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The Influence of Kinship Care on Career Development: Reflections of Adults Living in A Peri-Urban Context

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Research report submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Education in Educational Psychology

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July 2020

Declaration

I, Masego Morobane, know and accept that plagiarism (the use of another's work and presenting as your own) is wrong. Consequently, I declare that this research report is my own work; it is being submitted as a part of fulfilment for Master in Educational Psychology in the Faculty of Humanities, University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.

Signed: 

Date: 27 / 07 / 2020

Dedication

To my mother, Basetsana

Acknowledgments

I would like to acknowledge and extend my gratitude to the following institutions and individuals:

- The University of Witwatersrand for providing the opportunity to complete my postgraduate studies in Educational Psychology.
- My sincere appreciation to my supervisor, Prof. Daleen Alexander, for her meticulous guidance and support. The motivation to continue with my research project when I needed it the most.
- My research participants, for your time and trust.
- To my surrogate parents, Mmamgolo Olga, Mmamgolo Dinah and Malome Thuli. Thank for your support through this difficult journey as well as being the support system to my support system.
- To my life partner, Rozz, for the many times you encouraged me to carry on with this journey. All the constant support and love carried me through. No words can describe the depth of my gratitude.
- My academic wife, Malebo, we finally did it. Your friendship, faith in me and support means more than you'll ever know
- My beloved friends and chosen family, I cannot begin to show my appreciation. I will always be grateful for your patience and support forever.
- Ms Kai, I appreciate the hours you spent editing my work
- My Epworth family, I am grateful for the many words of support and love we shared with each other.
- The universe, thank you for always conspiring in my favour.

Abstract

There are various reasons why children grow up under kinship care such as migrant labour, the HIV/AIDS epidemic, teenage pregnancy, and financial constraints faced by biological parents, to mention a few. The specific area of focus for this study is how the exploration of influences of circumstances and life events may have shaped children generally and specifically their career development. An analysis of the influence of being raised in and living under kinship care within a peri-urban area was conducted. This was undertaken to understand how such a situation influences the career development of young adults through their reflective process on this period in their lives. Furthermore, it involves a present understanding of these young adults and adults' reflection on their past adolescent experiences as well as their current career trajectories. Ten participants, between the ages of 21 and 35 years old, who grew up in kinship care and within peri-urban environments, were interviewed in a qualitative paradigm, through individual, semi-structured interviews. The findings revealed that the circumstances of living in kinship care and in a peri-urban area had hindered the development of the participants' career development with many identified barriers. The overarching theme of these barriers was discussed as two separate main themes of individual/internal barriers and contextual/external barriers. The subthemes identified were the influence of insecure attachment styles and psychosocial development, the participants' financial circumstances, lack of career intervention and exposure to the effect that the South African political history had on people living in peri-urban areas and under kinship care. These barriers mentioned also provided opportunities for resilience and growth, which subsequently swayed their career self-efficacy. In addition, these findings aligned with the core ideas espoused by the Systems Theory Framework developed by Mary McMahon, and in particular, how various intrapersonal, interpersonal and contextual influences can affect an individual's career development. Another

theoretical framework applied was the Attachment theory, which assisted in comprehending the relationship and impact of being raised under kinship care.

Key words: Attachment; career development; career self – efficacy; kinship care; peri-urban; Systems Theory Framework

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Chapter 1: Introduction, Rationale and Research Aims

1.1. Introduction

The term currently known as career development was first coined as vocational development by Frank Parsons, who formed a conceptual framework for choosing a career (Zunker, 2012). The term was defined by many American career theorists and has been the basis of career development across the world. It was defined by the American Counselling Association as "the constellation of psychological, sociological, educational, physical, economic and chance factors that combine to influence the nature and significance of work in the total life span of any given individual" (Engels, 1994). This definition bases the importance on providing multifaceted support to individuals, specifically adolescents, while they are developing their careers. The definition was further summarised by Duane Brown ,and highlights career development as lifelong, as an "ongoing or lifelong process to help one to learn new skills and achieve more in one's career" (as cited in Seabi et al., 2010, p 491).

With the advancing research on career development in South Africa and the ways to incorporate the American definition to the South African context, it is vital to look at the influence that the historical Apartheid regime has had on the current employment or economic status of the young adults in this country. It is recognized that there is insufficient research that has been conducted on the career development and misguided application career development of adolescents in South African peri-urban contexts such as the townships of Soweto, Mamelodi and Thembisa in Gauteng. That is why the application of career development may be misguided in these townships.

The South African Apartheid laws have placed the peri-urban areas at a disadvantage. These areas had been the designated for people who were not classified under the white racial group. The people who lived in these areas received subpar services, resources, and opportunities such

as inadequate housing, lack of water and electricity and inferior education. In addition to this, their family structures were affected by migrant labour. Black labourers had to move away from their families in the townships to live closer to their workplace in the cities leaving children under kinship car, which is defined as the care of children by a formally or informally appointed familial relative such as an older sibling, grandparent, or aunt/uncle (Winokur et al., 2018).

The deprivation and discrimination of the afore mentioned can still be seen in these specific areas and the inequalities felt in terms of social and economic opportunities. The youth from these peri-urban areas have shown little success in their careers (Meyer & Braxton, as cited in Seabi et al., 2010) which may be because of inadequate career development guidance, advice, and choices, resulting in ill-informed career choices. The effect of kinship care on adolescents and their future career trajectories into adulthood has not been highlighted in literature probably because there is currently limited research on the career development of adolescents living in kinship care in the mentioned areas in South Africa. However, the available research has led to a hypothesis that the support of career development or the lack thereof in these South African peri-urban areas may negatively impact the future career trajectories of adolescents growing up in peri-urban areas, well into their adulthood (Albien & Naidoo, 2016; Mhlongo & O'Neil, 2013; Ramjit, 2016).

The vast range of family structures in South Africa has given rise to the examination of the influence it may have on the individual and, for this research specifically, their career development. Thus, psychologists specifically working with individuals from such a background to assist with their career development need to reflect on the adolescents' holistic context to establish all the influences on their current and future career development. The intent of this study was to explore both the adults' recollection concerning the influence of kinship care and the influence of living in a peri-urban area on their past and current career

development. The reflection of the past will particularly focus on adolescence and currently will focus on the early and middle adulthood because it may have influence or ramifications on the participants' current early and middle adulthood career trajectories.

1.2. Research Aim

This study aimed to amass literature on the career development of adolescents living in peri-urban contexts with specific emphasis on townships in Gauteng. This study will further develop literature on the type of care individuals received during adolescence and how it influenced their career trajectories. Therefore, the purpose of this study is to analyse the reflections of adults on the influences they encountered growing up under kinship care in peri-urban areas during adolescence; and how those life conditions during that life stage swayed their past and current career trajectories as well as their current life stage.

1.3. Research Questions

Based on the gap in previous research in the area of career development and kinship care, this has led to the following research questions:

1. What is the perceived nature and sway of kinship care on the career development during adolescence, if any?
2. How did the peri-urban context influence the career development during adolescence, if at all?
3. Is there an observed or performative difference (however subtly or covert) between kinship care and biological parental care on the career development of adolescents, when now appraised years later?
4. What are the current influences on the participants' current career trajectories in adulthood?

1.4. Rationale

Career development may be influenced by many factors in one's life. According to Amundonsin's Interactive Model of Career Decision Making, contextual factors such as culture, politics, and economics are primary influencers of an individual's career (Stead & Watson, 2017). Additional factors such as family relations also have a major influence on the adolescents' career choices as noted by Mhlongo and O'Neil (2013). Their research also analysed how black first year students at the University of Kwa-Zulu Natal perceived their family's sway on their career development; which revealed that students experienced their parents' influence in a multifaceted way: directly and indirectly (Mhlongo & O'Neil, 2013).

Seabi et al. (2010) earlier support the findings on direct parental influence regarding the impact of parental influence on the development of adolescents' careers. The latter research indicated that the adolescents received direct parental persuasion and encouragement when it came to career development (Seabi et al., 2010). Although this supports the literature regarding the influence on the development of adolescents' careers within the South African context, there is a scarcity on the research pertaining to children living under kinship care and how this has influenced their career development.

Kinship care is initiated or opted for when biological parents cannot care for their children any longer. The children are either placed under the care of extended family member or the relatives decide to take on their care. As noted by Save the Children Fund (2007), kinship care is the preferred out-of-home care as it enables the child to still remain with the familiar adults, preserves a sense of identity, and is the most stable form of foster placements (O'Brien, 2012). South Africa, on the other hand, has a long history of children who do not live with their biological parents, because of poverty or parents seeking work and educational opportunities resulting in labour migration (Meintjies & Hall, 2013). The typical kinship caregivers are aunts, uncles, older siblings, and grandparents. In South Africa about 60% of orphans are being taken

care of by their grandparents (Save The Children Fund, 2007) This could explain the children's educational difficulties because the grandparents are unfamiliar with the school curriculum (Smithgall & Mason, 2008) and possibly also be linked to career development aspects.

Research conducted by O'Higgins et al. (2015) in the United Kingdom, has looked at the link between children living in kinship care and their educational outcomes. O'Higgins et al. (2015) found that most children in kinship care lag behind children in parental care, in many educational areas. This is partly explained by the children's experiences before going into kinship care such as neglect (O'Higgins et al., 2015). Further experiences before the kinship care placement such as parental abuse or parental incarceration may explain why the children are lagging behind (Gleeson, et al., 2008).

Due to the paucity of research conducted on career development of adolescents in the South African peri-urban contexts in Gauteng, this area of enquiry was selected for the context of this study. This study aims to shed light on the influence of kinship care on career development during the adolescent years in the peri-urban South African context, expending the reflections of adults on their adolescent years.

1.5. Outline of Research Report

Chapter one introduces the study by stating the research aim, discussing the rationale and posing the research questions. This chapter will also define the key concepts of this study.

Chapter two provides a review of the most important and relevant literature for this study. The chapter begins by exploring the practice of kinship care globally and from the South African perspective. The chapter continues onto a section about career development. This section provides the foundation and growth of career development, followed by the approach of career development in the South African context.

Chapter three provides an in-depth overview of the theoretical frameworks of the study. The chapter will begin with an overview of the System Theory Framework for Career Development and Counselling as the overarching theoretical framework, followed by different attachment-related theories over a period, namely attachment theory, separation-individuation theory and mentalisation theory.

Chapter four highlights the methodology that was applied in this study. It explains the research design, sampling method, data collection procedure and data analysis method, including the triangulation process charted. Furthermore, the chapter will discuss the ethical considerations of this study. Lastly, the researcher's reflexivity is elucidated as the researcher played an imperative role in the study.

Chapter five presents the results obtained from the study, as well as a discussion of these results. The chapter gives an overview of the demographic and descriptive profile of the participants. Subsequently, the overarching theme, main themes and sub-themes are discussed in relation to the literature and theoretical background.

Chapter six completes the research report by providing an ending to the study. Successively an overview of the research limitations and possible recommendations for future studies are given.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1. Introduction

This chapter provides literature that is essential to explore past findings and current research related to this study. The first major construct to be explored is kinship care. This will include the illumination of the origin of kinship care from a global as well as a local South African perspective. Thereafter, literature on career psychology and career development will be expanded upon. This will include literature on the formation of career psychology and career development as well as its application to the South African context.

2.2. Kinship Care

2.2.1. Global Perspective of Kinship Care

According to Scannapieco and Jackson (1996), children have been placed in kinship care since the early 1600s and this placement has been due to constantly changing reasons (Leinaweaver, 2014). Some of the reasons for placement in care vary from a child being orphaned to parents being unable to care for the child (United Nations Children's Fund, 2008). Subsequent to the parents being unable to care for their child, the child will need to be placed in alternative care. The alternative care of children is divided into formal and informal care, which is discussed in the next section.

Formal alternative care relates mainly to residential care, which is described as children living in a cluster setting and are cared for by paid adults (employees) who are not related or known to the children (United Nations Children's Fund, 2008). Conversely, informal alternative care in the form of kinship care is the private preparation for the care of children by close friends or family (Save the Children Fund, 2007; United Nations Children's Fund, 2008). Kinship care can also be demarcated as formal, for instance when there is a legal order for the children to be placed under the care of other family members (Save the Children Fund, 2007; Selwyn &

Nandy, 2014). Although research on kinship care has grown in recent years, the understanding of how and why it was established is still underdeveloped and under researched (Gleeson et al., 2009).

The term "kinship care" was coined in a 1974 book by Carol Stack, which studied and examined the importance of support systems from family and friends amongst the African American community when coping with poverty (Scannapieco & Jackson, 1996). UNICEF (2008) defines this term as "family-based care in the child's extended family or with close family friends who are known to the child, whether formal or informal in nature" (p. *v*). Child Welfare League of America explains kinship care as "the full-time nurturing and protection of children who must be separated from their parents by relatives, members of their tribes or clans, godparents, step-parents or other adults who have a kinship bond with a child" (Winokur et al., 2018, p. 19). The latter definition shows little to no relation to the roots and foundation of kinship care in America, specifically within the African American culture and is therefore seen as controversial.

There is a historical pattern within the African American population that children are raised and are the responsibility of the collective community. This was a cultural tradition that originated from the slaves that were taken from West Africa (Scannapieco & Jackson, 1996). The slave trade initially destroyed family units coming from Africa, however, once in America, the African slaves drifted towards those of similar kin to form new kin relations (Scannapieco & Jackson, 1996). From the 1800s through to the civil rights movement years in the 1960s, African American children were separated from their parents for various reasons such as the civil war, limited living space in the north, and for better educational prospects (Scannapieco & Jackson, 1996). Currently, kinship care in the USA results from children being separated from their parents because of neglect, abuse, maltreatment, abandonment, sexual abuse or drug

addiction, which is in alignment with the definition from the Child Welfare League America (Winokur et al., 2018).

