



School of Management Studies

Exploring the role of family on the career development of Xhosa-speaking graduates

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Compulsory Declaration

This dissertation is entirely my own work. The work included in this study has not been previously submitted for the award of any degree, in full or in part. Every important contribution from the works of other authors has been credited, cited and also referenced.

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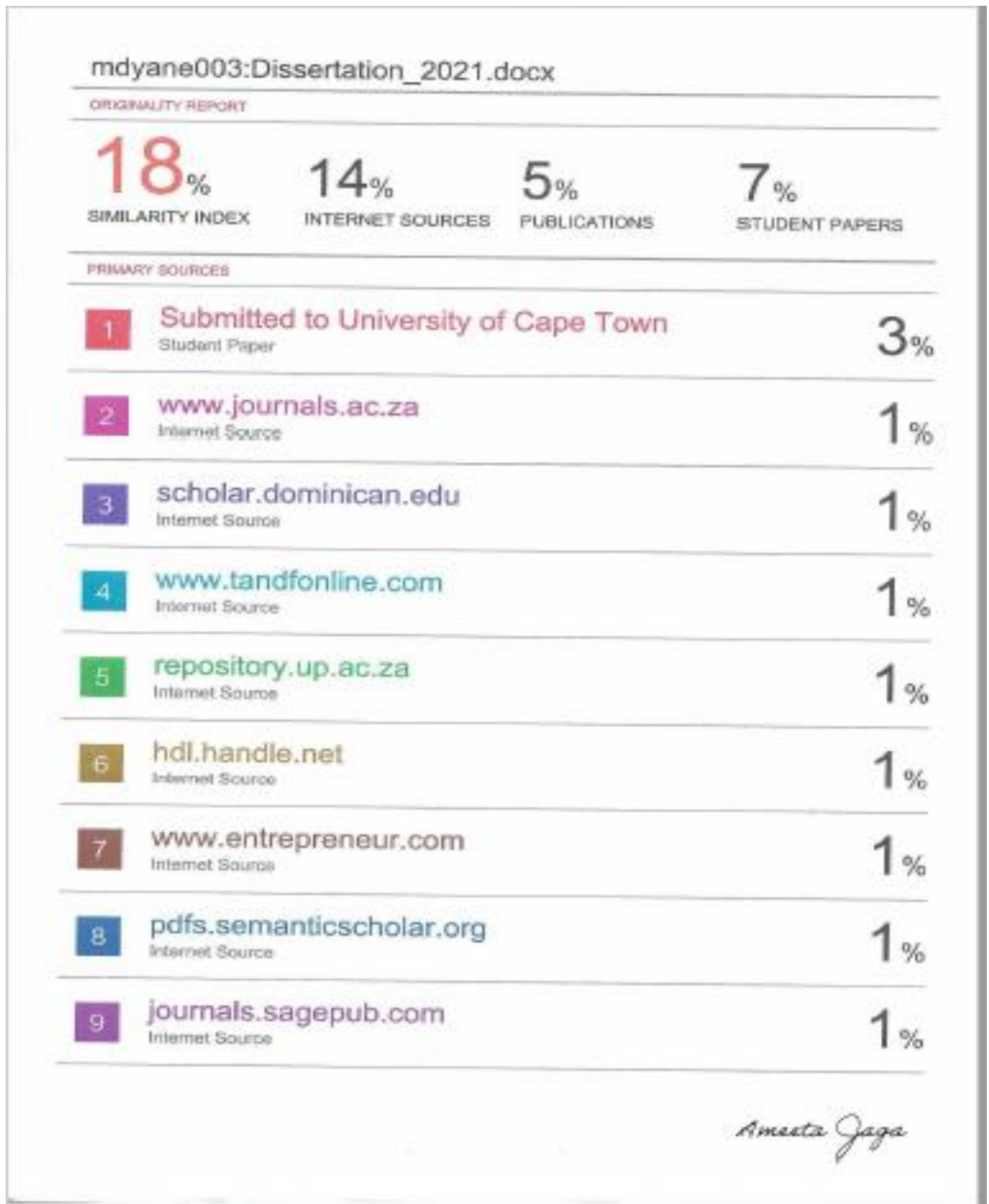


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ABSTRACT

This study explored the role of family on the career development of Xhosa-speaking graduates in South Africa. There are multiple environmental and individual influences on career development. However, this study focused specifically on family. The Xhosa culture, like other African cultures, endorses cultural values of deference and strong familial connections with extended family. Data from fourteen semi-structured in-depth interviews were analysed using thematic analysis. The key themes that emerged were (1) cultural beliefs, (2) social support and (3) the notion of black tax. The findings suggested that there is a strong relation between a family's cultural beliefs, family responsibilities and the perceived social support on graduate's career development. The understanding of 'western' career aspirations with familial cultural expectations and support in forming a coherent self-concept could be considered a significant challenge in the career development of these Xhosa graduates. The findings supported the familial influences on graduates' career development and contributed new insights on how family influence is perceived and maintained from an intersectional perspective. The implications for career development in diverse contexts are offered.

Keywords: family, intersectionality, career development, career influences, Xhosa-speaking graduates.

DEFINITION OF TERMS

Terms	Definition
Career Decision-Making	The idea that a person has at least two or three career options that are available to them and that they need to make a choice that will generate satisfactory occupational outcomes (Stead & Watson, 2006).
Career development	An ongoing process of understanding and implementing career decisions that provide an individual with purpose and direction in their occupational future (Peter et al., 1991). This is a process of learning which includes the integration of roles, events and also settings that form an individual's career (Stead & Watson, 2006).
Family	A group of one or more parents that live jointly with their children in one unit. Whether in its nuclear or minimal form, a family comprises father, mother and their offspring. However, in its broader term, it includes the extended family which includes grandparents, uncles, aunts, cousins and adopted children all jointly form part of a social unit (Reber & Reber, 2001).
Graduate	An individual that has successfully completed and been awarded a degree or course of study (Suleman, 2016).
Influence	An effect that a person or something has on an individual that shapes the way that specific individual thinks and also behaves (Hornby et al., 2000).
Xhosa-speaking	Nguni ethnic group in the Southern part of Africa, whose homeland is predominantly in the Eastern Cape province in South Africa. Xhosa people are divided by their multiple tribes and diverse heritages. This is the second largest ethnic group in South Africa. IsiXhosa is their spoken language which is regarded as a national language (Dalvit & de Klerk, 2005).

Note on Format: This paper has used the format prescribed by the Department of Organisational Psychology at the University of Cape Town and the APA 7th edition from the Publication manual of the American Psychological Association.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

The 21st century employment market has been considered exceedingly competitive, with employees expected to perform at high levels (Dixon et al., 2010). A skilful labour-force is required to exhibit the ability of being innovatively, technically and human relation orientated (Dixon et al., 2010). As graduates strategize in preparation for entering the competitive market, career development is a substantial factor in their preparedness. Additionally, there is a substantial body of literature that asserts that graduates consider their extended family composition as a significant influence on their career development prospects (Omair, 2010). Hence, there has been a growth in literature on the importance of the extended family in social and economic models of decision-making (Schierstedt, et al., 2014; Sharma & Sonwaney, 2014). Moreover, this is predominantly true in most developing settings, where two-adult households and nuclear households are considerably less common than in the developed settings.

In developing countries, the living arrangements commonly comprise skipped or multi-generational households, where the extended family frequently bridges the gaps that have been created by the absence of formal societal safety nets (Wightman & Danziger, 2014). For instance, extended families generally provide additional forms of support and guidance to adolescents which aids them in making suitable career development decisions (LaFave & Thomas, 2012). Furthermore, within developing countries, where majority of the population may be considered poor and may face issues such as poverty, discrimination and a limit of support systems, extended family members provide different forms of support such as emotional, psychosocial and financial for the purpose of ensuring that both the needs and educational prospects of graduates are met (Johnson et al. 2007).

Families serve as a major influence in the career development and career decision-making process of students (Fan et al. 2014). Majority of family members want their children to find happiness and success in their life and one factor that contributes to both happiness and success is career choice (Goodkind et al. 2011; Judge & Hurst, 2008). Keller and Suzuki (2004) asserted that when students feel valued, loved and supported by their families, they tend to display high levels of confidence in their own abilities in researching careers and choosing a career that would be interesting and also exciting for them. This is crucial because studies reveal that students who feel capable or competent regarding their career decision-making normally lean towards making to a greater extent, more satisfying career choices in their life (Keller & Suzuki, 2004). Furthermore, families can impact the level of education their children

aspire to obtain, how knowledgeable they are about work and different occupations, the attitudes and beliefs they have about working and their level of motivation they have in succeeding (Quinter & Edwards, 2010). Most of these are learned unconsciously because students tend to grasp their parents' and family's attitudes and expectations of them as they mature. The major influences families have on their children's career choices is caused by the expectations they have of their education and career, the values families impart on their children, the opportunities they offer to their children to learn and to develop and the examples they set for their children that are closely aligned to the kind of parent-child relationship. All these examples have somewhat contributed to multiple students' career development prospects (Quinter & Edwards, 2010).

In exploring the process of career development, traditional theorists predominately place an emphasis on models and theories that focus primarily on individual decision-making processes (Duffy & Dik, 2009). This suggests that people make career choices considering solely individual aspirations. Consequently, these models inadequately mention the contributing influence of contextual and environmental factors (Stead & Watson, 2006). Conversely, socio-cultural factors contribute a crucial role in one's career decisions (Stead & Watson, 2006). These factors include educational, family, political, economic, social and interpersonal aspects which sequentially form and also impact a person's career choice process (Watson & Stead, 2002). Additionally, it can be noted that career decisions are both affected by an individual's external and personal influences (Amundson, 1995). Such factors comprise individual's lifestyle, age, family, life-cycle and prior education.

Majority of the career development theories were developed in Eurocentric countries that value individual norms and beliefs. When they are applied in countries that value collectivism beliefs, cultural differences within various societies may occur as they argue that career decisions are not solely conducted based on individual preferences (Stebbleton, 2007). Both Mkhize and Frizelle (2000) and Stebleton (2007) have contended that traditional career theories and practices are inadequate and that these theories and practices ignore the conflicts and ambiguities that are negotiated by African students as they decide on their career choices. Therefore, for most African tertiary students, these western models that promote a long-ranging career planning may not be entirely useful because of the contextual factors this population is confronted by (King & Madsen, 2007). For example, some students may purposely avoid making long-term plans about their future because of external factors such as social, economic, political and competitive issues (King & Madsen, 2007).

Counsell (1999) conducted a research study using a sample of Ethiopian careerists who were full-time employees and based in their home country, Ethiopia. The main aim of Counsell's research was examining factors that may potentially influence career decision-making and thought processes. The overall findings of the study suggested that the participants had an external locus of control and considered that there were multiple external factors that impact a person's career and career decision making process. More precisely, the highly cited external factors of the Ethiopian participants' influence on careers in Counsell's study were both economic and political considerations, prior work experiences and individuals' key influences (i.e., their contextual factors). Specifically, these particular individuals were inclined in not taking the 'planful' career decision making approach (Dinklage, 1967) as a result of these external contextual factors that frequently dictated their future prospects. Thus, alternative approaches to career decision-making that are more culturally suitable are required (Priyadharshini et al. 2018).

Consequentially, Watson and Stead (2002) argued for a framework that could be further inclusive and could integrate certain environmental factors. Within their work with Black South African students, they stated that "indeed South Africans are faced with unpredictable contextual factors that often negate the conceptualization of linear individual career development" (Watson & Stead, 2002 pp. 28). As a consequent of the unpredictability in South Africa post-apartheid, most graduates believe to have limited opportunities related to their occupational and work choices (Badat, 2010). Additionally, Watson and Stead (2002) asserted that the career development theories from the Westernised world are based on individualism that consists of constrained applicability and likewise undermine contextual factors and the specific African traditions, for instance, family unity and community. Moreover, the study that was conducted by Stead (1996) with Black South African students suggested that a developmental-contextual perspective for this particular population was crucial because issues of community, family and culture are dominant in the majority of African societies (Kamya, 1997). Conclusively, it could be argued that professional career developers could learn more about African students by applying theoretical frameworks that emphasize on context and examine careers using a holistic perspective (Bujold, 2004; Diemer & Blustein, 2006).

South African Context Pre- and Post-1994

During the apartheid regime, tertiary-level education and its quality had been regulated for white students while for Indian and coloureds and African students were almost excluded from the skilled occupations (Macquarrie, 1960). Inequality and prejudice have divided the

South African society and higher education system for many years. Majority of the population in this country reside in third-world context in comparison to the first-world context that minority of the population are part of (Watson, 2010). The apartheid legacy of oppression and social inequality caused limitations in vocational choices for majority of black people. Therefore, if this is not acknowledged, then majority of black South Africans career development cannot be sufficiently contextualised (Naidoo, Pretorius & Nicolas, 2010). The apartheid system enforced both economic and social regulations that established social and political privileges for the minority white population (Theron et al. 2011).

In the South African history, black people struggled the most in educational disadvantages in contrast to white, coloured and Indian South Africans (Mabokela, 2001). Therefore, education was considered one of the multiple issues of South African society that assisted in the dissemination of the segregationist ideologies of the apartheid government. The hierarchical structures have caused not only separation but also the unequal developmental opportunities of various racial groups (Theron et al., 2011). The South African government formulated particular occupational privileges for specific racial groups, where black people were demoted to working in lower skilled and low paid occupations. There were socio-political changes post-apartheid that made an effort of addressing the historical inequalities through the implementation of policy developments (Salisbury, 2016). For instance, the development of the Growth, Employment and Redistribution policy (GEAR) aimed at improving the rate of growth of the economy in order to create sufficient employment opportunities for the South African population.

In South Africa, a family, in its various forms, also illustrates changing and evolving characteristics. Additionally, South Africa's apartheid and colonial history affected the conventional structure and tradition of the family. Since South Africa is a multi-racial society, it supports the diverse forms of the family depending on ethnical and also racial groups. The post-apartheid transformation to democracy in 1994, resulted in the formulation of specific socio-economic policies that have consequentially also affected the family compositions that triggered structural changes (Amoateng & Heaton, 2012). As a result of family role differing across cultures, it is essential to consider how family influence is interrelated to several career constructs in diversified cultural groups.

The underlying assumption of the intersectionality theory is that individuals are usually disadvantaged by multiple sources of oppression which may include their gender, class, age

and culture in mentioning a few (Crenshaw, 2017). The social and cultural influences pertain to various interpersonal resources such as community and family contexts which can either hinder or facilitate career decision making. In this context, the term 'influence' is an impartial term that offers opportunities to participants to align either negative or positive reasonings to their own career influences (McMahon, 2005). These aligned reasonings were explored in determining how each socio-cultural factor could comprise either barriers or enablers which also indicate the interrelationship between these factors that allow an individual the chance to describe their own career development experience (McMahon, 2005).

