up, someone that you looked up to who just go and do something is very inspiring I guess, it is very, you feel proud of that person as well and you feel, if they can do it, then what stopping me from doing it... (Aboriginal Male).

> You look at it like these people fought so, you know the next generation, myself and other can go to university, I mean it is big thing, you know to challenge adversity, challenge racism, I mean so it is enormous thing, that pushed to change to, allow change to happen, to allow equality I guess, to set the foundations for quality... You know you have thing such as, the referendum 1967 you have this thing that it is continuing on ...constitutional recognition in the works as well, I mean these are big things for indigenous people, these are changing history, it is very apparent to see this as an indigenous person how to achieve, I mean all these affect someone, these being passed is I guess sets the

> ground for equality and paves the way for reconciliation as well...I mean being indigenous is a big thing, I mean, I guess acknowledging the fact of passing justice and working together indigenous and non-indigenous to create quality in Australia between indigenous and non-indigenous, it is a very good thing, it might me a very good thing, I mean, it gives the sense that you know indigenous people not just doing it alone. (Aboriginal male)

In contrast to the relatively high number of aboriginal incidents, one migrant female recorded the sole helpful incident. She described the impact of being an outsider (in terms of culture, colour and socioeconomic status) in an all-white, wealthy private school as being helpful in the sense that it taught her at a young age, how to deal with people and situations quite disparate from her own familial and cultural situation. While this individual migrant's perceptions are distinctly different to the experiences of aboriginal participants, it forms another insight into the ways in which individuals can achieve positive outcomes from difficult and initially negative experiences.

> It [private girls' school] was very class oriented. It was very classy, and, even though I came from a middle class background, so my parents you know had middle class jobs and you know... I did well but we weren't sort of ideal [in that school]. They came from a very white, privileged background... which is just part of that [helpfulness] because it actually has given me lot of skills in terms of dealing with females and it can be very bitchy, but you get back, but being able to sort of fit in to that quite quickly and yet stay away from it [classism]... was a very good experience, it gave me those skills for the future. (Migrant female)

Examples of the hindering category of low expectations/prejudice included: the negative impact of low expectations/prejudice for indigenous youth within the western- based educational environment, feeling that they had few options and that they were in fact, going to be nothing, as that this was expected by others (including their own families).

> And then, and then going to kind of school where everybody spoke English, I didn't speak English for like, like it was for a while and then when I first came I refused to speak and learn English, like I just flatly refused in school but refused to speak it, so I was kind of, I was very reluctant to be part of this, this Australian community, this was really alien world to me, for me so again that kind cemented that that isolation you know? (Migrant male)

> It doesn't take much to figure out why that [hiding my aboriginality] was, you know, like you know being singled out in class, can be positive and negative. I hid my culture for a negative reason, it is not a good thing, because it is just like, you know whenever seeing what happened, you never really had too many positives about aboriginal culture so, you know… all the negatives came around and that redirected at me, so, it was not [good] being, you know... an aboriginal in school really... (Aboriginal male)

> Mom nearly never identified [as aboriginal] ever! She just like, it was never positive for her, everything aboriginal is… terrible for her so, I had negative feelings for that reason, never identifying but then... not really...identifying too much with [my aboriginality] sort of, I suppose was a safeguard for me. I don't have any predominant features or whatever, you could say for what people say as being aboriginal. So no one really sort of singled me out in that way, it wasn't until like… they were asking questions and stuff like that, I never really liked to know... because at school..[being aboriginal] was negative. (Aboriginal male)

Thus, the category 'prejudice/low expectations' formed a component of the hindering factors for participants in their journeys between school and career.

Limitations

This study comprised a qualitative methods research design. The reason for using the ECIT and the data analysis tool Atlas.ti 6.2 was to discern categories that could be compared and contrasted. The size of the sample is related to the critical incidents found, and not the participant numbers. In this project, 1578 critical incidents were recorded. While there are some limitations associated the research design, there are also some interesting results that show some universality amongst the themes and the separate migrant and indigenous populations studied.

Rather than following a deficit model, this research project specifically targeted hitherto untold stories of success from groups generally seen as more problematic than resourceful. A total of six (6) countries from around the globe were represented in the migrant group, (Chile, Italy, Fiji, Sri Lanka, New Zealand, and Brazil) and the indigenous participants represented more than 7 different aboriginal Australian groups (matrilineal and patrilineal family lines often meant that participants came from more than one tribal group).

In Australia, there are multiple immigrant groups from North America, Europe and Eastern Europe, Asia, Africa and South and Central America, as well as over 300 indigenous groups by region and familial ties. Simply put, we cannot assume that the results apply to all migrant groups or indigenous groups, but from the results some general themes have arisen. This project may also be limited by the possibility that the interviewees were trying to please the researcher, and respond in perceived socially appropriate ways.

Discussion

Since the world has become more global in nature with many movements across borders the experience of migration is a part of twenty-first century life. Internal and external migration is quite common across provincial borders, internal states, across contiguous country borders and across oceans and international geographic lines. Migration and immigration have become a more common experience, as is reverse migration where people return from their adopted country to their 'home' country. This is also the case with indigenous peoples crossing internal borders, leaving traditional homelands and returning to traditional homelands once again. The idea that immigration is a 'permanent' state and that migrants will stay permanently in one country once settled has changed (Brooks, 1996). Concomitantly, as a result of widespread movement of groups and communities across global borders, the notion of marginalisation and the lived experience of this phenomenon, affects all facets of life for the non-mainstream groups, as well as the societies to which they move.

The term "marginalisation" in and of itself, confers controversy, ideas of victimhood and oppression, and refers to 'outliers' in any society by way of any trait, distinguishing feature, ethnicity, culture, disability or illness amongst others, that establishes a group or individual as different from the idealized mainstream idea of 'normalcy'. Stigma, labels, and social hierarchy serve to uphold, consecrate, sacretize and satanize those that fall within the attached labels of difference (Herek, 2007; Kirmayer,

1989). Hiding within or 'living outside' the 'mainstream' ideals and socially constructed beliefs which are posited as 'normal' for the society in which one dwells creates difference and thereby, reiterates 'otherness'(Walch et al. 2012; Said, 1978). And while this may be an accurate description of the lived experience of people who are deemed 'different', there are people who live on the margins who see themselves as successful and empowered, in spite of, or perhaps because of, their difference (Britten, 2014). Theories based on stigma and labelling however fail to address this power assumed by those labelled as 'marginalised' or 'other'. The successes of people within these oft stigmatised or marginalised groups is rarely examined or considered as a facet of 'marginalisation'. This programme of research explores the paradox of living successfully on the margins, of negotiating between the lines of what has been deemed 'normal' versus the lines of self-defined success and empowerment, and of defying and reifying difference to that end. Hence, 'marginalisation' is defined as being someone who by self-identification, or by public pronouncement and 'other' identification, identifies as neither included in the mainstream part of the society in the geographic region in which they live, nor belonging to that which is considered 'mainstream' (James, 2012; Said, 1978). Marginalisation, in essence, for the purpose of this research programme, refers to 'other'ness, either self-labelled or identified, or as a result of imposed labels.

For the immigrants in the present study, while many felt that Australia was their home, some felt that they may return to their home country because they mourned the loss of family and the spiritual ties that they left behind, even as young children. Migration has become a more 'fluid' situation over the past 25 years and this was especially the case amongst migrant youth participating in the present study. The global nature of the world seemed to allow the participants in this study opportunities that were not afforded their parents and grandparents. Mobility, and the ability to choose where a person/family could live based on the safety, security and opportunities that

were provided to the participants were an integral component of feeling 'stable' or being able to access opportunities provided within communities, and hence, within the wider society in general.

Work experience was mentioned by most of the participants as being one of the helpful factors in their journey between school and career. The clear importance to both the indigenous group and the migrants is evident by the high level of participation rates from both groups. This finding also accords with the literature available. One marker of successful integration into any society is economic self-sufficiency (Dwyer, 2003). Exclusion from meaningful employment increases the risks of social and economic marginalisation from society. Issues associated with exclusion from meaningful employment may include depression, low self-confidence, stress and intergenerational unemployment (Ethnic Communities Council of Australia, 2008).

All of the participants discussed the helpfulness of being able to access work experience but even more specifically, the concept of 'meaningful work'. Career and vocational research has shown that mentoring and work experience programmes have been consistently recognised in scholarship and practice as good strategies to bridge employment barriers for culturally and linguistically diverse clientele (Talbani & Hasanali, 2000; Mirza & Joseph, 2010; McCoy & Major, 2003; Joseph, 2013). The inherent value of mentoring programmes is that they facilitate networks, build the confidence and ability of the mentees, and improve the likelihood of entering the labour market at a level appropriate to their skill level (Ethnic Communities Council of Australia, 2008).

Of particular interest to the study, and a finding that warrants some discussion here, is the account of a male migrant, who identified as indigenous in his home country. This account drew together both migrant and indigenous views and illustrated the nexus and duality of experience between marginalisation as an aboriginal and, simultaneously, the experience of marginalisation as a migrant. This unique narrative explicated the need for

attachment to culture, land, family and spirituality. This participant was a migrant from Chile, who also identified as having indigenous Chilean heritage. This migrant discussed the need for a cultural attachment to his Spanish ancestry associated with his paternal Chilean family of colonial extraction. He also discussed strong ties to the spiritual and cultural side of his indigenous Chilean family. This need was so strong for him that he returned to his homeland as a young man prior to completing his high school education to reconnect with his indigenous family and become more 'attuned' to his native spirituality. No other participant enunciated so clearly this defining 'need' to know their 'aboriginal' or indigenous cultural attachment. Yet, for this participant, this experience was an integral component of his journey to adulthood and was instrumental in his eventual self-understanding that he needed to return to his nuclear family in Australia, and complete his journey. He was only able to do this after revisiting the place of his childhood.

> But I never really understood it until fast forward a couple of years, I went back to my home country to grow up and met a lot of the older people and I could actually talk to them, like me being older and I picked up their religion. It's very similar to the indigenous religion and except the names, everything else is the same and we do have… I don't know if you call it god, but it is a powerful mother. But in regard to... the name that we give, god didn't say it is in our belief system, if working hard, like legitimately working hard, and trying to, it sounds trying to be everything that we can, because that's how, that's how she sees us, and if we do anything less, it wouldn't be doing justice so I think that in that sense, it added... another dimension to where I am at right now in the sense that, my work ethic and how I approach work every day.

This reflection by a participant concerning his affinity for land, traditions and family was also enunciated in more general ways by other participants as needing family and community ties, as well as spiritual succour needs further research.

> Yeah, I was happy to jump straight back into my education, glad that I went back to there because kind of got to finish things that I didn't get to finish people and places... Ha, it [indigenous spirituality] can be a bit alien to people like white people, but if I compare it with religion or something like that, it is not so much being scared that if you do something wrong, something bad is going to happen, like consequences or having to do things out of fear of something. The best way I can describe it is it is like the relationship between you and your mom. That she... wants the best for you because she knows that anything that you are doing at that time, is, like she knows that, that you can be

> so much, so knowing that is kind of like, I feel like I am, if I am happy, and I can I feel that at the end of the day, I can look back on that day and say I did everything that I could, no matter what I was doing, I feel that, it's kind of like saying appreciate what you have done for me.

Having respect for the earth and gratitude for what she provides, as well as feeling that acting in a certain 'good' way was the core value of his life. However, it was the evocation of the need to be connected with his spirituality and family of origin to succeed that underscored this account of success in his transition between school and career. This strong participant voice and reflection also suggests that policy makers and ethical research must not underestimate the ties of people to their land, and to spiritual places and the importance of this connection to land and spirit needs further exploration.

The failure of participants to mention the helpfulness of government programming in this project is revealing. The stark omission of any mention of governmental policy reveals potentially significant gaps between policy goals and the reality of career opportunities for marginalised youth. It also suggests that there may be systemic failures that are not addressing individual nor communal needs. For policies and programmes to deliver systemic and successful solutions, they should be including and acknowledging the importance of strengthening families, building healthy communities and concomitantly, providing avenues whereby marginalised populations can easily access education and training. Such solutions could reduce long-term costs to society by reducing rates of non-participation in the labour force and the issues associated with unemployment.

According to Clune, 1993, prevailing laws in society are generally synonymous with policy in that law can be said to represent the collective will of society. This will is expressed through law as a binding norm for all living within that system. However, in lived experiences, there often appears a disconnect between the outcomes of the law and the actual issue that the law is meant to address (McLean, 2012). The implications

for this programme of research lie within the ways in which policy makers create and deliver policies for and to marginalised groups. As with most policy implementations regarding marginalised groups, history shows that there has been little attention given to stakeholder input as to what best constitutes important hallmarks within communities in situ (Guenther, Bat & Osborne, 2013). Further, little attention has been given to consultation with marginalised communities as to how best to achieve outcomes that they see as focal points for individual and communal success.

This research programme suggests it is incumbent upon policy makers (and extant policies such as NCLB and CTG) to review the ways in which they have imposed policies, and abandon hitherto top-down changes in favour of community and participatory programmes and policies (Gibbs, 2001). As with the historiography of policy implementations in colonial societies, little attention has been given to stakeholder input. Consultation and collaboration with vulnerable and special populations as to what constitutes important hallmarks for the individual communities, and how best to achieve positive outcomes, has rarely been undertaken from the systemic and policy-making level. This programme of research indicates that, in assuming that, by separating and singling out individual factors that are determinants of 'success' as deemed so by prevailing systems, there are few positive outcomes from such policies as NCLB and CTG. Using determinants such as 'standardized' testing on unique and special populations nullifies any attempts at improving policy and programme implementation standards (Clune, 1993; Guenther, Bat & Osbourne (2013). Top-down policy makers in utilizing such monolithic and homogenous testing to assess the success or failure of programmes fails at the most basic level to understand the myriad factors that can determine success or failure as measured by and for the communities most impacted, and most in need of, funding for educational and career programmes.

This research programme suggests that, for such policies as No Child Left Behind (NCLB-USA) and Closing the Gap (CTG -Australia), top-down policy implementation, created without reference to, inclusion of, or consultation with, the key stakeholders that these policies are directed towards, significantly hampers possible positive outcomes. According to Guenther, Bat & Osbourne (2013), the traditional means of taking deficit views of marginalised groups, targeting these deficits and imposing top-down policies merely reinforces extant systems of oppression and hence, do not garner the outcomes desired. This program of research reiterates that, in order for positive outcomes to be achieved, it is imperative to recognize, value, and acknowledge personal agency within marginalised communities. For NCLB and CTG outcomes to be more successful, this programme of research suggests that the starting point for all policy makers is to first consult and then communicate with the individual communities within which they wish to implement change (Guenther, Bat & Osborne, 2013; Gibbs, 2001; Britten & Borgen, 2010). From such consultation and collaboration, as suggested by the outcomes of this research programme, more meaningful programmes can be developed and hence, ownership and community-based control can lead to empowerment, a change of extant systems that fail to recognize the rich diversity of the marginalised groups, and ultimately, the chance of positive outcomes for programmes that arise out of such consultative, collaborative work.

By fostering healthy families and healthy communities with strong support networks, marginalised populations can succeed despite multiple barriers to success. Moreover, fostering the ability for marginalised youth to build strong individual identities, constructed within the support of a healthy family and maintaining healthy lifestyles appeared to be more important than any government programmes available. In conclusion, it is hoped that future policies are derived from a combination of stakeholder

voice, individual community needs, and the outcomes of research into the broader implications of the success of marginalised youth in relation to career transitions.

References

Altman, J. (2013) *Evaluation fetishism is not closing this gap*, http://www.crikey.com.au/ 2013/04/30/evaluation-fetishim-is-not-closing-this-gap/retrieved online May 2, 2013.

Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS), (2010) http://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsf/Products/6250.0~Nov+2010~Main+~Employment?OpenDocument retrieved online May 12, 2012.

Benson, J. Concordance: an alternative term to 'compliance' in the Aboriginal population. *Australian Family Physician*, 34 (10), 831-835. Availability:<http://search.informit.com.au/documentSummary;dn=366368148682883;res=IELHE A> ISSN: 0300-8495. [Cited 15 Feb 13]

Bombay, A, Matheson, K & Anisman, H (2010) Decomposing Identity: Differential Relationships Between Several Aspects of Ethnic Identity and the Negative Effects of Perceived Discrimination Among First Nations Adults in Canada, *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology,* 16(4), 507–516.

Bourke, L. (2003). Toward understanding youth suicide in an Australian rural community, *Social Science & Medicine* 57, 2355–2365.

Britten, L. & Borgen, W.A. (2010). Footprints of colour along the career journey, *Procedia Social and Behavioural Sciences*, 5, 104-115.