A study conducted by Winokur et al. (2018) reported that children living in kinship care had better outcomes with respects to adaptive behaviour, psychiatric disorders, well-being, behavioural problems and placement stability. This is supported by a study that reported that having strong kinship connections provides the children with support and increased chances of achieving successes and performing social functions in an appropriate manner (Schwartz, 2008). Although kinship care is a well-known practice in the African American population, it seems relatively new in other Western cultures and countries such as the UK and Australia (Winokur et al., 2018).

Aldgate et al. (as cited in Leinaweaver, 2014) stated that informal care arrangements with families, in the United Kingdom, date back as far as the 19th century when parents were unable to financially support their children and the numbers began to rise again in the late 1980s (Leinaweaver, 2014). Although there appears to be a history of relatives taking care of children in the UK, literature and research based on it has only recently been evolving (Selwyn & Nandy, 2014). The current increase in the research output can be attributed to the fact that kinship care has recently become the most common form of alternative care for children in all four nations of the UK, namely England, North Ireland, Scotland, and Wales (Davey, 2016).

The England Department of Education defines kinship care as "a relative, friend or other person with a prior connection with somebody else's child who is caring for that child full time" (Selwyn & Nandy, 2014). However, relatives such as cousins, great grandparents and great aunts are not legally considered as relatives in the UK, thus when they step in to take care of the child/ren, it is considered private fostering (Leinaweaver, 2014; Selwyn & Nandy, 2014). The Children's Act of 1989 in England, which has a similar act in Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland, requires the local social workers and police to consider kinship care first,

before placement anywhere else (Leinaweaver, 2014), because of the following four major reasons: keeping the child with family, keeping the child in a familiar setting, the outcome of the placement is often perceived to be more positive and lastly, this placement is perceived to be the most cost-effective and time efficient option (McCartan, et al., 2018). It also appears that informal kinship care is increasing in the UK mostly because of socio-economic factors such as female incarceration, maternal drug/alcohol abuse and increasing poverty (Dunne & Kettler, 2008; Leinaweaver, 2014; McCartan et al., 2018; Selwyn & Nandy, 2014). In 2016, it was estimated that 27% of the children in Scotland were in alternative care and in kinship care specifically (Hartley et al., 2019). Statistics from Coram Academy (2017), an Adoption & Fostering Academy, reported that in March 2019 approximately 19% of children living in alternative care in England were fostered by a relative or a friend of the parents. However, these statistics only capture the children who are formally registered as living in kinship care in their respective countries. This indicates the difficulty of capturing definite numbers of kinship care in the UK.

In Australia and New Zealand, kinship care is rapidly increasing and is largely promoted by government policies (Selwyn & Nandy, 2014). According to the Australian Institute of Health and Wellness (Australian Institute of Family Studies, 2020), 47.2% of children living in "out-of-home care" were living in kinship care with grandparents being the prominent care givers (Dunne & Kettler, 2008). In the culture of the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people, also known as Australian indigenous people, kinship carer or caregiver refers to other indigenous people of the same community or from the same language group (Arney et al., 2015; Kiraly, 2018), which is different from who is considered as kin in the United States of America and the United Kingdom. The number of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children placed with relatives or caregivers in 2018 was 10.2 times higher than that of non-indigenous children (Kiraly, 2018). This may be because of the implementation of the

Aboriginal and Torres Islander Child Placement Principle in the 1980s (Australian Institute of Family Studies, 2020).

The Child Placement Principle was developed in response to the traumatic experiences of the Stolen Generations (Arney et al., 2015; De Bono, 2018). What is now known as the Stolen Generation legacy was the practice to forcefully remove the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children from their families and communities in line with the Australian policies of assimilation and systematic discrimination (De Bono, 2018). The practice dates back to the time of colonisation by the British until the late 1970s (Gilbert, 2019). The goal of the removals was to assimilate and socially engineer the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children to British culture in an attempt to erase the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander culture (Gilbert, 2019). The children removed experienced physical, psychological and sexual abuse (Arney et al., 2015; Gilbert, 2019). Therefore, the implementation of The Principle was to readdress the wrongs of the past, prevent disconnection of and rebuild connections between the children, family, community, language, identity and culture (Arney et al., 2015).

The Principle is now incorporated into the child protection legislation and policy to guide the placement of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children, prioritising first the family and kinship members, then the non-related carers in the same community and lastly carers from any other Aborigine or Torres Strait Islander community. This keeps the Aborigine and Torres Strait Islander children connected to their language and cultural practices (Arney, 2015). This practice seems to be similar to the informal practice of kinship care for black people in South Africa.

2.2.2. Kinship Care in South Africa

The history of kinship care in South Africa is rooted in traditional African practices of functioning within families (Leinaweaver, 2014) and the belief of a community being responsible for a child (Ariyo et al., 2019). The value of living with biological parents is

important, but if the biological parents cannot meet the needs of the child/ren, they are often left in the care of family members or relatives, specifically grandparents (Statistics South Africa, 2019). In the unfortunate event of the child being an orphan, mostly maternal or double-orphaned, they are also left in the care of kin. It is noted that in Africa, kin are understood to be blood relatives and members of the wider community or tribe (Leinaweaver, 2014). The philosophy of *Ubuntu*, which is a belief based on principles and values of kindness, caring for one another and the well-being of the community (Hall & Posel, 2019) may be the underlining reason for extended family members and the wider community members being involved in raising the children (Battle, 2007 as cited in Davey, 2016).

In 2012, UNICEF (as cited in Davey, 2014) reported that up to 49% of non-orphaned children were living with extended family members and 90% of children who were maternal orphans were being cared for by relatives and/or community members (Ariyo et al., 2019). The most recent statistics report that 11.7% of children were classified as orphans (Statistics South Africa, 2019). The individual statistics for foster care and kinship care are difficult to distinguish because the South African Children's Act 38 of 2005 (South African Government Gazzette, 2006), which came into implementation in 2010, does not distinguish between foster care and kinship care. Statistics South Africa (2019) reported that approximately 19.8% of children do not reside with their parents. Research further indicated that the highest percentage of orphaned children in South Africa was recorded in KwaZulu-Natal and the lowest in Gauteng, where the current study took place (Leinaweaver, 2014; Statistics South Africa, 2019).

According to Meintjies and Hall (2013) this could previously be explained by the HIV/AIDS pandemic in the 1990s and early 2000s which was found to be higher in Kwa Zulu-Natal. With the stigma of HIV/AIDS ripe in the 1990s and early 2000s, the double-orphaned household was run by the eldest child, making the home a child headed household (Meyiwa, 2011).

However, Hall and Posel (2012) previously stated that the HIV/AIDS pandemic is a minor reason for kinship care. They also premised that kinship care was mostly instituted due to labour migration, cultural practices, and financial necessity.

Kidnapping and enslavement of black men and labour migration meant that the care of children was and still is mostly bestowed upon black women in Africa. Thus, for survival purposes, the reliance on other women was essential (Leinaweaver, 2014). In South Africa, this is engrained in the long-lasting history of parents, mostly fathers, migrating due to job opportunities from the rural areas and into the urban areas before and during the Apartheid era (Kautzky, 2009). Consequently, kinship care and careers have thus been intricately linked from before the Apartheid era up to the present.

The migration is noted to diminish the ties between parents and their children, as well as remaining family members (Hall & Posel, 2012; Hall & Posel, 2019; Kautzky, 2009; Lu & Treiman, 2011). Most black families lived outside of the towns and cities that they were employed in, because of the implementation of the Group Areas Act 41 of 1950, which restricted the movement of black people in white areas and moved them to bantustans/homelands, which were far from the urban white areas and those who were working in the urban areas were moved into townships closer to the white areas (Hall & Posel, 2019). The bantustans were set aside for the black people who could not work in the white areas, such as the old, disabled and young (Hall & Posel, 2012). The effect and legacy of the labour migration is still seen to this day. Participants, who were kinship carers in a study conducted by Davey (2016), recalled being raised by their grandmothers, as it was only normal for grandmothers to step in as carers of their grandchildren. Hall & Posel (2019) state that even after Apartheid was terminated; there was still a rise in labour migration specifically for women and children who were still left behind in the rural areas and informal urban areas (also known as peri-urban areas or townships).

Kinship care is mostly viewed as "positive in terms of stability, identity formation, maintaining contact with family and enabling siblings to live together" (O'Brien, 2012, p. 129). One of the other reasons for kinship care within South Africa is the rate of unmarried young women or girls having children (Davey, 2016; Mokone, 2006). The unmarried girls are required to leave their children with their parents while they work or finish school (Hall & Posel, 2012; Mokone, 2006).

Kinship care is the least systematically recorded type of foster care, and it is also the least monitored (Save the Children Fund, 2007). The assessment and approval of kinship care placement is a challenge as most of the placement happens under duress following a family crisis such as death or incarceration (Davey, 2016). This could set in motion several challenges such as stigmas associated with HIV/AIDS, insecure attachment, lack of communication and potential for children to be abused or exploited (Leinaweaver, 2014). With the increasing economic hardships faced in many countries across Africa and the unmonitored informal kinship care arrangements, there are many concerns regarding the well-being of children in kinship care (Ariyo et al., 2019).

2.2.3. Critique of Kinship Care

One of the critiques mentioned by Save the Children Fund (2007) was the impact that the carergivers' health, particularly grandparents', has on the adolescents' wellbeing. This increases concerns about the child's current and future psychological, educational and career wellbeing. The decline in the grandparents' health is not only due to their age, but also because of the emotional cost due to becoming caregivers to their young grandchildren. More than half of the families who reported educational-related problems were cared for by grandparents (McCartan et al., 2018; Smithgall & Mason, 2008). The generational gap makes it difficult for the grandparents to meet the adolescents' educational needs (Cudjoe et al., 2019), probably due

to the differences in the education received by the grandparents and that which the grandchildren currently receive.

A study conducted by Dunne and Kettler (2008) stated that the grandparents' high stress levels were related with the grandchildren's excessive levels of behavioural and social difficulties. The increased stress may also be exacerbated by limited finances, anxieties of re-parenting, loss of peer relationships and difficulties with handling educational demands (Dunne & Kettler, 2008). Houston (as cited in Hartley et al., 2019) stated that the kinship carers who are most likely to be older aunts or maternal grandparents tend to be less healthy, are less educated and tend to be in a lower socio-economic status.

One of the prominent challenges reported about kinship care is financial difficulties (Davey, 2016; Dunne & Kettler, 2008; Hartley et al., 2019; Kiraly, 2018; McCartan et al., 2018; Save the Children Fund, 2007; Selwyn & Nandy, 2014) because only the formally appointed kinship carers can receive financial support (known as social security grants in South Africa) from the government (Davey, 2016; Selwyn & Nandy, 2014). It was estimated that only 3.5% of the children living in kinship care received financial support from the Scottish government (McCartan et al., 2018), which proves that this is a worldwide challenge regarding kinship care. Scannapieco and Jackson (1996) also highlighted that the primary kinship caregiver in the African American community is the grandmother, who in turn depends on her other children and family members for financial support. Kinship care placement is normally sudden and unexpected and can become complex as it may create tension between the biological parents and the extended family relatives (McCartan, et al., 2018).

It appears to be difficult to evaluate the growth of kinship care in any country, because of the wide definition as well as lack of widespread research on all types of kinship care (Selwyn & Nandy, 2014). As informal kinship care is not regulated, there are major social ills that have

been reported to happen to children who live in kinship care. In many countries around the world, there have been reports of children being treated different from the biological children in the homes of their kinship carers (Leinaweaver, 2014). Countries such as Indonesia, Ghana, Sierra Leone and Haiti have reported that the girl children can be exploited and become the domestic workers of their kinship carers (Leinaweaver, 2014). Thus, it is essential to consider all family members who could potentially become full-time caregivers and to evaluate them before formalising the placement.

The section above has shown that there are many psychosocial, socio-political and socio-economic influences, which result in children being placed in kinship care. These influences have an impact on all domains of a child and /or adolescent and the carer while living in kinship care (Dunne & Kettler, 2008; McCartan et al., 2018; Smithgall & Mason, 2008). In this study, the focus will be on such children in adolescence and exploring the effects of kinship care on the domain of their career development. Thus, the following section in this chapter will discuss career development in depth.

2.3. Career Development

To fully comprehend career development, one needs to know its origins and the subsequent development. This section will look at the construction and development of the concept of career development, and provide an understanding of the related, holistic constructs. The face of career development in South Africa will also be highlighted and how it is viewed contrarily by different people in diverse contexts. This will give us an indication of how the participants may have experienced career development during their adolescence while living in peri-urban areas.

2.3.1. Origins of Career Psychology

Career psychology originates from Europe and the USA (Stead & Watson, 2017). Frank Parsons is credited as one of the founders of vocational psychology (Ramjit, 2016), which later became career psychology, after his work "Choosing a Vocation" was published in 1909 (Zunker, 2012). Parsons sought to provide counselling using the ideologies of light, information, as well as inspiration and cooperation. These three ideologies went on to define the basis for the Trait and Factor Theory, career guidance as well as many modern career counselling theories. They are interpreted as (1) light; indicating an understanding of oneself, abilities, interests, resources, limitations and other qualities, (2) information; indicating the knowledge of the task requirements, conditions for success, advantages and disadvantages, compensation, opportunities and prospects in different lines of work and (3) inspiration and cooperation; indicating reasoning on the confidence of fit in matching an individual's qualities and job specifications (O'Brien, 2001; Stead & Watson, 2017; Whiston, 2003; Zunker, 2012).