Therefore, this present study focuses on students from the Xhosa ethnic population. This specific ethnical group is regarded as the second largest black ethnic language and group amongst the collective communities in South Africa (Banda & Peck, 2016). There is no literature on Xhosa graduates' perceptions of their extended family influence in their career development process. Thus, this study explored the opinions of black Xhosa-speaking graduates for the purpose of them stipulating their lived experiences navigating through the spill over effects of apartheid legacy. The importance of extended family to Xhosa individuals is the provision of self-determination and empowerment they instil in an individual from a young age. The family encourages the individual to have a sense of belonging and also provides a strong support system that parents can rely on to reinforce various disciplinary aspects in the development of an individual (Mokomane, 2012). While there have been noticeable changes that have been made in both theory and practice, the concept of cultural diversity still remains a subtle perception that is divided from the real career counselling situations notably in a country like South Africa (Maree, 2010; 2012). Acquiring awareness of both cultural and social career influences could be assisting in the creation of counselling techniques that are culturally sensitive in respecting the individuals' needs of the Xhosa-speaking students. Hence, this exploratory study, presented three broad areas outlined below namely, research aim, research question and dissertation structure, was conducted to gain a deeper understanding that could potentially shift what is already recognised to influence career decision making.

Research Aim

The aim of this research was to gain a deep understanding of family responsibilities, as a form of socio-cultural influence, on career decision making of Xhosa speaking graduates.

Research Question

How would Xhosa speaking graduates describe the role of family on their career development decisions?

Dissertation Structure

This dissertation consists of five chapters. Chapter one provides the introduction of the research topic and the related literature pertaining to the problem statement that is followed by the research aim and question. It further provides South Africa's history, pre- and post-1994, in relation to career choices for black people. Chapter two presents a review of literature that is associated with the role of family influences on black adolescents' career decisions and explains intersectionality as a theoretical framework. Chapter three provides a description of the method used in this study to explore the research question. It consists of research design, the study's paradigm, sampling and the data collection procedure, analysis of the data, rigor, ethical considerations, and reflexivity. Chapter four presents the reporting of findings and their discussion. Lastly, chapter five provides a summary of the research, study limitations, and recommendation for future research.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

The process of having to choose a suitable career can be an overwhelming experience for most students because of the multiple factors they need to consider prior to making a career decision. The various individual and contextual factors such as cultural, societal and environmental, can either support or cause a barrier to students' career development. This study is particularly interested in the influence of family, as well as other contextual influences that impact Xhosa-speaking graduates' career decisions.

This chapter reviews the literature that is relevant to this study, while also identifying areas that require further exploration. It is organised into four sections and begins with the definition of career development and exploration of the evolution of career development theories and the critiques and limitations of the Euro-American models. It further discusses the socio-cultural factors that impact the career development of graduates in the South African context. The last part deals with the overall summary of literature and the theoretical framework as applied in this study.

Method used to search for Literature

A database search on social cultural factors (specifically family) and their relation to career development of graduates was conducted. In identifying literature relevant to career

development and to extended families, several procedures were utilised. Multiple databases were searched. These included EBSCOhost (Academic Search Premier, Business Source Premier, Emerald, Masterfile Premier, Humanities International Complete and PsycInfo) as well as JSTOR and Google Scholar. Within these databases, a Boolean keyword search strategy was conducted using a combination of the following keywords: “extended family OR kinship”, “family”, career development and contextual factors, career development and South African context, family and career development. The primary literature search was conducted from March 2020 until June 2020. Thereafter, there were monthly follow-up searches conducted for the purpose of obtaining additional academic journals and books that matched or contained information related to the searched keywords. Moreover, from the relevant articles included in the study, the reference lists of those articles were examined to identify further relevant articles. A total of 204 articles were identified through the searches and were applied in this study.

Career Development

Watts (2006) defines career development as the constant process that an individual experiences in choosing a preferred career. This process is experienced through the application of continuous learning, acquisition of additional skills and through decision-making which ultimately draws a person closer to their ideal career (Watts, 2006).

The Evolution of Career Development

The traditional approach to career development in the past was able to predict the working environment by applying the person-environment fit or matching paradigm and the idea of preparing individuals for a suitable and sustainable career paths served their useful purpose. In the present day, however, people are required to advise and construct themselves with the assistance of career counsellors. Following the approach of finding the optimal ‘fit’ between a person and their environment using the trait factory theory, in isolation is no longer sufficient. There has been a growth in realisation that objective psychometric testing usually fails in adequately assessing subjective career counselling experiences. Furthermore, people evolve and change constantly over a period of time and their interests tend to change as well, which results in their profiles changing making them unreliable profiles (Nauta, 2010; Savickas et al., 2009). Thus, constructing career choices on such profiles could lead to career disappointments in both younger and older people (Borchard, 1995).

The transformations in the concept of work and career have caused a shift from an industrial period to a postmodern period where concepts of career guidance practices also

require to be altered which include both career counselling and education practices (Maree, 2010; Vondracek et al., 1986). Models of modernism were criticised because of their continual focus on trying to explain an increasing group of diverse individuals by applying one model, particularly pertaining to multiculturalism (Watson et al., 1995). This criticism led to the formulation of the postmodern thinking. Postmodern consideration places understanding within social and cultural context of subjective experiences of career development (Maree, 2010). Additionally, the postmodern perspective does neither create nor believe that there is one fixed truth and that knowledge is derived from nothing but rather it is collectively constituted through various forms of dialogue and that people construct their own reality and truth. The postmodernism embraces the variation of local narratives that consider contextual factors. The multicultural perspectives state that multiculturalism suggests that cultural identity of both ethnic and national minorities requires recognition (Freedman & Combs, 1996).

Numerous authors have suggested that career counselling requires the approach from perspectives that highlight location and meaning together (Brott, 2004; McMahon & Patton, 2002). South Africa, in particular, requires a postmodern perspective to be applied because of its socio-cultural diversity where the country consists black, white, indian and asian populations that all uphold diverse cultural identities and beliefs. South Africa is regarded as the third most diversified country in the world with the country having nine different spoken languages and multiple racial ethnicities (Cocks et al., 2012). As a result of the diversity in the South African population, it is crucial to form an understanding of how both language and cultural differences form a large influence on the subjective experiences of students' career development. This is particularly true as applying the postmodern approach can assist in understanding different contexts and systems.

Career Development in the South African Context

The post-apartheid socio-political changes attempted to address the historical inequalities that occurred through developing policies which removed occupational restrictions for black students (Salisbury, 2016). However, the developmental task of having to choose a career remains formally unassisted for multiple students (Akhurst & Mkhize, 2006). The traditional career options for black students were restricted to social work, nursing, office work and teaching which reflected the interaction between apartheid restrictions and cultural customs (Maesala 1994; Watson et al.2010). In this study, the voices of graduate students' who are potentially struggling to emerge from the effects of the apartheid legacy are presented, with the

primary focus on the family influences that form their navigation through newly available career opportunities.

The impact that family members, parents and socio-cultural factors have on students' career decisions are mostly unrecognised by the trait and factor approaches (i.e., Holland, 1997; Stead, 2004). In addition, Super's (Super, 1980) developmental stages may inadequately signify the career development directions and the context of some of the disadvantaged black students, who hardly have opportunities to explore and the option of trying out the jobs of their preference. This has consequently resulted in low career maturity levels that have been recorded in multiple studies (De Bruin & Bernard-Phera 2002; Van Niekerk & Van Daalen 1991; Watson et al. 1995). The role salience construct has been called into question with the realisation that the meaning of work is interpreted through diverse cultural viewpoints (Ferrari et al., 2009). Moreover, the Social Cognitive Career Theory (SCCT) has strived in placing the individual in-context as the primary product and producer of their own environment (Alexander et al. 2010; Bandura, 1986). Precisely, within the social level, both social persuasion and vicarious learning have been suggested to shape an individual's career self-efficacy beliefs (Lent et al., 2002). Although there have been significant improvements in career development theory and practice, their relevance remains limited to career counselling in diverse developing country contexts such as South Africa (Maree 2010; Maree, 2012).

Most of the career development theorists have put an emphasis on models that distillate on individual decision-making processes, which implies that people make career choices considering solely individual factors (Peter et al., 1991; Stead & Watson, 2006). Stead and Watson (2006) asserted that from the various career decision models, little is mentioned about the impact of contextual and environmental issues. In addition, Amundson (1995) and Vondracek et al. (1986) contend that both political and socio-cultural factors are pivotal in a person's career choice. These socio-cultural and political factors include family structures, cultural identities, ethnic beliefs and labour laws. Despite the growth in influence of the western culture, Xhosa people still practice their traditional and cultural customs (Mhlongo, 2008). These customs and rituals are associated with birth, initiation towards adulthood or 'coming of age', betrothal, marriage and death. Every cultural group has their own traditional norms, values and rituals that make them unique to other cultures.

The Xhosa culture is predominantly characterised by its unique collectivism beliefs that are enforced on a child from a young age (Kamwangamalu, 1999). These collectivism beliefs

stem from the understanding of the concept of ubuntu. Ubuntu is a widely used African proverb, when applied in the Xhosa culture it means 'I am because we are' (Kamwangamalu, 1999). This means that a person's sense of self is shaped by their relationships with other people. This is a way of living which begins with the idea that 'I am' only because 'we are' (Kamwangamalu, 1999). In every household, the teachings of the concept of ubuntu have been primarily passed down and emphasised by several family members for the purpose of making children understand the importance of togetherness (Kamwangamalu, 1999). In the Xhosa culture, an individual's parents do not only consist of the biological mother and father, but includes extended family members.

Intersectionality as an Analytical Framework

The work of (Crenshaw, 1991) was primarily focused on illustrating that feminism and black women's experiences were overlooked mainly because feminism was based on historical and cultural experiences of middle-and upper-class heterosexual white women (Cho et al., 2013). The specific issues pertaining to class, migration, race and ableism were ignored because they were regarded as personal and political (Hancock, 2016). Thus, intersectionality intended on broadening this scope by recognising that people negotiate their status as part of the various divisions of society they belong to and therefore "conceptualise the self as a matrix, a complex, shifting and interconnected series of strands" (Distiller & Steyn, 2004, p.4).

The intersectional identities this study specifically focused on were class, culture, gender and family. Martin (2004) and Stead (2013) referred to gender as the roles and responsibilities of both men and women that have been created by our culture, our family members and by our societies. Gender roles and expectations are regarded as learned behaviours which can change over a period of time and may vary within and between diverse cultures. Therefore, this study sought to determine how a family's gender expectations of both men and women has affected the career progression of Xhosa speaking graduates. Thus, the purpose of focusing on gender and culture was steered by the fact that within the Xhosa culture, patriarchy still exists (Albien & Naidoo, 2016). Within some Xhosa cultures, family members still hold onto the gender ideologies that may influence how students regard their familial responsibilities as either barriers or enablers in their career development prospects. The majority of the population in South Africa come from a low socio-economic class status. Poverty has resulted in limited resources and occupational choices for many students which in turn has impacted their opportunities to further their education.

In supporting the rationale of this study, intersectionality is used as a theoretical framework because it considers individual experiences within larger social contexts. This is achieved by emphasising how several intersections can structure and influence people's everyday experiences (Rice et al., 2019). Although this theory was initially devised by black feminist and race scholars in the 1980s, it has since expanded in accentuating the multiple features of power and differences that affect individuals' positionalities (Collins, 2000). Particularly, an individual's lived experiences cannot be condensed to a specific characteristic. This means that lived experiences evolve and change over time, and within diverse contexts, an individual can encounter systems of privilege (social advantage) and oppression (social disadvantages) simultaneously (McCall, 2005).

The application of intersectionality provides a comprehensive and nuanced interpretation of context and significantly, it can be used to consider how multiple factors intersect each other to influence individual's behaviour and decision-making process (Hankivsky, 2014). When taking consideration for the different intersections of individuals' lived experiences, it potentially causes an increase to the effectiveness and generalisation of interventions and can increase their sociological dependability (Bilge, 2013). These intersecting social categories, they also intersect with structures and systems of power (e.g., ageism, sexism, racism and ableism) which affect decision-making capabilities.

With South Africa's history of colonialism and apartheid, and the structural inequalities along class and gender that persist, intersectionality offers this study an analytical framework to further deeply understand how aspects of Xhosa speaking graduates' socio-cultural identities, specifically relating to family, create diverse career development experiences. In this way, this study moved beyond essentialising race and a homogenous view of blackness in South Africa, to a more careful exploration of the diversity of class, culture, family and gender and how they intersect with each other in this context (Distiller & Steyn, 2004). Conclusively, an intersectional lens was thus adopted in this study because Xhosa speaking graduates' socio-cultural identities in a post-colonial and post-apartheid South African context may inform their personal lives, perceptions and their career decisions. This can be determined by understanding that each person's, gender, social status, family and culture are dynamic and cannot be individually prioritised but each social category should be understood collectively (Crenshaw, 2017).

The Barriers in the South African Education System

Students come from various family backgrounds. The diverse family backgrounds that each student comes from, may pose some barriers in their education which may affect their career development opportunities (Lent et al., 2000). These barriers include the absences of parental support, types of role modelling, poverty and the environmental and contextual effects of the educational system. Watson (2010) asserted that there is a lack of leadership, role models, funding and career resources for black South African students.

Class. For majority of black South Africans, poverty in their experience has been a barrier in relation to income inequality, occupational deprivation and social security and has decreased the opportunities of students in furthering their education (Ashman et al., 2011). Poverty has limited the number of resources that students have access to in becoming successful in their schooling, and has also decreased their physical health which impacts their ability to concentrate with reduced attentiveness, motivation and curiosity (Ashman et al., 2011). One of the major effects of poverty in South Africa is that most students that are poor enter university with this readiness gap and it increases as they grow older. Poverty has resulted in students feeling estranged from their society, experience insecurities due to their socioeconomic status with consequential fears of their poverty rendering them enduring feelings of powerlessness (Claro & Paunesku, 2016). Students that originate from lower-income families are more likely to have lower test scores and a higher risk of dropping out of school as compared to students from wealthier backgrounds (Claro & Paunesku, 2016). Moreover, students from lower-income families are less probable in attending tertiary education than students from higher-income families. For some students, the effects of poverty on education have offered unique challenges in breaking the generational poverty cycle and the reduction of their chances of pursuing fulfilling and productive lives (Claro & Paunesku, 2016).

In addition, financial constraints are another factor which perceptibly impacts how an individual may perceive their possibility of persuading university education (Jones & Palmer, 2004). An example is the pressure that some students from low-income families have in leaving school and contributing financial aid to their family's is a significant consideration. Pre-entering university depends not solely on financial resources but also on family background, prior schooling or learning and the skills and competencies that each student has (Jones & Palmer, 2004).

The South African Department of Health in 2003 had reported that the Eastern Cape region had the worst socioeconomic and health indicators in the entire country. About 25% of the population in this province were unemployed and three quarters were living in poverty (Eastern Cape Development Corporation, 2008). South African students that descend from families that experience limited economic resources and low levels of parental education, are less likely to enroll in university and when they have entered university are more likely to drop out (Watson, 2010). An additional contributing factor that impacts a student's economic resources is the lack of parental presence that could be caused by parents relocating to find employment, abandonment, drugs or alcohol consumption (Ardington & Leibbrandt, 2010).

Consequential to parental absence, several elderly grandparents and extended family members are raising children who are not biologically theirs. Some extended families could be experiencing difficulties caring and aiding for themselves economically and also need to currently consider the additional financial burden of taking care of their family member's children (Ardington & Leibbrandt, 2010). For some black South African students, they experience difficulty in financing the education required for high status occupations. Watson et al. (2010) conducted a study on black South African students' occupational aspirations. The reported results from the study indicated the more than 80% of the black South African students that partook in the study reported having high status occupation as their aspired career. These high-status careers included students becoming lawyers, doctors and engineers. About less than 2% of the participants in the study were interested in unskilled, skilled and semiskilled occupations (Watson et al., 2010). Watson et al. (2010) reported that the labour market trend in the Eastern Cape province, where majority of Xhosa people reside, indicated that 7.88% of the population were employed in careers that were regarded as profession, whereas the rest of the population were employed in semiskilled and unskilled occupations. Therefore, these career aspirations could be regarded as unreasonable (Watson et al., 2010).