Britten, L. Borgen, W.A. and Wiggins, M. (2013) (submitted) *Colour blind: The complex stories of migrant youth on bridging the gap between school and career.*

Britten, L., Borgen, W.A, and Wiggins, M. (2012). Self-awareness of dual roles when using the critical incident technique: Opening Pandora's box, *Psychology Research,* 2(1), 52-63.

Brooks, C. (1996). Understanding immigrants and the labour market. *Bureau of Immigration, Multicultural and Population Research/Australian Government Publishing Service Canberra,* 1-13.

Burack, J., Blidner, A., Flores, H. & Fitch, T. (2007). Constructions and deconstructions of risk, resilience and wellbeing: A model for understanding the development of Aboriginal adolescents. *Australasian Psychiatry*, 15 Supplement.

Butterfield, L., Borgen, W, & Amundson, N., (2005). Fifty years of the critical incident technique: 1954–2004 and beyond. *Qualitative Research,* 5(4), 475-497.

Butterfield, L., Borgen, W.A, & Amundson, N., (2005). The impact of a qualitative research interview on workers' views of their situation. *Canadian Journal of Counselling / Revue canadienne de counseling,* 43(2), 120-130.

Butterfield, L. Borgen, W.A., Amundson, N. & Erlebach, A. (2010). What helps and hinders workers in managing change. *Journal of Employment Counseling*, 47, 146-156.

Butterfield, L, Borgen, W, Maglio, A, Amundson, N, (2009*)*. Using the Enhanced Critical Incident Technique in Counselling Psychology Research. *Canadian Journal of Counselling / Revue canadienne de counseling,* 43(4), 265-282.

Chandler, M. & Lalonde, C. E. (2004). Cultural continuity as a moderator of suicide risk among Canada's First Nations. Kirmayer, L. & Valaskakis, G. (Eds.). The Mental Health of Canadian Aboriginal Peoples: Transformations, Identity, and Community. University of British Columbia Press.

Chandler, M. J., & LaLonde, C. E. (2008). Cultural continuity as a protective factor against suicide in First Nations youth. *Horizons, 10,* 68–72.

Closing the Gap, shadow report https://www.humanrights.gov.au/sites/default/files/CTG_Shadow_Report_2013.pdf retrieved online: http://www.fahcsia.gov.au/ our-responsibilities/indigenous- australians/programs-services/closing-the-gap/closing-the-gap-prime-ministers- report-2013

Daly, A. E., & Smith, D. E. (2005). Indicators of risk to the wellbeing of Australian indigenous children. *Australian Review of Public Affairs*, 6 (**1**), 39-57.

Daly, A. E., Henry, R. & Smith, D. E. (2002). *Welfare and the domestic economy of indigenous families: Policy implications from a longitudinal survey*, CAEPR discussion paper No. 239, CAEPR, Australian National University, Canberra.

Darou, W. G. (1987). Counselling and the northern native. *Canadian Journal of Counselling,* 21(1), 33-41.

DeGagne, M (2007). Toward an Aboriginal paradigm of healing: addressing the legacy of residential schools. *Australasian Psychiatry*, 15(Supplementary): S49-S53.

Deimer, M.A. & Ortega, L. (2010). Social Inclusion and Critical Consciousness in Australia. *Australian Journal of Career Development*, 19(1), 13-17.

Department of Health and Aging, (2009-2010). *Indigenous Health*, retrieved online: http:// www.health.gov.au/internet/budget/publishing.nsf/Content/2009-2010_Health_PBS

Department of Health and Aging, 2009-2010, *Rural Health*, retrieved online: http:// www.health.gov.au/internet/budget/publishing.nsf/Content/2009-2010_Health_PBS

Department of Immigration and Citizenship (DIAC) 2002. *Settlement Experiences of New Migrants.* retrieved online: http://www.immi.gov.au/media/publications/pdf/settle_exp.pdf

Dwyer, R.J. (2003). "Career progression factors of Aboriginal executives in the Canada federal public service", *Journal of Management Development*, 22(10), 881–889.

Ethnic Communities Council of Australia, (2008). http://www.eccv.org.au/library/doc//ECCVDiscussionPaper3-RealJobs.pdf retrieved online Feb 18, 2013.

Flanagan J. (1954). The critical incident technique. *Psychological Bulletin,* 51, 327–358.

Fuqua, D.R. & Newman, J. L. (2002). Creating Caring Organizations. *Consulting Psychology Journal: Practice and Research,* 54 (2), 131–140.

Goodwill, A & McCormick, R. (2012). Giibinenimidizomin: Owning ourselves critical incidents in the attainment of Aboriginal identity. *Canadian Journal of Counselling and Psychotherapy*, 46 (1), 21-34.

Gross, K. (2010). Review: Reasons for living: Education and young people's search for meaning, identity and spirituality. A handbook. *Youth Studies Australia*, 26(1), 57.

Guenther, J., Bat, M., & Osbourne, S. (2013), Red dirt thinking on educational disadvantage. *The Australian Journal of Indigenous Education,* 42(2), 100-110.

Hill, C.E, Thompson, B.J., & Williams, E.N. (1997). A guide to conducting consensual qualitative research. *The Counseling Psychologist, 25*, 517-572.

Joseph, C. (2013). (Re) negotiating cultural and work identities pre and post-migration: Malaysian migrant women in Australia, *Women's Studies International Forum*, 36, 27–36.

Juntenen, C.L., Barraclough, D.J., Broneck, C.L, Seibel, G. A., Winrow, S.A., & Morin, P.M. (2001). American Indian Perspectives on the Career Journey, *Journal of Counselling Psychology*, 48 (3), 274-285.

Kia-Keating, M., Dowdy, E., Morgan, M.L., & Noam, G. G. (2011). Protecting and Promoting: An Integrative Conceptual Model for Healthy Development of Adolescents. *Journal of Adolescent Health.* 48, 220–228.

Kingsley, J. "Y", Phillips, R., Townsend, M. & Henderson-Wilson, C. (2010). Using a qualitative approach to use research to build trust between a non-aboriginal researcher and aboriginal participants (Australia). *Qualitative Research Journal* 10(1), 2-12.

Lalonde, C. E. (2006). Identity formation and cultural resilience in Aboriginal communities. In R. J. Flynn, P. M. Dudding, & J. G. Barber (Eds.), *Promoting resilience in child welfare* (pp. 52−71). Ottawa, ON: University of Ottawa Press.

LSE Centre for Economic Performance, (2013). *Election analysis: Immigration and the UK Labour Market: The Evidence from Economic Research*: http://cep.lse.ac.uk/pubs/download/ea006.pdf retrieved online February 26, 2013.

Masten, A. S. (2006). Promoting resilience in development: A general framework for systems of care. In R. J. Flynn, P. M. Dudding, & J. G. Barber (Eds.), Promoting resilience in child welfare (pp. 3−17). Ottawa, ON: University of Ottawa Press.

McCormick, R. (1996). Culturally appropriate means and ends of counselling as described by the First Nations people of British Columbia, *International Journal for the Advancement of Counselling* 18, 163-172.

McCoy, S., & Major, B. (2003). Group identification moderates emotional responses to perceived prejudice. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 29,* 1005–1017. doi:10.1177/0146167203253466

McLean, C.A. (2010). A space called home: An immigrant adolescent's digital literacy practices, *Journal of Adolescent & Adult Literacy*, 54(1), 13-22.

McLean, K.C (2008). Stories of the young and old: Personal continuity and narrative identity. *Developmental Psychology*, 44(1), 254-264.

Merritt, S. (2007). An Aboriginal perspective on resilience: Resilience needs to be defined from an aboriginal context. *Aboriginal and Islander Health Worker Journal*, 31(5), 10-12.

Mirza, H., & Joseph, C. (Eds.). (2010). *Black and postcolonial feminisms in new times: Researching educational inequalities*. London: Routledge.

Perez, R. M. (2011). Linguistic acculturation and context on self-esteem: Hispanic youth between cultures. *Journal of Child & Adolescent Social Work*. 28:203–228 retrieved online: 20 Sept. 2011_ Springer Science+Business Media, LLC 2011.

Phinney, J. S., Cantu, C. L., & Kurtz, D. A. (1997). Ethnic and American identity as predictors of self-esteem among African American, Latino, and White adolescents. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence,* 26, 165–185. doi:10.1023/A:1024500514834

Pleck, J. H., & Masciadrelli, B. P. (2004). Paternal involvement: Levels, sources, and consequences. In M. E. Lamb (Ed.), *The role of the father in child development* (4th ed., pp. 222–271). Hoboken, NJ: Wiley.

Redfield, R., Linton, R., & Herskovits, M. J. (1936). Memorandum on the study of acculturation. *American Anthropologist,* 38, 149–152.

Rhatigan, J. J. (1996). Simple gifts: Reflections on the profession. *NASPA Journal,* 34, 67–77.

Ruiz, A.S. (1990). Ethnic identity: Crisis and resolution, *Journal of Multicultural Counselling & Development,* 18(1), 29-40.

Rumbaugh Whitesell, N., Mitchell, C.M., Spicer, P. and The Voices of Indian Teens Project Team, (2009). A longitudinal study of self-esteem, cultural identity, and academic success among American Indian adolescents. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology,* 15(1), 38–50.

Schoon , I., Martin, P., & Ross, A. (2007). Career transitions in times of social change. His and her story, *Journal of Vocational Behaviour*, 70(1), 78-96.

Scullion, N, (2013). Letter: Garrett admits Indigenous education defeat, retrieved online: May 14, 2013.*http://www.alicespringsnews.com.au/2013/05/10/letter-garrett-admits-indigenous-education-defeat/*

Smith, T. B. & Silva, L. (2011). Ethnic identity and personal well-being of people of color: A meta-analysis, *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 58(1), 42–60.

Statistics Canada. (2007). *Aboriginal peoples, general statistics*, Retrieved online: http://www41.statcan.gc.ca/2007/10000/ceb10000_000-eng.htm

Statistics Canada (2010). *Aboriginal peoples, general statistics*, Retrieved online: http://www5.statcan.gc.ca/subject-sujet/result-resultat.action?pid=10000&id=-10000&lang=eng&type=STUDIES&pageNum=1&more=0

Sturm, S. (2001). Second generation employment discrimination: A structural approach. *Columbia Law Review*, 101, 458-568.

Subich, L.M. (2001). Dynamic forces in the growth and change of vocational psychology. *Journal of Vocational Behavior,* 59, 235-242.

Sydney Morning Herald. (2012). *Stronger futures continues dare era for aborigines says Amnesty.* Retrieved online: http://www.smh.com.au/opinion/political-news/stronger-futures-continues-dark-era-for-aborigines-says-amnesty-20120524-1z7zb.html [Cited Nov 12, 2012]

Syed, M., & Azmitia, M. (2010). Narrative and ethnic identity exploration: A longitudinal account of emerging adults' ethnicity-related experiences. *Developmental Psychology, 46,* 208–219. doi: 10.1037/a0017825

Talbani, A. & Hasanali, P. (2000). Adolescent females between tradition and modernity: Gender role socialization in South Asian immigrant culture. *Journal of Adolescence*, 23, 615–627.

Tripp, D. (1993). *Critical incidents in teaching: Developing professional judgement.* London: Routledge.

Tsey, K. & Avery, A. (2000). Evaluating Aboriginal empowerment programs: the case of family wellbeing. *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Public Health*, 24 (5), 509-514.

Ungar, M, (2011). Community resilience for youth and families: Facilitative physical and social capital in contexts of adversity, *Children and youth services review*, 33(9), 1742-1748.

Tripp, D. (1993). *Critical incidents in teaching: Developing professional judgement*, London: Routledge.

Urban, S. (2012). University education as a compensation strategy among second-generation immigrants. *International Migration Review*, 46(4), 919-940.

US Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, (2012). Racial and ethnic characteristics of the U.S. labor force, 2011 *http://www.bls.gov/opub/ted/2012/ted_20120905.htm retrieved online March 15,* 2013.

Van Riemsdijk, M. (2013). Everyday Geopolitics, the Valuation of Labour and the Socio-Political Hierarchies of Skill, *Journal of Ethnic & Migration Studies,* 9(3), 373-390.

Walsh, W. B. (2001). The changing nature of the science of vocational psychology. *Journal of Vocational Psychology,* 59, 262-274.

Warren, K. Ramaiah, S. & Teagle, R. (2010). Compilation of a local profile of immigration using GP registration data. *Ethnicity and Inequalities in Health and Social Care* 3(2), 6-12.

Willis, R. (2008). Advantageous inequality or disadvantageous inequality? Ethnicity and family support among older people in Britain. *Ethnicity and Inequalities in Health and Social Care*, 1(2), 18-23.

World Health Organization (WHO) (2001). *Mental Health: Strengthening mental health promotion*. Factsheet No. 220. Geneva: World Health Organization. Available from: www.who.int/mediacentre/factsheets/fs220/en/ (accessed January 2012).

Willis, R. (2008). Advantageous inequality or disadvantageous equality? Ethnicity and family support among older people in Britain. *Ethnicity and Inequalities in Health and Social Care*, 1(2), 18-23.

Woodger, D., & Cowan, J. (2010). Institutional racism in healthcare services: using mainstream methods to develop a practical approach. *Ethnicity & inequalities in health and social care*, 3(4), 36-44.

Woolsey, L.K. (1986). The critical incident technique: An innovative qualitative method of research. *Canadian Journal of Counselling* 20(4), 242-54.

Yip, T., Gee, G. C., & Takeuchi, D. T. (2008). Racial discrimination and psychological distress: The impact of ethnic identity and age among immigrant and United States-born Asian adults. *Developmental Psychology, 44,* 787–800. doi: 10.1037/0012-1649.44.3.787.

Conclusion

Discussion of the research presented: Voices from the margins

The hopes and career aspirations of marginalised youth are strong and vibrantly represented in the participants' stories arising from this research project. They reveal persistence in the face of difficulty, and resilience over the long term. It is the existence of these young people's stories that show that the dreams for rewarding careers and meaningful work are not dead, but are in fact, growing. Despite numerous statistics that cite deficits in terms of labour participation and high rates of unemployment, the participants in this project reflect another story. They represent the stories that are emerging from the shadows of prejudice, and paternalistic policy systems, and are indicative of a positive trend that can be fostered and reproduced if key stakeholders are willing to set aside preconceived notions to learn from these young peoples' experiences.

While categories have emerged from the data and have allowed the researcher to compare and contrast the two distinct groups that participated in this project, it is important to acknowledge that this dissertation does not seek to 'essentialize' or 'compartmentalize' these groups into one or 'other' dichotomy. Rather, it seeks to present the different ways in which the categories that arose out of the programme of research can coincide to facilitate the successful transitions between school and career amongst marginalised youth.

The forms of 'substantive' qualitative data and the spirit of interconnectivity – the works and 'work' of serpentine storytelling and interweavings

'Indigenous culture has for a long time had a holistic understanding of mental health. Within this are concepts of the cultural importance of the connection between the mind and body as well as the land, ancestors and other spiritual connections.' Australian Indigenous mental health commissioner, Professor Pat Dudgeon, 2010.

A noted element of indigenous culture and traditions from many ethnicities that lie outside Western tradition is the reliance on the understanding of the interconnectedness of beings, the earth and the spiritual realm. Separating out individuals from their contexts is anathema to indigenous teachings (Merritt, 2007; Abbott, 2004; Ungar, 2011). It is acknowledged that, while this research project sought to find distinct categories of factors that helped and hindered marginalised youth in their transition between school and career, each category and each incident often spanned across a number of categories, and hence, were interconnected. This interconnectedness and 'muddling' of the 'clarity' oft expected in the Western scientific tradition was not seen as a limitation of the project, but rather, it underscored the need for a paradigm shift when researching cross-culturally.

Allowing the latitude for the participants to have their say as to what they believed was the most important factor, contributed to a wider understanding of nuances that helped them in their transitions. It is an important acknowledgement that, while there are fundamentally important factors that helped each participant successfully transition from one path to the next, no factor operated in isolation. In the words of Black Elk (1932) "The life of a man is a circle from childhood to childhood". It is this understanding that circles of influence, rather than stand-alone factors, co-construct success concerning transitions between school and career for marginalised youth, and

that is a key for future policy makers and academics to incorporate into their own projects.

As a result of this holistic philosophy of interconnectivity, and honouring of cultural ideologies, the outcomes described in this dissertation, must be understood in ways that allow for each category to overlay or be influenced by other categories of critical incidents. It is from this nexus of interconnectivity, and this admission of the spiral of influence of multiple factors that this discussion formed. It is an attempt to understand the 'other' on their own terms, in combination and collaboration with the insights/expertise of the researcher. As Said (1978) posited, instead of imposing preconceived notions of 'the other', we should try to begin the journey of understanding peoples from other 'unknown' cultures through first asking the 'other' what they see as of import and relevance to them.