The publication of Parsons's book in 1909 prompted national discourse on career development in the USA and the first National Conference on Vocational Guidance took place in 1910 (Zunker, 2012). The many conferences and publications to follow about vocational guidance continuously changed and were shaped by major events such as: (1) World War 1 (WW1), where acts were put into place to assist the veterans back into the work world after the war; (2) the Great Depression, which left many Americans unemployed and struggled to survive and (3) World War 2 (WW2), which required the women to take over the men's place in the workplace and after the war, veterans were encouraged to attend further education institutions (Zunker, 2012). WW2 also stimulated the growth in applied psychology as well as the use of measurement inventories such as tests (Stead & Watson, 2017).

Parsons's approach to vocational psychology addressed the intrapersonal and interpersonal concerns that could impact career development (O'Brien, 2001) and with the rise of differential

psychology at the time, this prompted the development of vocational tests, aptitude tests and personality tests (Stead & Watson, 2017). These tests were used to assist the career counselling process. This initiated the shift from vocational psychology to career psychology, which included the need to consider the individual's life pattern through their work (Zunker, 2012).

Career counselling refers to the "counselling activities associated with career choice over a life span. In the career counselling process, all aspects of individuals' needs (including family, work, personal concerns and leisure) are recognised as the integral parts of career decision making and planning" (Zunker, 2012, p. 7). From this definition, it is inferred that career counselling is a process of activities, which assist an individual in career decision making. Career counselling is provided through career guidance, which is described as services and activities that facilitate career development through professionals that can foster the individual's capability and desire to control their own career development (Zunker, 2012). Career counselling was also influenced by the rise in career theories in the 1950s, which are still used to this day (Stead & Watson, 2017; Zunker, 2012). These career theories have been heavily criticised for being inadequate, especially for the current diversity within the working world (McMahon, 2002).

2.3.2. Construction of Career Development

The term career development was only introduced in the 1950s (Herr, 2001, as cited in Ramijit, 2016). The definition of career development, as given by the American Counselling Association (Engels, 1994, as cited in Zunker, 2012) is "the constellation of psychological, sociological, educational, physical, economic and chance factors that combine to influence the nature and significance of work in the total life span of any given individuals" (p. 7). This definition of elucidates career development as a multi-dimensional concept with a compilation of many factors. A later definition of career development was published by a group of MIT scholars, as "a lifelong process of working out a synthesis between individual interests and the

opportunities (or limitations) present in the external work-related environment, so that both individuals and environmental objectives are fulfilled" (Van Maanen & Schein, 1997, as cited in Arthur, 2014, p. 628-629). The definition published by the MIT scholars highlights that although the definition is ever evolving, the key aspects of career development that remain steadfast is that it is a lifelong and dynamic process, and that there are bi-directional processes between the individual and the context that happen. It thus appears as though an individual's context pronouncedly influences their career development.

The positivist and traditional theories of career development have not been complex enough to assist career counselling and address career development needs in South Africa (McMahon, 2002) as these theories were linear and predictive (Watson & McMahon, 2009) such as Holland's Theory of Vocational Personalities in Work Environment. These theories were especially seen as not applicable in traditionally marginalised contexts, such as peri-urban areas. Therefore, both theories and the application thereof need to be decolonialised. The shift to the constructivist and holistic theories, such as McMahon and Patton's System Theory Framework of Career Development, allows for a further dynamic and interactive approach to career counselling (Watson & McMahon, 2009). This constructivist philosophy in career counselling has placed emphasis on active agency, meaning-making and comprehensiveness (Keevy et al., 2012). It also encourages a narrative approach in career counselling that allows for specific narratives, not the generalised understanding of careers of mostly white able - bodied, middle - class males (Watson & McMahon, 2009; Watson, 2013). This shift in philosophy also allowed for career counselling to move from being individually focused to being community-based, which is more applicable to the South African culture (Watson et al., 2010). Thus, the use of more constructivist career theories, which incorporate and take into consideration the individual's contextual background into their career decision-making, appears to be more appropriate especially for the participants of this study. Now that the history

of career development has been covered, the application of career development in the local South African context needs to be addressed.

2.3.3. Career Development in South Africa

The transition and growth of career psychology and career development in South Africa draw heavily from two sources, namely: (1) mainstream psychology from Europe and the USA and (2) sources of vocational psychology in the USA (Stead & Watson, 2017). It should be highlighted that career counselling encompasses all aspects of life such as politics, education and social change (Zunker, 2012). Thus, to comprehend the emergence of career psychology in South Africa entirely, one needs to understand the socio-political context and economic status of the South African people (Ramjit, 2016; Stead & Watson, 2017; Watson & McMahon, 2009).

The Apartheid era affected the nature of career psychology in South Africa as the social and economic laws aimed to protect the white minority population, where the best resources were allocated to the white minority, specifically related to education and job opportunities (Stead & Watson, 2017). These laws gave the rest of the population minimal educational and employment opportunities (Stead & Watson, 2017). Stead (1996) noted that the education given to black learners, called Bantu education, was designed for the black people to become unskilled labourers who were destined to work in secondary industries such as manufacturing, thus there was little preparation for more skilled jobs (Buthelezi et al., 2009; Stead, 2005). The learners who were able to "succeed" and receive further education, were largely restricted to careers in policing, nursing, teaching and the military (Buthelezi et al., 2009). A 2005 paper by Foxcroft et al. (as cited by Ramjit, 2016) reiterates this inequality by attesting that the psychological assessments, including the career assessments, were only in Afrikaans, which insured that black people did not perform well and were thus believed to be inadequate for certain careers. Ramjit (2016) notes that white learners received career guidance from 1967,

but black learners only began to receive career guidance in 1981. Although Apartheid gradually ended from the late 1980s through to the early 1990s, there seems to be minimal improvement in black people's career development (Stead, 1996). Although there is no legislation that addresses career development and skills development at a school level (Ramjit, 2016), there has been an attempt to address the issue during the school years. The curriculum has been revised many times since then and a subject called Life Orientation (L.O.) (Ramjit, 2016), which is meant to deliver equal career guidance to all South African learners, was introduced in the late 1990s (Department of Basic Education, 2011; Stead, 2005). The curriculum addresses career guidance through a section called World of Work, but this section is only introduced in the senior phase, specifically grade seven (Department of Basic Education, 2011). The section addresses subjects of studying, different career fields, as well as career and subject choices in the senior phase (Department of Basic Education, 2011). In the Further Education and Training Phase (grade 10-12), the section which addresses career guidance is called Careers and Career Choices, which covers career field choices, diversity of jobs, requirements for admission to higher education and plans for life after school (Department of Basic Education, 2011). However, it should be highlighted that the L.O. teachers are not adequately trained to facilitate this section (Ramjit, 2016; Stead, 2005) and Prinsloo (2007) has previously shown that teachers in schools in rural areas found it difficult to address career guidance issues, thus there is an inadequacy of teachers teaching this section.

The insufficient career counselling during the school years may be linked to the fluctuating unemployment rate in South Africa. Van Aardt (as cited in Ismail et al., 2016) noted that the high unemployment rate is closely linked to lack of experience, which is related to the lack of relevant skills, which could have been transferred through career counselling. South Africa appears to have a major crisis concerning youth unemployment (Ismail et al., 2016). The unemployment statistics in South Africa currently are at 29.1%, which has remained unchanged

since the third quarter of 2019 (Bronkhorst, 2020). Albien and Naidoo (2016) argue that the influence of past inequality and its current impacts are not taken into consideration in the South African workplace, which leads to the career development and the workplace of the previously disadvantaged adolescents and adults being at a dissonance. Maree (2015) agrees with the statement and further reiterates that inequality and unemployment appears to be more widespread today than it was during the Apartheid era. A linear evolution of how unemployment comes about and the effect of it, was created: "poor school achievement, inability to enrol for sought-after fields of study that will guarantee employment, inability to find employment, increase in rates of unemployment, lower economic growth and increase in a likelihood of socio-political instability" (Maree, 2015, p. 391). Smith (2018) notes that this problem has three implications in the workplace, namely: (1) career development of the previously disadvantages is not informed by the influence of past and current inequality (Albien & Naidoo, 2016), (2) the previously disadvantaged workers cannot meet the expectations and demands of the workplace (Ismail et al., 2016) and lastly, because of the limited information during the career development of previously disadvantaged individuals, their rationalisation and expectation of the workplace is not well informed (Albien & Naidoo, 2016).

In response to the abovementioned critique, the Department of Higher Education and Training (DHET), National Qualifications Framework (NQF) and the Career Advice Service by the South African Qualifications Authority (SAQA) rallied together to establish a national approach to career development (Keevy et al., 2012). The SAQA began in 2005 to investigate a career advice service that would be a support centre for all South Africans irrespective of race, gender and disability (Keevy et al., 2012). The Career Advice Service set out to reach individuals mainly via a telephone hotline and social media sites to provide career guidance (Keevy et al., 2012), This may be slightly limiting as Stats SA (2019) reported only 64.7% of the South African households had a minimum of one member who has access to internet,

meaning that it may reach a limited number of people. Nevertheless, only 3.4% of households did not have access to landline nor cell phones (Statistics South Africa, 2019) therefore indicating that most students, learners, teachers, parents, counsellors can gain information via the telephone hotline.

The career assessments used in career counselling in South Africa were developed in a Western setting, thus with the majority of the South African population not being first language English speakers, they may not understand the majority of the assessments (Ramjit, 2016). Stats SA (2019) reports that nationally isiZulu is the most spoken language in South African homes at 25.3% and only 8.1% of South Africans speak English at home, although it is the second most spoken language outside of the home. Therefore, more career assessments in South Africa need to be translated into other South African languages besides English and Afrikaans in order to reach more South Africans.

2.3.4. Career Development during Adolescence

As the focus of this study is on the reflection of adult participants on their adolescent kinship care experiences and how that may have swayed their current career trajectories, there needs to be a focus on what career development looks like during the adolescent years. In recent years, literature about career development in childhood, including adolescence, has been increasing (Watson et al., 2010). Super (as cited in Rogers et al., 2018) noted that the important career developmental tasks for the adolescent years are: to recognise values, capacities and interests; search for information about work and eventually decide on an educational path, which will lead to a career trajectory (Rogers et al., 2018). Super's 1984 career development theory mentions that the adolescent stage constitutes the exploration stage (from the ages of 14 to 24 years) (Stead & Watson, 2017). In this stage, the adolescent is expected to form, specify and implement their career choice (Stead & Watson, 2017).

Erik Erikson, who became a prominent psychoanalytic theorist in the 1950s, proposed a human development theory over the lifespan, which places emphasis on the role of social and cultural influence (Keenan & Evans, 2010). The theory mentions three stages, which are important for career development namely: the adolescence stage, which constitutes the Identity vs. Role Confusion stage, the early adulthood stage, which is established as the Intimacy vs. Isolation stage and the middle adulthood stage, which is recognised as the Generativity vs. Stagnation stage. The research participants were required to reflect on the adolescent stage, which focuses on identity vs. role confusion. Based on Erikson's Psychosocial theory (as cited by Crain, 2014 and Rageliene, 2016), the primary tasks during this stage are to establish one's own sense of identity and find the social environment where they best belong. According to Erikson (Crain, 2014), one can also develop a sense of self through their accomplishments, which form part of a positive self-efficacy and self-belief. One of the key tasks for an adolescent to master during this stage is career identity. This requires adolescents to have a realistic understanding of their abilities and achievements in order to make the most appropriate career choice (Louw & Louw, 2014) known as career self-efficacy. Munley (1977, p. 262) stated: "failure of occupational and ideological commitments in adolescence may lead to difficulty in interpersonal commitments, which contributes to the sense of isolation" during the next stage of early adulthood. However, because commitment may be difficult, Erikson stated that adolescents sometimes enter a "psychosocial moratorium" which is time taken out to discover one's self (Crain, 2014). In South Africa, this can be seen when an adolescent takes a gap year after their final year of high school. This therefore gives the adolescent a chance to build a stronger sense of identity enabling them to make future commitments in their interpersonal relationships as well as their career decisions.

It has previously been mentioned that establishing a career identity may not be promoted in school, because of the difficulties the teachers are having implementing the career guidance

curriculum leading adolescents to have difficulty with this linear progression (Ramjit, 2016). Contextual circumstances such as entering kinship care and living in a peri-urban area may also have an effect on their linear progression. However, Rogers et al., (2018) stated that career development begins earlier in the individual's childhood, because children look for guidance from their parents/caregivers and their career identity becomes more stable in adolescence. Thus, revealing that the knowledge of careers and a child's career development may have begun before the adolescent stage. Watson et al. (2010) noted that children between the ages of 10 and 13 years had occupational aspirations already, although they frequently mentioned social type occupations such as teacher, doctor, nurse and social workers. This reveals that the impact of Bantu education is still prevalent today, because most black learners who were able to "succeed" and receive further education during Apartheid, were largely restricted to social type occupations such as careers in the police force, nursing, teaching and the military (Buthelezi et al., 2009). Although it should be noted that parental involvement is of the utmost importance in the career development of disadvantaged adolescents as reported by Seabi et al. (2010). This seems to reveal that children and adolescents are still not exposed to different careers. In the absence of parents, kinship caregivers may provide the guidance and be an example of the careers that the adolescent can explore. In a study conducted by Ramjit (2016), the barriers of minimal and inadequate career guidance during school - going years was identified as the main barrier. Buthelezi et al. (2009) reiterated this in a study which identified the career challenges of adolescents in a low socioeconomic context. The previously mentioned literature proves that in South Africa, specifically in a lower socioeconomic contexts such as a peri - urban area, adolescents have major challenges with their career development, because of the inadequate career guidance given to them during their school - going years.