Role modelling. Role models can contribute a significant influence on a students' self-efficacy which can impact their career development. This is particularly true because there is a strong connection between a student's self-efficacy beliefs, social environment and their career development (Buthelezi et al., 2009). Although role modelling in the homes of most students in South Africa contribute positive effects on the student, peer groups within the community may often contribute negative effects on students' self-efficacy (Buthelezi et al., 2009). In South Africa, Buthelezi et al. (2009) reported that peer groups frequently dislike students who possess aspirations of succeeding. In some disadvantaged communities in South Africa, there

are adults who often spend their time in street corners attempting to mislead many students in emphasizing that there is no successful future for them. Additionally, the adverse adult attitudes could contribute to student's low self-efficacy (Buthelezi et al., 2009). The students that come from disadvantaged families are usually exposed to challenging issues such as quitting school, teenage pregnancy and suicide. These students may experience despair on their education and may result in pursuing a career because of their low self-efficacy (Buthelezi et al., 2009).

There is a significant body of literature on role modelling that directs its attention to its position in aspiring specialists or professionals in the disciplines of health sciences such as physicians and doctors (Makoe, 2006; Wright et al., 1997). Horn (2011) conducted a study that primarily focused on women's interests in pursuing a career in the areas of science and mathematics. In addition to this study, majority of the primary literature in career psychology has a tendency on focusing on the importance of role models in information sharing on behaviour and on role modelling as various sources of providing support through mentorships (Bandura, 1989). Regardless of the importance that has been assigned to mentorship and information sharing, even from a distance, role models that may not be necessarily engaging with students directly and in a personal level, are still regarded as providing significant career resources in the lives of young students because they formulate opportunities for students to envision their own dreams (Mashabane, 2016). Therefore, role modelling in this study is explored as a possible contributor to students' career development decisions.

Although many students are surrounded by multiple potential role models, parents are generally perceived as being the most influential role models to students (McLean, 2004a; McLean, 2004b). It has been proposed that African parents particularly, are more probable in viewing themselves as moral role models and the source of motivation and wisdom for their own children (Karunanayake & Nauta, 2004). Thus, students do not solely notice what their parents say but they also pay attention to the behaviour or actions they exhibit and they may also choose to facsimile that behaviour as they mature and grow older. For this reason, McLean (2004) has the opinion that modelling through parents and other adults is an important source of learning for many young students. However, it is crucial to note that having parents as career role models can be viewed as problematic especially for students who come from low-income families or communities because majority of these students either live in single-parent households or child-headed households where the parent(s) could be unemployed or even uneducated (Albien, 2013; Chuong & Operario, 2012).

Albien (2013) discovered that parents that are employed commonly are working in blue collar occupations. Blue collar occupations are jobs that are performed manually and where employees are compensated by an hourly wage. These workers can be skilled or unskilled labourers and fall in the field category of construction, mining manufacturing and maintenance (Trice & Knapp, 2013). This could potentially complicate the process of regarding or identifying a parent as a career role model. Additionally, to the abovementioned, Weinger (1998) affirmed that students who originate from poor background, have limited career aspirations as a result of them acquiring inadequate knowledge related to available careers from their immediate environment (their communities and their homes). Conversely, Janeiro (2010) divulged that students who come from higher socio-economic backgrounds had greater knowledge about various career options which could have been the result of their parent's knowledge of the available careers and because of their living environment, where there are noticeable professionals in a variety of careers to revere. Thus, Watson (2010) emphasised the importance of having role models from both communities of advantaged and disadvantaged areas to assist students in overcoming any historical or current negative influences from their communities with the effort of enhancing their self-efficacy. The general population of South Africa requires additional role models mostly in disadvantaged areas (Watson, 2010).

A Review of Literature on Family and Career Development through an Intersectional Lens

Family as a Neglected Socio-Cultural Factor in Career Development

Family and Culture. One of the contributing influences on student's career development are their cultural values. The type of cultural values and beliefs that are imparted in an individual are centered on their upbringing which are sequentially based on cultural ideologies (Haviland, 1996). All cultures are characteristically unique and diverse. Some cultures can be classified further by collectivism while others more by individualism (Westwood & Ishiyama, 1991 cited in Amundson, 1995). The Western cultures can be described by their adherence to the tenets of individualism and independence. People, therefore, within these cultures usually strive towards making independent decisions that focus on individual progress and high personal achievement. The people from these cultures additionally tend towards making individual decisions with regards to some of their life events such as choosing and pursuing a specific career. The other cultures such as African and Eastern cultures, follow the belief of collective engagement in both simple and complex decision, which may include the career which an individual could pursue (Mhlongo & O'Neil, 2013).

For this reason, in such cultures, it is suggested that the process of making a career choice is viewed as an inclusive process that is a manifestation of the collective family and it can solely be deliberated based on the collective needs and desires of the family in which the individual is part of (Westwood & Ishiyama, 1991).

In South Africa, the culture of black people accentuates the importance of community cohesion (Mboya, 1999). The significance of putting value on community cohesion is for the purpose of ensuring that families within a community function and grow together in a harmonious environment without having conflicting interests. Indeed, Magubane (2017) stated that Africans are characterized by their deeply profound beliefs in collectivism. In collective communities, where the extended family is prevalent, demands that arise from extended family members can shape the career choices of individuals (Booyesen, 2007). Every member is expected to care for and share their resources, hopes and aspirations of one another for the benefit of themselves and of the larger society (Utsey et al. 2007). These may include providing financial support for one's children, retired parents, and the extended family members (Utsey et al., 2007). Individuals that are earning an income are usually expected to send money regularly to assist in the education and welfare of non-working members of their family (Magubane, 2017). Essentially, the extended family system provides social security for every member of the family in need of care and support at all stages of their life.

One of the collectivism beliefs practiced within the African people is Ubuntu. This concept of 'ubuntu' embrace the important belief that in order to survive, people need to assist and cooperate with one another for the benefit of the whole group or community (Bujo, 2009). Therefore, how Xhosa students have experienced the role that their culture has contributed in their career development is of importance to this research. This is regarded as a significant factor whether or not the students in this study were mindful of this prior to their interviewing. Moreover, it is suitable to explore the perceptions of students about their personal family influences including family expectations and involvement in their career development in relation to collectivism and individualism (Bujo, 2009).

In most black South African cultures, it can be commonly believed that structures of the nuclear and extended family, support and encourage the beliefs of collectivism (Nzimande, 1996). The collectivism beliefs conveyed by family members do not essentially mean that within a specific household, there are several people residing, rather it demonstrates the importance of family members supporting one another and being there for each other.

Therefore, it is probable that the families of these Xhosa-speaking graduates who originate from urban, suburban, semirural or rural societies are described by their different family structures. Some of these students originate from nuclear families, others from extended families but this study postulates that majority of these students will, to some extent, subscribe to collectivism beliefs and values (Nzimande, 1996; Ziehl, 2002).

It is suggested that the experiences of young students in relation to their career development is influenced by cultural factors (Urban et al. 2007). The cultures that believe in collectivism value the idea and practice of interdependence, in which the idea of family demands or obligations is likely predominant. Urban et al. (2007, p10) asserted that “students with a stronger interdependent self-construal report greater investment in school than do students with a more independent self-construal”. The students that regard themselves as having family demands or responsibilities usually apply their talents back into their collective systems because they feel obligated to their family members (Urban et al., 2007). Thus, such students are likely to make career choices that are based on their family needs. In addition, they could also feel that they are indebted to their family and extended family who have sacrificed in providing them opportunities to further their academics (Urban et al., 2007). Conversely, in individualist contexts, this also can be the case of them feeling as though they should show appreciation to their families for their guidance and support. Moreover, the students holding onto collectivism values could feel more indebted to their families because of their understanding of ubuntu and sense of duty rather than just showing a sense of appreciation for the family. This current study is following the perspective that was proposed by Stead (2004) that is more appropriate to determine the influences of culture on career choices instead of solely attempting to determine and describe the nature of a participant’s culture.

Family Expectations that are Socialised to Students. The family members in a household set roles and expectations of their children in relation to their health, social status, gender and their birth-order. These roles and expectations cause an impact on how people come to view themselves (Bradley & Mims, 1992; Ojeda & Flores, 2008). Moreover, the specific roles that people undertake in their families and within their societies can influence the formulation of their career identity or career decision-making perceptions (Amundson, 1995). Thus, (Peterson et al., 1986; Vondracek et al., 1986) indicate that there is a likelihood that a person could choose to follow a career path that is aligned with the type of judgement they receive from their family members regarding their personality and personal characteristics. In literature, the types of family roles that have been documented include among others, the eldest

child in a family assuming greater responsibility in their family household. For this reason, he or she may be more persuaded in pursuing a career path which could be characterised by responsibility and authority. The specific role that a person contributes within their family could ultimately foster into a decision to pursue a certain career (Bradley & Mims, 1992). This process forces students into incorporating their personal goals with their family's expectations (Amundson, 1995).

Ozdemir and Hacifazlioglu (2008) contended that family factors such as expectations of family members do influence career decisions, however, these influences generally happen in a wider context of both entrepreneurial and employment career opportunities. In the previous section, as mentioned, the family of an individual could persuade a student in selecting a career that has substantial occupational opportunities since the family expects the student to obtain the necessary skills and expertise in improving the family's current living conditions. An additional family expectation could be for a student to further their studies and to perform well academically for the purpose of becoming a potential role model for others (Robbins et al. 2003). However, this expectation may disregard a student's lived reality. The family members may proceed in upholding high expectations regardless of the possible challenges the student could be experiencing while in university (Fook & Sidhu, 2015). These possible challenges include the strain of living self-sufficiently, the management of their present resources and having to be responsible for one's behaviour and academic performance (Fook & Sidhu, 2015).

In addition to these challenges, the family of these students may not be fully cognisant that every student pursuing a tertiary education experiences major changes in the cultural environment. Cruickshank (2007) proclaimed that originating from the African standpoint, where the beliefs, values, practices and perceptions are mainly African-centred, Xhosa-speaking students could have encountered challenges prior to, during and after completion of their degrees due to the procedures that majority of the South African universities follow which are profoundly Westernised. The environments of South African universities generally display Westernised customs, values and perceptions. This includes the curriculum that is applied in the learning material that is based on the westernised ideologies (Cruickshank, 2007; Sennett et al., 2003). For instance, this could embrace the expectation that every student should work autonomously rather than collectively.

The family and parental expectations may apply intense pressure on a student since they have the overwhelming task of having to adjust to a diverse environment that has been

illustrated above. This adjustment involves having to comprehend the moralities of the new environment while thoroughly working towards obtaining the family expectations (Whiston & Keller, 2004). For instance, when a student enters university and they perform well for a few years but end up failing in their final year, they may encounter serious interrogations and be cross-examined by family members on their sudden decline in their performance. The family's and parental beliefs about their own children's levels of intellect may possibly impact a student's career development (Furnham, Mkhize & Mndaweni, 2004). This is particularly true because parents convey their values and beliefs to their children, in which children normally assume these beliefs and this has proven to contribute significant repercussions for children's development, enthusiasm and academic accomplishment (Furnham et al., 2004).

Family's Social Class. Although students are progressively becoming independent from their parents and families in their secondary and tertiary years of schooling, they tend to consult with their parents on career development (Trusty, Watts & Crawford, 1996). Parents that live with their children in disadvantaged communities which can be either rural or township communities are normally characterised by low income, mostly with unemployed parents, inadequate educational facilities and resources and the lack of any form of career centres that have career counsellors in the schools (Trusty et al., 1996).

DeRidder (1990) argues that parents that have low educational levels (primary or secondary) can affect students career development. "Being born of parents with limited education and income reduces the likelihood of going to college or achieving a professional occupational goal and essentially predetermines the child's likely vocational choice" (DeRidder, 1990, p23). The income that parents earn can impact the career development of students especially female students in South Africa (Mortimer et al., 1992). The reason for this is that parents and families that have limited economic resources have a tendency to direct them to males of the family and then tend to encourage daughters in the family to further their education. Additionally, working class parents or low-income earner parents may hold values that put females in the homemaker role and can reflect little emphasis on occupational preparation (Maree & Beck, 2004). Given the nature of this, it is comprehensible that the self-efficacy of females with regard to their career opportunities is interlinked to the economic support they can expect to receive from their parents (Turner & Lapan, 2002).

Families that are normally headed by elderly women or older siblings of younger children are usually unable to meet the developmental and welfare needs of the younger

children (Makiwane & Gumede, 2017). Siblings who live in households that do not have adults in them have raised concerns of not being able to adequately play the crucial role of caregivers for their younger siblings. This has resulted in the neglect of children's needs and the misuse of resources that are meant to support the wellbeing of children. Traditionally, within developing countries, the elderly people are primarily supported by their extended families in addition to the informal methods that include government pensions, larger kinship network and mutual aid societies (Schreuder & Coetzee, 2006). This sense of dependability has been instilled in multiple individuals mostly in the African region as practicing the concept of Ubuntu by lending a helping hand to family members that need it. The responsibility of having to support one's family can cause strain to students when it comes to their career exploration. This is particularly true because students that have to consider both their personal as well as their family's needs, tend to struggle choosing a preferred career (Austin, 2002). Azmat et al. (2013) asserted that such students are likely to choose a career that both caters for their personal aspirations and their family's needs. This is conferred in (Chetty, 2014) study that illustrated that the deeply imparted values of collectivism of black South African students shaped their career choices because majority of students considered careers that would provide them financial stability.

Although students become progressively independent from their parents and families in their secondary and tertiary years of schooling, they tend to consult with their parents about their career development (Trusty et al., 1996). Parents that live with their children in disadvantaged communities which can be either rural or township communities are normally characterised by low income, unemployed parents, inadequate educational facilities and resources and the lack of forms of career centres that have career counsellors in the schools (Maree & Beck, 2004). These conditions are the result of the socio-political practices that existed during the Apartheid system and it is considered that these conditions are not conducive to both the education and career development of young students (Brown & Brooks, 1985; Gordon & Meyer, 2002). These specific socio-political practices included the public policies of having only white people territories and the educational restrictions that were applied for non-white populations. Penick and Jepsen (1992) argue that students that are from families that are enmeshed may encounter some difficulty in mastering career development tasks because they are unable to clearly differentiate their own personal goals from their parent's goals and expectations. Students that are from disengaged families may lack family interaction and

support that results in limits to self-knowledge and task orientation that interferes with mastering career development tasks (Sang & Ji, 2006).

Gender Role Stereotypes in Career Decision Making. Existing literature on gender in career decision making does indicate that gender stereotypes contribute a role in students career choices (Olsson & Martiny, 2018; Powell et al., 2012; Zhang et al. 2009). Even prior to commencing into tertiary level education, in high school, students have gender stereotyped perception of careers that should be pursued by both women and men (Gupta et al. 2018). Thus, both Ramaci et al. (2017) and Hübner et al. (2017) found that men are normally interested in professions that are more realistic which include business and science, while women are more inclined to social and artistic careers such as nursing and teaching. Despite this, females may consider both female and male dominated occupations, while males mostly consider male dominated occupations (Shapiro et al., 2012). This is coherent with the evidence found in (Vleuten, et al., 2016) that gender expectations are stricter for males far greater than for females and that the more traditional the gender ideology of a male, the higher the chances of him pursuing a traditional occupation, even though this might not be the case for some female students (Vleuten et al., 2016).