Equally important to note for a more complete understanding of the outcomes of this programme research, is the premise that there is a need to redefine traditionally-defined western notions of success and therefore, the integral components associated with this concept are reinterpreted and redefined with a collaborative, co-created spirit that sits alongside Western psychological tradition. For example, such traditional concepts as resilience, family, role models and any other variants which affect "success" are offered as more open category definitions, springing ultimately from the words of the participants themselves. Table I below: Categories that help and hinder indigenous and migrant youth in the transition between school and career, displays the results of the research programme.

Table 1: *Categories that help and hinder indigenous and migrant youth in the transition between school and career*

	HE HI	Participation rate	Total helpful	HE	HI	Participation rate	Total Hinder	
Categories	**n (Ab) n(I)**	**%**	**N**	**n-Ab**	**n(I)**	**%**	**N**	**TOTAL N He+Hi**
Achieving a New level of self-understanding	85 195	100	280	15	44	8 I 6 Ab 87.5	59	339
Family	94 165	100	259	25	54	5 Ab 7 I 75%	79	338
Wellness	68 181	100	249	15	64	6 Ab 8 Im 87.5	79	328
Support Networks/ Community Resources	122 134	100	256	51	39	6 Ab 6 Im 75%	90	345
Education	38 70	100	108	13	31	5 Ab 7 Im 75%	44	152
Role Models	88 53	100	141	6	0	4 ab 0 I 25%	6	147
Work & Work Experience	30 100	6 Ab 8 Im 87.5%	130	0	39	0 Ab 7 Im 43.75%	39	169
Stability	30 24	7 ab 6 Im 81.25%	54	8	53	4 Ab 4 Im 50%	61	115
Ethnicity/ Aboriginality & Cultural Attachment	42 46	5 ab 5 Im 62.5%	88	13	19	4 Ab 5Im 56.25%	32	120
Prejudice/ Low Expectations	18 1	3 Ab 1 Im 25%	19	9	4	4 Ab 2 Im 37.5%	13	32

Achieving a new level of self-understanding

You get goals....It is a purpose in life! (Indigenous male)

The category that arose for all participants as being the most helpful overall in their journey between school and career was the achievement of a new level of self-understanding (See Table 1). This category was a loosely defined category springing from the evinced notions of the participants of issues of identity formation, maturation, self-confidence, having a sense of direction or goals, possessing a growing knowledge of their own personal values. The possession of most of these characteristics was seen as helpful in the transition between school and career. The absence of these attributes was seen as hindering. A number of interrelated supports and experiences added to each participant's achievement of a new sense of 'who' they perceived themselves to be, including a supportive family, community, opportunities, travel and education. The inward and outward spiralling of these co-contributing factors underscores the interdependent nature of this category, as are all other categories in this research project.

> Because I think [it] ... comes from the lack of confidence and lack of feeling like you fit in somewhere and I think those things are just crucial to you becoming who you should be and being who you are and being comfortable and just being yourself. (Migrant Female)

Erickson (1968) proposed that a crucial part of the maturation process from adolescence to adulthood is achieving a sense of identity. Maclean, Breen & Fournier (2010) explore identity creation through being able to tell one's own story. For other theorists, the idea of identity is questioned as naturally moving toward inner continuity as if change and adaptability are more inherent (Gergen, 1991; Schachter, 2011). Adams & Marshall, (1996) indicate the importance of community bonding and interdependence as components of identity building. Chandler & Lalonde (2008) discuss the importance of continuity and persistence in the face of many adverse conditions as helping to build a sense of identity. Other research has identified the importance of forming identity in

order to avoid risk and reduce deficit outcomes (Bombay, Matheson & Anisman, 2010; Maclean, Breen & Fournier, 2010). The outcomes of this research suggest that all of these factors were, at temporal points in time, and in combination with each other, helpful for the participants' achievement of a new level of self-understanding and their successful transition between school and career.

> [T]ravel also opens your eyes to the world and how the people live, so that again, as I mentioned a couple of times, knowing that there's not just one way 2 see things. [It] helps you relate to people more, and you are able to engage in conversations, things that other people may not know, so you can educate others and you are not as ignorant. [It] helps you appreciate what you have and for example, you [see] what some people don't have... (Indigenous male)

While travel was not always a component of the indigenous experiences of achieving a new level of self-understanding, for the migrant participants, travel allowed insights and a level of awareness of the way things could be, that helped them to better understand themselves. One migrant male commented on the awareness that was created within him that occurred as a result of travelling to a different city after leaving school and moving away from his family that had migrated to Australia when he was young.

> [T]hat was the best decision I have ever made because spending everyday with those guys for a year and half I learned more about myself… then I had for 17 years prior and they felt good because I had an identity now, I knew I thought, I know where I belong and I knew where I belonged and I knew that if I ever needed anything that these boys and these girls are available ... it was such a radical change, from what I used to hear that, I just embraced it. (Migrant male)

The nature of self-identifying as 'successful' also influenced the data. Hindering categories were often felt to be ultimately helpful as learning points for the participants. In this category, the hindering elements included: a loss of motivation; a loss of self-confidence; being bored, and getting into mischief as a result; and losing goals or direction. Periods of self-doubt, immaturity and being unsure of their own identity were other negative components that were mentioned as hindering in the participants'

journeys and yet, as illustrated by the comment below, these periods were, upon reflection by the participants, considered ultimately, to be helpful in their individual journeys.

> And it gave me another, full idea if it didn't really work out... [I]t sort of made me realize... and seemed wise at the time... at the end of the day I wasn't so young.... to make that transition... high school to university would have been a big step [had I immediately gone to university] because I was very... immature leaving high school... I guess that gap year gave me time to mature and grow up, and really assess what's important and seeing what I really want to do.. (Aboriginal male)

Participants described a number of different ways that helped them gain maturity, create a sense of self-identity and confidence, and maintain goals, despite sometimes overwhelming obstacles. This growth was noted by the participants as being facilitated by supports from many networks within their lives including family, friends, school, and community. This research outcome accords with scholarly findings regarding healthy developmental goals within aboriginal and migrant communities, as well as the wider population (Phinney, Cantu, Kurtz, 1997; Goodwill & McCormick, 2012; Kia-Keating, Dowdy, Morgan & Noam, 2007; Filbert & Flynn, 2010; Gross 2010). Research has pointed to the building of assets or resources, as a means of achieving resilience. The ability of some people to withstand what may amount to substantial deficits/risks and to overcome them to achieve positive outcomes, has a long history of research (Filbert & Flynn, 2010; Masten & Reed, 2006; Lalonde, 2006; Chandler & Lalonde, 2008; Britten & Borgen, 2010).

Additionally, research has also indicated that the attainment of improved behavioural and emotional performance is facilitated through participation in activities with supportive development and foundational skills (King, et al. 2005). Other research has shown that a new level of emotional perception in individuals further strengthens academic and social achievements (King et al., 2005; Kabir & Rickards, 2006; Britten

& Borgen, 2010). Morson, (1986), Habermas & Bluck (2000) and Maclean, Breen & Fournier (2010) posit that people come to understand themselves through making meaning of their pasts. The outcomes of this research programme also show that participants felt it was an important part of developing self-understanding was through being given opportunities to reflect upon their experiences. Further, Butterfield, Borgen & Amundson in their 2009 study with workers also found that the occurrence of a qualitative interview had a generally positive impact upon their participants. Thus, from previous research and the outcomes of this programme of research suggest that the opening of a space to 'tell stories', to make connections and to make 'sense' of the participants' lived experiences, has the potential to help each individual to build their own identity (Mirza & Joseph, 2010; Kim & Markus, 1999; Markus & Kitayama, 1991).

Family (supports and networks for creating/maintaining healthy families)

Family, as a category, arose out of the data as the second most helpful factor in the participants' journeys between school and career. Family incorporated a number of differing levels of the term 'family', including blood and nuclear family, extended family that was intergenerational in nature (grandparents and parents), and also cousins, siblings and aunts/uncles and nieces and nephews, as well as the participants' own children. Further, for participants, the idea of 'family' included people who were 'chosen' as family, either through friendships that were close, or through relationships that had no genetic linkage according to their knowledge. This loose and enlarged definition of family resonated with both indigenous and migrant participant groups. As illustrated by the following quote, participants were able to clearly identify the multiple ways in which family provided support and facilitated their successful transitions between school and career.

> [Family] provides you with the stable platform... and a foundation and support so you know if you are struggling with something, if I was struggling at school, something like that, I always knew that my parents were there to, I could talk to. I mean they will be able to sort it out, and also the fact that my grandma was also here, was a big factor. (Migrant male)

The influence and importance of a parental figure, in the form of mother, grandmother, father, or other individual who filled the role in the participant's eyes, was perceived to be an integral component of successfully transitioning between school and career.

> [L]ike I don't know exactly how to pinpoint how it helps me, but just knowing the fact that she loves me and that I got my mom, I got a great relationship with my mom, and this makes, it puts me in a good mood and I guess she is also imparted like good principles, while I was growing up, like I am pretty respectful to others and things like that, so and I couldn't learn that by myself at the start you know so they she is pretty caring... (Migrant male)

An interesting facet of this category was also the 'loss of family' as described by both the migrant and indigenous participants. Migrant youth mourned the physical distance caused by leaving 'home' countries and necessitating the loss of family connections. Correspondingly, the indigenous participants expressed this emotion with the additional layering of loss of traditional lands, community ties as well as the loss of family and extended family.

> [I was] cut off geographically... that's why I work because I miss them so much while away... I miss them regardless, but I miss them much more everyday... (Aboriginal Male)

Given the vast size of Australia, and the remote and rural communities in which many indigenous communities are located, the act of attending university or moving for a 'job' because these options were not available to them in their community, meant that indigenous participants experienced the 'loss' of community as analogous to moving countries. Acknowledging this loss, and seeing it as a hindrance on some levels was comparable across the two groups with regard to family.

Tsey & Avery (2000), and Smith & Silva (2011) recognize that healthy families are crucial indicators of individual success. The outcomes of this research

concur with this literature. From participant stories, healthy families and strong family ties, despite distance, were identified as being helpful in the transition between school and career. The results suggest that any policy created for the purposes of improving career transitions and employment prospects should include plans aimed at strengthening families, and providing 'foster' or 'mentor' families in communities. Further, such policies should also establish or identify existing linkages and diverse means of communication, that are easily accessible, to promote the maintenance of communication with healthy family systems, across country and state divides. Providing familiar 'familial' environments for migrants and indigenous youth could be an important facet of facilitating the uptake of opportunities located outside communities, thereby increasing participation in the workforce and education, as illustrated by the participants' experiences in this research project.

Wellness

'Wellness' as a category arising out of the data, ranked third highest in the number of critical incidents in the research programme. Wellbeing, emotional and physical health, inclusion in sports, life/work balance, spirituality, prayer and meditation formed the basis of what participants in this research project described as 'wellness'. This category filled the final spot of the top three categories from the research project and affirmed the importance of achieving and maintaining a healthy, holistic lifestyle for the marginalised youth who participated in this project.

> We have to be healthy, you know, to fix your mind state, it affects your emotions like your confidence, and I am very judgmental myself, very self- conscious and stuff, so they are like, you know to be fit like it may affect ... every aspect of [life], it's a bit premature to face that, but yeah as a sport, you have fun while maintaining fitness, so it is very important... (Aboriginal Male)

Physical exercise and 'belonging to a team' was a strong component of the male participants' (both migrant and indigenous) concept of wellness. Exercise has long been regarded as a component of well-being (Rhatigan, 1996; Fuqua & Newman, 2002; Lashlie,

2007). The outcomes of this research suggest that, especially for males, belonging to a team, or participating in sports, was a helpful factor in their transition between school and career. In many ways, the activity of sport, the ability to 'have an outlet' in the words of some of the male participants, and the feeling of belonging to something bigger than themselves was a beneficial support in their transitions.

> It is really more than just, more than just a game, it is like you winning, like a whole team, like you feel so much better when everyone feels the same, well I know league be won but feels like and everyone will split up, like they go home, but here now, we would have a win and everyone would come in, would think where do we drink up now, as a group and stuff, it is like bonding stuff Just I have more confident in the guy beside me when I am playing...It definitely makes me feel better...Knowing he is there beside me. (Migrant male)

This category also included the notions of hope, luck and possessing the ability to both be aware of, and also to take advantage of, opportunities that may be available.

> Well, some people try several things but they need only one opportunity to do something else, so you know I think they need more options... (Indigenous male)

Underpinning the participants' stories of success and contributing to their positive mental state or 'wellness' was the oft acknowledged existence of hope or some version thereof of this construct. Kabir & Rickards (2006) suggest that hope is associated with the successful handling of challenging life events and that possessing hope can lead to more positive mental states as well as the attainment of future goals (Horton & Wallender, 2001). Participants referred to the idea that hope and opportunity or 'luck' were intertwined. They also made clear reference to the fact that sometimes, while opportunities did exist, marginalised youth may not: a) be aware of the opportunities; nor b) have access or be able to take advantage of the opportunity as a result of not having a good education or geographic location. The discourse and discussion of these factors is illustrated by the participants' words as follows:

> I am lucky because in this line of work you get to meet a lot of people that are having really bad times and it makes me appreciate what I have (Migrant male).

> Just because I feel it is like,… I asked for it, and the universe provided and it said here is what you asked for this, and now I am going to sit back and see how you handle it so I feel like everything that I have done up to this point has been... just because I did feel that I wasn't happy with how things are going early on in my life and just I can't remember how things happened like I can't remember what I did to get these things so if I think about it, it feel like there has been, they just like fall into my lap and it's like I am just try to grab on the hands... (Migrant male)

> [Having options helps] because [i]t doesn't like, we are stuck in the doing something you don't like and you have options as always an alternative (Indigenous male)

> It is such good opportunity that they have been given that I don't know if it is really being grabbed with both hands and it is not their fault, that's the thing, because, they wouldn't have known how hard it is going to be academically [when they got the opportunity to be educated at a boarding school]... (Indigenous male)

These quotes suggest that opportunities being available and options existing for youth is not enough for success to be attained. Evident from their stories is the need for direct intervention and help with their career pathways.

> It is a good feeling! Like you know, all the application that she [the teacher] had helped me fill it in and, she had to write, and she is I guess, a good [teacher]… (Indigenous female)

In order for the actual 'opportunity' that may exist to be helpful in the transition between school and career, there appears to be a need for individuals to be informed directly, preferably on a one to one basis, or in small groups, about the opportunity.

> It was hard for me to take it in and read it, it was hard... I didn't have someone to explain to me what it was… (Female participant)

This direct intervention at the initial stages would also need to be supplemented with ongoing support/and direction for an 'opportunity' to be realized as potentially successful on an individual level.

Aligned to hope and underscoring some participants' sense of well-being was also a sense of spirituality or religious connection. Spiritual connectivity was acknowledged by the participants in a variety of ways, as being helpful to their sense of wellness. The inclusion of acceptance of the notion of spirituality and acknowledging the 'spirits' has long been a part

of cultural traditions (Black Elk, 1932; Abbott, 2004; Merritt, 2007; Goodwill & McCormick, 2012). For the participants, spirituality was identified as being a part of their lives, and if not originally a part of their lives, something that when they had found it, they felt filled a gap, as illustrated by the following quotes.

> [T]he example is...when I was studying for exams, we used to go to temples to get blessings for both me and doing well in exams and I guess it, serves like a multi sort of function thing, I mean we go there to for birthdays, we go there for death anniversaries, we go there for exams, to do well in big sporting event that I was part of, so it's just something where, I think for me, something that I need to do, need to have done, which sort of gives me that confidence and I guess happiness... (Migrant male)

> But I never really understood it [spirituality] until fast forward a couple years, I went back to where I had grown up and met a lot of the older people, and I could actually talk to them, like me being older and I picked up their religion.... It's very similar to the indigenous religion and except ... everything else is the same and we have, there is a... I don't know if you call it god but it is... So it is a woman, which people find really strange but I have it ...and it's... part of my life now. (Migrant male)

The interesting nexus between the acknowledgement of status and indigenous cultural identity was discussed in Paper 5. This discourse illuminated the bridges between the two seemingly diverse participant groups, highlighting the ethnic mixtures of culture/tradition/heritage and indigeneity that exists in migrant communities. These ties that bind across continents, and the existence of indigeneity in migrant groups has rarely been researched.

For most participants, the acknowledgement that some factors were not helpful was balanced with the acceptance of how noting hindering effects and impacts, was, in the long term, helpful. On the hindering side of wellness, participants mentioned issues including mental and physical ill health including: depression, the over-use/addiction to alcohol and drugs, and the impact of ongoing stress. For example, one participant admitted how using drugs affirmed her belief that she needed to experience the negative impacts in order to escape from drug

addiction.