Furthermore, it is vital to mention the other psychosocial stages which involve career development, namely the stages of intimacy vs. isolation and generativity vs. stagnation. These

stages address an individual's early adulthood and middle adulthood respectively, which the participants are currently navigating. As a result, these stages will also be explored further in relation to the kinship care and career development experiences of each participant. According to Erikson, the stage of early adulthood largely consists of "being able to love and work effectively" (Olson & Hergenhahn, 2011). Thus, the successful navigation of this stage is being able to enter a loving relationship with others and develop a capability to work productively. Subsequently, the research participants who are currently in the generativity vs. stagnation stage may be experiencing issues of procreation, productivity and creativity (Louw & Louw, 2013). Generativity not only refers to procreation "but also to the production of things and ideas of work" (Crain, 2014, p. 302). Generativity can also be successfully achieved through "creating experiences that will enhance the lives of those in the next generation" (Olson & Hergenhahn, 2011, p. 168). In the working world, this can be seen through being supportive supervisors, managers and bosses; and creating a working environment which teaches and allows for the growth of the younger employees. This stage may be more difficult in the Western cultural context, which emphasises independent achievement (Crain, 2014). This research specifically looked at the first two psychosocial stages mentioned in this section, as they both highlight career development since a successful transition from one stage to another is a prerequisite for making and committing to a career decision (Munley, 1977). The last of the abovementioned stages also highlights career development in terms of transferring skills onto the future generations.

The abovementioned section on career development aimed to explicate the literature on career development. It highlighted its origins in the USA and Europe and the further development of the concept during the years and across different contexts such as South Africa. The section concludes by elucidating how career development appears in the adolescent stage using

Erikson's psychosocial development stages. The Psychosocial Development further assists to explain career development in the participants' current stages of early and middle adulthood.

2.4. Conclusion

This chapter has explored and discussed past and recent literature on kinship care and career development, which are the essential concepts of this study. The chapter presented the origins of kinship care, which are rooted in many African cultural practices and its development globally. The second section of the chapter displayed the formation of career psychology and career development. This section further considered the implementation of career psychology and career development in Apartheid South Africa (pre - 1994) and democratic South Africa (post - 1994). The following chapter illustrates the theoretical background, which will facilitate the contextual understanding of this study.

Chapter 3: Theoretical Background

3.1. Systems Theory Framework on Career Development

3.1.1. Introduction

Stead and Watson (2017) noted that although there has been research conducted on the diverse South African population regarding career development, there has not been any career theory developed by and for South Africans. One existing theory that can be applied to the South African context regarding career development, is the Systems Theory Framework (STF) that allows the individual's different systems to be considered in their career development (Stead & Watson, 2017). The intrapersonal and interpersonal influences of the STF have been depicted through two constructs, namely: content and process (Mhlongo & O'Neil, 2013). McMahon (2011) articulates that STF highlights that "the process influences, recursiveness, change over time and chance, depict (career) development as a dynamic and complex interplay of influences" (p. 170). This section will further explain the abovementioned terms.

In the early 1990's it became clear that the existing career theories were under much criticism for being inadequate and lacking in inclusivity (Stead & Watson, 2017). Additionally, they were failing to recognise the diversity within the population (McMahon, 2002). The traditional career theories had mostly focused on the individual concerns rather than the broader social and environmental concerns. This gap led career theorists to realise the need to address the contextual concerns in the career/work world (McMahon, 2002).

As the understanding of career behaviour became more complex, there needed to be a theory or a group of theories just as complex to understand the behaviours of the diverse population (Patton & McMahon, 2006). The Systems Theory Framework was developed and published in 1995 as a response to the critique of traditional career theories being linear and lacking in inclusivity of the diverse population (Stead & Watson, 2017). It became increasingly used for

application in different cultural groups, multicultural career counselling and qualitative assessment processes (Patton & McMahon, 2006). The STF concept was initially offered as a contextual understanding for adolescents' career decision-making and was further developed into a career development model based on the following grounds that: "context is an integral part of systems theory and that decision-making is an integral part of career development" (Patton & McMahon, 2006, p. 17). In the development of the STF, Patton and McMahon (2006) proposed many advantages of the theory which acknowledge the contribution of previously developed theories, such as systems theory and family theory, however STF utilises a new approach where it places more importance on the individual rather than the theory. STF also illustrates the importance of considering the many systems in the individual's life which will assist the career psychologist in selecting the appropriate methods to assist the individual.

The STF decentres occupational interests and choice from career and broadens it to the societal context (Smith et al., 2009). This holistic approach includes three interconnecting systems, which are known as the content influences. They are the intrapersonal/individual system, social system and environmental-societal system (McMahon, 2011). The interaction between these systems is known as the process influences, which are recursiveness (interaction between the different systems), change over time and chance, which will be further explained later in this section (McMahon, 2011). The STF recognises the arrangement of the influences at a specific time as well as how unpredictably this arrangement could change over time and by chance (McMahon et al., 2008). Patton and McMahon (2006) deliberately use the term "influence" because it is a versatile term that can be used to describe either an obstacle or an enabler of the individual's career development such as whether, for the participants in this study living in kinship care was an obstacle or an enabler of their career development, in a particular time and whether it can be perceived as chance factors as well how the interaction between these different influences may affect the participants in this study.

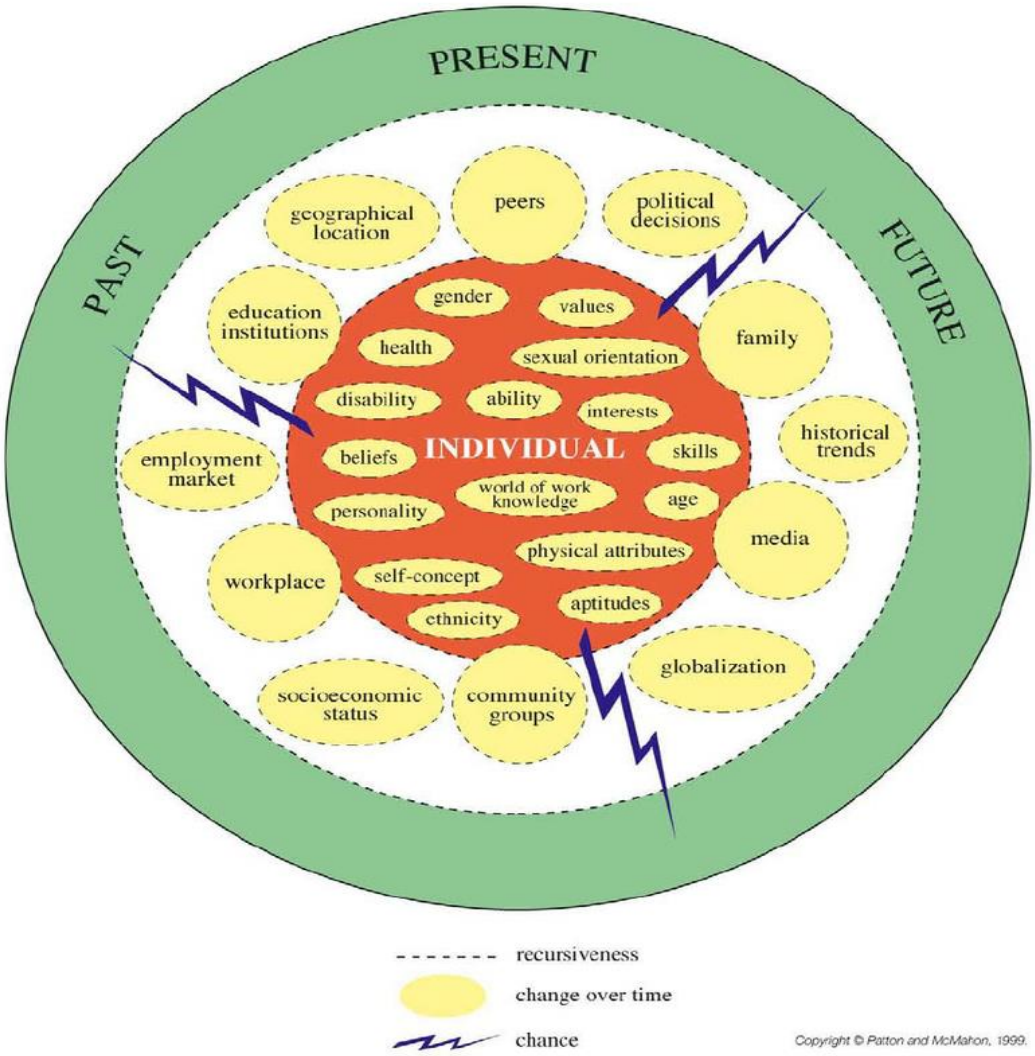

Figure 1: Systems Theory Framework (Smith, et al., 2009)

3.1.2. Individual System

The individual system is central to the STF and is the first of the content influences. It represents the internal and intrapersonal influences of the individual, such as their age, gender, sexual orientation, personality and self-efficacy (Patton & McMahon, 2006; McMahon, 2011). The individual system in this study is the participants' socio-economic status, gender, living in kinship care and growing up in a peri-urban context. The participants' individual system influences are salient aspects to be mindful of, as the individual interacts with society. There is an interaction between these influences with the contextual influences of the social system and

the environmental/societal system (McMahon & Watson, 2009). The individual system is central to most career theories, because of the importance placed on the individual's understanding of themselves (Patton & McMahon, 2006). At the inception of modern career theory, Parsons (as cited by Patton and McMahon, 2006) proposed that the understanding of one's self is one of the fundamentals of career decision-making.

Patton and McMahon (2006) drew from different theories when forming the individual system, which form part of the personality, interests, values and age. These concepts originate from Holland's Personality Theory, Bandura's Social Learning Theory, Brown's Value-based Theory and Super's Career Theory, respectively. Although these theories were previously criticised for their linearity, however, when integrated in one theory, they appear to reinforce the understanding of the complexity of the individual. The importance of concepts such as gender, ethnicity, sexual orientation and disability, have also been brought to light to depict individual system influences (Patton & McMahon, 2006). Considering the participants' individual system influences, this allows the study to investigate how the aforementioned may have swayed their career trajectories in addition to how the change in parental care may have informed those individual system influences, which highlights how the STF works.

In "Work and Why We Do It", McMahon (2017) highlights the individual system influences of why people work and how varied these influences are. Individuals may work for subjective reasons such as prestige, satisfaction, use of skills, to learn and to be independent, which are understood to be individual system influences (McMahon, 2017). Savickas's Career Construction Theory, which was developed in 1997 and revised through to 2012, has proposed that if an individual looks for personal meaning through their work, it suggests that the individual's system influences will form a basis for an individual's career development and sub-consequently their career decisions (McMahon, 2017). Thus, the individual system's

influences will form the initial source of the participants' career development and career decisions.

3.1.3. Social System

The social system is the first of the two systems in the larger contextual system of the STF (Stead & Watson, 2017). In career development, it is important to consider society since the individual does not live in isolation, but is rather central to a larger system (Stead & Watson, 2017). The social system represents the influences that individuals interact with or receive input from (Patton & McMahon, 2006). In the South African context, individuals self-classify according to social groups such as race, ethnicity, language and gender (Booysens et al., 2016). During the adolescent stage, these social influences play a far more visible and vital role in terms of career development due to the individual's attachment to social interaction (McMahon, 2005).

The social system comprises of other smaller social groups and further social subgroups such as family, friends, as well as workplace and community spaces. These social groups were termed as "agents of socialisation" by Borow in 1984 (as cited in Patton and McMahon, 2006). The participants in this study may have interacted with different agents of socialisation, within their different social systems, when they began to live under kinship care with new family members and/or friends.

The individual develops their self-identity in relation to those around them, hence the importance of the social system in career development. These social influences, which influence self-identity, relate to the interpersonal resources such as family and community contexts, which are theorised to assist in career decision-making or provide barriers such as limited exposure to career choices (Mhlongo & O'Neil, 2013).

The people within the social system, such as the participants' kinship carers, are believed to be a source of values, beliefs and attitudes, and this affects the individual's career decision-making. The impact and composition of these social influences may change as time passes and the individuals get older, which may lead them to move in and out of spaces (Patton & McMahon, 2006). All the participants in the study will have experienced the change in these social influences, because of being placed in kinship care, thus the change in caregivers, family members and peers in their communities may correlate with the change in social influences.

Family was identified as the single most important contextual influence in an individual's career development (McMahon et al., 2008). This was later supported by research findings that reported that family and parental involvement was a significant influence in the career development of adolescents and young adults (Mhlongo & O'Neil, 2013; Seabi et al., 2010). This fact was also corroborated through research conducted by Albien and Naidoo (2016) who examined social-level influences on the career development of black high school learners from peri-urban townships to find that one of the most prominent influences was family with noticeable limited direct involvement from the parents. Although the abovementioned studies also mention other family members such as aunts, siblings and grandparents as influences in the individuals' career development, it should be noted that it was difficult to find literature on how these family members specifically influenced the individuals. Therefore, the researcher discovered the gap in literature on how growing up under kinship care would influence the contextual influence on career development.

The influences within the social system may give an individual many reasons to work and stay in their career. An individual may choose a specific career so that they may be able to take care of their loved ones, contribute to their community or bring honour to their family (McMahon, 2017). These reasons are more relational rather than individual (McMahon, 2017) and reveal that a career decision is rather inclusive of other factors outside of the individual's influences,

making them interpersonal. This appears to be a more prominent practice within collectivist contexts such as South Africa and China rather than individualised contexts such as the USA. The abovementioned studies in South Africa by Mhlongo and O'Neil (2013) and Albien and Naidoo (2016) highlight that the most prominent external influence of an adolescent's career decisions is their family. This is also documented by a study conducted in China, where the adolescent's parents were highly involved in their children's decision-making (Xiang et al., 2020). Although America is considered [in] an individualistic context, the family and family needs have recently become significant external influences, which are similar to collectivist contexts (Duffy & Dik, 2009). This seems to demonstrate that the influence of family members and their needs is a global influence of career decision making for adolescents.