Culture gender beliefs could be biasing the competency beliefs of both male and female students, which consequently influences their overall perception of their abilities and career choices. Ramaci et al., (2017) and Vleuten et al. (2016) found that male students are more influenced by future earnings, power and how much impact or influence a job has than female students who are more interested in helping other people. In addition, a parent's occupation is also an influential determinant in career choices for most male students (Ramaci et al., 2017). In South Africa, historically, most women had to fulfil their traditional societal expectations of being wives and homemakers for their families prior to them being viewed as career women. (Kiaye & Singh, 2013; Smith & Nkomo, 2003). A study conducted by Adya and Kaiser (2013) asserted that females who chose to pursue a career in information technology (IT) have been perceived in coming from families where parents were highly educated. The degree of influence that parents with degrees have in actuality allows the family unit to choose non-traditional careers where success is highly regarded or valued (Adya & Kaiser, 2013).

Consequentially, an individual's culture can concurrently create boundaries and limits that protect components of that specific cultural or group identity. Betz (2008) pointed out the cooperative role that cultural factors play in career choice of which gender socialisation was

an example. Family members express gender socialisation to their children by teaching them how men and women are expected to behave (Michie & Nelson, 2006). Gender socialization can be transmitted to person intentional or unintentional. This could be because the family may not be conscious of the messages they convey, but these messages nonetheless contribute to a person's socialization (Michie & Nelson, 2006). Students learn continuously from the environment that parents and family members create, including gender norms. Therefore, gender differences may have an impact on the career decision process of an individual, where in the patriarchal African culture, a male is expected to be the breadwinner. The term 'breadwinner' can be described as the extent in which a man is able to provide financial support for his family (Broomhill & Sharp, 2005). Thus, a good breadwinner was seen as "a man whose wife does not have to enter the labour force" (Broomhill & Sharp, 2005, p105). This description accentuates the interpersonal nature suggested in the term 'breadwinning'. Particularly, the breadwinner status of a man affects his wife's financial contribution to the family.

Since breadwinning could be understood as one's ability to financially contribute to their partner or spouse's lives, it could be theorised as a microstructure that was formed by the economical associations between both the wife and husband of a household (Michie & Nelson, 2006). For example, a child who grows up in a two-parent household with a mother who acts as a homemaker and a father who acts as the breadwinner may internalize these gender roles, regardless of whether or not the family is directly teaching them. A family structure has proven to influence the type of gender role or expectation a male or female student has of their career aspirations (Hirschman, 2016). For instance, a female child is usually expected to serve within the household and is taught to not aspire creativity nor leadership roles. This is another illustration of the types of gender role expectations that family members relay to their children (Hirschman, 2016). This could potentially lead to an individual limiting their own career aspirations (Amundson, 1995). The various role a person contributes in their family can eventually manifest into a decision to pursue a specific occupation (Bradley & Mims, 1992). This whole process forces students in combining both their aspirations with their family expectations (Amundson, 1995).

Mutekwe and Modiba (2011) conducted a study that strived in exploring the factors that impacted female students' career choices and aspirations within Zimbabwean schools. The study applied a qualitative approach and used focus group interviews with a specific focus on both convenient and purposive sample size of 20 high school girls. Data were analysed through content analysis as emerging key issues led to themes that guided the analysis and discussion.

The study revealed that career choices and aspirations for girls were influenced by a whole range of factors, of which most notable are gender role socialization, parental expectations, teacher attitudes, the gender-typing of school subjects studied as well as the gendered occupational landscape in which they exist. The study concluded that there is a strong need for significant others, especially parents and teachers, to help females by deconstructing the gender-role stereotypes or perceptions of roles society considers appropriate for both female and male students (Mutekwe & Modiba, 2011). Mutekwe and Modiba (2011) thus recommended that female students be empowered to aspire for a chance in pursuing occupations or careers traditionally regarded as male-domains. The school curriculum, teachers, parents and older siblings need to be supportive of the need to minimize gender stereotypes in school subjects and career choices. These findings emphasize the significance of recognising the sexist attitudes toward women into account in the efforts to describe the gender differences in career choice, something which has been largely overlooked in the research to date (Mutekwe & Modiba, 2011).

Family Social Support Sources. A study conducted by Whiston and Keller (2004) determined that family factors such as family support, family relationships and family expectations and aspirations contribute a larger role on a student's career development far greater than family structural factors (i.e., the educational levels of parents, parental occupations and status of single parents) or the family background (i.e., socioeconomic status). When students perceive their parents and family members as supportive, they are likely to have higher expectations for their personal futures, progressive educational plans (McWhirter et al., 1998), far greater career assurance (Constantine et al., 2005), high career goals (Flores & O'Brien, 2002) and high educational and career self-efficacy (Gushe & Whitson, 2006). The type of social support students is exposed to has appeared as a crucial factor in their career choice process (Schlthesis et al., 2001) specifically in assisting them in surmounting barriers to executing that decision (Lent et al., 2002).

Fouad (2010) asserted that the components of family support, particularly informational support and high expectations, have been aligned with career decision self-efficacy amongst tertiary students. Moreover, students have ranked the support they have received from both their parents as superior sources of influence on their personal career expectations far greater than their educators, peer group or school counsellors (Paa & McWhirter, 2000). Kenny, Blustein, Chaves, Grossman and Gallagher (2003) and Lent, Brown and Hackett (2000)

proposed that social support could also aid an individual in overpowering the effect of both perceived and experienced barriers.

The family process factors include the perceived family support and relationship that impact a student's career development. Family members are predominately accountable for the support and provision of resources and care to students as they mature (Jones & Palmer, 2004). The family members generally provide a student with information about their lived experiences which could assist their understanding of both individual and contextual relations (Vondracek et al., 1986). This allows the student to acquire the skills to manage with occupational and other life challenges. For instance, if a student is prepared and encouraged at home to strive to achieve, the assumption can be made that they are able to incorporate their personal self-concept and the support in order to conduct suitable decisions about their career choices and behaviour. The confidence of Xhosa-speaking graduates in making career decision is ascribed to the supportive efforts from their family members, community and friends (Day & Livingstone, 2003; Wilcox et al., 2005).

Guillory and Wolverson (2008) determined that students who obtain strong inspirational and emotional support are generally inclined to endure despite facing any academic or personal challenges in the university system. The level of confidence a student has in making career decision may also be aided by them partaking in university social programs (Cruickshank, 2007). It is contended that students that are nurtured with heartening support from both family members and peer group are likely to acquire a sense of confidence in both career decisions and academic work (Murray-Harvey & Slee, 2007). This could be the case for the Xhosa-speaking graduates used in this study.

Chapter summary

This section has provided an overview of the literature pertaining to the South African educational conditions before and after 1994 as well as the context of career theory in South Africa. Additionally, this section also outlined the various career psychology theories by using past empirical studies to emphasise the critiques of these models when applied in different contexts. Moreover, the paradigm shifts to postmodern approaches and the theoretical framework were used in establishing a relationship that will aid in explaining specific socio-cultural factors influencing the career development of most South African students as reported.

CHAPTER THREE: METHOD

This chapter describes the method used in conducting this study. This section begins with the research approach. It then describes the sampling and participants, data collection procedure and data analysis. Trustworthiness and rigor are subsequently discussed as approaches in evaluating the qualitative research. Lastly, the role of reflexivity and ethical considerations are presented.

Research Approach

This study adopted a qualitative case study research approach which aimed in exploring and gaining an in-depth understanding of the familial responsibilities that impact the career progression of Xhosa-speaking graduates. Case studies are an effective research method that reveals the complexity of a phenomena and assists in understanding various factors or issues in their contexts through a thorough examination of one or more cases. Although the findings of this type of study cannot be generalised to the entire population, they however can still provide information which can be applicable within other cases (Stake, 1995). Lincoln and Guba (1985) proposed that the findings and results of a study that applies a local inductive theory can be applied in subsequent studies in formulating various hypotheses or propose specific phenomena to be examined or tested. This study aimed predominantly in providing both a description and an analysis of how Xhosa-speaking graduates perceived their familial influence on their career development prospects. It is anticipated that the findings of this study might be used in future research in guiding and developing literature on career development, while also expanding the field by providing additional insights into career development theories about the role family contributes in the career development of Xhosa speaking graduates.

This study used an exploratory qualitative research design that is situated within the interpretative paradigm. Saunders et al. (2012) asserted that the use of qualitative exploratory research is suitable in obtaining deeper understandings of issues that have little to no previous research conducted on them as well as exploring subjects that are not clearly understood, unfamiliar and ambiguous. Therefore, this design was deemed suitable in this study because firstly, it assisted in deriving information that is accurate and complete, that helped in forming an understanding of the commonalities and living experiences of Xhosa graduates. Secondly, the area under study which explores the specific role of family responsibilities that impact Xhosa graduates career choices is relatively limited or unknown. Lastly, the exploratory research design was suitable because this study aimed in addressing the research question

through collecting new data and determining if the data have any interesting patterns (Creswell & Poth, 2016).

Locating this qualitative study in the interpretative paradigm is appropriate because it allows for a greater comprehension of the meaning of extended family roles and responsibilities that influence career development of Xhosa graduates. The aim of the interpretative paradigm is to construct and make sense of how the world is viewed, understood, and experienced from the viewpoint of the participants. The interpretations derived from participants are prioritized, acknowledged and focused on rather than being used as a form for analyzing something else (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The application of this paradigm during the interview process provided an understanding of the subjective experiences of the participants (Wright & Losekoot, 2010).

Semi-structured interviews were the selected data collection method because this method aims in sufficiently exploring each participant's personal thoughts, feelings and own beliefs about a specific topic (Whiting, 2008). For this study, this method explored the topic related to the role that family responsibilities may have on the career development of Xhosa graduates.

Sampling

Only participants that had graduated from a tertiary institution were selected, so no parent or guardian consent was needed. All 14 participants were asked identical questions and the wording of questions used ensured that the responses were open-ended. This approach allowed participants to contribute as much detailed information as they desired and it gave provision for probing questions to be asked such as “how does your family feel about the level of education and educational qualifications you have”? and “is there a difference between your own personal expectations of yourself and what your family members expect from you”? (Turner, 2010). Refer to Appendix “A” for the interview guide used in this study. Not all the questions in the interview guide required the participants to provide in-depth responses, I also included questions that were closed-ended such as “are you a first born, middle child or last born?” and “are you currently furthering your studies or currently employed?”. These questions were asked for the purposes of deriving biological and demographical information about each participant. The use of both closed and open-ended questions was to derive additional socio-cultural influences that could potentially contribute to answering the research question (Williams, 2007).

Before scheduling the interviews, I established which language the participants preferred the interview to be conducted in. English and IsiXhosa were the accommodated languages since the participants were Xhosa speaking graduates. As the researcher, I allowed the participants to choose the language they preferred the interview to be conducted in, as I am fluent in both English and IsiXhosa languages. All 14 participants chose to conduct the interviews in English. This was advantageous because I would not have to translate the audio recording from IsiXhosa to English before transcribing. Prior to conducting the interviews, I conducted a pilot interview that assessed the appropriateness of the interview schedule with three individuals, or whether any additional questions were needed to be included in the interview guide to elicit additional experiences from the graduates (Barriball & While, 1994).

The feedback received from the three interviewees assisted in restructuring certain questions in the interview schedule by starting with the educational background instead of the family background. This was done for the purpose of not intimidating the participants at the beginning of the interview before establishing rapport. Having good rapport ensured better information was provided by the participants because of the trust and understanding that had been formulated between both the participants and I (Kirkevold & Bergland, 2007). I began the interview by asking questions such as “how did you choose the course you studied/are studying” and “did anyone help you choose the course you are studying/studied” “what do you enjoy the most about the course you studying/studied”? as an alternative to asking family related questions such as “does your family encourage you to further your studies or find employment”? and “how many family members do you currently reside with?”.

Participants

Qualitative research requires sampling for relevance (Flick, 2014). The sample of this study consisted of participants that form a representation of a specific target group (Polkinghorne, 2005). Therefore, both purposive and snowball sampling was used in this study for the purpose of selecting participants (Teddlie et al. 2015). I relied on the personal networks I had in locating the initial sample that met the criteria of Xhosa speaking graduates with at least a three-year undergraduate degree from an accredited institution. The purpose of this was to derive information from students who chose courses to study and actually completed them. Thereafter, using snowball sampling, I depended on the already established participants I had gathered to communicate through their own social media platforms to find additional participants. The use of purposive sampling criterion was that graduates had to self-identify as

Xhosa in relation to their culture. This type of sampling allowed for participants to be selected according to the objectives for this study related to Xhosa graduates.

Furthermore, the application of snowballing sampling made it easier to reach a population that might have been difficult to sample, in a simpler, less planned and cost-efficient manner (Faugier & Sargeant, 1997; Jawale, 2012). This sampling approach became beneficial to this study because it assisted the researcher in recruiting participants willing to partake in the study quicker than solely relying on purposive sampling (Jawale, 2012).

The use of purposive sampling ensured that there was a variation across age groups, location of the participants, occupation, gender, educational level and marital status. The total sample comprised 14 participants that were Xhosa speaking graduates that were either currently furthering their studies or employed. I stopped collecting data after the 14th interview due to reaching data saturation. Data saturation is when no additional insights are offered from the interviews (Guest et al., 2006).

Of the 14 participants, two were currently unemployed but furthering their studies, three were concurrently employed and furthering their studies and nine participants were full time employees. The gender of the participants was even, having seven female participants and seven male participants. This was done purposely in order to remain gender neutral. Only three participants were married and eleven were single. All the participants' educational qualifications ranged between an undergraduate and master's degree. The age of the participants ranged from 24 to 42 years. Eight of the participants had no children and six had between one and three children. Of the 14 participants, nine have graduated within the last three years and five have last graduated within the past five to ten years. The majority of the participants were residing in either the Eastern or Western Cape provinces due to Xhosa being the dominant ethnical language group in these provinces. Table 1 below depicts the demographics of the participants

Table 1*Demographic Characteristics of Participants*

No.	Respondent	Gender	Age	Highest level of Education	Years since last Graduation	Marital Status	Current Occupation	No. of Children
1	Yolisa	Female	25	Postgraduate Degree	2	Married	Industrial Psychology intern	-
2	Zandile	Female	27	Postgraduate Degree	1	Single	Psychologist	-
3	Zethu	Male	28	Postgraduate Degree	1	Single	Sales Clerk	3
4	Lunathi	Female	28	Postgraduate Degree	3	Single	Program Sales Leader	1
5	Netty	Female	41	Postgraduate Degree	1	Single	Chief Director	-
6	Thando	Male	36	Undergraduate Degree	13	Single	Payroll Specialist	1
7	Sipho	Male	30	Postgraduate Degree	6	Single	Auditor	-
8	Nola	Female	32	Undergraduate Degree	5	Single	Project Coordinator	-
9	Malusi	Male	24	Undergraduate Degree	2	Single	Pharmacist	-
10	Inga	Female	27	Postgraduate Degree	1	Single	Administration Officer	1
11	Busi	Female	33	Undergraduate Degree	6	Single	Accountant	-
12	Sisa	Male	37	Postgraduate Degree	7	Married	Lawyer	2
13	Zola	Male	28	Undergraduate Degree	2	Single	Physiotherapist	-
14	Mhlanga	Male	40	Postgraduate Degree	10	Married	Program Administrator	3

Data Collection Procedure

Prior to conducting data collection, this study was granted ethical clearance REC:2020/06/016 from the Commerce Faculty's Ethics in Research Committee at the University of Cape Town, refer to Appendix "B". Primary data via interviews was collected for this study using the Zoom online platform. Data was collected between July and October 2020. The interviews each ranged between 20 and 50 minutes and were recorded on Zoom with the permission of the participants.