> The drugs, it just used to make you, didn't make you feel good at all, you know once you are addicted, you are addicted and if you wanted to give up, you have to get away from it and that's what I had to do to get away from it... (Indigenous female)

The impact of stress, and not being physically well was mentioned by both the migrant and indigenous participants as not being helpful in their journeys to a successful career.

> While going to school, stress and everything it's over everything like that, you know few options, either quit work or quit playing football or studying and going to uni, like I want to do it, but there is stress all that time… (Indigenous male)

Stress, and acknowledging the impact of stressors, was deemed not helpful to the participants, but was also a means for participants to reflect upon their lifestyles and learn from the experiences. These outcomes require further research.

Support networks and access to community supports

The outcomes of the present research indicate the importance of community and community support systems and support networks in general in facilitating the transition from school to employment. These support networks included peers, partners, particular programmes in communities and for specific ethnic or indigenous groups, as well as healthy communities in general. Participants from both the migrant and indigenous phases acknowledged the helpfulness of having access to community resources and healthy community environments in which to grow up. According to King et al., (2005) enhancing resilience is also attained through the availability of and access to social supports. Similarly, King et al. 2005, Britten & Borgen, 2010, and Kabir & Rickards (2006) assert the need to allow families and children to engage in their social surrounds.

In the words of a migrant male the first factor that he believed had helped him to succeed in his transition between school and career was the local youth centre.

> More they [the youth centre] started this programme for looking up jobs and stuff when I was at home, I didn't have a computer. They had homework club and that's where you can do job seek programme zone when that also help us look for jobs and tell us what's on that pay once you are enrolled...Well, these are like, I was probably spending 10 to 15 bucks at the internet café... it was expensive... First, I don't know all the, when I was at the youth centre they kind of pretty much helped me find what I want like, I don't want really pick up too much heavy stuff, I wanted it to be just enough for me for my understanding, my knowledge and stuff, but not too complicated. And yeah...just probably if it wasn't for them I probably wouldn't be here right now.

The importance of grassroots and community-based programming cannot be underestimated as a helpful factor for marginalised youth in their transitions between school and career.

Education

Yeah definitely education... [I]t's set me up for life really... you know just having the opportunity to, just do something that you love! (Indigenous male)

Education ranked as the sixth most important helpful factor in the participants' transition between school and work. It was defined in a loose manner including not only schooling itself, but also elements of: good teaching, good relationships with an adult or person in a school setting, as well as the helpfulness of having an education (both secondary school and apprenticeship training/tertiary education). The interlinking between school and community youth centres was an interesting component of the participants' views of 'education' not being limited to the simple environs of the geographical location of the school. These were considered helpful factors in the both the migrant and indigenous participants' transition between school and career. A growing body of research has indicated the improved likelihood of successful outcomes for youth who experience strong connections to their school (Blum & Rinehart, 1997; Kabir & Rickards, 2006; Niehaus, Moritz-Rudasill & Rakes, 2012; Demanet & Van Houtte, 2012).

Niehaus, Moritz-Rudasill & Rakes (2012) point to the important role that teachers and other adult personnel in schools have upon positive academic

outcomes. They also discuss the critical importance of school connectedness for positive adjustment, particularly for students from impoverished backgrounds. The participants in this study for the most part, refer to the absolute need for financial support, reiterating their marginalised status in varying ways.

> Honestly, if they [scholarship and financial support] weren't there, I probably wouldn't have been there, I probably wouldn't have lasted very long! Yeah… it would have been pretty challenging. They (financial supports, housing, scholarships and tutoring) allowed me ...to be stable. [They] allowed me to concentrate just on what I was doing and not have to get it, too many jobs which I am doing now... (Indigenous male)

Another indigenous male described doing well as "[o]vercoming something, overcoming adversity, overcoming an obstacle". He described in depth, the challenge of adjusting to university studies and revealed the interconnectedness of many of the critical factors identified by participants as being helpful in their transition between school and career; access to resources and support.

> Well making that transition from high school to University, I think one of my law assignments was doing a case study, something I have never done before... It was challenging but, you overcome it by using I guess resources, you know such as tutoring, doing research, going online, finding out exactly how to format, a case, and how to set it out, stuff like that... (Aboriginal male)

In particular, the participants often mentioned the importance of having a 'centre' connected to them in some way, either ethnically or geographically, with staff whom they could 'connect' with and feel that they belonged, were part of a family or were understood.

> Well, there was but that only be a couple of teachers on duty that day and it would be pretty hard when you kind of constantly need that teacher to come help you when you just need to definitely go, was it mainly just one to one or couple of people! Yeah it was couple of people... at most so having 1 person there, pretty much with you and may be 1 or 2 other people was really helpful. Well, school, sometimes you don't get along with a couple of the teachers at school... And yeah just it was a bit hard and, down at the youth center it is not as if like they are teacher or anything, it is just like they are kind of your mate. (Migrant male)

This outcome supports findings vis-à-vis the role of adult support (either in school or in the community through sporting groups or multicultural centres) as a protective factor for

individuals who are at risk of negative outcomes due to socio-economic status, or who perceive themselves as belonging to a marginal group within society (Niehaus, Moritz-Rudasill & Rakes, 2012). Moreover, this type of adult support in the school years, especially from teaching personnel, can yield multiple positive outcomes for young people including higher engagement, and increased achievement (Britten & Borgen, 2010; Niehaus, Moritz-Rudasill & Rakes, 2012; Demanet & Van Houtte, 2012). However, it is important to note that there was also evidence to suggest that participants do succeed despite a lack of support at school. In these cases, their support derives from others, such as a multicultural centre worker, or the visits to school from a role model of the same cultural/ethnic background.

> [I]t is part of, you know aboriginal students... can get free tutoring for a few hours a week, so it is [this specific aboriginal] support or something like that, which is really good and with science... that has been really good. Then I have got one tutor for English which I had for couple years is, mostly that's another thing... people that's why I haven't really mentioned other people because... like I have had her for couple years... that ongoing help helps. (Indigenous male)

For many of the participants, having a stable figure, teacher, tutor, coach, or even a community centre or group was perceived as helpful in achieving their goals with regard to career.

Role models

The notion of 'role models' was interwoven throughout categories including family, support networks, education and stability. The term 'role models' was defined by the participants as people (individuals or groups) who had an impact on their learning and self-development. The definition also included the idea of being a role model for future generations and for their own children. It was important to address the specific notion of role models as the participants iterated the idea of role models, being a role model and having learned from both negative and positive role models in their lives. The perception of negative role models and their positive significance stands in contrast to Western notions of the impact of positive role models (Britten & Borgen,

2010). The helpful aspects of being a role model or having role models included the notion that, by seeing people achieve, that it was possible to achieve. Conversely, they would also not the characteristics of those people who did not achieve. One of the keys in making a positive choice concerned the individual responsibility of the participant to either choose to succeed or, perhaps become like cousins, family or friends, whom they had witnessed not doing well in their lives.

> I just feel so lucky to be able, even though with everything that happened in the past, so many families were broken down, broken apart and to know that I can go back and talk to my aunties about what they went through back in their days. My uncle, he tells me everything what happened you know and my aunty as well, like you know my uncle, all that stuff that happened in the life, you know all my cousins go into prison, that kind of stuff, l want to be a role model as well I suppose for that [reason]... (Aboriginal female)

This duality and complexity of categorization is a theme throughout this research. For most indigenous participants, having role models who were employed and/or studying, was not only helpful, but they desired more of these role models in their communities.

> There has been a few before me, I think in [this university] I am the 4th indigenous male social worker ... It's good because you are mindful as to your actions is going to impact the next one that comes along so yeah I guess it makes it proud that, you also going to realize that, you are leaving the mark for the next person, you are setting a standard in a sense that ....what I am doing is going to affect my sons, because they are so much younger but the fact that okay, what I am doing is actually opening doors for people so I am achieving what I want for my sons... (Aboriginal male)

For some participants, the lack of role models was described as not helpful. The participants delineated these hindering aspects as: feeling different and feeling ‘alone’ in the world, or isolated in their experiences. The lack of male role models in work, study or in their personal lives, was referred to by both the indigenous participants and the migrants, suggesting that, for these young people, they would have benefitted from more male role models with whom they could identify.

> All the time pop was going to night T.A.F.E. He was living in (outer suburb) and he wouldn't get there, work all day and go to T.A.F.E. and ... Just, I know

> it is good to knowing having a good role model that sets good examples... A good role model [is] my grand pop... (Aboriginal male)
> (*T.A.F.E is the Australian vocational/apprenticeship educational institution. T.A.F.E stands for Technical and Further Education.)

The lack of suitable working role models was reportedly unhelpful for the aboriginal participants. This is consistent with the literature concerning the lack of opportunity and positions available for aboriginal people (Dwyer, 2003; ABS, 2010; US Dept. of Labor, 2012). Rates of employment for indigenous peoples (as mentioned in the introduction) reiterate the difficulty for aboriginal people when finding role models who work within some communities. While aboriginal participants acknowledged that positive changes could be seen to be happening, most noted that it was they themselves, who were the vanguard of the new generation of role models, and that they had to break through barriers to be role models for the next generation, usually their own children, cousins or siblings.

> The idea of indigenous male coming to university, I guess was not a realistic idea... [but now] It's... not as a big of a shock! I mean to see indigenous people at university! It is a great thing, it's encouraged more, to have indigenous presence at university to have indigenous people achieving an higher education, you know achieving university, I mean, in contrast to, you know back 50 years ago, an indigenous person going to the university would have been unheard of until in the 60s so I guess, it is a really big thing. Now that the times are changing you know especially after the 60s... (Aboriginal male)

> Ha, it is ridiculous that the only aboriginal people I have seen work or the people who work at aboriginal employment services so it is like, that's it like you went, I noticed 1 black wall for employment... That's it! Oh yeah train in Australia to work in the mines! (Aboriginal male)

The discussion of role models, especially working role models, was a key point of distinction between the indigenous participants and the migrant participants in this research programme. While indigenous participants mentioned the lack of role models with specific reference to employment and career prospects, this was not evident amongst migrant participants. The migrant participants by contrast, discussed many aspects of the helpfulness of work, employment, work experience, but they did not

mention the need for having role models who were employed. Role models for the migrant participants were specifically identified as working family members, often fathers or mothers, but even uncles, aunts and siblings who were referred to as working and succeeding.

> Hmm, I think it was one of those things that I was exposed to and you know like my dad is a kitchen designer so he designs and sells kitchen and his designs and mom is a pharmacist and you get questions when you are young like are you going to be a pharmacist or you like to be like your dad or your mom and I thought about it but I did not really love you know being a pharmacist or designing kitchens so you know I thought about it and I was also aware of it but it was not until ... I saw other options outside the politics and felt much more like this is what I want to do, so to go back to the questions having my parents being both involved in business helped me because I think it made me aware that I was never comfortable with going into business...(Migrant female)

One explanation of this divergence may lie in the history of the first peoples' colonization, and the basic reason that migrants are given permission to enter a country, 'for work or study in specified positions or institutions'.

Work & Work Experience

The impact of having opportunities to work, access to work and work experience was seen as helpful to all migrant participants and 75 per cent of indigenous youth. The disparity between the 100 per cent participation rate of the migrants and the indigenous group raises questions regarding these two groups' historical experiences of the world of work.

The nature of colonization and paternalistic policies in countries with a history of colonial possession has meant that many indigenous groups are being prevented from participating in meaningful work for long periods of time. Historically, this has meant that work options have been limited for this group due to a number of complex factors from political policies, access to opportunity, education and graduation rates and accessibility, work options and other realities facing indigenous communities (Dwyer, 2003; Merritt, 2007; Kingsley, et al. 2010). In contrast, the nature of immigration to a

country involves the premise of being able to fulfil some form of work role in the new country, unless of refugee status (DIAC, 2012; ABS, 2010; LSE Centre for Economic Policy, 2010). By definition, a migrant must fulfil various requirements that ensure his/her participation in their adopted country's labour-force; otherwise they will not be allowed to immigrate in the first place.

This key difference in the work history and experiences of indigenous populations, whose history is overlaid with the idea of being subject to/wards of the state, has been the legal and practical reality for indigenous peoples in the colonies for over 150 years (Ungar, 2011; Dwyer, 2003; Juntenen, et al. 2001). This history versus the history of a migrant population whose very admittance to a country is based upon the premise that they will perform work, and are allowed entry on the proviso that they can support themselves is an important distinction in the reality of the concept of work and work role models (Settlement.Org, 2013; UNHCR, 2011). This disparity of experience and expectation could also shed some light on the difference in participants' individual experiences of having someone working in their family, or attending university. One indigenous female described the real belief that she would not get a job, in the following terms.

> Well, it helps me because you know I was sort of expecting not to have job, like when I first went there, I didn't think I would get a job at all, but my boss he asks me, do you want to have full time job and stuff and I said yeah and it helps me because it makes me feel that makes me independent being independent, now I can do things on my own, it's helps me, it is just helps me to search further my education, I have learnt a lot through work and stuff...

The impact of being asked if this indigenous participant wanted a full time job increased her self- confidence, through her perceptions of being more independent, and her ability to advance her education. This intertwining of categories': achieving a new level of self-understanding, education and wellness, shows that each category should not be seen as the sole factor that has helped these participants to do well in their transitions. Rather, the interdependence of these factors underscores the need for a variety of factors to be

available and exist in the environment so that participants can perceive 'opportunity' and thereby be enabled to take advantage of these openings.

The disparate historical differences of work and role models for indigenous and migrant groups requires further research and review by policy makers. However, it suggests reframing the way in which role models and work experience opportunities are made available, or promoted, to all marginalised groups. The gap between work role models for these two populations also suggests that fostering existing work role models within any marginal community could lead to positive outcomes in terms of labour force participation.

Ethnicity/Aboriginality and attachment to culture

Ethnicity, aboriginality and attachment to culture arose as the ninth category in this programme of research. From this category the terms 'ethnicity', 'aboriginality' and 'culture' had expansive definitions. The definitions were associated with the participant's ideas of culture and their sense of belongingness within or across cultures. On the one hand, it was important for participants to feel respected for belonging to a culture, and actually have pride in their culture. On the other hand, they could also feel isolated within a culture and therefore, defined their own sense culture and 'chose' the cultures to which they belonged, as much as was permitted given geographic and economic situations. Attachment to culture and traditions can be a protective factor for youth at risk (Juntenen, et al. 2001; Gross, 2008; Whitesell et al. 2009) and this was illustrated by the descriptions of the importance of culture from the participants.

Interestingly, culture came to mean not only the original culture of the participant (be it from overseas or from an indigenous community within Australia), but included the new or adopted culture and ethnic composition of the neighbourhood within which the participants moved after leaving their original setting. Many participants described feeling affinity for others who were from similar backgrounds to

the participants, if not culturally, then through socio-economic status, or growing up in the same neighbourhoods.

> I remember starting school and I think ... I didn't know anyone like I spent time alone... like I had, I had no friends. People I had to spoke in school in that block and I think it was because we came here and I was really shy kid because of the whole new now it happened, how quickly it happened, like I believe a lot of people that I knew and I didn't really want to come in, like I didn't know why we were coming here, but I think it was a mixture of the fact that I was new and I didn't really speak English. (Migrant male)

> We grew up in [a Sydney suburb], ...where it [is] suburban in there, lot of high concentration of all the South American there so we knew lot of South American families when we grew up and I grew up around a lot of and it was very close, very tight group... as a kid yet you feel free… (Migrant male)

Hindering aspects of this category included the nature of being continually subjected to stereotypes and low expectations because of ethnic or indigenous background.

> It tends to be harder to meet people whether ... it is harder to meet to people like... very much professionally just when it comes time to talk about yourself...just as soon as you mention where you are from ... it's not everyone… but when we were growing up, it was difficult especially in school just because [of our culture] on the odd chances that we managed to go out somewhere into the city or something, we always find ourselves in trouble, in fights with people that just wanted to make trouble for nothing... (Migrant male)

> …At university people put me down and were saying you know you can't do this and like, I pretty much had that, all my life! (Aboriginal female)

Stability

The notion of 'stability' per se was an interesting component of the research outcomes. While stability was a key factor identified by the indigenous participants in their successful transition between school and career, the migrant participants identified 'instability' as overwhelmingly hindering in their journeys between school and career. This interesting difference requires additional research but also hints at the disparity of experiences of stability and instability amongst these two marginalised groups. Indeed, what may be considered the 'norm' for one person, may be seen as far from the 'norm' for another, even within communities that have similar appearance, ethnicity, traditions,

language and composition. For example, indigenous participants acknowledged the helpfulness of having a stable environment, or stable figure in their lives but did not see that not having either of these was abnormal. Rather, in some ways, instability was seen as helpful for them overcoming some of the obstacles that they faced in different areas of their life. In general, might be argued that, for the indigenous participants, stability was not so much having family always there, or always having food, or always having role models, but rather 'stability' was knowing that somewhere in their support system there were stable people and stable circumstances, either a family member or an 'extended' family, or home.