3.1.4. Environmental-societal System

The environmental-societal system is the second subsystem in the larger contextual system of STF. The individual systemic interaction occurs within this larger environmental-societal system, while the social system transpires adjacent to the environmental-societal system (McMahon, 2005). The individual is impacted by environmental-societal influences such as geographic location, socio-economic circumstance, political and historical effect (McMahon, 2011). However, in the case of the participants in this study, they may have had to change their geographical location and socioeconomic circumstance when they had to move to living under kinship care. Previously geographic relocation also happened due to apartheid's Group Areas Act and labour migration. Currently it might be more related to financial resources, as poverty is still rife in these peri-urban contexts. At a basic level, people may choose a specific job or career to improve their socio-economic circumstances, which may sway the rest of the systems such as access to educational institutions and community groups in which the individual resides.

In a country such as South Africa with its history of the political regime, Apartheid, the influences contained by the environmental-societal system, is important. The South Africans' past regime of Apartheid left a noticeable impact on the lives of most black South Africans. For instance, their geographical location is a big influencer on their career path, because they are situated in townships, peri-urban areas and rural areas, which are far from the city where they normally would be working. Another ripple effect from the political history of South Africa is the lack of access to quality education, which has the power to influence the individuals' access to efficient career exposure, career counselling and career development.

A study conducted in Kwa-Zulu Natal found that the family's socio-economic circumstances were a dominant influence on black students' career decisions, such that the participants did not enrol at a tertiary institution immediately after Grade 12, because of financial constraints (Mhlongo & O'Neil, 2013), family instability and lack of resources (Ramjit, 2016). Another practice that stems from the South African political history and is a major component of this study is kinship care, because it was the participants' living condition.

3.1.5. Process System

One of the strong points of the STF is its' emphasis on the process influences, which highlight the dynamic process of career development. The process influences are recursiveness, change over time and chance (McMahon, 2011). These influences are "the multidirectional interaction between various sub-systems of influences, which includes past, present and future developments" (McMahon & Watson 2008, as cited in Albien & Naidoo, 2016, p 115). Patton and McMahon (2006) highlight the concept of recursiveness, which states that all the above-mentioned systems are open systems that are subject to influence from external factors and can also influence other systems outside of its boundaries. The STF takes into consideration the change over time, acknowledging how the systems interact with the individual as they develop (Zunker, 2012) as well as how influences can change over time for the individuals (Patton &

McMahon, 2006). This can be seen and reflected through adaptability (McMahon, 2011). The final influence under the process system is chance, which highlights "career development as dynamic and sometimes unpredictable" (McMahon, 2011, p. 171). Mahoney cited in (Patton & McMahon, 1999, p. 135) sums up the STF by stating that "the knowledge about self and the environment is an emergent process as the individual interacts with the world." The benefit of using the STF is that it can be applied in many different contexts, as well as the comprehension of various subsystems on the individual and how they are understood in their interactive outcomes (Patton & McMahon, 1999). With respect to the South African context, contextual influences such as political history, economic status and cultural emphasis have an effect on the career development of the individuals, thus the decision to utilize the STF to enrich our understanding of South African career development, especially the career development of the socially and politically side-lined South Africans.

As this study explores a rarely studied context and how it influences career development, the use of this theory will be applicable because it encompasses many factors. Sears cited in Stead and Watson (2017, p. 111) defines career development as "the total constellation of psychological, sociological, educational, physical, economic and chance factors that combine to shape the career of any given individual over the life span". Hence career development is a compilation of many factors that lead the individual to their desired career throughout their lives. As a result, the research will be analysing career development through the theoretical base of The Systems Theory Framework, which incorporates all the above-mentioned factors. The upcoming chapter will assist with an understanding of the participants' relations, specifically in kinship care, through attachment theory.

3.2. Attachment

3.2.1. Introduction

This section will be discussing attachment, by analysing and understanding Attachment Theory and its development. Separation-Individuation theory and Mentalisation theory will also be analysed because the Attachment Theory motivated their development.

3.2.2. The Development of Attachment Theory

The well-known Attachment Theory was founded by John Bowlby in 1957 and later innovated by Mary Ainsworth (1964). The Attachment theory highlights the role of early experiences in determining the views children build concerning the responsiveness and trustworthiness of significant others (Fraley et al., 2013). In 1942, Bowlby began his journey on the formulation of this attachment theory by observing children who were hospitalised, institutionalised and separated from their parents (Bretherton, 1992). This earlier work showed that the feelings children experienced because of separation or bereavement were no less than an adults' experience of these feelings (Holmes, 1993). Consequently, his major conclusion, as written in 1951, was that to grow up mentally and emotionally healthy, the child will need to experience an intimate, warm and continuous relationship with their mother, where both find the relationship satisfactory (Bretherton, 1992). The emotional bond built between a mother and a child in their intimate, continuous relationship was termed by Bowlby as attachment and the resulting behaviour as attachment behaviour (Goldschmidt, 2017). However, at this time, it appears that the relationship with other caregivers was not considered. Bowlby clearly did not consider that in most cultures, an infant would have more than one caregiver such as fathers, grandparents and aunts. Therefore, the infant can have more than one emotional bond that can impact the development of their attachment. A well-accepted cultural practice in collectivist cultures, is one that exists in South Africa, where an older maternal figure will move in with a mother and their new-born to provide support or the new mother will go back to their childhood

home where there is more than one generation living under one room, for the first three months or indefinitely, after giving birth (Dennis, et al., 2007).

It was only between 1957 and 1960 when Bowlby presented three papers that the theoretical formulation of attachment theory was formally recognised (Bretherton, 1992). It is useful to distinguish the difference between the concepts of attachment, attachment behaviour and attachment theory. Attachment refers to the state and quality of emotional bonds that humans form with those they look to for comfort, support and protection; whereas their "attachment behaviour is a means of attaining closeness to another individual who is perceived as more capable of coping in the world" and it should be noted that it is relevant across an individual's lifespan (Bowlby, 1988 as cited by Goldschmidt, 2017, p.42). One of Bowlby's key concepts in attachment theory is the internal working model. This model demonstrates the interpersonal patterns exposed in early childhood and becomes apparent in the way an individual will interact with the world as an adult such as the way individuals are likely to engage with others throughout their lives (Bretherton, 1992; Sadock et al., 2015), for the purpose of this study, specifically in their work world. Ultimately, attachment is about separation and loss. Thus, children may develop discordant attachment as a result of being separated from their biological parent(s) and/or primary caregiver, due to migration or death, which leads to them living under kinship care. It was hypothesised that the warm responsiveness from the primary caregiver to the infant is a precursor for the development of the infant's secure attachments throughout their lives (Bowlby 1988, as cited by Goldschmidt, 2017).

A study conducted by Shaver and Hazen in 1988 pointed out that adults who, in retrospect, identify with a specific attachment style in their childhood relationships now show a different current attachment style in relation to their intimate relationships, such as those who described their relationship with their parents as distant were now in loving intimate relationships (Keller, 2013). Therefore, it should be noted that attachment researchers believed that the attachment

developed in the infant years with their primary caregiver is not stagnant and is subject to change in reaction to the exposure to different relationships throughout the individual's life stages (Cozzarelli et al., 2003) such as the relationship with kinship carers, peers at school and in the workplace as well as intimate partners. Although it was argued that Bowlby's understanding of attachment was based on a Westernised construct of parenting/caregiving and does not allow for consideration of how parenting/caregiving may look in different cultural settings, it is still the foundation of attachment to this day (Keller, 2013). It appears though that Mary Ainsworth response to this reproach was to investigated attachment in different cultural milieus.

3.2.3. Contribution of Mary Ainsworth

Mary Ainsworth began to work under Bowlby in 1950, on his research about the effect of separation of an infant from the mother or primary caregiver, but furthered it by focusing on the development of the personality of the infant (Bretherton, 1992). Her further major contribution to psychology was her research focused on the attachment infants have to their mothers (Ainsworth, 1989).

While Ainsworth only assessed the attachment behaviours of children, Mary Main developed procedures for assessing attachment in adulthood (Ainsworth, 1989). Attachment behaviour occurs in various patterns that are known as attachment styles. Initially, three attachment styles were identified and later another one was added by Mary Main (Bretherton, 1992; Holmes, 1993). The idea of the initial attachment styles pre-dates to a collaborative paper by John Bowlby, Mary Ainsworth, Mary Boston and Dina Rosenbluth in 1956 (Bretherton, 1992). Ainsworth's contribution to the paper was a classification of basic relationship patterns of school-going children who had been reunited with their parents: "those with strong positive feelings toward their mothers; those with markedly ambivalent relationships; and a third group with non-expressive, indifferent, or hostile relationships with their mother" (Bretherton, 1992,

p. 9). In 1954 and 1963, Ainsworth took on projects to observe mothers and their babies in their natural dwellings in Uganda and Baltimore, respectively. Although the studies produced similar results, there were notable differences that were attributed to the cultural differences. Therefore, it was deduced that the differences in the way the mothers respond were influenced by the cultural norms (Ainsworth, 1985 as cited by Goldschmidt, 2017). In Baltimore, Ainsworth developed the prominent experiment called The Strange Situation, which observed the reaction of infants when they are placed in an unfamiliar room with their primary caregiver who is then replaced by an unfamiliar adult (Sadock et al, 2015).

The attachment styles were identified after these interactions and they showed the major patterns of response after separation and re-union of child and primary caregiver (Holmes, 1993). These styles were labeled as: Secure attachment; where the infant will usually be distressed by separation, but will greet and look for comfort from their caregiver and once reunited, the infant will return to play; Insecure-avoidant attachment; where the infant will show few overtly signs of anguish when taken away from caregiver and once reunited will ignore the caregiver. The infant will continue to be vigilant of their caregiver and reserved in their play; Insecure-resistant attachment: the infant will be highly distraught by separation and is not easily consoled once reunited. They will fluctuate between anger and clinging to their caregiver while their play remains reserved; and lastly Insecure-disorganised attachment. This group of infants will show a range of emotions and behaviours when separated and reunited with their caregiver. Ainsworth's contribution to the formulation of Attachment theory was critically examined for her use of a qualitative approach in her research (Bretherton, 2013).

There have been various innovations of the abovementioned patterns in the years after its release. Ainsworth (1989) mentioned but did not focus on the attachment that a child can have with other adults besides their mother. "Parent surrogate", named as the other adults in a child's life, play an important role as they may provide something else that the child could not attain

from their parents (Ainsworth, 1989, p. 711). This attachment relationship would be formed with a kinship carer. Ainsworth and Eichberg (Ainsworth, 1989) found evidence that after the loss of a parent/s, the care from other family members, especially older siblings, assists with the mourning process. Thus, kinship care was recognised in the formulation of attachment theory.

3.2.4. Contribution of Margaret Mahler

Margaret Mahler formulated the Separation-Individuation Theory. Even though her work was accepted, it was also regarded as controversial. Some of the psychoanalysts were doubtful of the validity of Mahler's framing of the theory (Blum, 2004). Separation-individuation Theory was developed through seminar papers from the 1960s through to the 1970s (Pine, 2004). Mahler understood separation from an object as the "inner mental process that involves distinguishing oneself from an object who otherwise is libidinally available on a continuous basis" (p. 589), which emphasises the importance of separation for individualisation (Coates, 2004). Furthermore, she understood individuation as the consequence of the sense of self as the mediator in the capability to internalise the mother's soothing activities (Maher & McDevit, 1982 as cited in Coates, 2004). Therefore, separation marks the commencement of self from the oneness with the mother and the individuation that accompanies it and it is where the infant takes on individual characteristics from the mother that they are separating from (Pine, 2004). The formulation of the process of separation-individuation emphasised the natural inclination of the infant to feel secure by means of the mother's closeness, thus it suggests that the infant experiences the self and the mother as an unclear object (Gilmore & Meersand, 2014).

The separation-individuation process was described into six significant stages over the first three years of a child's life, namely: the autism phase, symbiotic phase, differentiation, practicing, rapprochement and emotional object constancy (Levine et al., 1986). The

separation-individuation process also happens through the adolescent stage, which will be discussed later in this section.

According to Margaret Mahler, the first stage of a normal autistic phase emphasises the inward-turned aspect and psychologically closed for the first 3 months of the infant's life (Brandell, 2010; Pine, 2004) which she later abandoned (Blum, 2004), because research disputed the infant being closed psychologically and displayed the responsiveness to different stimuli such as smiles and colours (Brandell, 2010). The second stage was identified as the normal symbiotic, which is derived from a biology term that describes a close and beneficial relationship between two different organisms (Brandell, 2010). It describes the fusion between the infant and the mother and there is no distinguished differentiation (Brandell, 2010). It also highlights the first experience of the self with others, when the baby will begin to differentiate from the mother (Pine, 2004). Mahler received the most criticism on her use of the word "symbiosis" (Pine, 2004). It was deliberated that Mahler may have hypothesised this phase incorrectly by stating that the awareness of differentiation is actually developed rather than being there from the onset (Pine, 2004). The third stage of the Separation-individuation Theory is differentiation, where there is a marked awareness of surroundings outside of them, as the child and their mother, where the child can begin to explore (Brandell, 2010; Lapsley & Stey, 2010; Pine, 2004). The fourth stage is called practicing, which represents the initial motor functioning such as crawling and walking, thus the focus is on the movement around their environment and outside of their mother (Brandell, 2010; Lapsley & Stey, 2010; Pine, 2004). The fifth stage is the rapprochement phase, which increases the awareness of separation by registering all the objects in their environment and being increasingly independent from the mother (Brandell, 2010) and lastly, the stage of object constancy, which represents the phase where the toddler forms a stable mental representation of themselves and of others (Brandell, 2010). However, the toddler appears to rediscover the need for their mother, because the mother

will begin to decrease their monitoring of the child's actions, which means the toddler is given more space to explore without the protective mother shadowing the toddler (Lapsley & Stey, 2010). Therefore, the toddler will display clinging behaviour and attempts to keep the mother involved in play (Lapsley &Stey, 2010; Pine, 2010). These are the phases that the infant will pass through to develop a stable awareness of separation from the mother (Pine, 2004). The successful resolution of one phase will assist the infant to successfully manoeuvre to the following phase.