All the participants provided written consent to be interviewed via the Zoom online platform. Refer to Appendix "C" for the written informed consent form. Archibald et al., (2019) asserted that Zoom was a useful and preferred videoconferencing platform in the conduction of qualitative interviews because it provided possibilities for reflecting impersonal, technical and logistical considerations such as rapport, convenience, simplicity and user-friendliness. The generative question used during the interviews was: "Can you please tell me about how you were raised in your family and your career aspirations".

I asked probing questions, deriving in-depth information about the participants (Britten, 2006). The examples of probing questions asked "were there any challenges you experienced while furthering your studies?" and "what motivated you in choosing the course you are studying and the institution you furthered your studies in"? and was "what happened when your parents chose for you which course you studied? The pauses that some participants made, meant that they were either still processing the question and thinking of a response or they might have felt that the question posed was too sensitive or personal because all the questions asked were related to family and careers. I paid serious attention on how each participant felt during the interview process by continuous asking the participant "are you happy to provide additional information related to this question?".

The Analysis of Data

Braun and Clarke (2006) argue that the application of a rigorous thematic analysis can produce trustworthy and insightful findings. This study therefore followed Braun and Clarke's (2006) process which involved six steps that were applied in analyzing the data. The use of thematic analysis provided flexibility that allowed for modifications to be conducted in extracting insightful and detailed data (Braun & Clarke, 2006; King, 2004) which helped to identify, analyze and discover reported patterns and themes within the qualitative data (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

First phase, I transcribed the interviews for the purpose of developing and increasing familiarity with the data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Only after conducting the first three interviews, I began the process of transcribing the interviews and realized that there were areas within the interview transcript that I needed to probe further. I conducted follow interviews with participants and probed further. After transcribing, I read and reread the data multiple times before beginning to code to increase my familiarity with the data and for meanings and patterns to be determined in the following phases.

In the second phase, once I was familiar with the data, I created initial codes by organizing data that was relevant to each code. An example of the code related to family responsibility was the direct quote “since amongst my siblings I am the one who sends money home monthly to take care of our mother”. This helped to answer the research question in what ways do extended family responsibilities affect the career development of Xhosa speaking graduates. The coding process aided in reducing large amounts of data into smaller amounts of meaning which meant that this process ensured simplifying data by focusing on specific characteristics within datasets (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

The use of open coding was applied, where there were no pre-set codes, but codes were developed and modified throughout the coding process. Each transcript was coded separately by assessing each segment of text that seemed relevant to the research question before moving to the next transcript.

The third phase began once all the data had been coded and organized and a list had been compiled that included all the different codes across the datasets. Table 2 depicts how codes turned into potential themes. This phase primarily focused on organizing 30-40 codes into three potential themes based on all the relevant collected data. In order to develop themes, codes needed to be carefully examined. Themes formulated as a result of combining different ideas and experiences which are usually meaningless when viewed in isolation (Aronson, 1994).

Table 2*Generating Themes*

Codes	Themes
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Emotional support • Financial stability to support self • Financial stability to support family • Encouragement from various family members 	Support
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ‘ubuntu’ principle • Black tax • Family and community engagement • Putting your family first before yourself 	Cultural beliefs
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Dual personal and family responsibilities • Family structure 	Family demands

The fourth phase required the reviewing of the themes formulated which consisted of modification and refinement of these themes (Braun & Clarke, 2006). During this phase, I arranged and ensured that the data extracts for each theme were read and then carefully deliberated whether they emerged in forming comprehensive patterns. Additionally, in this phase, I realized that some codes were too diverse and did not have enough data to thoroughly support the main theme, this led to the realization that some codes can overlap each other such as the code “putting your family first before yourself” was linked to the code “the concept of ‘ubuntu’ principle” (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The chosen themes needed to be clearly refined to adequately address the research question while also capturing the necessary ideas contained within each dataset. In the last part of this phase, through deliberating and consulting with my supervisor, I identified three themes and ensured that the codes and subthemes of each theme would be appropriately presented in the findings chapter (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

In the fifth phase, each theme was improved to reveal the overall narratives. During this phase, I revisited each theme and conducted an analysis of what each theme possibly told (Braun & Clarke, 2006). This process allowed the formulation of names for the themes that would already allow the readers to have an idea of what the theme was about. This phase also assisted in evaluating how each theme fits within the overall research question. In ensuring that themes are finalized, I continuously consulted with my supervisor who assisted in determining that the themes chosen are sufficient, clear and comprehensive enough to bring an end to the

modifications conducted on themes (King, 2004). Table 5 in the following chapter depicts the final themes and subthemes.

The sixth phase is the final phase involved being aware of the themes established and being able to formally write up the analysis report in the findings chapter. The writeup of the analysis included the extracts from the experiences of Xhosa graduates which clearly articulates each theme and subtheme. In the findings chapter that follows next, the use of verbatim quotes from the data explained the themes and subthemes identified through the analysis. The purpose of including the direct extracts was for providing evidence of how the researcher arrived at specific interpretations and conclusions of specific themes.

Trustworthiness

In ensuring rigor was established in this study, I evaluated the findings using Lincoln and Guba's (1985) procedure that includes credibility, dependability, transferability and confirmability. Lincoln & Guba (1985) asserted that credibility is regarded as the most important criterion in establishing trustworthiness. Additionally, it can be determined when both the co-researchers and readers are faced with the experience and are able to experience it (Guba & Lincoln, 1981) thus credibility assesses the alignment of participants views and researcher's representation of these views (Tobin & Begley, 2004). Therefore, I made use of prolonged engagement with the collected data which meant reading and rereading the transcribed interviews numerous times to familiarize with the data collected.

Additionally, credibility refers to the degree to which both the data and data analysis of a study are trustworthy and believable (Guba & Lincoln, 1981). The interpretations and descriptions of this study's participants' experiences were presented in such a manner that allowed the reader to be able to judge the credibility of the study according to their own understanding of it. In ensuring overall credibility of data, I conducted three in-depth pilot interviews. These interviews were conducted for the purpose of ensuring that the interview questions do not harm the participants in any form, to also note which areas I need to probe for more detail within the context of each interview and to also develop my own communication skills to ensure I can build trust and rapport with the participants which can assist in obtaining a depth of data for the study.

Since this study was located within the interpretivist paradigm, this meant that there were no objective truth or reality to which the findings of the study could be compared to because the understanding of the study was co-created. Guba and Lincoln (1981) concur that

member checking is considered as the most crucial strategy or technique in the establishment of credibility. During the interviews, I continuously kept field notes for the purpose of taking notes of key themes or ideas that emerged from the graduates' descriptions of their career development experiences. Thus, as a primary member checking approach in checking that my interpretations of the collected data during the interviews, I ensured that I paraphrased some of the participants responses and I reflected the responses back to them to confirm.

Dependability is another process within trustworthiness that ensures that the research process and the decisions that the researcher has chosen in the study are traceable, logical and clearly documented (Tobin & Begley, 2004). In ensuring dependability was achieved in this study, an audit trail was kept (Tobin & Begley, 2004). This means that another researcher must be able to clearly follow the theoretical and methodological decisions made in this study (Guest et al. 2012). I implemented dependability by keeping record of data collected, reflective journals and transcripts that could help the researcher to systemize, relate and cross reference data and report the research process which could create an audit trail (Koch, 1994).

In order to ensure that dependability was implemented for my study, I maintained an audit trail or clear decision which could be used by another researcher in following the research process used as well as having a comprehensive understanding of the decisions taken with regards to the process of data collected, data analysis and how the data was interpreted (Koch, 2006). Additionally, I ensured dependability in another way by probing the study participants during their interviews in a manner that did not alter the meaning of the question. I shared with my supervisor the written synthesis of the concepts because of her expertise of the topic of career development for the aim of conducting a clear audit of the themes in order to ensure overall data dependability.

Transferability is a process within qualitative research that ensures that the analysis of the findings is generalizable and the theories and concepts applied can be transferred to other cases (Tobin & Begley, 2004). The responsibility I had in ensuring that transferability was upheld was accomplished in two ways. Firstly, I compared the findings of this present study to other research studies that have used the intersectionality framework in analyzing and reporting their findings. Secondly, I described the participants characteristics in detail such as them being Xhosa, male or female, their educational qualifications and their age, while also describing the study's setting, which involved participants participating in a virtual interview using the Zoom application for between 20-50 minutes. I provided detailed description of all the information

that had formed the basis of this study in the methods chapter. This was done so that others who want to apply the findings of this study, can do so (Roulston, 2010).

Confirmability is the last criterion in ensuring rigor is established within qualitative research because in order for confirmability to be established, credibility, dependability and transferability all need to be achieved (Guba & Lincoln, 1989). I ensured confirmability by conducting participant's validation, also known as member checking, with each participant throughout the data collection and analysis phase. This was conducted by going back to each participant and validating the findings of each interview with them. Additionally, linking the research findings with the direct quotes from the participants through the use of their transcripts.

Ethical considerations

In conducting this entire research, I adhered to the specific ethical factors that were relevant to this study namely, nonmaleficence, informed consent,, autonomy and confidentiality.

non-maleficence is regarded as one of the crucial principles in research ethics. The principle of non-maleficence intends to control the amount of risk the research participant may be exposed to (Wassenaar, 2006). In ensuring nonmaleficence was upheld, I continuously emphasized to the participants during the interview process that if at any moment they feel anxious or uncomfortable, they may either take a short break or choose to end the interview. Additionally, I made it my priority to constantly ask the participants if they were "okay to proceed", they provided permission to proceed and I continued monitoring for any signs of discomfort or distress from the participants. I did this because I knew the topic about family and career decision is a sensitive topic to some individuals. Participants were also briefed about the interview procedure and the type of questions they would be asked.

In relation to consent, potential participants were contacted and briefed about the study prior to conducting the interviews. This form provided clarification of the rights of the participants in this study and helped to protect the researcher, participant and supervisor from any form of misunderstanding. It also mentioned that no intended harm or threat will be caused to any participant.

Furthermore, one of the crucial principles in carrying out research using human participants is ensuring autonomy and upholding respect for the dignity of the participants partaking in the study (Giordano et al. 2007). Therefore, participants had the liberty of

withdrawing from the study at any moment with no consequences for them since their participation was voluntary. Confidentiality was ensured to all participants by using pseudonyms as code names. Although the interview audio recordings had each participant's identification information, for instance, at the beginning of each interview, I asked the participants their full names, these names were converted into code names during the process of transcribing.

As the sole researcher, I knew the real identity of all the participants, therefore confidentiality was achieved in this regard.

Additionally, in this study, the context of confidentiality meant that the private and personal information each participant shared with the researcher was not disclosed. Only the researcher and supervisor had access to the full collected data. Where the extracts from the transcripts have been included within the study report, there is no identifying information that has been included. This specific principle will be upheld even if the data would be published. After the completion of every interview, I clearly emphasised to all participants that their contribution was greatly valued and appreciated and that their shared experiences about their family roles and career aspirations will be used in providing an understanding of the role of extended family responsibilities in career development.

Reflexivity

Reflective journaling is an additional method of collecting data in qualitative research and is considered effective because it elicits people's behaviors and feelings (Cohen et al. 2007). The purpose of using a reflective journal in this study was for record-keeping the experiences encountered during each interview process. This thereafter provided the researcher the opportunity of learning from the overall research process and to also gain a better understanding of why participants behaved in the manner in which they did and whether or not their behavior had an impact on the information they provided (Plack, 2005).

Janesick (1998) suggested that note taking provides an important role in collection of data because it assists in refining the understanding of the responses of participants by keeping record of the researcher's own observations about the participants. An example of how some participants behaved and felt during the interview process included being nervous or resistant in opening up about their family dynamics and career choices especially at the beginning of the interview. This is why establishing rapport was an important aim for the researcher because

having rapport with the participants resulted in them becoming comfortable in sharing their own personal experience about their family and career development.

Following the completion of each interview conducted, I made reflective notes in the journal in a form of summaries. The summaries included how the participants felt during the interview process (if they were apprehensive, tired, confused or excited), some of the questions that the participants asked the researcher during the interview were “do you think the information I have provided you will be able to help you in your study?” and “have you considered being gender neutral in your study?”. Additionally, the notes in the journal also considered how easy or difficult it was in establishing rapport with each participant because the researcher tried being empathetic and to also communicate calmly with a good tone. This reflective journal was for the purpose of writing down the overall experiences the researcher encountered during each interview conducted (Ortlipp, 2008) that could potentially assist in providing a holistic understanding of the information each participant provided.

A few of the participants in this study felt quite apprehensive, at first, disclosing information about their upbringing and their current family circumstances. However, I noticed that when the questions about their career choices and career aspirations came up during the interview, their attitude changed positively and they became further interested. This resulted in them becoming less apprehensive about sharing their own personal information. Therefore, I considered restructuring the questions in the interview guide to rather begin the interview with the career background questions instead of the family background. Consequently, I realized that the topic about family is quite personal and some participants needed to be probed further before eliciting detailed information about their family circumstances. One of the challenges I encountered while collecting data for this study was transcribing each interview verbatim and manually. I found this process extremely time consuming, however, it gave provision for extra time to be devoted in interacting with the interview content while transcribing. As a result of this phase, I was able to engage with the transcribed data extensively through keeping a record of the reflective journal and transcripts. I then used the research question for this study as a clear guideline for identifying information that was relevant to the anticipated themes and therefore teasing out the necessary information, I would need in writing clear descriptions of the data. This enabled the final interpretation of the data be based on relevant literature.

Chapter summary

Conclusively, this chapter provided a description of the research method adopted in this study as well as the rationale for the selected research design. A comprehensive description of the collection and analysis process of data was provided and a conclusive evaluation of research was presented which included ethical consideration, rigor and reflexivity. The following chapter will present the findings and the in-depth analysis of the study.

CHAPTER FOUR: FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

The aim of this study is to develop a holistic understanding of the role that family has in the career development of Xhosa speaking graduates. In this section the findings of the data analysis, as guided by an intersectionality framework, are presented. Table 3 shows the final themes and subthemes that emerged from the interview data. Thereafter the findings are discussed considering new perspectives gained and current literature.

Table 3

Final Themes and Subthemes generated through thematic analysis

Name of the Themes	Name of the Subthemes
Theme 1: Cultural beliefs	Sense of collectiveness Gender roles within families
Theme 2: Social Support	Parental role-modelling Family social support sources
Theme 3: The notion of black tax	Family responsibilities

Three main themes emerged from the data that assisted in answering the research question, namely (1) cultural beliefs, (2) social support and (3) the notion of black tax. The analysis of these findings is explained using the structure of each theme as a guideline. Every theme is supported using direct quotes from the interviews with the graduates to provide rich meaning.