> [It] makes life easier, I don't have worries on my mind and like you know, daily struggles to get food so I could never imagine what that means... (Female Participant)

For the migrant group, instability was linked with political regimes and the loss of all that was previously known and accepted in their home country, as well as the 'unknown' element of language, culture, society, education and even food, in their adopted homes. War, escaping civil issues, and moving to a more 'stable' society were reasons that migrant youth listed for parents leaving their country of origin. One migrant male described the notion of stability as follows:

> I was still in primary school at that time, it used to close, even sometimes months at a time, because of civil war and so whenever there was a threat, they closed the school down! So coming here with that sort of threat not present, it's a bigger, big advantage; there is a lot of continuity and consistency.

The knowledge of having lived in completely unstable societies and being subject to unpredictable political and economic circumstances stood out as being the root cause of instability for the migrants.

> So my mom is Italian, she was born in Italy and her whole family far back to ancient time where Italian and I am pretty sure... they moved to Australia for economic reasons... My dad was born in Chile and grew up there and his parents were from Chile and from the States...So they were foreigners in Chile and he had to move to Australia when he was about 17 So mom and dad met in Australia and my dad left Chile for reasons... his family was kind of forced to

flee and they came to Australia... (Migrant female)

This distinction between ideas of stability opens questions centering upon the entrenched systems that indigenous people have faced historically and that are considered 'normal' from their perspective. For many of the indigenous participants, not having a father, having family members incarcerated, not having any people working/studying in their family who could be role models for them, being the first person to graduate from high school, and the first to attend university, was 'normal'. Simply put, these indigenous participants knew no other way of life. In stark contrast are the views held by migrant participants, who actually may have seen or experienced very different systems and political environs, and inherently knew the marked difference between 'stable' and 'unstable' lives. This outcome suggests that the wider impacts of a history of colonization have many layers of consequence that have yet to be studied in terms of career.

Prejudice and Low Expectations.

One of the most interesting outcomes from this presented research was the perceived notion of the motivational force that the negative experience of racism or prejudice could engender within participants' mindsets.

> Just like the rich history, it sort of, it is a positive and the negative… at the same time, because you see… some of the Asian cultures, you see how rich their culture is and then you look at how, sort of my culture is so dead! So it sort of sucks at the same time but it is inspiring sort of want to learn at the same time, so that's yeah, that's how I said it is a positive and a negative... (Male Participant)

> When I went into that school, there was absolutely nothing, and for me to even tick the boxes being aboriginal! I remember teacher saying to me… why did you tick the box for being aboriginal, you are not aboriginal, I was like... Excuse me? (Aboriginal female)

> Just as I said, I didn't have any positive perspectives on the abnormality, being aboriginal; always go back to, like sitting in class and watching friends. And people you know digging negative out and stuff like that! And then being singled out and stuff, so just that was one bad thing! Having the positive side is just, you know, really good! Yeah! (Male Participant)

This outcome needs further research but points to resilience as comprising many facets within the indigenous and migrant youth interviewed. Further, the ramifications of long term historiographies of prejudice have yet to be completely understood, especially in terms of the impact upon career choice and transitions from school to career.

Theoretical implications

The pre-eminent theoretical implications of this research dissertation can be categorized in five ways:

1) The need to rethink definition of career and success that have a Western-oriented basis, and the creation of new, co-created, collaborative definitions of these constructs; and
2) A rethinking of the imposition of such terms as 'marginalised' and 'vulnerable' upon the populace on which they are imposed;
3) The call for future cross-cultural/intercultural research to be based on a collaborative participatory model that honours participants stories and cultural traditions;
4) A new paradigm for examining marginalised groups and career pathways for youth from a standpoint of success and lessons being learned;
5) A culturally aware, and process-based definition of resilience and the need to incorporate levels of support infrastructure through policy and programmes to ensure that marginalised youth have sufficient supports to overcome the diverse obstacles they may encounter in their lives.

Implications for further research

From this program of research there is a need for future research into the study of positive factors that help and hinder indigenous and migrant youth on their journey between school and career. Further research surrounding creating new definitions of career and resilience as well as looking into alternate career pathways is suggested from

the outcomes of the research, as discussed below. The need for inclusion of the 'other', indigenous and migrant voices also needs to be addressed in future research regarding career transitions in the life pathway. Additional research could be directed at including different age groups across the lifespan and incorporating surveys that would capture larger populations groups. Such research could reveal gaps in mid-career life changes as well as the diversity of career change for migrant and indigenous populations often forced to move between geographic locations and undergo major life and cultural transitions during these moves.

Research such as this could further investigate the categories identified in this programme of research through a series of mixed methods research. Such research could utilise qualitative interviews, and surveys across a range of migrant and indigenous populations, situated in a variety of geographic areas to determine the accuracy of the identified categories arising from this programme of research, and explore other possible factors that might assist various individuals to successfully negotiate transitions between school and career, as well as career to career changes.

Another avenue for future research would be to investigate the effectiveness of the framework that was developed by the researcher (see below). Future research could investigate the success of application of this type of framework within government policy makers, registered training organizations and educational institutions, using a mixed methods approach of qualitative interviews, and surveys. This research could be done with migrants and indigenous workers as well as with employers and trainers of migrant and indigenous youth. This research could be designed to see the effectiveness of employing the framework when delivering career programmes and various training/educational certification courses.

New career pathways and definitions

The outcomes of this research suggests a starting point for future work with minority groups such as the indigenous and migrant participants as including the collaborative creation

of terms that are representative of stakeholders' cultural and linguistic knowledge bases. In the context of the present research, a new definition of career emerged from the participants when they were asked: 'What does career mean to you?' This enabled participants to engage their own ideas of what constituted a definition of 'career' from their perspectives. Participants defined career in different ways including:

> Working for your own money I suppose like career for me, is, for me personally I think if you are working somewhere you have to be happy with where you are working, when it comes down to when you have a family I suppose, you do whatever to cater your family supporting them, but like I do want to do well, I do want to aim as high as possible and I want to do the best I can! (Aboriginal female)

The notion of career was not easily explicated or capable of being concisely defined by the participants. Yet, through struggling to achieve a definition of career, the participants also found themselves identifying what, in their mind, equated to 'success'. An aboriginal male engaged in the following conversation trying to come to terms with a concise definition, in which he admitted that the prevailing 'definition' was not one with which he agreed.

> I guess career is something that you would have to be passionate about, something you have to be interested in... I don't know, when you think of career, you think of something that involves money, for something where you do for financial gain as well but... I think the collective view would be a career is something that, you do to earn money. (*Interviewer: Is that your view*) No it is not! (*Interviewer: Okay so, what's your view?)* My view would be that [career would be] something you would be passionate about, doesn't draw on financial gains. [It's] something you are passionate about, something that really interests, something that you are going to be passionate about, that is going to drive you to excel. (Indigenous male)

> Career means, what you are going to be doing for the rest of your life I guess... Job wise, family wise, friend wise, you know... Well, if I really didn't get real good career, I wouldn't be around today, like I guess for me to have, for me to have this good career now or what I am doing now against everybody is lot of happy, now you can pitch in, in all those areas, like your friends, family, you know... Like it doesn't have to be money wise...*(Interviewer: So career is not just about the job and the money?)* No, it is bigger than that... Yeah, it's pretty much everything, it's your life... (Migrant male)

> [Career] really does have various like 2 main meanings I suppose, one is kind

> of like the generic, kind of you know I suppose work area, how do you go through it, kind of like a trade I suppose like they would...So it is very kind of like where you get your cash from and all this, ha but more and more I can say I think from, from like an another angle I guess and I think, I try see a career is kind of like not so much something you have to kind of like, split yourself in order to, to achieve that, like there is a career and personal life right, it doesn't necessarily mean that you have to kind of like, invest yourself in this area, at an expense of another, and it's more like developing your skill set, developing your talents of an individual and whether or not you apply in the same kind of field or trade, is almost evolving from that kind of personal perspective....Like as long as you know that these skill sets, these talents you are acquiring, developing, kind of like, put to, put to good use, you know, what that might mean (Migrant male)

> Hmm career, it is funny term isn't it? Immediately I think the term career, which is not what ... I want to achieve, [it's] the value of creating the money, which to me is always a positive thing and the cycle, you know you are stuck in the cycle in which we just work in day in and day out for this job, which may or may not be rewarding for money, I don't know if that's what you want to know...

> So I don't know if I aspire to the career as such, I think I want to do things in life, without being set to others. I am doing something whether or not I make lot of money or you know, kind of corporate meetings and what not, is what like I would be doing something that I can see as making some sort of change and I am not naïve in aspiration, I am going to change the world but you know if you can see things that really helping other people to do bit about themselves or achieving in your own life, I think that's really important but I think... career equals money....That's how I think of, you know for some people that's really important and I don't see that as a way ... Yeah like... career, sort of that, you got this one thing that you do, your whole life, whereas I think, I like to do many different things so I may be doing sort of public health pitching in right now, later on you know... I might be doing something else, and I like to be doing lots of different things and not be confined to sort of this box, this... category... therefore you will have this career, and therefore you will do this and this and this and I find that concept very constraining and de-motivating. (Migrant female)

These insights into defining career, and the ancillary term, 'success', combined with the various constituent factors associated with 'career' for these youth, have meant that, for the purposes of this project, career is conceptualised as embodying four major components:

1) A vocation/job/employment for which you have passion and interest and which allows for change overtime;
2) A vocation/job/employment at which you are going to excel and which allows for flexibility;

3) A vocation/job/employment that allows for work-life balance; and
4) A vocation/job/employment that can provide an appropriate level of remuneration.

If one achieves all of these things, then for the participants, one can then be said to have been successful, with the understanding that culture may influence ways in which individual participants engage in career as well and deem him/herself successful. Hence, the concepts of career and success, as with the categories arising out of this research programme, were not easily separated.

While this definition of career by no means encapsulates the entire components of the participants' evinced notions of career, it captures an essence of their perceptions. This collaborative, expansive definition fulfils the aims of the research project in that it is presented in the spirit of inclusivity and collaboration, and is a definition that allows for change to occur both in response to external circumstances and to individual internal change. Future research could be developed to assess the appropriateness of this new definition of career, as well as the meaningfulness of the term to indigenous and migrant individuals.

Rethinking the terms 'marginalised' and 'resilience'

A new prototype for working with indigenous and migrant groups requires the revisitation of labels such as 'marginalised' to these ethnically diverse groups. Future research could investigate in more depth the notions arising out of this programme of research. The concept of labelling people has a long tradition in academic research (Said, 1973; Keating, 2009; Hallett et.al, 2008; Van Vliet, 2007; Jabareen &Vilkomerson, 2013). However, individuals oft labelled in certain ways due to their appearance, may not actually identify with the labels that are nominally ascribed to them (Van Vliet, 2007; Woodger & Cowan, 2010). The outcomes of

the present research suggest that participants felt pride in being able to identify with others, either from an ethnic group or by group affiliation (sporting teams), but they also felt that being 'labelled' or 'stereotyped' as a result of visual appearance was not helpful. One indigenous female described outrage at being questioned as to why she identified as aboriginal when from her appearance, she 'looked white'.

From previous research, the idea of labelling people as 'marginalised' or belonging to one ethnic group, based on visual identification, needs to be revisited (Britten, Borgen & Wiggins, 2013; Van Vliet, 2007; Ungar, 2011). According to the Merriam Webster dictionary definition marginalised or 'to marginalize' is defined as: 'to relegate to an unimportant or powerless position within a society or group'. Languaging and labelling with such deficit terminology was depicted as having negative effects upon the participants in this research project. Participants from both indigenous and migrant groups, enunciated that ethnic status was not clear from their individual visual appearance. The self-identification of one male, as indigenous South American, Chilean and Australian simultaneously points to the need to rethink the term 'marginalised' and allay previous connotations which may allude to histories of oppression (Ungar, 2011; Merritt, 2007), being 'other' (Said, 1978), or being subject to definitions that have been imposed upon groups that may not fit with the real and lives of these 'labelled' groups. Some of these definitions were seen as reiterating extant systems, according to participants, that tended to 'marginalize' these groups in a negative sense, rather than celebrate their uniqueness and the attributes they bring to their communities.

Western ideology traditionally views resilience as either being able to competently deal with stressful conditions, or have no identifying pathological features that may accompany vulnerability in worrying or traumatic situations. Little attention

has been given to alternative theories of resilience that may incorporate cultural components of resilience, and may not be based on an 'either/or' foundation (Kasen, Wickramaratne, Gameroff, Weissman, 2012; Masten, Best & Garmezy, 1990; Luthar, 2006); Merritt (2007) discusses the 'process' of resilience for indigenous peoples and the need to review culturally-laden terms such as 'resilience' which have been based on a construct of Western knowledge. More specifically, Merritt (2007) suggests the need to incorporate an 'indigenous perspective on resilience' (p.12). Similarly, Filbert & Flynn (2010) suggest that cultural factors and higher level cultural assets predicted more resilient outcomes for youth at risk. The outcomes of the present research suggest that the term 'resilience' should also incorporate migrant and ethnic perspectives.

Clarke, Harne, Atkinson & Shochet (1999), Filbert & Flynn (2010), Wexler, DiFluvio & Burke (2009), Chandler & Lalonde (1998),Van Vliet (2008) and Merritt (2007) suggest that 'resilience' is a sum total of that ability to survive ongoing hardship. The participants of this project reflect this proposition through their ongoing review of issues that they managed to overcome on a daily basis, without sometimes being aware of the issues at the time, but, upon reflection, noting their significance and the impact it had upon building the person that they considered themselves to be at the time of the study.

> I think from all bad experiences, you can always get something good out of it! So it doesn't matter how bad it is, there is a saying that goes, "there is a lot of sunshine after the rain" so I believe in that. And I always know that once I have gone through a hard part or whatever it is, I know eventually things would be okay, just matter of time... and I know that I will look back and I will understand why it happened because I believe things happen fairly. So I've tried to see this, usually you don't really understand why you are going through those things but we say those are the things that make you strong or somewhere along those lines, I really believe in that, and I think that [is true]. (Migrant female)

In this context, a more apt definition of resilience would include the idea of resilience as an ongoing process of withstanding 'continuing' hardship and 'continuing

adversity' from systemic and community origins, as well as individual and familial factors. While there may be times that the 'resilient' person succumbs to burdens, for the most part, the 'resilient' person is able to rise above the adversity/ies' that he/she faces over the lifespan.

> I have a sister and we grew up together most of our lives, our mother was incarcerated and we lived with different family members and she lived with our aunty and I liked with nan, let me just sort out like, shifted around you know because think it was, we had been lost too long in the family... Yeah we have seen her a lot of times but to me it was older, getting older, didn't want to because it just, my mom behind bars and going through that same stage with, that will go through metal detectors and yeah, and it is just the same thing every-time and I was 17 or 16 at that time and didn't get to school, I was hanging with perhaps doing the wrong things and then my grandmother decided to move and… take my uncle up there... he was in and out of jail because he was alcoholic... So we went to live in the cemetery... And she was just, nobody is scared... we grew up in a cemetery and we used to get frightened every time we went to the cemetery. We used to see funerals in that, we get frightened in one of the cemetery but my nan and my uncles grown up in the sort of cemetery, that was like, my uncle and my aunty that I live with... they have known each other for long time, there was a few of them, they all grew up in, they talk about all the time and we went there one day... this tin shack and stuff. (Indigenous female)

The adverse conditions and historiography of ongoing resilience in the face of loss and trauma described in this participant's story indicates the persistence of the human condition in the face of overwhelming odds. Such stories are testament to the 'continuity and persistence' discussed in research regarding resilience within indigenous populations (Chandler & Lalonde, 2004; & 1998). Stories and critical incidents arising from this project of research indicate the need for further research regarding the capacity of people to individually and communally rise above the issues they are faced with. Resilience, then, as arising out of the literature and this research programme, is redefined as a complex multi-layering of factors that help to sustain people through dire circumstances. Future research could be developed to examine the definition arising out of this programme of research and investigate the ways in which this definition might resonate with indigenous and migrant populations.