The adolescent stage is known as the second phase of the separation-individuation process (Lapsley & Stey, 2010). One of the important tasks during adolescence is to separate from their internalised image of their caregiver, which was formed during early childhood, as well as separating from the idealised image that they have of their caregivers; as a result they can now establish a distinct self and become entirely autonomous which is important for self-esteem (Lapsley & Stey, 2010; Xiang et al., 2020). In collectivist cultures, such as certain South African ethnic groupings, however, people will strive to be connected and belong to a social group; hence complete separation and autonomous decision-making often becomes diminished or frowned upon (Xiang et al., 2020). Disturbances such as change in caregivers, such as happened to all of the participants in the study, in one or both life stages of the separation-individuation may manifest psychopathological problems such as depressive symptoms, family dysfunction, as well as career indecisiveness in adulthood (Lapsley & Stey. 2010; Xiang et al., 2020).

3.2.5. Contribution of Peter Fonagy

Peter Fonagy expanded on Attachment theory by formulating the concept of mentalisation. Mentalisation refers to "the capacity to conceive of mental states as explanations of behaviour in oneself and in others" (Fonagy & Target, 2006, p. 544). Mentalisation is linked to attachment because individuals acquire the capacity for mentalisation during early attachment

relationships (Fonagy & Target, 2006) and is moderated by the context and background for the attachment relationship (Fonagy et al., 2011). The infant's experience of seeing themselves as having their own mind and self is developed and evolved from infancy through to childhood and is dependent on sufficient attunement with mature minds such as that of the caregiver (Fonagy & Target, 2006). Therefore, a secure attachment, where the caregiver is attuned to the child's mental states, stimulates advance development in mentalisation (Fonagy et al., 2011).

In concurrence, a study conducted by Brune et al. (as cited in Fonagy and Bateman, 2016) reported that an insecure-avoidant (preoccupied) attachment style predicted the highest disruption of mentalisation. The insecure-avoidant attachment may be an indicator of problems in the cognitive component of mentalisation (Fonagy & Bateman, 2016). Mentalisation creates social-cognitive abilities in relationships, as individuals need to imagine and perceive another's behaviours or mental states (Fonagy et al., 2011).

One of the critical stages of mentalisation is during adolescence. The failure for an infant or young child to internalise mentalisation will result in potentially high vulnerability during adolescence (Fonagy et al., 2011). During adolescence, attachment begins to be highlighted more in the peer relationships rather than family. Thus, mentalisation may be disrupted by group inclusion or exclusion and anxiety about social ranking which appears to be important during adolescence (Fonagy & Target, 2006). However, there appears to be a gap in literature about the process of mentalisation in adolescence, particularly related to kinship care and even more so regarding career development (Jewell et al., 2016). It should be noted that mentalisation is dynamic and dependent on contextual factors such as stress, thus it would be difficult to measure (Fonagy et al., 2011).

However, mentalisation has been measured using the Adult Attachment Interview, which can only give an indication of the potential of mentalisation at the time (Fonagy et al., 2011). This

assessment is an interview inventory focused on early attachment experiences and their effects, developed by Main and Goldwyn between 1985 and 1996 (George et al., 1996). The interview classification system attempts to categorise the individual in the mental states corresponding with their early experiences prompted from the interview questions (George et al., 1996).

The section above analysed and discussed attachment through the understanding of Attachment Theory, Separation-Individuation Theory and Mentalisation Theory. These theories of attachment are examined as a way to understand attachment within kinship care, such as relationships with primary and secondary caregivers as well as the change in attachment styles as individuals' primary relationships and age changes. The abovementioned theories have verified that attachment is relevant across one's life span and in many interpersonal relationships.

3.3. Integrated Theoretical Framework

The purpose of this research is to analyse the reflections of adults on the influences they encountered growing up under kinship care in peri-urban areas during adolescence; and how those life circumstances during that adolescence influenced their past and current career trajectories. When investigating kinship care, questions concerning attachment, security and the internal model are brought forth. The attachment theory and its many contributions have reported that attachment has a lifelong effect in many aspects of one's life such as career development (Bretherton, 1992; Sadock et al., 2015). Individuals raised under kinship care in South Africa offers a different set of dynamics which overlap with each other and need to be considered, such as reasons leading to kinship care, influences of living in a peri-urban context as well as various experiences of both. For the aim of the study, it is essential to be conscious of these factors as they contribute to the individual's attachment behaviour to provide an appropriate framework.

The concept of career development displays the process as lifelong and dynamic as well as being bi-directional between the individual and the context. While career psychologists acknowledge that the individual is the core of the career development, they have shifted to also highlight the individual's contextual background, which is more applicable to the South African culture (Watson et al., 2010). The career development of an individual does not occur in isolation thus, the utilisation of a career theory such as Systems Theory Framework (STF) of Career Development in understanding South Africans' career development who have been raised under kinship care in a peri-urban context is appropriate. The STF allows for the individual's different contextual circumstances to be considered in their career development (Stead & Watson, 2017).

Given the many factors that influence career development, the importance of attachment is considered and the STF provides a foundation of understanding the effect that attachment and many other factors may have on the participants' career development. In this study, it has been theorized that the integration of the attachment theory and its contributions will assist in understanding kinship care and the individual in relation to their career. It is surmised that the integration of the STF provides a view that embraces all internal and contextual influences of the individual's career development throughout the participants' lives.

3.4. Conclusion

In this chapter the theoretical underpinnings of this study were presented. The attachment theories and STF aimed to facilitate an understanding of the main concepts of this study namely kinship care and career development. The attachment theories aimed to give an understanding of relationships and attachment styles across different relationship contexts, such as kinship care across an individual's life span. The STF incorporates features from many other career theories, which allow it to consider the multi-faceted process of career development in South Africa. The following chapter describes the methodology utilised to conduct this study.

Chapter 4: Research Design and Methodology

This chapter will discuss the research approach, which was implemented for this study, as well as motivate for its appropriateness. The chapter will be divided into the following sections: research design, sampling, procedure, data analysis and lastly, the ethical considerations.

4.1. Research Design

A research design is "a plan or strategy that moves from the underlying philosophical assumptions, such as positivism or interpretivism, to specify the selection of participants, the data-gathering methods used and the data-analysis to be done" (Maree, 2016, p. 72). This entails the approach that the researcher plans to go about retrieving data from their study. This study was conducted using a qualitative research design approach. According to Polkinghorne as cited in Maree (2016), qualitative research distinguishes itself as research that relies on linguistics data and not numerical data and uses meaning-based data analysis. Qualitative researchers are mostly interested in how humans arrange themselves and their settings (Maree, 2016). The qualitative research design is chosen when the researcher seeks to present the participant's experience, meaning and perspective (Hammarberg et al., 2016) Thus, qualitative research gave an in-depth analysis and understanding of the participants' lived experiences.

The qualitative methodology implemented was a case study, which focused on developing and having an in-depth understanding of a case(s) (Maree, 2016). For the purpose of this study, the cases were bound by definition and context, which is suggested by Miles and Huberman in *First Steps in Research* (2016). Specifically, an instrumental case study was used which means that the study of the case will provide insight in a specific issue or build a theory (Grandy, 2017). The data collection was conducted using semi-structured interviews with each of the participants. The interviews needed to be semi-structured to unstructured as this allowed the participants to discuss the topic as comprehensively as possible.

4.2. Sampling

Sampling refers to the procedure of selecting participants who will provide in-depth data on the topic of the research (Moser & Korstjens, 2018). Snowball and purposive sampling strategies were the appropriate ways to gather the participants for the study. Snowball is where the people who have knowledge in the field and/or current participants recommended more participants (Moser & Korstjens, 2018). This is also the chosen route to follow when the sampling group may be difficult to find (Maree, 2016). Purposive sampling is understood as the choice of participants based on the researcher's knowledge as to which participants will be more useful for the study (Moser & Korstjens, 2018). This sampling method was used to select the best sample to represent the group that was focused on adults, ranging between 21 and 35 years of age, from townships in Gauteng who have lived under kinship care during their adolescent years. In cases where the sample size was not sufficient, the snowballing sampling strategy was used.

The sample size was 10 participants and this number was guided by saturation of data. This means that the data that was being collected had begun to be repetitive and no new topics and issues were emerging (Gibbs et al., 2007).

The sample of participants was chosen in order to address the research questions of the study (Gibbs et al., 2007). Participants were eligible to take part in the research if they met the following selection criteria: (1) they were between the ages of 21 and 35 years; (2) have spent their adolescent years living under kinship care and (3) lived in any township in Gauteng. The age range initially limited the research to participants between the ages of 18 and 25 years; but was later changed after it became increasingly difficult to find participants in that age range as well as revealing to the researcher that participants in the age range of 18 – 25 years were not able to be reflective enough as it appeared that their answers were not critical enough. The researcher then obtained permission from Faculty and the Head of Department to shift the age

range of between 21 and 25 years old to the ages between 23 and 35 years old. Since the study required participants to have lived in kinship for at least a year and at any point during their adolescence years, it was considered that the participants may have had different caregivers. The study also specifically focused on townships in Gauteng who are considered as previously disadvantaged, as these are the areas where the effects of Apartheid are still lingering. It was assumed that the participants would all be Black, but this was not the case, because one participant is classified as Indian. The sample consisted of both male and females, as there were no gender specifications for the study.

4.3. Procedure

Initially, participants were enlisted through the School of Human and Community Development at the University of Witwatersrand. The School administrator was approached to communicate the recruitment of participants via email. The email communication was sent to all the students in the School and it explained the purpose of the study using the information sheet (Appendix 3), as well as means to contact the researcher if the student met the requirements. The replies from the call of participants via the School was minimal, thus the researcher began another recruitment process via their personal social media pages. The researcher posted a recruitment advertisement with the purpose of the study, the requirements to become a participant as well as the researcher's contact details. The option of interviews being held via telephone or video call was suggested to the participants. Once participants were interviewed, the snowballing sampling was put into place, where the participants were asked to refer prospective participants from their community.

The recruitment of participants and data collection began once ethical clearance was obtained from the university. Data was collected from the participants through semi-structured interviews with the researcher. Although video and call interviews were offered, all the interviews were conducted on a face-to-face basis. The participants were sent the information

sheet before scheduling the interview to make an informed decision about taking part in the study. From the beginning of the interview, the researcher and the participant discussed all the information pertaining to the study as well as thoroughly reading over the information sheet in detail for the participant to understand. Once the participants had read over the information sheet, they were given two separate consent forms to sign (See Appendix 4 and 5). One to consent to taking part in the study and the other for the interview to be audio recorded. The consent forms were read over and thoroughly explained before the participants signed them. It was important to obtain informed consent, especially when engaging with human participants, so that the participants knew all the information pertaining to the study before consenting to proceeding with the interview (Nusbaum et al., 2017).

A semi-structured interview was conducted to facilitate an in-depth discussion and understand the meaning behind what participants say (Moser & Korstjens, 2018). The semi-structured interviews were open-ended and invited the participant to speak freely which also allows for flexibility to cover the important topics relating to the study, but still provide room to discover and explore other topics (Moser & Korstjens, 2018). An interview schedule is a set of questions or guidelines, which assists the researcher in terms of which important topics need to be covered during the interview (Mack et al., 2005). During the interview, the researcher constantly reminded the participants that if they felt uncomfortable at any time, they may take a break or stop the interview completely; as well as remind the participant of the psychological centres they may contact which were on the information sheet. They could also exit the study without penalties. Further, they could refuse to answers that made them uncomfortable.

An audio recording device was used to record the interviews with the consent of the participants. It ensured that all the information obtained from the interview was accurately recorded and saved for transcription. It should be noted that some recordings were lost due to the malfunction of the researcher's recording device. The researcher went on to inform her

university supervisor and the participants about the loss of the data. The participants were asked for another interview, but only one returned for another interview. Although the researcher took notes during the interview, the notes were not in-depth enough to be used without the recordings. So, two participants' data could not be used for analysis. Reflections about this incident will be discussed in detail in confidentiality and under the author's reflections.

4.4. Data Analysis

Qualitative data analysis is "the range of processes and procedures whereby we move from the qualitative data that has been collected into some form of explanation, understanding or interpretation of the people and situations we are investigating" (Lewins et al., 2015). The aforementioned means that the method that the researcher will utilise to interpret and understand the data collected is qualitative data collection. The interviews which were conducted were analysed using thematic analysis. Thematic analysis discovers themes and patterns from the participants lived experiences (Mhlongo & O'Neil, 2013). Additionally, thematic analysis is the method used "for systematically identifying, organising and offering insight into patterns of meaning (themes) across a data set" (Braun & Clarke, 2012, p. 57). It is a widely used method to analyse qualitative data. Thematic analysis was relevant to this study because it allowed the researcher the opportunity to capture the vital themes of the study in order to deduce the emerged themes (Braun & Clarke, 2006). This study thus analysed data using an inductive analysis approach (bottom up) which means that the themes identified will be strongly linked to the data collected as described by Patton (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

Inductive analysis is a process of finding the themes in the data without trying to fit it into the researcher's preconceptions (Braun & Clarke, 2006) thus it is all driven by the data (Braun & Clarke, 2012). Braun and Clark (2012) note that often researchers will use an inductive and deductive approach because one would rarely ignore the content of the theoretical background

when coding. It should be noted that the researcher did find it difficult to disregard the chosen theoretical background while coding.