Theme 1: Cultural beliefs

The career development process of these Xhosa graduates was largely influenced by their diverse cultural beliefs and values that they held. These cultural beliefs and values were

shaped by their socialisation in their families and communities which in turn shaped their perceptions of their career choices and behaviours.

Sense of collectiveness. Four graduates expressed how important it was for them to understand that their career choices and development prospects were influenced by their profound beliefs of having to provide financial assistance to not only their immediate families but to other close relatives and community members as well. These graduates emphasised that they ended up providing financial support to two households due to a sense of duty, which was closely linked to social bonds as causes of vulnerability for the emerging middle class.

Sisa: “When I was in high school, I always dreamt of going to university so that I can study and then get a good job in which I can be able to help my family. I grew up in the rural areas and we were poor at home, with my cousins and siblings all in one house. When I finally finished my undergraduate degree, I wanted to continue studying and pursue my postgraduate degree, however, I had to think of my family first. I needed to get a job and be able to help them in any way I can. We were always taught to help each other at home”

The response from Sisa highlights that from a young age, he grew up in a household where both his immediate and extended family members lived together. The desire he had from when he was still in high school of going to university was grounded on him wanting to be educated so that he could obtain the opportunity of pursuing a good occupation in order for him to have the ability to assist his family. Although he had goals of furthering his education, he prioritized by putting his family first. The importance he attached to assisting his family first prior to him considering furthering his studies was solely because of his family teachings in that it is crucial that they aid each other before one can consider further improving their lives first.

Nola: “I grew up knowing that I need to always share everything I have with my siblings and cousins as well. In fact, this teaching of sharing is so embedded in me that even now, I want to do my honours degree but I’m not sure that I can because I need to consider my family first and how me going to school again will impact them. I think this makes me compassionate because I can’t think about my goals and desires only.”

Nola’s response emphasises that she was taught while she was young that sharing was important. This teaching of sharing has been strongly embedded in her and has become a value that she strongly believes in. Her response also indicates that she had to consider her elders and maintaining harmony even if it goes against her own desires. This is evident in her response where she contemplates pursuing her honours degree because she primarily must consider how her family will be impacted by her decision of going back to school. The fact that she has to first consider her family’s feelings before her own relates to Westwood & Ishiyama (1991) claim in that Nola’s and Sisa’s career decisions may have been influenced by their individual processes, however, both these graduates referred to their potential contribution to their

families which suggests that their career motivation was driven at least partially by the beliefs or tenets of collectivism. Although Sisa is 37 years old and Nola is 32 years old, both of them indicate having similar familial expectations. While Sisa is a male and Nola is a female, both of them seem to be experiencing familial pressures of having to consider providing and supporting for their families. The pressure they are enduring is due to their family's teachings. Both Nola and Sisa found themselves having to consider uplifting their family's socio-economic status through applying their familial teachings into practice. Additionally, Sisa's experience emphasises when men reach adulthood, they are expected to provide for their families, similarly, Nola's experience indicates although she is female and educated, she also felt the pressure of this traditional familial expectation that was embedded on her through family teachings.

An additional factor that emerged was the importance of these graduates' application of their career choice as a tool to motivate and encourage other young children and students in dedicating themselves to studying. This was further an indication of the cultural values and beliefs in that a career can be a tactic for uplifting the family and community instead of it being primarily an individualistic process in which only one person profits.

IN: What would you say were your career plans after you had completed your degree?

Netty: "When I completed my degree, my first plan was to get a job so that I can earn money to save up for doing my next postgraduate degree and to also assist my family if they need anything. However, I also wanted to go back home to encourage and empower the young children within my community about the importance of studying and to let them know that they too can make it."

Urdan et al. (2007) suggested that cultural factors do contribute meaningfully to young people's experiences of their career choices and decisions. This is because cultures that believe in collectivism appreciate interdependence in which assisting and uplifting families is likely to be prevalent. This corresponds with the beliefs of 'Ubuntu' in that one person's survival is possible with the support and help from others (Gade, 2013; Mabovula, 2011) and in the case of these graduates, their educational and career success or breakthrough can also be a success for the whole family and community. The sense of being able to plough back into the family and community is the outcome of the cultural beliefs and values that were engrained earlier in these graduate's lives which have to some extent influenced their career decisions.

Zandile mentioned that apart from her family and community, her church also had contributed a role in shaping her career decisions, as her family and community members would attend church services every Sunday.

IN: Who would you say influenced your career decisions the most?

Zandile: “I would definitely say my mother and my church...[sigh] well my father passed away when I was quite young, and the church helped us a lot with not only the funeral arrangements but the members of the church made it enjoyable to come to church weekly. They provided me good support and I feel like I grew up in my church. The support I received at church made me also want to pursue a career in which I can help people feel better about themselves and others. This is why I chose psychology”

Thus, from Zandile’s response, the church played a significant role in her personal life and ultimately impacted her career decision. She reported that her church did not only assist her family with the funeral arrangements but also created an environment in which she felt comforted and supported by the congregation in which she and her mother were members. She chose to pursue a career that would allow her the opportunity to assist other people in bettering their lives and psychology seemed as a suitable career choice. The support that her church members provided her when her father passed away, further symbolises the African value of Ubuntu and communal engagement (Mboya, 1999; Moodley & Beyer, 2019).

The response from Sisa reported that he came from a poor family where he lived with both his immediate and extended family in one household and that this had shaped his career decision in that he believed and valued changing and improving his family circumstances prior to him pursuing furthering his career. This response supports literature by Magubane (2017) in that black people that grow up in environments that are impacted by both internal and external factors that include poverty, high unemployment, inequality and broken families hold a strong sense of family bonds and Ubuntu. Therefore, these graduates are likely to continue with their family traditions of having to fulfil responsibilities and obligations to their families. In addition Nola’s response also aligns with principles of Ubuntu in which individuals are compelled to become caring, to share their resources, to be compassionate and to be kind and generous to everyone around them and to consider other people’s feelings before their own (Letseka, 2012).

Gender roles within families. This subtheme formulated as a result of three graduates describing their roles within their family structures. These roles were predominately based on the fact that since they were employed and were earning a salary, their family members had attached to them specific roles that they had to perform. These family sentiments could be tied to the question of understanding how family can influence career development because these graduates explained that because they were employed, they were expected to provide for their families. These graduates also took up these roles because they were given to them as a result of them being either the eldest in the family, the educated one in the family or because they

were breadwinners. Majority of the graduates expressed that their role was defined by their educational level, employment status and their gender differences.

Mhlanga expressed that because he was the eldest male child in his family and because he was currently employed, his family had expectations of him in being able to provide forms of support to the family.

Mhlanga: “Well, in my family, I am the oldest and I have three other siblings that come after me. When I finished my studies and started working, my father expected me to be able to provide means of support to the family. I knew this would happen because in our culture, a male is always seen as a provider for his family. However, the expectation my parents have given me puts a hold on me being able to save up for doing another course I’m interested in.”

The response from Mhlanga indicates that his parents have set specific expectations for him because of their cultural belief that an eldest son should be able to provide for his family once he is educated and employed. This specific expectation is supported by literature in that gender roles are culturally influenced stereotypes that create expectations of how both male and female students should appropriately behave (Rosen & Jerdee, 1973; Chalabaev et al., 2013). Although Mhlanga is 40 years old, his experience is shaped by him being the eldest son in his family which resulted in him feeling more pressure was put on him in supporting and providing for his family as the African cultural belief emphasises that when men reach adulthood, they are expected to provide for their families. This specific expectation has resulted in Mhlanga being hesitant and deliberating if he can afford to continue pursuing another academic course or not. Malusi shared the same sentiments as Mhlanga in that they both felt as though they were obliged to provide for their family members because of the specific gender roles within their families. While Malusi may be younger than Mhlanga in terms of age, both Mhlanga and Malusi share similar familial expectations that relate strongly to family beliefs on gender roles that caused both of them to feel pressured to support their families due to traditional familial expectations that were forced upon them.

Malusi: Well, I’m from a poor family and I went to university so that I can work and earn a lot of money while also taking care of my family. I am man and my family looks up to me to take care of them. I cannot do that if I don’t have a stable job and earn a good salary”. In my culture, a male leader has to provide. I once thought of choosing a career that will give me money easily. Since I have to provide for the family, I don’t have enough money to pursue another degree as of now. I sometimes think it is hard to be a man in our culture.

The response from Malusi highlights how he is expected to become a breadwinner in his family because he is the eldest and has two siblings and a mother to take care of. He also mentioned how difficult it can be to be a man in the Xhosa culture because of what the family members usually expect of them. The specific expectation of him becoming a breadwinner for

his family evidently pressured him to even consider pursuing a career that would provide him the opportunity to acquire income rapidly. The response from Malusi and Mhlanga confirms the African patriarchal culture, where the male is expected to be the breadwinner in their family, yet, in actual fact, families and households are now fragmented with single mothers and extended families often supporting their families (Ramaphele, 2002). However, male respondents deemed it was an inherent part of their role as a man to become the primary financial provider and also decision-maker of their family component. Both Malusi and Mhlanga's response indicate the significant attachment they have to their male identity.

Although Malusi and Mhlanga indicated that gender roles do, to some extent, exist within their families, Inga mentioned how her career choice was influenced by her considering her mother's upbringing and how gender socialization negatively impacted her mother's career exploration and career choice. She took her mother's teachings and stories into consideration and mentioned how fortunate she was to have parents that did not necessarily hold onto the traditional Xhosa cultural beliefs about gender roles.

Inga: "Well, [Sigh] My mother always used to tell me stories of her upbringing and how many women were not allowed to explore certain careers. I am so fortunate that my parents do not still hold onto their cultural beliefs about the roles of men and women. All my siblings and I were encouraged and motivated to explore the careers we were interested in for ourselves without having to consider other factors. I chose the career I'm in because I love it and I am interested in it. Our generation is now choosing careers because we are educated and inspired by our mothers' struggles."

The response from Inga reveals how parental teachings can influence career decision making of students. This is evident because Inga mentions how difficult it was for her mother to have the opportunity to explore career options of her choice due to traditional cultural beliefs that prescribe a women's place in society to be caregiving and baring children while man should explore careers and advance their knowledge become financial providers for their families. These cultural beliefs of gender roles negatively impacted women and wives in the past and literature supports that most traditional African cultural beliefs have negatively impacted woman in relation to their career aspirations and development (Suizzo et al. 2008). However, Inga's parents decided to use their experiences to motivate her to explore career options that she finds appealing. Hence, gender socialization literature highlights how parents' play a role as instructors, models and reinforcers of student's gender role attitudes (Koenig et al., 2011). This is because parents directly communicate their beliefs about gender to their children by means of providing guidance, instruction and training (Sigel, McGillicuddy-DeLisi & Goodnow, 2014). Gender roles within families may differ from household to household, due to gender socialization which involves how parents and family members convey their beliefs

to students. In some families, parents still hold specific traditional gender expectations for their children, while others allow their children to explore and pursue careers based on their interests and ambitions which enhances their self-efficacy.

Theme 2: Social support. The type of support of each graduate differed according to their own personal and family circumstances but emotional support consistently came up in the analysis. Additionally, it appeared that emotional support was valued by the participants but the lived experiences of this form of support varied. Some participants identified the varying degrees of participation and involvement of family members in their university life. There seems to be a disparity here based on whether the student adopted the family's 'script' with their career decisions.

Parental role modelling. Six participants in this study reported viewing the careers' that their parents were pursuing as inspirational to their personal career development. Reasons they offered included that their parents have sacrificed for them, supported, encouraged and motivated them with regards to their personal and career development. This finding is not startling considering that students primarily develop their sense of motivation and wisdom from their predominant caregivers.

Lunathi: "My mother is a qualified teacher and my father is a lawyer. When I see how educated they are, this sort of helped me and motivated me to choose to go to tertiary level education and follow my own career path. I know it's hard to get a good job in this country but by furthering my studies I think I could get a good job"

Lunathi's response highlights how both of her parents' current occupations encouraged her to pursue furthering her studies. She was motivated by her parents' level of education in their different fields. She expressed that having educated parents was important to her because they could assist her with all of her schoolwork without experiencing difficulties. She also added that by considering how educated her parents are, this gave her a sense of aspiring to achieve more for herself as well. She knew that in order for her to acquire a good job, she would have to consider furthering her education and to follow the career path she is interested in. Busi, echoed the same sentiments as Lunathi in that they all derived their inspiration to further their studies from admiring their parents' careers.

Busi: "My father was a lawyer, a qualified and good lawyer. I used to watch him when I was young in court and see him win cases. He always taught me that if I work hard and find what I am passionate in, I can be successful. He always encouraged me to explore my career options freely.

This response from Busi indicated that from her witnessing her own father pursue a career in which he was qualified for and excelled in, this allowed her the opportunity to explore

her own possible career options. She mentioned that her father not only taught her the importance of working hard but also encouraged her to consider pursuing a career that she found fanatic. The combination of finding a fanatic career path and working hard was what she was taught would make her successful in life. However, Yolisa and Zethu both highlighted that their parents were a source of their inspiration to pursue their education further but also mentioned that it was because both their parents were educated and good care providers in their homes that balanced each other's roles well.

Yolisa: "At home, my father is the educated one. He went to university and got a good job that supports us well. My mother, however, didn't further her studies because she had a child at a very young age. Both my parents have jobs that sustain us but the way in which my father provides mostly financially at home and the way my mother is such a good supportive parent. I think they balance each other's roles well and they have made me want to further my education so that I can one day inspire and provide for my family.

AND

Zethu: Both my parents are still currently employed. My father is an accountant and my mother is a high school vice principal. I always felt as though I could speak to my parents about my career choices from a young age. I am still inspired by my parents work ethic and I am currently doing my postgraduate degree because I want to be able to in next 5 years be promoted and work in a position that will make them extremely proud of me."

The responses from both Zethu and Yolisa highlight significant role their parents contributed in their career development. Their reasons for wanting to pursue furthering their studies was attributed by their parents being supportive in them exploring their career options, the ability to make their parents proud, the capability of them being able to confide to their parents and their parents' prompting work ethic. The responses of these four participants supports the study that parents' encouragement and support contribute a significantly in determining student's career decisions (Keller, 2004; Ozdemir & Hacifazlioglu, 2008). This is particularly true since students that feel loved and supported by their parents tend to become more confident in their own abilities in choosing and pursuing a career that they recognize as interesting and exciting for them.

Students in some occasions, have chosen career paths which to, some extent, were symbolic of their parents' role in their lives. Therefore, students that have developed individuality from their parents may search for a career that allows them to remain close to the influential memory of their parental impact. This was the case for Thando.

Thando: "I gained the values that I hold so close to me from both my parents especially my father. He was a very good and special person. I learnt a few things from him before he passed away. I learnt how to love myself, the people around me and this is probably why I chose to study IT in varsity".

The following extract from Malusi reveals how appreciative and how valuable he regards the role his parents played in his career exploring and development.

Malusi: “My mother growing up used to like computers a lot and she found them fascinating, I loved seeing her use a computer and she helped me to do research about course in varsity that were computer focused, now I have grown to love this field so much.”

IN: So, choosing computer sciences was primarily influenced by your mother or did anyone else help you make that decision?

Malusi: “No, I made the decision myself but she was my inspiration”.