Discussion of new framework for supporting transitions between school and career, and its utilization for policy makers and human resource managers

This research programme has considered the need for a more holistic and collaborative framework within which to create new policies and programmes for indigenous and migrant youth, and more widely, marginalised youth in general. The following framework presents a basis for interpreting the various levels and stakeholders of communities that can add to the strength of policy development. Furthermore, it acts as a checklist and a starting point for developing programmes, with the caveat that, for policies and programmes to be successful, the inclusion of the voices of representatives from each community should be included in development stages, as well as cross-checked at all levels of implementation. While this is by no means an easy achievement, the outcomes would seem to point to the generation of grassroots level support and the acknowledgement that various communities and groups have widely variant needs and limitations based on accessibility, location, cultural and linguistic traditions, historiography, ethnic and traditional customs among many other defining features.

The collaborative nature of the inclusion of key community members, and the invitation for community input in the process is designed to facilitate the uptake and commitment of that community to new policies and programmes that arise from the process. The reward for this investment will be the success of career programmes throughout implementation and ongoing stages.

For the participants in this study, achieving the goals of replicating success in career is at the heart of their current success. This is attested to by the participants' future goals to become role models for their children and others within their communities. Given this commitment to wellness and healthy career options on the part of the participants, and using success as a basis for future programmes, it is clear that a reframe away from focussing on deficits is required. Focussing on strengths

within communities and groups could lead to positive policy developments and the replication of successes as illustrated by the participants in this research programme. One basic tenet with all the named factors is the looseness of their definitions. This is purposeful insofar as a necessary element for successfully working with marginalised groups is the collaborative nature of defining terms in situ within the community, by stakeholders and policy makers and other interested parties.

The framework below (Figure 2) is shown as a figure underpinned by healthy support networks. The umbrella of support networks and the buttressing of existing supports within communities and families represents one of the key means of helping the young indigenous and migrant participants in their successful transitions between school and career. These support networks, while as a separate category featured as fourth in helpfulness, were actually interwoven into every category mentioned as helpful by participants. As shown by a migrant male participant, creating and sustaining support networks was an integral component of success for not only himself, but his sister.

> .. Seeing from an environment that's just not that good, to what it could be! [T]here was a… time my sister was doing really bad in school, when she… [took the wrong road]... Seeing her… not really utilize [her best abilities] and realizing it was because of this… horrible family situation! [A]s soon as we kind of… fixed ourselves up a bit and you know started to create that supportive environment to really let her know, we liked her, and [were] doing the best we could do, to create the opportunity for her…well… [she got better]… (Migrant male)

Therefore, while support networks per se, did not score the highest number of incidents, they provide the foundation that the participants described as being most helpful in their successful transitions between school and work. Therefore, they form the cornerstone of the framework.

The major factor that was helpful in the transition from school to career in the present research was the achievement of a new level of self-understanding. This is

situated at the centre of the framework. Lines from each of the other categories show the importance of understanding how one piece within the framework cannot operate in isolation, but rather, is enhanced or facilitated, when integrated with other factors. For example, achieving a new level of self-understanding is underpinned by having healthy support networks and concomitantly by having what is perceived as a 'healthy' family system and 'wellness' at an individual and communal level. While participants admitted they had struggled with gaining a sense of themselves on their own at times, they felt it was optimal for the participants to have as many healthy elements to facilitate their successful transitions between school and career. Thus, central to the framework is a sense of identity or 'self-understanding', and yet, this cannot be achieved without the significant interplay with other factors.

The interlinked configuration of 'work experience' and 'stability' represent the trinity of career, work and stability, as being integral for people to be able to positively and productively engage in the workforce. While these pieces are not placed at the centre of the framework, they are central to the participants' expressions of helpful factors in their journeys between school and work. It may seem self-explanatory, but the participants clearly expressed the criticality of having work experience options and stability as helpful to successful career transitions. From their perspective, without the existence of a stable environment or an internal sense of self and direction, combined with the opportunity to access work experience and options, the idea of being successful in a career, or even having the goal of a career, may not exist for young migrants and indigenous people. In the words of one participant:

> It sounds a bit selfish what I have been saying like stability but I think like personal stability and then also obviously stability around you! I have come from a pretty good family, my mom side, dad side stable, you know free, affluent, very stable, just not money hungry and not very poor! (Male

Participant)

> And then when I actually started doing my work experience for it, I was actually kicking myself for not having it done soon enough, I said yeah this is exactly where I want to be… (Migrant Male)

Finally, the framework acknowledges the importance of attachment to culture, community resources, role models and education as the next most important components of ensuring successful transitions into the workforce for these young migrants and indigenous people.

> What you are saying is that, doing well is the freedom first and foremost to work and the living, to be a provider, to be independent and to be educated, and educated could mean tertiary but it just means really being able to read, understand, and critically analyse the world around you... No particularly, may just the fact that that I think that, that it all stems from like the from the education and knowledge begins that well, with education, comes knowledge right, like that is where, it is kind of like for me, a lot of it, a lot of that ability comes from, you know... (Migrant participant)

> I guess the stereotype of indigenous people you know unemployed, uneducated someone like that but to see someone like, you are close to and someone that you have grown up, someone that you looked up to who just go and do something is very inspiring I guess! … [Y]ou feel proud of that person as well and you feel, if they can do it, then what's stopping me from doing it? (Aboriginal male)

Individual factors in the framework are not meant to be 'ticked off' as having been achieved and hence, dealt with. The lines adjoining each piece indicate the layers of interconnectivity. These intertwined factors are, in fact, guidelines for opening discussion with individual communities, and researching new or extant programmes to examine the existence of these factors, assess their current strengths, and detect gaps that may be occurring in all these identified areas. The stepped pyramid foundational base illustrates the importance of each of the components for successful transitions between school and career.

The framework is presented as a starting point for future policy makers to begin the process of working in collaboration with indigenous and migrant groups

for the purposes of creating purposive, meaningful policies and alliances. It provides a reference tool to ensure that these important components of the career journey are attended to/and integrated into all stages of policy development, implementation and sustenance.

From this framework it can be seen that the issues are interrelated, and hence work in a related fashion. Further study from a grounded theory perspective may test the model and add to our understanding of the complex relationships of helpful and hindering factors that form the experiences of the participants in this study with regard to their successful transitions from school to career.

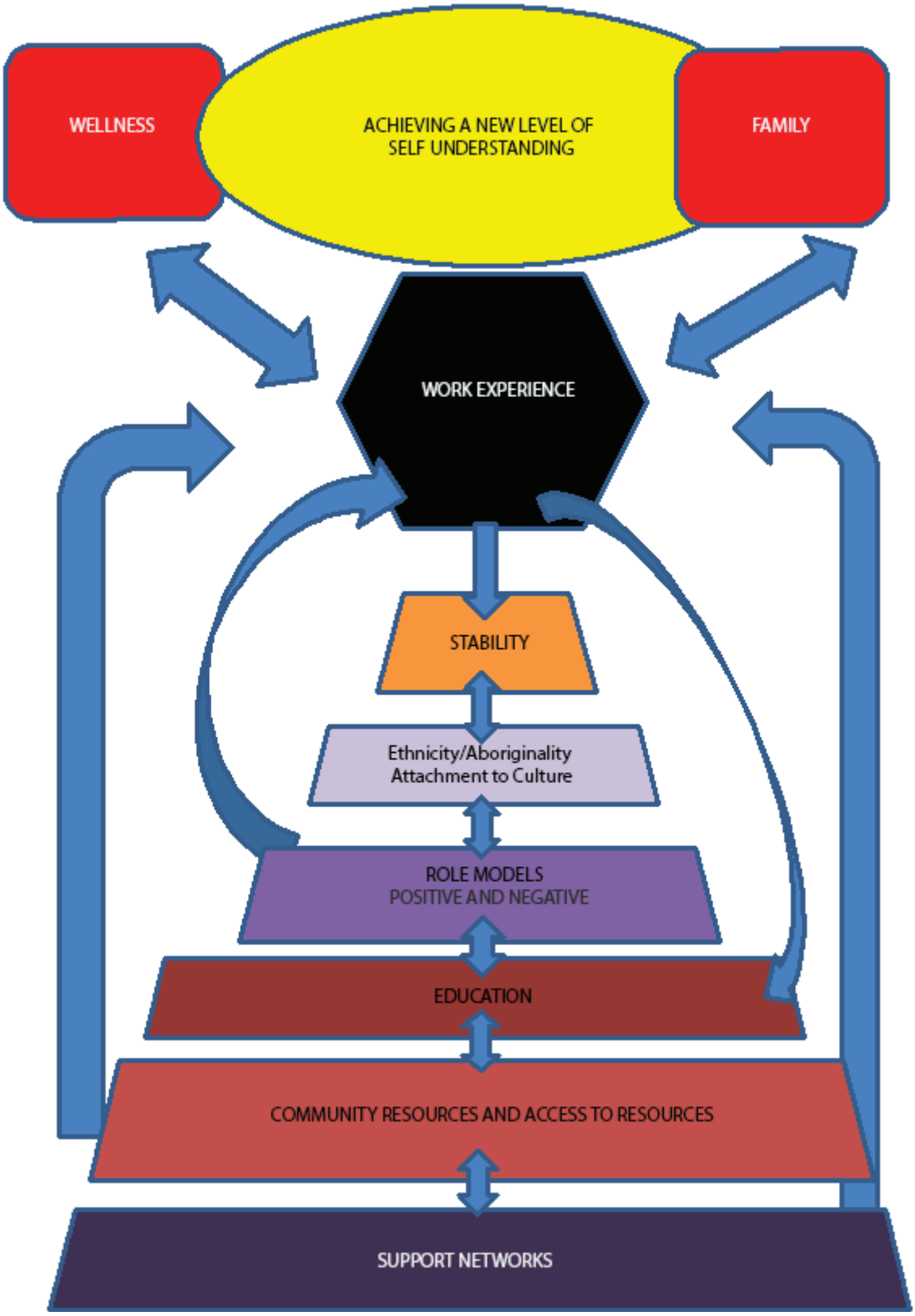

Figure 2: Factors required to ensure the successful transition between school and career

Outcomes from this research point to the need for a recognition of the interplay of multiple factors in the creation and facilitation of successful career transitions for marginalised youth. Acknowledging the impact of culture, environment, context and relevancy upon well-being as well as recognizing that not all people have the inherent ability to make optimal use of the resources available to them as a result of marginalisation underscores the tenets of this framework. Additionally, in order to improve resilience in populations that may have experienced long term or severe trauma, such as some indigenous or refugee communities, it is important to maintain a working knowledge of existing strengths within those communities and identify/build up resources that may increase resilience, rather than focussing solely on building up pre-existing strengths (Ungar, 2011; Goodwill & McCormick, 2012; Chandler, Lalonde, Sokol & Hallett, 2003). It is important to note for all communities and policy makers, there is a need to explicitly inform marginalised people of the resources available to them and situate this information and access within the communities themselves. This framework cannot ensure successful policy and programme making in and of itself, it is a guide for use and as such the researcher is assuming that policy makers are aware of the necessity for inclusion, collaboration, co-creation and explication with key stakeholders from marginalised communities identified as needing to be strengthened.

The proposed framework acts as guiding structure for policy makers and others, to look at in collaboration with the individual communities for which they are proposing a new policy, or reviewing an existing one. This framework operates on the premise that policy makers collaborate with communities and groups individually to determine pre-existing strengths, and identify possible gaps in the framework so as to best achieve an optimal outcome with the imposition of any new programmes and policies designed for successful transitions from school to career. The individual factors identified in this

framework are indicated from this research as important for successful career transitions for migrant and indigenous youth. Each community, in consultation and negotiation with policy and programmers, would be required to facilitate the research of each of these factors within their communities, as the framework implies. From this research, community programmes that bolster extant strengths and fill gaps could be designed to ensure ongoing successful career transitions for the members within their unique locales and community areas.

Research strengths

The strengths of this research programme lie in the open-ended nature of collaboration and connection with marginalised youth and their experiences of successful transitions from school to career. Honouring oral history and storytelling fits with cultural mores and the traditions of many cultures around the globe, including many of the cultures from which the participants of this project originated. Kingsley, Phillips, Townsend & Henderson-Wilson, 2010 and Ungar, 2011, call for programmes of research and policy making that are culturally-relevant, honour traditions, are located within communities, and programmes that establish an ongoing or continuous presence, rather than ad hoc, one off programmes.

The relevance of oral history and storytelling cannot be underestimated for many cultures globally, and it is an oft acknowledged part of indigenous lives to include the 'yarn' or the 'campfire talk' as integral to communal lives (Abbott, 2004; Mirza & Joseph, 2010). This part of human history (story-telling around the campfire) is not unique to one culture, but pervades all cultures and is an oft forgotten point of similarity that bridges cultures and spans cultural divides.

An additional strength of this research project is the use of the ECIT. The appropriateness of this qualitative semi-structured narrative ECIT methodology for this research project is underscored by the need to pay attention to the ethics of conducting

cross-cultural research, and research with vulnerable and special populations. Kingsley, Phillips, Townsend & Henderson-Wilson (2010), Merritt (2007), Ungar, 2011, and Goodwill & McCormick (2012) are a few of the many researchers calling for a change to existing research protocols and a respect for cultural traditions.

Research limitations and future directions

Qualitative research explores rich, unknown phenomenon and provides a deep insight into phenomenon that may never have been studied, or may have been the subject of limited research. As such, the nature of qualitative research is not to attempt to find simple answers to complex questions, but rather, to search for an array of possibilities that may explain, in depth, why and how certain phenomenon occur. The limitations of this research are then based around the acknowledgement that this research does not attempt to achieve survey-type results, nor numerical and scientifically positivist answers to questions.

The choice of a narrative structure for this project limits the number of participants and resultantly is an illumination of these participants' experiences only. It is the hope that this type of research will help to illuminate the experience of others. The point of this project was to begin an innovative approach to researching cross-culturally, and allowing or creating a space for voices to be heard and lessons to be learned. Further research on this topic could address the questions that the scientific tradition would pose as pointing to the issues associated with this project, including the small number of participants and the fact that these participants represent a small window into the world of successful transitions from school to career for marginalised youth.

While the small number of participants involved in the present study may not capture the full spectrum of experiences of successful transitions between school and career, the number of critical incidents arising from the data provides a snapshot of the richness and depth of experience and commonalities for marginalised youth in this

sphere. Future research could use a mix of survey and interview to investigate the relative importance of the categories identified in the present research. Specifically, it would explore whether the framework and the categories on which it is based fit across a large number of indigenous and migrant communities.

General conclusion

The research presented in this dissertation in some ways represents a departure from traditional Western paradigms of knowledge, thought, and ideology. The concepts presented suggest that there are more ways to look at traditional concepts of 'success' and 'career' than through the lens of Western hegemonic theories. This thesis however, also suggests that at points, Western definitions are useful and, in some cases, applicable across cultures.

However, this thesis does suggest that giving primacy to one theory over another continues to reinforce extant systems of oppression, prejudice and existing societal structures to maintain the status quo. By refusing to acknowledge that the world has a cosmos of multiple ethnicities, indigeneity, traditions, cultures, beliefs and norms is to negate the nature of the multi-ethnic global society in which we live. It is for these reasons that the outcomes of this research are meant to be seen as a starting point from which to build future policies regarding careers, transitions and marginalised groups.

The acknowledgement of multiple viewpoints and pathways, in and of itself, means that these ideas are presented with the idea that there are multiple ways to employ the presented framework and that with the co-creation of meaningful policies and programmes, changes to existing strategies and policies may be necessary. This research is presented as an entry way into future research that embodies the acknowledgment of the value, importance and relevance of alternate, and cross-cultural ideologies, viewpoints and realities.

All my relations!

References

Abbott, K. (2004). Return to the heart, *Aboriginal and Islander Healthworker Journal,* 28 (2): 4-5.

Adams G., Salter, P. S., Pickett, K. M., Kurtiş, T., & Phillips, N. L. (2010). Behavior as mind-in context: A cultural psychology analysis of "paranoid" suspicion. In L. F. Barrett, B. Mesquita, & E. Smith (Eds.). *The mind in context* (pp. 277-306). New York: Guilford.

Adams, G.R., & Marshall, S. K. (1996). A developmental social psychology of identity: Understanding the person-in-context. *Journal of Adolescence*, *19*, 429–442.

Altman, J. (2013) *Evaluation fetishism is not closing this gap,* http://www.crikey.com.au/ 2013/04/30/evaluation-fetishim-is-not-closing-this-gap/retrieved online May 2, 2013.

American Psychological Association, 2002. *Guidelines on Multicultural Education, Training, Research, Practice, and Organizational Change for Psychologists.*

Angelides, P. (2001).The development of an efficient technique for collecting and analyzing qualitative data: The analysis of critical incidents. *Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education,* 14(3), 429-442.

Angelides, P. (2001). Using critical incidents to understand school cultures. *Improving Schools*, 4(1), 24-32.

Andersson, B.-E, & Nilsson, S. (1964). Studies in the reliability and validity of the critical incident technique. *Journal of Applied Technology*, 48(6), 398-403.