There are six phases of analysis that Braun and Clarke (2006) suggest a researcher needs to go through when analysing data using thematic analysis namely (1) "**familiarising yourself with the data**: in this phase, the researcher will immerse themselves into the data" (Braun & Clarke, 2012, p. 60). This was done by the researcher repeatedly listening to the recordings of the interviews and personally transcribing them verbatim, which made the researcher more engaged with the data by reproducing all the spoken words, sounds and any other important non-verbal communication (Braun & Clarke, 2012). The identification of possible themes began during the second phase namely; (2) **generating initial codes**: During this phase, the researcher began to identify and note the issues and topics from the transcripts, which is referred to as coding. Coding is the analytical procedure where the researcher reviews the data and begins to label all the identified topics (Clarke & Braun, 2014). During this phase, the researcher used Atlas.ti to generate the codes into spreadsheets where the extracted data and the related codes are on the same document; (3) **searching for themes**: In this phase, the researcher distinguished the different labelled codes into specific themes and categorises them accordingly. A theme refers to a noteworthy pattern in the data that is appropriate to the research question (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The researcher generated and constructed the themes rather than discovering them, which means that the researcher actively looked for the themes within the similar and intersecting codes (Braun & Clarke, 2012). Atlas.ti was used again by the researcher to construct thematic maps, which allowed an easier process to cluster the similar codes into themes; then the (4) **reviewing themes which begins** phase begins with the researcher reviewing the identified themes to ensure validity in relation to the data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The researcher looked over the themes in relation to the coded data that is allocated to this theme. Some codes were either relocated or disregarded completely (Braun &

Clarke, 2012). The assistance of Nina Lewin, a data analyst librarian from the University of Witwatersrand library, was sought to verify the researcher's process. The next process involved the (5) **defining and naming themes** where the researcher defined and refined the themes (Braun & Clarke, 2006) by clearly distinguished the specifications of the themes, which were named using "content-characteristic words" (Moser & Korstjens, 2018, p. 16). The researcher had to ensure that the themes were focused, not repetitive and addressed the research questions (Braun & Clarke, 2012); and lastly (6) **producing the report** where the researcher began by compiling a report that tells a captivating story and forms an argument that answers the research questions (Braun & Clarke, 2012). Because this is a qualitative research, the write up of this report began at the beginning of the analysis process and was written throughout such as the informal note taking during and after interviews as well as the memos through the analysis process (Braun & Clarke, 2012).

4.5. Triangulation

Triangulation is the process utilised to increase the validity and credibility of the research findings (Noble & Heale, 2019). Triangulation ensures that biases from the researcher are overcome (Noble & Heale, 2019) by using two or more independent data collection or data analysis measures (Heale & Forbes, 2013). The objectivity of the external analysts gives confidence and credibility to the research findings (Noble & Heale, 2019). In this case, triangulation was sought in the following ways: use of an external coder, assistance from a data analyst at the university and the researcher's your supervisor.

The triangulation of this study began with the regular meetings and communications between the researcher and her supervisor. Another way the researcher sought triangulation was through seeking assistance from a data analyst. As mentioned above, Nina Lewin from the University of Witwatersrand library assisted the researcher with her data analysis process.

The last form of triangulation in this study was the data being analysed by an external coder. The external coder was a former colleague from a different university who was sent all the transcripts and asked to analyse them. No further information was given to the external researcher besides the transcripts, the rationale of the study and the research questions. It was noted that once the external coder's report was sent back, the coder had extracted the same data and used the same analysis method as the researcher. Furthermore, within the regular meetings, the researcher and her supervisor had discussions regarding the data, the initial codes and the finalised themes.

4.6. Ethical Considerations

The following section describes the ethical considerations of the research, which refers to how trustworthy the whole research design methodology used in the study was (Ramjit, 2016). This is a critical component of research as it establishes the ethical principles one needs to follow when conducting research.

The first vital step to begin this research was for the Ethical Board of Faculty of Humanities at the University of Witwatersrand to grant permission for the study to take place. Permission was granted on the basis that the following ethical principles needed to be considered throughout conducting the study:

As soon as participants had been obtained, they were required to read through the information sheet (Appendix 3) face to face, which stated the information needed for the participant to take part in the study. Informed consent was obtained implying that all information on the objective of the study, the procedure for the study, possible advantages and/or disadvantages for taking part in the study was conveyed to the participants. The participants took part in the study voluntarily and were reminded of their ethical right to withdraw from the study at any point. The participants were also assured of their confidentiality. Thus, if information from the

participant is used, the participant will remain anonymous. Anonymity is another way of protecting the participants as it keeps their identity unknown. The confidentiality and anonymity for the purpose of this study was discussed in the information sheet as well as consented for in the consent form.

The information sheet also informed the participants that was no penalty, no risk, no harm and no benefits when taking part in the study. It also informed the participants that only researcher, the supervisor and the external coder will have had access to data. The data will be kept secure in password protected device. The participants were informed that the report of the findings would be available upon request. The report will also be available on the University of Witwatersrand library website and the results may be presented at a conference proceeding. With the use of pseudonyms and no identifying information used in report. Furthermore, the dignity of the participants is paramount therefore when quotes were used; they were sanitised so that they were not traced back to any of the participants.

4.7. Author's Reflexivity

Given that the research process was qualitative, the process of reflexivity for the research is a vital component. It was important for the researcher to maintain ethical principles such as honesty, dignity and respect. The researcher also had to maintain a balance between the need to find information for the study as well as to be mindful of the sensitivity of the topic under scrutiny and her own biases. The researcher acknowledged the personal factors such as personality and relationship with participants, which may influence the interview. The researcher also acknowledged her perceptions and emotions regarding adolescents living under kinship care currently including the sometimes harsh contextual and personal factors that they endure for instance only being provided basic needs such as shelter, food and education, and their psychosocial needs and emotional well-being being neglected. Topics such as career prospects are rarely spoken about or encouraged with such adolescents. The researcher was

also mindful of how having lived in a peri-urban context, though not under kinship care, may have made her privy to the living conditions of the participants and how this may have influenced her understandings of the research and be mindful not to drive the research process in a particular way.

The section above has highlighted the methodology utilised to conduct this study. It went into detail about the study's chosen research design, sampling method, data collection and analysis and lastly, the triangulation method. The study's ethical considerations were discussed as well as the author's reflexivity. The following section will delve into the results obtained from the study as well as discuss the results found.

Chapter 5: Results and Discussion of Findings

5.1. Introduction

This chapter provides an in-depth analysis and rigorous discussion of the qualitative data collected for the purpose of the study. The aim of the study was to analyse the influence of kinship care on the career development of adults, when reflecting on their experiences during their adolescence, living in a peri-urban context. The study was therefore retrospective in nature where specific emphasis was placed on how this type of care may have influenced their lives in general then and their current career trajectories, specifically.

The following research questions have been answered through in-depth analysis of the research findings and identified themes:

1. What is the perceived nature and sway of kinship care on the career development during adolescence, if any?
2. How did the peri-urban context influence their career development during adolescence, if at all?
3. Is there an observed or performative difference (however subtly or covert) between kinship care and biological parental care on the career development of adolescents, when now appraised years later?
4. What are the current influences on the participants' current career trajectories in adulthood?

This section of the paper states the identified themes abstracted from the raw data. These themes are then discussed and further pronounced in the section that follows.

As reflected in Table one below, an overarching theme related to obstructions emerged; where all 10 participants indicated that there were specific major barriers or obstacles that arose to hinder their career development. The barriers were categorised as individual/internal barriers

and contextual/external barriers and analysed according to the theoretical underpinning of the Systems Theory Framework. When analysed superficially, it seemed that these challenges were primarily obstructions, but upon deeper analysis, these challenges emerged as opportunities for resilience and growth. Furthermore, the discussion illuminates the sub-themes that materialised. The following mentioned sub-themes allude to the way in which the participants viewed and found their life in kinship care to influence their stance on their career development. The major emergent sub-themes from this study pertain to attachment styles, the influence or confluences related to psychosocial development, financial circumstances, career interventions, the influence of living in a peri-urban environment and lastly, how being raised under kinship care during adolescence influenced participants' current career trajectories in adulthood. Below is an illustrative representation of the overarching theme, the main and sub-themes.

Table 1:

Summary of findings on the influence of kinship care on career development of the participants from peri-urban areas namely: Soweto and Lenasia Townships of Gauteng

Overarching Theme:	**Main themes**	**Sub-themes**

Barriers to career development	Individual influences (Internal)	• Attachment styles
		  ○ Insecure- Avoidant (Preoccupied)
		  ○ Insecure- Anxious (Fearful)
		  ○ Insecure- Resistance (Dismissive)
		• Influence or confluences related to psychosocial development

	Contextual Influences (External)	• Financial circumstances • Career interventions • Influence of living in a peri-urban environment

- Exposure to social ills
- Handling of two different worlds
- Raised by the "village"

- Being raised under kinship care

5.2. Participant observations and profiles

Prior to the discussion of the results, Table two below presents demographic and descriptive information of each participant offering a contextual profile and necessary background on each of the participants. The descriptive information provides the age entering kinship care as well as the different caregivers during their childhood and adolescence. To ensure anonymity, each participant was allocated a number, which was ordered according to the timeline in which the participant was interviewed, namely first, second or the 10th participant.

Table 2:

Demographics of Participants

Participant	Demographics				Kinship Care Context			Career Development	
	Current Age	**Sex**	**Race**	**Ethnicity**	**Age entering Kinship Care**	**Primary Caregiver**	**Parental Contact**	**Highest Level of Education**	**Occupation status**
1	35	Female	Black	Setswana	1 year and 6 months	-Grandmother	Father	Masters	Employed
2	25	Female	Indian	Hindi	14 years old	-Grandmother -Aunt and uncle	Mother	Honours	Student
3	25	Female	Black	IsiZulu	7 years old	-Grandmother	Father	Post-graduate	Employed

4	30	Female	Black	IsiZulu	11 years old	-Aunt	Neither parent	Higher Certificate	Unemployed
5	29	Male	Black	Setswana	2 months old	-Grandmother	Both parents	Honours	Employed
6	23	Male	Black	Sepedi	16 years old	-Uncle	Neither parent	Matric	Unemployed
7	32	Male	Black	Setswana	Not stated	-Grandmother	Both parents	Masters	Employed
8	23	Female	Black	Setswana	6 years old	-Grandparents -Uncle -Older siblings	Neither parent	Grade 9	Unemployed
9	23	Male	Black	IsiZulu	10 years old	-Uncle	Neither parent	Matric	Student / Volunteering
10	23	Female	Black	Not stated	Not stated	Grandmother -Aunt	Mother	Matric	Student / Volunteering

Overall, the study included 10 participants, of which six are female and four are male. The participants' ages ranged from 23 to 35 years. Nine of the ten participants self-identified as black, and one as Indian. While all the participants grew up in lower socio-economic areas with financial instability, which is consistent with the ripple effect of Apartheid and its influence on people of colour in South Africa (International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, 2018). Thus, all the participants were raised in peri-urban areas, also known as townships. It should however be noted that some of the older participants have since managed to attain a higher socio-economic status, which also led to the attainment of financial stability and moving to more affluent areas of living.

The period of living in kinship care varied amongst participants: the shortest being participant six, who only lived in kinship care for two years and the longest being participant five, who lived under kinship care for 18 years. The difference between these two participants is seen in their relationships with their kinship carers as well as their career trajectories, which is further discussed in this chapter. Nine of the ten participants had resided with caregivers, who were related to them, and the one participant was raised by caregivers who were not biologically related to them, but was referred to as family/kin. It was noted that the blood relations of this one participant did not make a difference as the participant repeatedly referred to their kinship carer as family. With the exception of participant one, who resided with her paternal grandmother and participant five, who resided with non-biologically related kin, the caregivers of the participants tended to be maternal relatives. The caregivers mostly comprised of grandmothers and aunts. In a study, Niehaus (2017) found that the role of maternal kinship caregivers to be distinctly important in the lives of children living in kinship care and furthermore acts as a protective factor.

A description of the participants' career development and schooling was necessary to high light the different participants' positions. Nine out of the ten participants have completed their high school education and eight out of the ten participants are furthering or have pursued their post matric education, reflective of a positive regard for education These findings are supported by Eloundou-Enyegue and Shapiro (2004, as cited in Ariyo et al., 2019) who reported that children living in kinship care have a decreased chance of dropping out of school, but Tamasane and Head's (2010) found a higher percentage of school attendance in children living with their grandparents compared to children in other care such as parental and foster. However, a study by Smithgall and Mason (2008) contradicts these findings as the study found that more than half of the children who reported educational- related problems were cared for by grandparents.

Although all the participants were not directly asked about their early school years such as early childhood development and primary school, those that spoke about it stated that when growing up, education was highly regarded, thus most of them completed their basic education.

5.3. Overarching Theme: Barriers to Career Development

The following sections will show the connectivity between the indicated influences, which were viewed as barriers, and living under kinship care as well as how the participants' clouded lens determined their perception. The overarching theme that emerged from this study is: "Barriers to Career Development". This overarching theme is further discussed under two main themes, namely: individual/internal barriers and contextual/external barriers. Additional sub-themes will be discussed, which developed from the main themes. The themes are further extended by discussing the results in relation to the theoretical frameworks and related literature.

Although most of the themes were viewed as barriers, a few viewed these as protective factors, which will be discussed later. It is worthwhile to mention that if the participants' views were mostly positive and not skewed by a negative lens; then the main themes may have been viewed as internal and external protective factors, benefits and opportunities to career development. However, in the case of the findings in this research, the overarching theme will serve to provide an all-encompassing analysis of all the themes mentioned by the participants from their possibly predominantly skewed or tinted viewpoint.