Malusi mentioned that his mother has been extremely helpful, dedicated and quite involved in his career development prospects. Froiland, Peterson and Davison (2012) and Schunk and Mullen (2012) proposed that students who are usually guided and assisted by parents in their academic activities are inclined to display high levels of motivation. The analysed data showed that some of the participants in this study valued the contributions their parents provided them in exploring their career prospects. It was mentioned that parents contribute a vital role in a student’s career development and this was supported by the data from the participants in this study. The participants that grew up with one or both of their parents fully involved in their upbringing, revealed how significant the support they received from their parents was in their career decision making process. Consequently, this occurred because these participants regarded their parents as their first role models. Most participants in this study did not have highly educated parents, only a few did. This could have been attributed by the Bantu education system of the apartheid era that oppressed and denied majority of black people from pursuing advanced career options (Giliomee, 2009; Nzimande, 2013). For this reason, South African black parents who were marginalized have subtly mindfulness of both the political and socioeconomic structures that form their children’s education. Like any parent from other countries, these parents likewise care greatly about the education of their children. They want to witness them succeeding in school and attaining access to opportunities that will better their lives. Even with the limited alternatives, these parents try to make the best decisions they possible can for their children (Nzimande, 2013). De Piddeo (1990) asserts that parents that have a lower-level education can delay or hold back the progressiveness of their children’s career choice. However, from Malusi’s and Thando’s explanation, even though they didn’t mention their parents’ level of education, they were more motivated by their parental support and involvement in their career exploration than being solely motivated by their educational level.

Family social support systems. Seven participants described the various levels of interest and involvement from their family members in their university lives that impacted their career development prospects. Graduates that followed the family ‘script’ for their career choices deemed having different experiences in relation to their family involvement in their academic journey. The graduates that pursued their career aspirations despite familial pressures to divert to more well-paid or lucrative careers or careers that were perceived as having much wider opportunities, naturally received less support than they felt they would’ve received had they pursued a career that their family members preferred.

Some students expressed how they felt motivated when their family members were supportive and involved in their university experiences and when family members would enquire about their adjustment to university. These students had reported having more confidence in their career pursuits. Evidently, the students that received career guidance or advice from family members appreciated it when their families would occasionally call and also ask how they were coping with the difficulties and demands of being in university.

Yolisa: “My parents were super supportive. They would always call to check up on me and to see if I was coping with my workload. This made me feel so supported and cared for. They would always ask if I was experiencing any difficulties, and if I was, they would always either pray for me or provide me kind words of encouragement. This kind of support boosted my confidence.”

Yolisa’s response highlights how her parents were ‘super supportive’ to her when she was pursuing her academic course. Her parents would frequently call her to see how she was coping with her academic modules. They would also enquire if she was experiencing any difficulties and if she was, they would provide her positive words of encouragement and would also pray for her. She went on to express how the kind of support she received from her parents resulted in her confidence levels increasing. She felt as though she would be able to manage her workload because she knew she had a supportive family system behind her that always provided her the necessary words of affirmation that she needed. On the contrary, three students reported that they did not receive the kind of social or emotional support they thought they would receive from their families. They attributed this to the career choices they made. All three of these students felt that, had they chosen careers preferred by their parents, they would have probably received the type of emotional support and reassurance they think they deserved from their family members.

Zola: “I remember when I got to university and throughout my undergrad, I barely got a call from my family to see how I was doing. I remember feeling so hurt and alone. Not hearing from my family really had an impact on my confidence in coping in university. I

sometimes felt like I should've changed my course and pursued a different one, one that my family would support”.

The response from Zola highlights how he felt unsupported by his family due to the course he chose to pursue. He even contemplated changing the course he was pursuing thinking that his family would become more interested and supportive. He recalls not receiving phone calls from his family throughout his undergraduate degree and this resulted in him feeling hurt and alone. The description provided by Zola about the lack of parental and family support he experienced while pursuing his degree supports literature in that when parents do not provide their children encouragement and support, they tend to become unmotivated and experience low self-esteem which affects their attitude and behavior towards their academic work and is particularly true in Zola's cases (Dietrich & Kracke, 2009; Keller & Whiston, 2008).

The other twelve students mentioned that amongst their communities and families, some people were supportive while others were not. Amongst the twelve, two described that certain family members within their families were less supportive. This was because these students were from family structures where one parent or no-one in their family had been previously exposed to tertiary level education or was unfamiliar about the student's particular career choice. These specific students were from the first generation in their families to receive the opportunity to attend university and it therefore could be expected that such students would receive the kind of encouragement and support they received from their family members. However, these students described that their family members were sometimes unable to comprehend the expectations and demands of being a university student. They additionally were unable to advise and assist the students about anything pertaining to their academic work and the social aspects of university life. Therefore, a possible reason for family members being unsupportive is that the family probably lacks the expertise and information about career choices and tertiary education.

Sipho: “They do not necessarily understand what happens in university so I don't think they knew how to support me. It was only my grandmother that tried to support me.”

Nola: “I don't think nobody cares about what I studied in university. At home I am the only one that had the opportunity to go university.”

There seems to be a discrepancy between the graduates' level of expectations for support and the quality and quantity of family support they had essentially received. It could be possible that taking into consideration all the perceptions, the graduates' perceptions in this particular case could be inaccurate but that does not necessarily lessen or devalue their feelings of the lack of support they had received from their family members. Contrast to the

abovementioned, a new pattern had developed where students that had at least one of more family members that was exposed or experienced tertiary level education had indicated that they had obtained a considerable amount of both social and emotional support from their family members.

Zethu: “Both my parents are educated and they have always provided me support and encouragement when I pursued my degree. Even my aunt and uncle constantly checked up on me when I was at school. I truly appreciated this. This made me feel like I wasn’t alone. The support they gave me made me confident in what I was studying and now I’m ready to further my studies because they support was motivating”.

Lunathi: “Honestly, my parents and also my cousins have been so encouraging. I always felt so comfortable talking to them about my university experiences. Their level of involvement in my studies really motivated to consider pursuing another degree because I felt like the emotional support, I got from my family kept me going through tough times at school.”

Thando: “I have four older siblings that were always eager and willing to help me with anything I needed. I always looked up to my older siblings because they took up a role they didn’t have to. The way we always communicated as siblings at home, we always encouraged each other which made us competitive. Our competitiveness was always to study further to secure better job opportunities to allow us to have the future we desire. I am super grateful for my siblings.”

Additional to the social and emotional support these students received from their family members, they also indicated receiving instrumental support. This type of support and encouragement usually inspired a student to acquire a sense of confidence in both their academic work and career decisions (Murray-Harvey & Slee, 2007). This type of support is evident in the responses from Lunathi, Zethu and Thando. These students had an advantage because they had received career advice from their family members which in turn increased their career knowledge and elicited the idea of them possibly pursuing another degree, advancing their career development. Students that receive guidance and assistance from parents in their academic pursuits tend to demonstrate high levels of self-motivation (Bregman & Keller, 1999; Bempechat & Shernoff, 2012). This is evident in the responses from Thando, Lunathi, Yolisa and Zethu. As Mark (2013) and Jones and Palmer (2004) contend students who obtain advice and guidance on their occupational choices usually display high academic performance which may subsequently inspire one’s desire to further their studies.

The findings suggest that the level of education student’s parents and family members have does influence the level and type of support a student receives from their family. This supports literature by Dass-Brailsford (2005) and Guillory & Wolverton (2008) who maintain students who receive continuous support and reassurance usually exhibit higher levels of resilience and persistence when faced by difficult academic burdens. This undoubtably indicates the significance of family support on students’ academic and career pursuits. This is

because if a student is unsure or questions their career decision, the support received from their significant others can result in confidence and the ability to reconsider career goals without the possible fear of being negatively judged or discriminated against (Murray-Harvey & Slee, 2007).

Theme 3: The notion of black tax.

The experience of Xhosa graduates feeling like they have to contribute to helping meet their family and extended families' needs, relates to a concept called 'black tax'. 'Black tax' has been termed as the financial support that individuals who are employed need to provide for their families and extended families (Magubane, 2017). The responses from three participants indicated that 'black tax' to them signified two meanings. The first meaning that these graduates provided was that this colloquial term meant providing remuneration to family members for their sacrificial efforts in providing them the opportunities to pursue furthering their studies. They expressed the type of responsibilities they had to uphold in ensuring that both their immediate and extended families were financially supported by them due to them being permanently employed. The second meaning they expressed in relation to this term was the obligation of having to take time out of their personal lives and provide it to their family members. This was expressed in the form of examining the physical conditions in their homes and finding solutions to improve their household conditions. These responsibilities resulted in a delay in them bettering their personal lives in order to guarantee that everything was taken care of at home. This meant that prior to them further pursuing their studies, they had to consider what their physical home condition were like, if improvements were needed, they would have to invest their money in assisting their families first before them pursuing their career development prospects. This can be linked to the discussion of this study's research question regarding the reasons why these participants have the responsibility of supporting their families and the role that such responsibilities contribute to their career development.

Family responsibilities. Siphon expressed the obligation he had in assisting his parents in improvement the physical conditions of their family home prior to him considering furthering his studies.

Siphon: "I have been working for seven years now and It's been about six years since I graduated and I have been thinking lately of going back to school and doing another degree, however, my mother has been constantly asking me when will I be renovating and improving our home. I told her that this process will be too expensive and that I was considering to go back to school. She didn't really understand why I would even consider furthering my studies first before fixing things at home that should be done first before anything else. I feel as though this is sort of a setback for me now. I know I should help my family but my career goals shouldn't suffer."

The response from Siphon emphasizes the financial and material support that he had to give his family was because of duty or reciprocity that was based on how he was raised, the values that were dominant in his family or the sense of obligation. This sense of obligation posed a challenge to Siphon in that it made him feel vulnerable and a bit powerless to some extent. The cause of vulnerability for Siphon was due to the fact that he felt that he had to prioritize helping his family before he could help himself. The narrative from Siphon suggests the perception that his mother has of him, since he is employed, is for him to use the money he earns to improve their physical living conditions at home. Although this perception may be true, Siphon considers the financial responsibility he's been given as a barrier in his career development aspirations. The challenge of having to weigh his options has caused Siphon to feel overwhelmed and quite frustrated with his family. He added that he understands that since he is employed, his role is to assist his family whenever they need assistance. However, he stated that financial assistance to family members should not be to the detriment of his career plans.

Inga echoed sort of the same sentiments as Siphon in that he felt that the financial support he was providing for both his immediate and extended family resulted in him contemplating whether or not it is feasible for him to consider furthering his studies in this present academic year or for him to wait a few more years.

Inga: "So, I have a daughter who is three years old. Every month I send money home to my parents and to my cousins that are not currently working. The amount of money I send them is a lot, in my opinion. My parents expect me to send them money so that they can buy themselves things they need. I also feel a bit guilty to not support my unemployed cousins. So, the least I can do is to send them some money every month. I have been thinking about going to school lately but [sigh], I don't know if I'll have the money to go back to school. I don't think it will be wise for me to study this year with all my financial stresses."

Inga wishes to further her studies but due to financial constraints this seems impossible. This is due to her being first, a parent herself, secondly taking care of her parents and thirdly, seeing to it that her cousins are supported. She continues to render financial support on a monthly basis to her parents and cousins who are unemployed. There is clear evidence that if she were not also responsible for the welfare of her cousins by rendering the financial support her cousins needed, she would have managed to save for her contemplated furthering of studies. However, her conscience tells her to prioritize the support to her parents and relatives over her wishes to improve her qualifications and development for her benefit. This descriptive narrative that Inga has illustrated confirms the principle of collectivism among Xhosa speaking people over the "me-first-attitude" immediately a member of a family obtains some form of income. This suggests that black family members instinctively convey their expectations to their children due to their collectivism beliefs that are expressed through understanding that 'self' is

regarded as communal. Therefore, this is in line with Bronfenbrenner (1999) in his Ecological Systems theory, which presupposes that parents influence their children's career development through their interactions, expectations and relationships with them. Yet, the type of relationship and interactions parents have with their children can either foster or hinder their ability to develop their careers (Schutheiss, et al., 2001).

Zola, on the other hand, feels as though he is 'indebted' to his parents as a result of the sacrifices his parents had to endure in order for to pursue his university education.

Zola: "I am from a poor family, my parents had to consider getting two jobs in order for them to be able have enough money that can sustain me and my siblings. When I went university, they didn't have the money to pay my school fees, so my mother tried to get a second job so that she could pay my school fees. When I completed my studies and got a job, I felt as though I should repay them for all that they have done for me and my siblings. I still want to study further but I'll wait a bit. I need to help my parents first."

In Zola's case, he views his family responsibilities as a way of 'showing appreciation' to his parents for the sacrifices they had endured for him to pursue his studies. He, in some way, feels obligated to express his gratitude for his parents' sacrifices through working extremely hard for him to get educated. He feels that his parents suffered for their upbringing instead of claiming that as parents they had no choice but compelled to do so for their children. He now desires to use the money he makes to 'repay' them for their sacrifices. He is willing to wait a few more years before he can consider pursuing his further studies, as long as his parents receive all that they need because he's parents come first to him. The nature of this support is regarded to be closely linked to the 'ubuntu' principle. Responses from both Siphon and Zola are a confirmation of the existence of a notion of 'black tax' which is defined to mean not only the provision of monetary support to family members but also to include provision of any kind of support such as shelter, improvement of family home, food and clothing etc. All this support by an employed member of a family is aimed at enhancing the livelihood of their kinship network (Falco & Bulte, 2011; Msila, 2015). The responses from these three participants confirm the principle of 'ubuntu' as they exhibit a concern about human virtues through being compassionate to other's needs and by demonstrating kind-heartedness. This supports literature that pertains ubuntu representing an indulgence of what human beings regard as essential for growth and fulfilment and what constitutes as human (Magubane, 2017; Shumba & Naong, 2012).

The responses from Zola, Siphon and Inga suggests that there could be both spoken and tacit expectations between themselves and their families. This adds new insights to the literature of responsibilities and obligations associated with family support. Goransson (2013)

and Falco and Bulte (2011) relate family obligations to a family tax by defining it as an obligation in which individuals support both their immediate and extended families. These findings signify that some expectations and responsibility do not necessarily need to be spoken in order to be understood. The cultural obligations that have been perceived according to Migheli (2017) decipher into financial support or sponsorship systems with family members. Some of the evidence presented in the findings of this study supports this view through indicating that the financial support provided by these graduates to their families is closely linked on their cultural obligation, for instance, Ubuntu.

This study also found that from Sipho and Inga's responses, their family responsibilities had negative implications to their career prospects. They felt that it was mandatory for them to provide financial assistance to their families and that to some extent, it was not optional. However, Zola's response differs because he regards his family responsibility as a way to assist his family but he also feels as though he has to 'repay' them for their sacrificial efforts. Thus, black tax can mean two different aspects to people. Others may view it as a financial burden to families and others may regard it as a sign of Ubuntu. This term may not be acceptable to everyone. Hence many individuals suggest that it should not be labelled as a form of tax but should be referred to as something else, such as family responsibility (Mhlongo, 2019). Majority of the working middle-class households are connected to working class families. In the context of both poverty and hunger, it becomes unavoidable to send money home. Thus, the only way the issue of black tax could be addressed is to solve the problem of inequality in this country and to also challenge class identity. This is because many of those who contribute paying 'black tax' feel that they are now taking over what is essentially supposed to be a government responsibility (Mhlongo, 2019). Some people refer to 'black tax' as an alternative form of social security. Mhlongo (2019) contends that the government has a duty of addressing this country's economic challenges of the past through implementations of affirmative actions, decent education and the creation of jobs. Thus, 'black tax' can be viewed as some form of income redistribution given its influence and prevalence. I do think that this notion of 'black tax' has had a positive contribution to the livelihood of many families and therefore a great impact on the economy of this country. This could be because thousands of people would be even worse off if it wasn't for their family members helping them out (Mhlongo, 2019).