Arrendondo, Patricia M. (1984), *Identity Themes for Immigrant Young Adults*, Adolescence, 19(76), 977-993.

Aston, H (2010). UN slams treatment of Aborigines, *Sydney Morning Herald*, Aug. 29, 2010.

Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Island Studies. (2000). *Guidelines for ethical research in Indigenous studies*. Canberra: AIATSIS.

Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Island Studies. (2000). *Guidelines for ethical research in Indigenous studies.* Canberra: AIATSIS.

Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Island Studies. (2006). Canberra: AIATSIS retrieved online: http://www.aiatsis.gov.au/research/health.html.

Australian Bureau of Statistics, (2010). *The Health and Welfare of Australia's Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples*, retrieved online: http://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsf/mf/4704.0/

Australian Bureau of Statistics (2010). *Framework for Measuring Wellbeing: Aboriginal andTorres Strait Islander Peoples, 2010,* cat. no. 4703.0,ABS,Canberra: ABS retrieved online: http://www.abs.gov.au/AUSSTATS/abs@.nsf/lookup/4704.0Chapter200Oct+2010

Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS), (2010) http://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsf/Products/6250.0~Nov+2010~Main+~Employment?OpenDocument retrieved online May 12, 2012

Ball, J. (2010). Indigenous Fathers' Involvement in Reconstituting ''Circles of care', *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 45,124–138.

Barley, R. & Salway, S. (2008) Ethical practice and scientific standards in researching ethnicity: methodological challenges of conducting a literature review. *Ethnicity in UK social science research: ethics and scientific standards.*

Bedi, R., Davis, M.D, Williams, M. (2005). Critical incidents in the formation of the Therapeutic alliance from the client's perspective. *Psychotherapy: Theory, Research, Practice, Training* Educational Publishing Foundation 42(3), 311-323.

Benson, J. Concordance: an alternative term to 'compliance' in the Aboriginal population [online]. *Australian Family Physician*, Vol. 34 (10): 831-5. Availability:<http://search.informit.com.au/documentSummary;dn=366368148682883;res=IELHE_A> ISSN: 0300-8495. [Cited 15 Feb 13]

Bernard, A. (2013). *Economic insights, unemployment dynamics among Canada's youth,* Statistics Canada, No. 024, 1-7.

Berlin, I. (1976). *Vico and Herder: Two studies in the history of ideas*. New York, Viking.

Black Elk. (1932) *Black Elk Speaks.* New York: William Morrow & Company.

Blum, R. & Rinehart, M. (1997). Reducing the risk: Connections that make a difference in the lives of youth, *Youth Studies Australia,* 16 (4), 37-49.

Blustein, D.L. (2014). A Qualitative Inquiry of the Roles, *Journal of Career Development*. Originally published online 17 July 2014. 1-21, DOI: 10.1177/0894845314543496.

Blustein, D. L. (2011). A relational theory of working. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*. 79, 1–17.

Blustein, D.L., Barnett, M., Mark, S., Depot, M., Lovering, M., Lee, Y., Hu, Q., Kim, J., Faedra Backus, F., Dillon-Lieberman D. & DeBay, D. (2013). Examining urban students' constructions of a STEM/career development intervention over time. *Journal of Career Development*, 40: 40 originally published online 20 April 2012. DOI: 10.1177/0894845312441680. *Education*. 47(2), 464-494.

Bombay, A, Matheson, K & Anisman, H. (2010). Decomposing identity: Differential

relationships between several aspects of ethnic identity and the negative effects of perceived discrimination among First Nations adults in Canada, *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology.* 16(4), 507–516.

Bourke, L. (2003). Toward understanding youth suicide in an Australian rural community, *Social Science & Medicine.* 57, 2355–2365.

Bradbury- Jones, C. & Tranter, S. (2008). Inconsistent use of the critical incident technique in nursing research. *Journal of Advanced Nursing.* 64(4), 399–407.

Bridges, W. (1994). The end of the job. *Fortune.* 62-74.

Britten, L. & Borgen, W.A. (2010) Footprints of colour along the career journey, *Procedia Social and Behavioural Sciences.* 5, 104-115.

Britten, L., Borgen, W.A., and Wiggins, M. (2012). (submitted). Colour blind: The complex stories of migrant youth on bridging the gap between school and career.

Brooks, C. (1996). Understanding immigrants and the labour market. *Bureau of Immigration, Multicultural and Population Research/Australian Government Publishing Service Canberra,* 1-13.

Bruner, J. (1990). *Acts of meaning*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. Bryman, A., (1984). The debate about quantitative and qualitative research: A question of method or epistemology? *British Journal of Sociology.* 35(1), 75-92.

Burack, J., Blidner, Flores, Fitch.T (2007). Constructions and deconstructions of risk, resilience and wellbeing: A model for understanding the development of Aboriginal adolescents. *Australasian Psychiatry*. Vol.15 Supplement.

Butterfield, L., Borgen, W, & Amundson, N. (2005). Fifty years of the critical incident technique: 1954–2004 and beyond. *Qualitative Research,* 5(4), 475-497.

Butterfield, L., Borgen, W.A, & Amundson, N. (2005a). The impact of a qualitative research interview on workers' views of their situation. *Canadian Journal of Counselling /Revue canadienne de counseling,* 43(2), 120-130.

Butterfield, L, Borgen, W, Maglio, A, Amundson, N, (2009*).* Using the Enhanced Critical Incident Technique in Counselling Psychology Research. *Canadian Journal of Counselling / Revue canadienne de counseling,* 43(4), 265-282.

Butterfield, L.D. (2001). *A critical incident study of individual clients' outplacement counselling experiences.* (Unpublished master's thesis), University of British Columbia, Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada.

Butterfield, L. Borgen, W.A., Amundson, N. & Erlebach, A. (2010). What helps and hinders workers in managing change. *Journal of Employment Counseling*, 47, 146-156.

Cable, D.A.J., (1999) *Plateau and Transition: Career Dynamics in a Changing World of Work,* MA thesis. Massey University.

Cahill, M. & Martland, S. (1996). Community career counselling for rural transitions. *Canadian Journal of Counselling*. 30(3), 155–164.

Carless, D., & Douglas, K., (2007) Narrative, identity and mental health: How men with serious mental illness re-story their lives through sport and exercise, *Psychology of Sport and Exercise.* 9, 576–594.

Case, A.D, & Hunter, C.D. (2012). Counterspaces: A Unit of Analysis for Understanding the Role of Settings in Marginalised Individuals' Adaptive Responses to Oppression. *American Journal of Community Psychology.* 50(1-2), 257-70. doi: 10.1007/s10464-012-9497-7.

Chandler, M. & Lalonde, C. (1998), Cultural Continuity as a Hedge against Suicide in Canada's First Nations, doi: 10.1177/136346159803500202 *Transcultural Psychiatry.* 35(2), 191-219.

Chandler, M. & Lalonde, C. E. (2004). Cultural continuity as a moderator of suicide risk among Canada's First Nations. Kirmayer, L. & Valaskakis, G. (Eds.). *The Mental Health of Canadian Aboriginal Peoples: Transformations, Identity, and Community.* University of British Columbia Press.

Chandler, M. J., & LaLonde, C. E. (2008). Cultural continuity as a protective factor against suicide in First Nations youth. *Horizons,* 10, 68–72.

Chandler, M. J., Lalonde, C. E., Sokol, B. W., & Hallett, D. (2003). Personal persistence, identity development, and suicide: A study of Native and non-Native North American adolescents. *Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development,* 68 (2) Serial No. 273).

Chilisa, B. (2012). *Indigenous research methodologies.* SAGE Publications: Los Angeles.

Clune, W.H. (1993). The best path to systemic educational policy: Standardized/ centralized or differentiated/decentralized. *Educational Evaluation & Policy Analysis*. 15(3), 233-254.

Closing the Gap, shadow report (2013). https://www.humanrights.gov.au/sites/default/files/CTG_Shadow_Report_2013.pdf retrieved online: http://www.fahcsia.gov.au/our-responsibilities/indigenous- australians/programs-services/closing-the-gap/closing-the-gap-prime-ministers- report-2013

Clarke, C., Harne, P., Atkinson, J., & Shochet, I. (1999). Enhancing Resilience in Indigenous People: The integration of Individual, Family and Community Interventions. *Aboriginal and Islander Health Journal*, 23(4), 6-10.

Crossley, M.L. (2000). *Introducing Narrative Psychology: Self, Trauma and the Construction of Meaning.* Buckingham, UK: Open University Press.

Daly, A. E., & Smith, D. E. (2005). Indicators of risk to the wellbeing of Australian indigenous children. *Australian Review of Public Affairs*, 6 (1), 39-57.

Daly, A. E., Henry, R. & Smith, D. E. (2002). *Welfare and the domestic economy of indigenous families: Policy implications from a longitudinal survey*, CAEPR discussion paper No. 239, CAEPR, Australian National University, Canberra.

Danziger, K. (1979). Origins and basic principles of Wundt's völkerpsychologie, in A.R. Buss (Ed.) *Psychology in social context*. New York: Irvington

Darou, W. G. (1987). Counselling and the northern native. *Canadian Journal of Counselling,* 21(1), 33-41.

Day, A & White, J, (2008). Ethical practice from the perspective of the forensic psychologist: Commentary on the uses and value of the Australian Psychological Society (2007) Code of Ethics, *Australian Psychologist*, 43(3), 186-193.

De Cieri, H. Sheehan, C. Costa, C. Fenwick, M., & Cooper, B.K. (2009) International talent flow and intention to repatriate: an identity explanation, *Human Resource Development International*, 12 (3), 243–261.

DeGagne, M (2007). Toward an Aboriginal paradigm of healing: addressing the legacy of residential schools. *Australasian Psychiatry*, 15(Supplementary), S49-S53.

Deimer, M.A. & Ortega, L. (2010). Social Inclusion and Critical Consciousness in Australia. *Australian Journal of Career Development*, 19(1), 13-17.

Delgado, R., & Stefrancic, J. (2012). *Critical race theory: An introduction*. NewYork, NY: New York University Press.

Demanet, J. & Van Houtte, M.V. (2012). School Belonging and School Misconduct: The Differing Role of Teacher and Peer Attachment. *Journal of Youth & Adolescence,* 41, 499–514.

Department of Health and Aging, (2009-2010). *Indigenous Health*, retrieved online: http:health.gov.au/internet/budget/publishing.nsf/Content/2009-2010_ Health_PBS.

Department of Health and Aging, (2009-2010). *Rural Health,* retrieved online: http:// www.health.gov.au/internet/budget/publishing.nsf/Content/2009- 2010_Health_PBS

Department of Immigration and Citizenship (DIAC) 2002. *Settlement experiences of new migrants*. Retrieved online: http://www.immi.gov.au/media/publications/pdf/settle_exp.pdf

Dwyer, R.J. (2003). "Career progression factors of Aboriginal executives in the Canada federal public service", *Journal of Management Development*, 22(10): 881– 889.

Dudgeon, P. (2008). Empowering research with Indigenous communities. *Ngoonjook: A Journal of Australian Indigenous Issues*. 32, 8-27.

Dudgeon, P. (2010) http://www.mentalhealthcommission.gov.au/about-us/ourpeople/prof-pat-dudgeon.aspx DOR 27.11.2012.

Ethnic Communities Council of Australia, (2008). http://www.eccv.org.au/library/doc//ECCVDiscussionPaper3-RealJobs.pdf retrieved online Feb 18, 2013.

Feliciano, C, (2005) Does selective migration matter? Explaining ethnic disparities in educational attainment among immigrants' children. *International Migration Review,* 39(4), 844-871.

Felluga, D. F. (2012). *Critical theory: The key concepts*. London, UK: Routledge

Filbert, K.M., & Flynn, R.J. (2010). Developmental and cultural assets and resilient outcomes in First Nations young people in care: An initial test of an explanatory model. *Children and Youth Services Review* 32, 560–564.

Flanagan J. (1954). The critical incident technique. *Psychological Bulletin* 51: 327–358.

Fox, D & Prilleltensky, I. (1997). 'Introducing critical psychology: values, assumptions, and status quo', D. Fox & I. Prilleltensky (eds.), *Critical psychology: An introduction.* (pp. 3-20). London: Sage Publications

Fryer, D. (2012). Critical differences: the development of a community critical psychological perspective on the psychological costs of unemployment. In Kieselbach, T. & Mannila, S. (Ed.) (pp. 473-489). *Unemployment, Precarious Work and Health. Research and Policy Issues.* Wiesbaden: VS - Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.

Fuqua, D.R. & Newman, J. L. (2002). Creating Caring Organizations. *Consulting Psychology Journal: Practice and Research,* 54 (2), 131–140.

Gergen, K.J. (1991). The saturated self: Dilemmas of identity in contemporary life. New York, NY: Basic Books.

Giallo, R., Treyvaud, K., Matthews, J., & Kienhuis, M. (2010). Making the Transition to Primary School: An Evaluation of a Transition Program for Parents. *Australian Journal of Educational & Developmental Psychology*. 10, 1- 17.

Gibbs, M. (2001). Toward a strategy for undertaking cross- cultural collaborative research. *Society & Natural Resources: An International Journal*, 14 (8), 673-687.

Gross, K, (2008) Youth Monitor: A national roundup of recent press reports on youth issues. *Youth Studies Australia*, 27(1), 3-8.

Goodwill, A & McCormick, R. (2012). Giibinenimidizomin: Owning Ourselves Critical Incidents in the Attainment of Aboriginal Identity. *Canadian Journal of Counselling and Psychotherapy*, 46 (1), 21-34.

Gross, K. (2010) Review: Reasons for living: Education and young people's search for meaning, identity and spirituality. A handbook. *Youth Studies Australia*,

26(1): 57.

Guenther, J., Bat, M. & Osborne, S. (2013). Red Dirt Thinking on Educational Disadvantage. *The Australian Journal of Indigenous Education.* 42 (2), 100-110.

Habermas, T., & Bluck, S. (2000). Getting a life: The development of the life story in adolescence. *Psychological Bulletin*, 126, 748–769.

Hallett, D., Want, S.C., Chandler, M.J., Koopman, L.L., Flores, J., Gehrke, E.C. (2008). Identity in flux: Ethnic self-identification, and school attrition in Canadian Aboriginal youth. *Journal of Applied Developmental Psychology*, 29, 62–75.

Healthcare Commission. (2006b). *Variations in the Experiences of Patients Using the NHS Services in England*. London: Commission for Healthcare Audit and Inspection.

Heine, S.J., & Lehman, D.R. (2004). Move the body, change the self: Acculturative effects on the self-concept. In M. Schaller & C. Crandall (Eds.) *Psychological foundations of culture.* (pp. 305– 331). Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.

Hegel, G.W.F., (2007). *Lectures on the philosophy of history.* Translated by J. Sibree (reprint). Whitefish, MT: Kessinger Publishing.

Herek, G.M. (1999). AIDS and stigma. *American Behavioural Scientist*, 42, 1106-1116.

Hill, C.E, Thompson, B.J., & Williams, E.N. (1997). A guide to conducting consensual qualitative research. *The Counseling Psychologist*, 25: 517-572.

Horton, T.V. & Wallender, J.L. (2001) Hope and social support as resilience against psychological distress of mothers who care for children with chronic physical conditions', *Rehabilitation Psychology,* 46: 382-99.

Jabareen, Y.J., & Vilkomerson, R. (2013). Public policy in divided societies: the role of policy institutes in advancing marginalised groups. Innovation: The European Journal of Social Science Research. **DOI:**10.1080/13511610.2013.777274

James, C.E. (2012). Students 'at risk': Stereotypes and the schooling of black boys. Urban Students. *Urban Education*, 47: 464 originally published online 6 December 2011 DOI: 10.1177/0042085911429084

Joseph, C. (2013). (Re) negotiating cultural and work identities pre and post-migration: Malaysian migrant women in Australia, *Women's Studies International Forum*, 36, 27–36.

Juntenen, C.L., Barraclough, D.J., Broneck, C.L, Seibel, G. A., Winrow, S.A., & Morin, P.M. (2001). American Indian Perspectives on the Career Journey, *Journal of Counselling Psychology*, 48 (**3**), 274-285.

Kabir, N. & Rickards, T. (2006) Students at risk: Can connections make a difference?

Youth Studies Australia, 25 (4): 17-24.

Kasen, S., Wickramaratne, P., Gameroff, M.J., & Weissman, M.M. (2012) Religiosity and resilience in persons at high risk for major depression. *Psychological Medicine*, 42, 509–519.

Keating. F., (2009). African and Caribbean men and mental health. *Ethnicity & Inequalities in Health & Social Care,* 2(**2**), 41-53.

Kia-Keating, M., Dowdy, E., Morgan, M.L., & Noam, G. G. (2011). Protecting and Promoting: An Integrative Conceptual Model for Healthy Development of Adolescents. *Journal of Adolescent Health.* 48, 220–228.

Kim, H., & Markus, H. R. (1999). Deviance or uniqueness, harmony or conformity? A cultural analysis. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 77(**4**), 785-800.

Kim, U. & Berry, J. (Eds.) (1993). *Indigenous psychologies: Research and experience in cultural context.* London: Sage Publishing.

Kincheloe, J. L., McLaren, P. & Steinberg, S. R. (2011). Critical pedagogy, and qualitative research: Moving to the bricolage. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *The SAGE book of qualitative research,* (pp. 163–178). London, UK: Sage.

King, G., McDougall, J., DeWit, D., Hong, S., Miller, L., Offord, D., Meyer, K. & LaPorta, J. (2005). Pathways to children's academic performance and pro-social behaviour: Roles of physical health status, environmental, family, and child factors, *International Journal of Disability, Development, and Education*, 52 (4), 313-44.

Kingsley, J. "Y", Phillips, R., Townsend, M. & Henderson-Wilson, C. (2010). Using a qualitative approach to use research to build trust between a non-aboriginal researcher and aboriginal participants (Australia). *Qualitative Research Journal* 10(**1**), 2-12.

Kirmayer, L. J. (1989) Cultural variations in the response to psychiatric disorders and Emotional distress. *Social Science & Medicine,* 29(3), 327-339.

Lacan, J. (1953). The Function and Field of Speech and Language in Psychoanalysis. In *Ecrits: A Selection* Trans. A. Sheridan. (pp. 197–268). London: Tavistock.

Lakoff, G. & Johnson, M. (1980). *Metaphors we live by*. University of Chicago press: Chicago.

Lalonde, C. E. (2006). Identity formation and cultural resilience in Aboriginal communities. In R. J. Flynn, P. M. Dudding, & J. G. Barber (Eds.), *Promoting resilience in child welfare* (pp. 52−71). Ottawa, ON: University of Ottawa Press.

Lashlie, C., (2005). *He'll be Ok: Growing gorgeous boys into men*. Harper Collins: Auckland.

Light, R., Roscigno, V.J. & Kalev, A. (2011). Race, racial attitudes and stratification beliefs: Evolving directions for research and policy: Racial Discrimination, Interpretation and legitimation at work. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science,* 634, 39-59.

LSE Centre for Economic Performance, (2013). Election analysis: Immigration and the UK Labour Market: The Evidence from Economic Research: http://cep.lse.ac.uk/pubs/download/ea006.pdf retrieved online February 26, 2013.

Luthar, S.S. (2006). Resilience in development: a synthesis of research across five decades. In *Developmental Psychopathology: Risk, Disorder, and Adaptation*. (ed. D. Cicchetti and D. J. Cohen), (pp. 740–795). Wiley: New York.

Markus, H.R., & Kitayama, S. (1991). Culture and the self: Implications for cognition, emotion, and motivation. *Psychological Review,* 98, 224-253.

Masten, A. S. (2006). Promoting resilience in development: A general framework for systems of care. In R. J. Flynn, P. M. Dudding, & J. G. Barber (Eds.), *Promoting resilience in child welfare* (pp. 3−17). Ottawa, ON: University of Ottawa Press.

Masten, A. Best, K. & Garmezy, N. (1990). Resilience and development: contributions from the study of children who overcome adversity. *Development and Psychopathology* 2, 425–444.

McAdams, D. (1993). *The stories we live by: Personal myths and the making of the self*. New York: Morrow.

McCormick, R. (1996). Culturally appropriate means and ends of counselling as described by the First Nations people of British Columbia, *International Journal for the Advancement of Counselling* 18, 163-172.

McCoy, S., & Major, B. (2003). Group identification moderates emotional responses to perceived prejudice. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 29,* 1005–1017. Doi: 10.1177/0146167203253466

McKeough, A., Bird, S., Tourigny, E., Romaine, A., Graham, S., Ottmann, J. & Jeary, J., (2008). Storytelling as a foundation to literacy development for Aboriginal Children: Culturally and Developmentally Appropriate Practices, *Canadian Psychology*, 49 (2), 148–154.

McLean, C.A. (2010). A space called home: An immigrant adolescent's digital literacy practices, *Journal of Adolescent & Adult Literacy*, 54(1), 13-22.

McLean, K.C (2008). Stories of the young and old: Personal continuity and narrative identity. *Developmental Psychology*, 44(1), 254-264.

McNeal, L. (2012). Teacher unions and no child left behind reconstitution: The calm before the storm. *Journal of School Leadership.* 22, 1109-1129.

Merritt, S. (2007). An Aboriginal perspective on resilience: Resilience needs to be defined from an aboriginal context. *Aboriginal and Islander Health Worker Journal*, 31(5), 10-12.

Ministry of Social Development, (2010). *New Zealand Social Report.* Available from http://www.socialreport.msd.govt.nz/ (accessed December 2011).

Mirza, H & Davies, J. (2013). *Youth unemployment statistics*, UK House of Commons, Economic Policy and Statistics SN/EP/5871. Retrieved online.

Mirza, H., & Joseph, C. (Eds.). (2010). *Black and postcolonial feminisms in new times: Researching educational inequalities*. London: Routledge.

Morson, G.S. (1986). *Bakhtin, essays and dialogues on his work.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

National Health and Medical Research Council. (2003). *Values and ethics: Guidelines for ethical conduct*. Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander health research. Canberra: National Health and Medical Research Council.

Niehaus, K. Moritz-Rudasill, K., & Rakes, C.R. (2012). A longitudinal study of school connectedness and academic outcomes across sixth grade, *Journal of School Psychology,* 50, 443-460.

Norman I.J., Redfern S.J., Tomalin D.A. & Oliver S. (1992). Developing Flanagan's critical incident technique to elicit indicators of high and low quality nursing care from patients and their nurses. *Journal of Advanced Nursing,* 17(5*)*, 590–600.

Pak, J. H. (2005). Narrative analysis of Korean American women's acculturation and changing self. *Dissertation Abstracts International: Section B: The Sciences and Engineering.* Vol.66 (6-B): 3421.

Pasupathi, M., Stallworth, L. M., & Murdoch, K. (1998). How what we tell becomes what we know: Listener effects on speakers' long-term memory for events. *Discourse Processes,* 26: 1-25.

Payne, M. (2000). *Narrative therapy: An introduction for counselors.* London: Sage.

Pedersen, A., & Barlow, F.K. (2008). Theory to social action: A university-based strategy targeting prejudice against aboriginal Australians. *Australian Psychologist,* 43(3), 148-159.

Pedersen, P.V., Andersen, P.T., & Curtis, T. (2012). Social relations and experiences of social isolation among socially marginalised people. *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships*, 29(6), 839-858.

Pennebaker, J. W. & Banasik, B. L. (1997). On the creation and maintenance of collective memories: History as social psychology. In J.W. Pennebaker, D. Paez, & B. Rime (Eds.) (2007). *Collective memory of political events: Social psychological perspectives* (pp. 3-19). Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.

Perez, R. M. (2011). Linguistic Acculturation and Context on Self-Esteem: Hispanic Youth between Cultures. *Journal of Child &Adolescent Social Work*. 28:203– 228 retrieved online: 20 Sept. 2011.Springer Science+Business Media, LLC 2011.

Peters, M., Lankshear, C., & Olssen, M. (Eds.). (2003). *Critical theory and the human condition: Founders and praxis.* New York, NY: Peter Lang.

Phinney, J. S., Cantu, C. L., & Kurtz, D. A. (1997). Ethnic and American identity as predictors of self-esteem among African American, Latino, and White adolescents. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence,* 26, 165–185. doi:10.1023/A:1024500514834

Pleck, J. H., & Masciadrelli, B. P. (2004). Paternal involvement: Levels, sources, and consequences. In M. E. Lamb (Ed.). *The role of the father in child development* (4th ed.). (pp.222–271). Hoboken, NJ: Wiley.

Prior, D. (2007). Decolonising research: a shift toward reconciliation. *Nursing Inquiry.* 14(2), 162–168.

Redfield, R., Linton, R., & Herskovits, M. J. (1936). Memorandum on the study of acculturation. *American Anthropologist,* 38, 149–152.

Redman, T. (2013) *Report* retrieved online: 27.5. 2013 www.mediastatements wa.dov.au/pages/statements

Rhatigan, J. J. (1996). Simple gifts: Reflections on the profession. *NASPA Journal,* 34, 67–77.

Rice, P.L. & Ezzy, D., (1999). *Qualitative research methods: A health focus*, Oxford University Press: Oxford.

Rigney, L. I. (2001). 'A first perspective to Indigenous Australian participation in science: framing Indigenous research towards Indigenous Australian intellectual sovereignty', *Kaurna Higher Education Journal,* 7: 1-13.

Rigney, L. I. (1999). 'Internationalisation of an Indigenous anti-colonial cultural critique of research methodologies', *Wicazo Sa Review,* 3, 109-121.

Roccas, S., Klar, Y., & Liviatan, I. (2006). The paradox of group-based guilt: Modes of national identification, conflict vehemence, and reactions to the in-group's moral violations. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology,* 91, 698-711.

Ruiz, A.S. (1990). Ethnic identity: Crisis and resolution, *Journal of Multicultural Counselling & Development,* 18(1), 29-40.

Rumbaugh Whitesell, N., Mitchell, C.M., Spicer, P. and The Voices of Indian Teens Project Team, (2009). A longitudinal study of self-esteem, cultural identity, and academic success among American Indian adolescents. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology,* 15(1), 38–50.

Savickas, M.L. (1997). Adaptability: An integrative construct for life-span, life-space theory *Career Development Quarterly,* 45: 247–259. http://www.settlement.org/sys/faqs_detail.asp?faq_id=4000556 DOR: May 21, 2013.

Said, E. (1978). *Orientalism.* London: Penguin.

Schachter, E.P. (2011) Narrative identity construction as a goal-oriented endeavor: Reframing the issue of "big vs. small" story research, *Theory & Psychology* 21(**1**), 107–113.

Schluter, J., Seaton P., & Chaboyer, W. (2008) Critical incident technique: a user's guide for nurse researchers. *Journal of Advanced Nursing 61(***1**), 107–114.

Schoon , I., Martin, P., & Ross, A. (2007). Career transitions in times of social change: His and her story. *Journal of Vocational Behaviour,* 70(**1**), 78-96.

Scullion, N, (2013). Letter: Garrett admits Indigenous education defeat, retrieved online: May 14, 2013**.***http://www.alicespringsnews.com.au/2013/05/10/letter- garrett-admits-indigenous-education-defeat/*

Smith, T. B. & Silva, L. (2011). Ethnic identity and personal well-being of people of color: A meta-analysis, *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 58(1): 42–60.

Statistics Canada (2010). Aboriginal peoples, general statistics, Retrieved online: http://www5.statcan.gc.ca/subject-sujet/result-resultat.action?pid=10000&id=10000&lang=eng&type=STUDIES&pageNum=1&more=0

Statistics Canada. (2007). *Aboriginal peoples, general statistics*, Retrieved online: http://www41.statcan.gc.ca/2007/10000/ceb10000_000-eng.htm

Statistics Canada (2010). *Aboriginal peoples, general statistics,* Retrieved online: http://www5.statcan.gc.ca/subject-sujet/result-resultat.action?pid=10000&id=-10000&lang=eng&type=STUDIES&pageNum=1&more=0

Sturm, S. (2001). Second generation employment discrimination: A structural approach. *Columbia Law Review*, 101, 458-568.

Subich, L.M. (2001). Dynamic forces in the growth and change of vocational psychology. *Journal of Vocational Behavior,* 59, 235-242.

Super, D. E. (1990). A life-span, life-space approach to career development. In D. Brown, L. Brooks, and Associates (Eds.), *Career choice and development.* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Sydney Morning Herald. (2012). *Stronger futures continues dare era for aborigines says Amnesty.* Retrieved online: http://www.smh.com.au/opinion/political- news/stronger-futures-continues-dark-era-for-aborigines-says-amnesty- 20120524-1z7zb.html [Cited Nov 12, 2012]

Syed, M., & Azmitia, M. (2010). Narrative and ethnic identity exploration: A longitudinal

account of emerging adults' ethnicity-related experiences. *Developmental Psychology, 46,* 208–219. doi: 10.1037/a0017825

Talbani, A. & Hasanali, P. (2000). Adolescent females between tradition and modernity: Gender role socialization in South Asian immigrant culture. *Journal of Adolescence*, 23, 615–627.

Tripp, D. (1993). *Critical incidents in teaching: Developing professional judgement*, London: Routledge.

Tsey, K. & Avery, A. (2000). Evaluating Aboriginal empowerment programs: the case of family wellbeing. *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Public Health*, 24 (5), 509-514.

Ungar, M, (2011). Community resilience for youth and families: Facilitative physical and social capital in contexts of adversity, *Children and youth services review*, 33(9), 1742-1748.

United Nations, (2011). *The United Nations state of Indigenous Peoples' report*. UNHCR: Geneva, Switzerland.

UNHCR. (2011). *The 1951convention relating to the Status of Refugees and its 1967 protocol*. UNHCR: Geneva, Switzerland.

Urban, S. (2012). University Education as a Compensation Strategy among Second-Generation Immigrants. *International Migration Review*, 46(4), 919-940.

US Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, (2012). *Racial and ethnic characteristics of the U.S. labor force, 2011* http://www.bls.gov/opub/ted/2012/ted_20120905.htm retrieved online March 15, 2013.

Van Riemsdijk, M. (2013). Everyday Geopolitics, the Valuation of Labour and the Socio-Political Hierarchies of Skill, *Journal of Ethnic & Migration Studies,* 9(3), 373-390.

Van Vliet, J. (2008). Shame and resilience in adulthood: A grounded theory study, *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 55(2), 233-245.

Walch, Susan E.; Sinkkanen, Kimberly A.; Swain, Elisabeth M.; Francisco, Jacquelyn; Breaux, Cassi A.; Sjoberg, Marie D. (2012). Using Intergroup Contact Theory to Reduce Stigma Against Transgender Individuals: Impact of a Transgender Speaker Panel Presentation, *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 42 (10), 2583-2605.

Walsh, W. B. (2001). The changing nature of the science of vocational psychology. *Journal of Vocational Psychology,* 59, 262-274.

Warren, K., Ramaiah, S., & Teagle, R. (2010). Compilation of a local profile of immigration using GP registration data. *Ethnicity and Inequalities in Health and Social Care,* 3(2), 6-12.

Wexler, L.M., DiFluvio, G., & Burke, T.K. (2009). Resilience and marginalised youth: Making a case for personal and collective meaning-making as part of resilience research in public health. *Social Science & Medicine,* 69, 565–570.

White, M. (2007). *Maps of narrative practice*. New York: W W Norton & Cpy, Inc.

Wilkinson, L., Lauer, S., Rick, S., Ka Tat Tsang, A. & Chung Yan, M. (2010). *The labour market transitions of newly arrived immigrant youth: A tri-provincial study draft.* A report submitted to the National Metropolis Secretariat. Retrieved online.

Willis, R. (2008). Advantageous inequality or disadvantageous inequality? Ethnicity and family support among older people in Britain. *Ethnicity and Inequalities in Health and Social Care*, 1(2), 18-23.

World Health Organization (WHO) (2001). *Mental Health: Strengthening mental health promotion*. Factsheet No. 220. Geneva: World Health Organization. Available from: www.who.int/mediacentre/factsheets/fs220/en/ (accessed January 2012).

Woodger, D. & Cowan, J. (2010). Institutional racism in healthcare services: using mainstream methods to develop a practical approach. *Ethnicity & inequalities in health and social care*, 3(4), 36-44.

Woolsey, L.K. (1986). The critical incident technique: An innovative qualitative method of research. *Canadian Journal of Counselling* 20(4), 242-54.

World Health Organization (WHO) (2001) *Mental Health: Strengthening mental health promotion*. Factsheet No. 220. Geneva: World Health Organization. Available from: www.who.int/mediacentre/factsheets/fs220/en/ (accessed January 2012).

Wundt, W. (1916). *Elements of folk psychology: Outlines of a psychological history of development of mankind.* (E.L. Schaub translation). London: George Allen & Unwin.

Yip, T., Gee, G. C., & Takeuchi, D. T. (2008). Racial discrimination and psychological distress: The impact of ethnic identity and age among immigrant and United States-born Asian adults. *Developmental Psychology,* 44, 787–800. doi: 10.1037/0012-1649.44.3.78

Appendix A-J (pages 284-301) removed from Open Access version as they may contain sensitive/confidential content