Chapter summary

This chapter reported and discussed the findings that emerged from the collected data from the Xhosa-speaking graduates. As anticipated, various factors in relation to family have contributed as influences on these graduates' career development prospects. The cultural aspects such as the African worldview of collectivism were found to have a significant influence on these students' career development. Parental role-modelling and family social support sources were also found as significant contributors on students' career decision making processes. This was expected as multiple studies have suggested that parental social support contributes as a major influence on students' occupational choices. Lastly, the various family responsibilities that these graduates had to maintain within their families contributed considerably in their career development process. The following chapter will summarise the entire study. It will also examine the aim of the study, the relevance of the method used and also reflect on the limitations of this study and finally, provide recommendations for further exploration into areas of concern.

CHAPTER FIVE: LIMITATIONS, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

The aim of this study was to determine an understanding of how Xhosa-speaking graduates perceive the role played by their families' influence on their career development prospects. This was conducted on the bases that black students are more likely to be exposed to limited career guidance and information given that some of these students come from disadvantaged backgrounds. The study aimed in determining family elements which might be a barrier in these Xhosa-speaking graduates career development. The information that was gathered qualitatively from these students was useful in that it provided an understanding of the complex family dynamics that impact students career decisions. This study aimed at answering the following research question, "how would Xhosa speaking graduates describe the role of family on their career development decisions?".

In the introduction of this study, it was anticipated that the various family roles and circumstances as reported, would have a significant influence in shaping the student participants' career decisions and development. The intersectionality theoretical framework deemed useful in this study because it aided in identifying through the students lived-experiences, their overlapping social and cultural identities that either oppressed or empowered their career development. The main findings indicated that family influenced these Xhosa graduates career development through the reinforcement of cultural beliefs, role-modelling,

family social support and family responsibilities as seen through the notion of “black tax”. The specific cultural beliefs that were identified as influential amongst these graduates were their profound beliefs of collectivism which was closely linked to the ideology of ‘ubuntu’ and the specific gender roles in families.

This study confirms the view that most graduates amongst Xhosa speaking people accept the responsibility to render some meaningful support to improve the livelihood of their close relatives, notwithstanding the realization by some of them that this practice puts the chances to achieve their dreams in jeopardy. Because this belief is still dominant and deeply seated amongst the majority it seems impossible that it will be eradicated any time soon. Even those who have questioned the rational of this practice continue to provide the expected support in consideration of the condition of their respective families. This seems to stem from a deep-seated compassion that has been instilled and built over a long period of time during and throughout the passage of one’s upbringing. This deep-seated compassion, despite having been questioned at some quarters, derives its existence from the notion of “Ubuntu” that has been built over time.

The desire to change their respective family circumstances is not limited to providing food in a sustainable manner but extends to improving their residences/households as well as financing the education of their siblings and/or cousins with whom they reside. Considering the current poverty levels in the country, the situation that has been exacerbated by various factors including the current pandemic, the influence of family members on career decisions, especially for those members who show some potential to bring about positive changes to their family circumstances, seems unavoidable. Family members have become so reliant on the support of those whom are regarded to be in a better position. Those whom are in need of support seem to exploit the feelings of compassion by imposing their views in an effort to influence their career decisions and how they should contribute towards improving the livelihood of their families. It is evident from the results of the study that those from whom the support is expected usually render such support by, at least, trying to strike a balance between family priorities and their needs, rather than completely ignore their families. It is clear that in some instances the support is non-negotiable but demanded. Hence it is usually referred to as “black tax” a concept that has some negative connotation.

The research further reveals that influence on career decision making of some graduates is equally applicable irrespective of both gender and age. The behavior of the participants is

similar in complete disregard of these differences in age and gender. Whether male or female and young and old the support is expected from those regarded as better off than others within a family. Family members always strive to appease their relatives to avoid being accused of lacking sympathy and compassion. This demonstrate, without any doubt, how deeply entrenched the capability of a family in influencing their members in their career decision making and how vulnerable Xhosa speaking graduates are in being influenced by their families and family conditions in their career decision making.

Implications for Practice

These graduates' career aspirations are remarkably guided by their personal and community collectivism ideologies that have been socialised to them by their family members. The findings of this study show that career interventions for diverse populations, should reflect the different values and expectation, taking account of the intersections of how class, race and gender interact. For this reason, acquiring viewpoints from students from other races would have increased the arguments of contrasts proposed in this study (Miles & Huberman, 1994; Wolcott, 1994). The findings of this study show the process of making a career decision requires careful planning and also personal accountability. The ability to be able to strategically plan and also manoeuvre multifaceted educational goals and aspirations, is not a minor task to do specifically for students that are in the process of graduating or have graduated. Hence, it is crucial for students from the beginning of their tertiary education, to be provided with continuous support and career guidance especially those students from previously disadvantaged backgrounds. The continual guidance and support are helpful to students in order to cope with and manage university demands. Furthermore, if possible, it could be beneficial for tertiary institutions to adequately adopt a career counselling model that provides students with the general understanding of how a student's family and other contextual factors contribute to their career interests. The implementation of this can be exceptionally helpful in being able to identify the specific student needs, therefore having the know-how to provide relevant support and assistance. The examples of these structures include the educational system that historically disadvantaged black people in providing them with limited career options, the legal system, colonization.

Theoretical Contributions

The findings of this study support the use of the intersectionality theoretical framework because the theory recognizes that these Xhosa-speaking graduates experience multiple

interlocking identities of privilege and oppression throughout their lifetime (Thompson, 2019). The theory assisted in deriving an understanding on how these graduates perceived their familial influences as either hindrances or fosters to their career development. This was possible due to the concept of intersectionality being contextual in that it acknowledged that these graduate's identity can change in accordance to their varying factors which include their family, gender, class and culture . One of the theoretical contributions of this study is the provision of information on the experiences of Xhosa-speaking graduates career development trajectory. Secondly, this study is one of the few studies that applies the intersectional framework in studying both male and female participants experience as graduate students who are Xhosa-speaking. Finally, the use of a qualitative method contributed additional insight to the predominately used quantitative methods in career development studies.

Value of the study

This study was prompted by the realisation that post 1994, there was a gradual growth in number of career options made available for black students to pursue. As further career opportunities became available, it was inevitable that multiple black families would be sending their first generation of students to university. A study of this nature is crucial in capturing how family and other preceding social and community dynamics that surround career development and career decision making process, have impacted Xhosa graduates in the post-apartheid era. For this reason, the purpose of this current study was to contribute to the current body of literature on career development and to expand further the field by providing new awareness into career development theories about the role of family in Xhosa graduates' career development. This was accomplished by aligning these individual graduates' career decisions with their familial influences which are significant contributors in their career development specifically amongst black South Africans (Stead & Watson, 2006).

Limitations and Recommendations for Future Research

This study made use of purposive sampling to obtain willing participants that would participate and adequately address the research question. For this study, this method was deemed useful and informative as it permitted the researcher to obtain sufficient and relevant data. Additionally, through the use of snowballing sampling, this allowed the researcher to gather enough participants through various platforms with the assistance from current participants in an easier and cost-effective manner. However, this study only used a sample of graduates who were Xhosa-speaking and were either currently employed or furthering their

studies or both. Moreover, due to Covid-19 pandemic, this study collected data from these participants electronically which to some extent had an influence on establishing rapport with participants.

In relation to limitations, this study could have made use of maximum variation sampling (Miles & Huberman, 1994). The use of maximum variation sampling allows participants that present a variety of differences in multiple levels to be included to further strengthen aims and arguments of a study. There is a growing need for further research conducted on family influences especially since in South Africa particularly, family compositions are shifting from the convention nuclear families. Consequently, this would broaden the understanding of the dynamics which certain students experience in conjunction to those most influential to them. This could potentially formulate additional opportunities for research and for diversity interventions in career development. There is also very little research that has explored the influence of family on career-related constructs from a cross-cultural perspective that will need to be furtherly examined.

Since this is a qualitative study, the findings cannot be generalisable to other Xhosa graduates in various institutions in South Africa. Therefore, further quantitative research that uses a randomized sample may be useful in exploring some of the factors that emerged in this study. Further research focusing on familial influences is recommended specifically in obtaining family members' perceptions about student career decisions. This would further improve understanding of the dynamics which students encounter pertaining to those most influential to them. This would potentially create additional opportunities for research and for diversity of interventions in career development. This could potentially offer an alternative to the conventional Western ideologies of career development and career psychology (Akhurst & Mkhize, 2006).

Conclusion

This study explored the role of family on Xhosa-speaking graduates career development in South Africa. After the interview analysis, it emerged that Xhosa-speaking graduates consider their cultural beliefs, family responsibilities and the type of social support they receive from their family members prior to them making their career development decisions. The family responsibilities and gender role expectations that these students had to uphold meant that they had to consider gratifying their family's physical circumstances which in turn caused a potential delay in their career development prospects. Participants received support that

varied from their parents and family members, this meant that these graduates had vastly different experiences of career development support. Since these graduates all came from diverse family backgrounds, their social and economic context also impacted their career development experiences. It is yearned that this study could be deliberated a vital contribution to the current research on familial role on Xhosa-speaking graduates career development in South Africa. Despite the surfeit research that exists on the role that parents and family members contribute on adolescent's career decision making process (Sovet & Metz, 2014), there is a need for further research and context specific interpretations for Xhosa-speaking graduate students trying to both juggle family responsibilities and career development prospects.



Appendix A: Interview Guide

Semi-Structured Interview

Research Question:

What is the role of family on the career development of Xhosa-speaking graduates?

Opening

Firstly, I will begin by trying to establish rapport with you remotely. Secondly, you will introduce yourself to me. Thirdly, I will disclose the purpose of the study and why I have asked you to be interviewed. I would like to ask you questions related to the factors that influenced your own personal career choice.

Demographic and background information

You will have to complete a form that contains questions related to your: age, education, current employment status, contact information and any dependents.

I will begin by asking you questions related to your family background history and your educational background. I will ask questions such as: “Can you please tell me more about yourself?” (past, and present background information) (This will include personal, work, educational and family background).

The Educational background:

1. Are you currently furthering your studies or are you currently employed?
2. If you are currently furthering your studies, what influenced you to want to further your studies?
3. If you are currently employed, are you in a job that is aligned with what you studied?

Probes:

- a. Why did you choose the course you are currently doing or have completed?
- b. How did you choose the course you studied or are currently studying?
- c. Did you have other choices to choose from?
- d. Who paid or is currently paying for your tuition fees?
- e. Did anyone help you choose a course to study?
- f. What would you say were your career plans after you had completed your degree?

- g. Were you exposed to any form of career guidance or career counselling before or during the completion of your degree/s?
 - h. What motivated you in choosing the institution you are currently in or completed your degree?
 - i. Were there any challenges you experienced in furthering your studies? If yes, what were they?
 - j. What do you like the most about the course you are currently doing or have completed?
4. What is your ideal job and why this specific occupation?

Probes:

- a. Do you have any career goals and aspirations? If yes, what are they?
- b. Do you feel that you can reach your career goals with the qualification/s you have, if no, are you willing to further your studies?
- c. What or who has had the greatest influence on your career decisions?
- d. What does career development mean to you?
- e. As a graduate, do you feel you can achieve your career goals within 5 to 10 years? If not, why not?
- f. Who or what helped you learn more about your career choices/development?

The family background:

5. Tell me more about your family background?
- a. Where were you born and where do you currently live?
 - b. Who normally makes the final decision at home?
 - c. What do your parents or guardians do for a living (occupation), if they haven't retired.
 - d. How many siblings do you have? this may include extended family members if you regard them as your siblings?
 - e. Are you a female or male? (You may choose to "prefer not to answer")
 - f. Do you currently have any children of your own? If you do, how many do you have?
 - g. Are you single or married?
 - h. Are you a first born, middle child or last born?
6. How many family members do you live with currently?

Probes:

- a. If you mentioned that you are currently employed, do you have to send some form of financial incentive at home? This can be monthly or annually.
 - b. Were there family challenges you encountered while you completed your degree or coming to university?
 - c. How does your family feel about the level of education and qualification/s you have?
 - d. How does your family feel about you possibly furthering your studies?
7. Tell me about your own upbringing? Any childhood memories you have that have shaped and influenced how you think and perceive life circumstances now?

Probes:

- a. Do your family members encourage you to either continue furthering your studies or find employment?
 - b. How would your family members feel if you quit your job to continue studying?
8. Do your family members have specific expectations of you? If yes, what are they?

Probes:

- a. Is there a difference between your own personal expectations of yourself and what your family members expect from you?
- b. If your family members have expectations of you, do you think you can achieve these specific expectations now or within 5 years?
- c. Do you think family members have the same expectations for both males and females or are they different?

Closing

The interviewer will thank the participant for their time in answering the interview questions.

Appendix B: Ethical Approval



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UCT Commerce Faculty Office

22/06/2020

Anela Madyaka

School of Management Studies

University of Cape Town

REF: REC 2020/06/016

Exploring the role of extended family responsibilities in the career development of Xhosa speaking graduates

We are pleased to inform you that your ethics application has been approved. Unless otherwise specified this ethical clearance is valid until 30-Jun-2021 .

Your clearance may be renewed upon application.

Please be aware that you need to notify the Ethics Committee immediately should any aspect of your study regarding the engagement with participants as approved in this application, change. This may include aspects such as changes to the research design, questionnaires, or choice of participants.

The ongoing ethical conduct throughout the duration of the study remains the responsibility of the principal investigator.

We wish you well for your research.

2020.06.22
 15:01:28 +02'00'

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Appendix C: Informed consent form

Hello.

My name is Anela Madyaka and I am a Masters student at the University of Cape Town (UCT). I am conducting a study that will explore extended family responsibility in the career development of Xhosa speaking graduates and how cultural values may have an impact on extended family obligations. I would like to speak to you about your own experiences on the topic please.

This research has been approved by the Commerce Faculty Ethics in Research Committee at the University of Cape Town (UCT). I would need approximately one hour of your time for the interview. Due to the current pandemic, telephonic interviews or online platforms will be used for the interview. You may need to provide me with some form of identification information however, all the responses provided during the interview process will be kept confidential and only applied for the sole purpose of this research and full anonymity will be ensured. This means that your full name will not appear anywhere. Your participation is also voluntary. You have the right and opportunity to withdraw from participating in the study at any moment following which none of the information you have provided will be used.

If you have any inquires or questions with regards to the research, please feel free to contact:

Anela Madyaka

Email address: Mdyane003@myuct.ac.za

Contact details: 0724444752

Or my research supervisor:

Associate Professor: Ameeta Jaga

Email address: Ameetajaga@uct.ac.za

Please kindly complete the form below:

By signing the form below, I consent to participating in this study. I acknowledge that I have read and understood the information mentioned above. I am aware that I can discontinue my participation in this study at any moment.

Full name: _____

Signature: _____

Date: _____

I consent in having the interview audio recorded.

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