The overarching theme of barriers to career development emerged as inferred from the participants, who mentioned more than one specific obstacle or barrier to their career development, which they linked to having lived under kinship care. Based on the participants' meaning making of the barriers, they perceived themselves to have been either unaffected in their lives and growth in general or their career trajectories thwarted by living under kinship

care. This outcome is determined by the stance or lens the participants used through which they viewed their circumstances. It should be noted that although the participants alluded to their experiences as barriers, there were situations where they viewed their experiences of living in kinship care as opportunities for growth, positive or protective factors. This is corroborated by research conducted by Molele (2016) and Goldschmidt (2017), where a few of the participants in their studies were grateful for the experience of living in kinship care and only viewed it as positive. This may be a defence mechanism or an indication of the protective mechanisms that they developed through their interactions with their caregivers as well as other individuals outside of the home such as educators or peers, and generally through the process of maturation (Garmezy, 1991; Molele, 2016). The coping mechanisms tended to be associated with the level of support received from others (Molele, 2016). Their caregivers, mostly grandmothers and aunts, were reported to be supportive and dependable (Goldschmidt, 2017; Molele, 2016). The reported statements in the abovementioned studies show that the participants may have reflected and spoken from a more positive viewpoint and lens, which allowed the participants a discourse around positive influences. This appears to be somewhat diverse for the participants in this study. The participants who were able to reflect from a positive viewpoint appeared to display a growth mindset. A growth mindset is understood as the individuals who believe in the development of abilities, intelligence and talents and in turn, these individuals will see difficult tasks as an opportunity to work on their abilities and a learning experience (Claro, 2016; Dweck, 2016). Thus, despite their living conditions, some participants would still believe and work on the growth of their intelligence, their abilities and their lives in general.

In the analysis of the interviews, it was difficult to establish as to why most of the participants' views were negatively skewed, nevertheless, it can be assumed that the caregivers' parenting style, attachment and the altered circumstances of the participants' living conditions, might have clouded their perceptions.

5.3.1. Theme 1: Individual/internal Barriers to Career Development

The following section on the first main theme highlights the internal barriers experienced by the participants navigating the development of their careers. It is based on the Systems Theory Framework of Career Development and Counselling (STF), which posits that the individual system is central, but is also influenced by a broader contextual system and an element of time experienced as change over time (Patton & McMahon, 2006; McMahon, 2011; Zunker, 2012). This main theme serves to explore the internal barriers, which are further divided into the sway of attachment and psychosocial development, both of which seem to have predisposed the participants' career choices. These themes will be discussed and further illuminated by the application of the relevant theory and research evidence from the literature review.

5.3.1.1. Attachment. A sub - theme that emerged as underlying most of the participants' career developments was attachment, which was novel to the study. This sub - theme is related to how the participants' specific attachment styles, which is deduced to be an outcome of their caregiving and living conditions during adolescence, predisposed them to a specific career trajectory. Attachment styles are described as: "relatively enduring patterns of thoughts, feelings, and behaviours in close relationships" (Fraley et al., 2013, p. 817). It appeared as though the participants' attachment styles developed in childhood and adolescence mimicked the attachment to their careers or jobs later in life (Ketterrson & Blustein, 1997; Ramos & Lopez, 2018). It also appeared as if the participants' attachment styles might have also influenced their self-efficacy in the pursuit of their career aspirations and goals. It is postulated by Bowlby that childhood attachment experiences provide a model for how the individual may later navigate their adult attachments, which will include their career development (Wright & Perrone, 2008; Wright, 2017). It is hypothesised by attachment theorists such as Bowlby and Ainsworth that attachment will affect an individual's relationship with others throughout their lifespan (Berghaus, 2011; Fraley et al., 2013; Wright, 2017). Even

though it is noted by attachment researchers that the attachment developed in the infant years with their primary caregiver is not stagnant and can be rewired in reaction to the exposure to different relationships throughout the individual's life stages (Cozzarelli et al., 2003).

In this analysis, it emerged that participants mostly displayed insecure attachment styles. Based on the participants' narratives, the insecure attachment styles identified were: Insecure-Avoidant /Preoccupied (participants one, five, seven and ten); Insecure-Anxious/Fearful (participants three, four and nine) and Insecure-Resistance/Dismissive (participants two and six) attachment. It is surmised that the participants all displayed insecure attachment styles, because they were either separated from their primary caregivers or lost their primary caregivers due to death or migration. Although the insecure attachment styles could also have existed before separation and loss of biological parents.

> "*So my parents were never together and got divorced when I was a year and a half… So my dad won the court case to have custody of me when they were not together… And the reason why I didn't stay with my dad, which is kind of odd and actually probably still now, people feel like a father can't raise a child by himself, a daughter even. So I guess the women of the family come in and in this case the woman of the family was my grandmother."* (P1, 35-year-old female)

> *"I was 11 when my mom passed away and I lived with my aunt and her 3 sons"* (P4, 29-year-old female)

> *"So the reason I started living with them* (aunt and grandmother) *is that my mom was working very far away, and cause she was working so many hours, such hectic hours, it was then decided that it's not good for her to live with me."* (P10, 23-year-old female)

5.3.1.1.1. Insecure-Avoidant (Preoccupied) Attachment Style. Participants one, five, seven and ten's narratives displayed what was initially viewed as secure attachment, but later

emerged strongly or more prominently as insecure-avoidant or preoccupied attachment between themselves, their significant others and their primary caregivers. The participants who display this attachment style tended to distance themselves when they feel threatened, because of primary caregivers who were not available during times of need (Bryant et al., 2017). In Bretherton (1992), George, Kaplan and Main's research was cited stating that adults who display insecure-avoidant attachment spoke of differing conflicting childhood memories such as the aforementioned participants who had conflicting views of their childhood. They mentioned supportive caregivers as well as caregivers who rejected them. Participants one, five, seven and ten initially displayed secure attachment when discussing their relationships with their kinship caregivers such as their grandmothers. It was however discovered upon deeper analysis that the participants' attachment style rapidly or severely changed when caregiver changes transpired. This is supported by Bowlby, who noted that attachment is not stagnant and can be changed in reaction to exposure to different relationships (Cozzarelli et al., 2003).

Participants one, five, seven and ten appeared to have insecure-avoidant styles and presented as very independent, seldom seeking contact with others and tended to show little distress, because they appear to be actively avoiding forming interpersonal relationships (Keenan & Evans, 2010). These abovementioned participants appeared to have received unpredictable responses from their biological parents (Berghaus, 2011), which subsequently led them to have formed distant relationships with their primary caregivers (Levy & Blatt, 1999). The Strange Situation experiment demonstrated the formation of an insecure-avoidant attachment by displaying the distant relationship that the child maintains after separation from their primary caregiver (Bretherton, 2013; Sadock et al., 2015). The latter thus explained the formation of this attachment with regards to participants one, five, seven and ten. When placed with their

new kinship carer, the participants then formed secure attachment and close relationships with their kinship carers.

Participants one, five, seven and ten were all raised by their grandmothers, also known as parent surrogates (Ainsworth, 1989), from infancy or toddlerhood, with all the participants having a relationship with at least one biological parent. They all recall being favoured and spoilt by their grandmothers and have fond memories as children living with their grandmothers. These participants have all described their relationships with their respective grandmothers as consistent, nurturing and supportive, thus leading the researcher initially to perceiving their attachment style as secure. All four participants reported that the death of their grandmothers took its toll on them and it was denoted that this might have precipitated the change from secure attachment to insecure-avoidant attachment. The participants also described a strained relationship with their mothers, especially during adolescence and the death of their grandmothers, which may have awakened their insecure attachment. Although there were attempts to fix their relationship with their mothers, except for participant one, whose mother died at a young age, participant five, seven and ten maintain an emotional distance from their mothers, as though they are avoiding building close relationships with their mothers (Bretherton, 2013). Hence, this cements the premise that they may have formed insecure-avoidant attachment (Ainsworth, 1989). The different types of attachments with their caregivers display the different ties of the individual systems, to their social systems, such as their parental and kinship caregiver relations, of the STF (McMahon et al., 2008; Patton & McMahon, 2006). The individual system highlights the intrapersonal influences, which in this instance is highlighted as attachment (McMahon, 2011). Attachment to caregivers has proven to have affected the career adaptability, career exploration and career meaning-making for all the participants as previously reported by Ketterson & Blustein (1997), Ramos & Lopez (2018) and Wright (2017).

In assessing the influence of the secondary caregivers, it should be noted that the participants' grandmothers did not overtly speak to them about specific careers and jobs, but they encouraged and instilled certain skills in them during their adolescence, which allowed them to further their careers. This is supported by a study conducted by Mhlongo and O'Neil (2013) where 80% of the participants reported being encouraged by family members to study further so they could build a good foundation for their careers. Participant 5 said:

> "*So there's a couple of principles my grandparents instilled in me- the value of hard work and uhm… the value of discipline. And they never… I never had a situation where my grandparents would tell me about a particular career that they believe would be cool for me." (P5, 29-year-old male)*

Participant 10 was an exception in that her grandmother mentioned a specific career and suggested that she should work with people. This was deduced from the following statement;

> *"I'd say another person would be my grandmother. Cause she'd always say, you´re very good with your little sister and older people. With always finding ways to analyse them and solve their problems. Shouldn't you consider something else? She actually thought I should go into social work." (P10, 23-year-old female)*

The sense of secure attachment to their secondary caregivers, being the participants' grandparents, appears to have led to a positive career stance that is hypothesised to be career self-efficacy (Wright, 2017). The secure attachment built with the supportive and encouraging parent surrogates (grandmothers), has shown value in the lives of the participants and persists as the new working model of self in relation to others (Ainsworth, 1989; Schwartz, 2008; Winokur et al., 2018). Participants one, five, seven and ten reported belief in their capabilities to complete their career tasks, which seems to display their high career self-efficacy (Stead & Watson, 2017).

The subject of self-efficacy arose spontaneously and was not sparked by any specific questions. The concept of self-efficacy expectations is one of three main fundamental constructs of the Social Cognitive Career Theory (SCCT) (Stead & Watson, 2017). It explores the individuals' self-beliefs about their own capabilities to perform certain tasks (Stead & Watson, 2017). Although the researcher did not explicitly investigate self-efficacy, it was seen that participants one, five, seven and ten's positive career self-efficacy allowed them to explore their careers further through their positive self-belief. Research by El-Hassan & Ghalayini (2019) found that secure attachment styles were related to the increase in career exploration and consequently a more positive self-efficacy. These findings are further supported by Ketterson & Blustein (1997), Wolfe & Betz (2004) and Wright (2017). Secure attachment is also related to forming a well-established career identity (Downing & Nauta, 2010; Ramos & Lopez, 2018).

Participant one started out in the retail industry, because of financial restrictions after completing high school, but she was able to explore her environment, which led to her current career in the field of investment management. Although she noted that there was a lot of "job hopping", she viewed this as a beneficial process to allow her to become successful in her current career path. Even though "job-hopping" is a direct indicator of insecure attachment, which displays participant one's childhood attachment style, it has become an increasingly growing trend in career development (Steenackers & Guerry, 2016). Career indecision, which is associated with "job-hopping", is known to be directly linked to insecure attachment (Braunstein-Bercovitz et al., 2012). It was established that insecure-avoidant attachment is linked to the distress of interpersonal relationship formation, difficulties with dealing with unavoidable adversities and managing stressful situations, which heighten career indecision (Braunstein-Bercovitz et al., 2012).

Job-hopping was initially introduced by Ghiseli in 1974, who named it "hobo-syndrome, which "refers to employees frequently changing jobs because of instinctive impulses" (Steenackers

& Guerry, 2016, p. 494) and in this study, because of their internal working models of attachment. Blustein et al. (1995) hypothesize that the internal working model of an individual's security will affect the formation of the individual's career self-concept and in turn their career development and career decision-making. Therefore, "job-hopping" or career indecision reflects an individual's internal working model. The practice of frequently and voluntarily changing jobs may be perceived as positive or negative, because the employer may view the employee as dynamic and fostering knowledge transfer (Steenackers & Guerry, 2016) or they may view them as uncommitted and disloyal (Chatzky, 2018; Darmody, 2019).

Under different circumstances, research may view the way people enact their work experiences differently. For example, some research has noted that individuals with secure attachment experiences will increase their self-efficacy, which is described by Bandura (1997) as, "a belief about what one can do under different sets of conditions with whatever skills one possesses" (pg. 37). This applies to participant one, who acquired the skills from her first job in retail and transferred them across her manifold jobs which landed her within her current job as an investment manager. This can be seen as having transferable skills, which is when the acquired skills in one specific job or career are used in another job or career (Glickman, 2012). The confidence to be adaptable and use the transferable skills also displays the participant's self-efficacy (Coetzee, 2018). Therefore, self-efficacy is allowing the individual to have the security and confidence to explore their career further or explore a new career with less anxious or avoidant behaviours (Coetzee, 2018; Wright, 2017). It is noted that research specifies that individuals with positive self-efficacy and high career adaptability are able to remain motivated to acquire career success despite adverse circumstances (Coetzee, 2018). An example of positive self-efficacy can be seen in the statement made by participant seven:

> *"I think I had a game plan but not many people could see, not many people saw it. Um, I looked like I was floating but I think in my mind there was a game plan… I think I*

knew I was gonna be successful but ah… Um, cause I was everywhere, I was doing a lot of things. Um, ya so. I was never worried about it." (P7, 32-year-old male)

5.3.1.1.2. Insecure-Anxious (Fearful) Attachment Style. A select few of the participants indicated traits of insecure-anxious/fearful attachment with their primary caregivers. Individuals who have an immense fear of interpersonal rejection from one's primary caregiver (Widom at el., 2018) due to a regular pattern of inconsistent care provided by said primary caregiver and the caregiver not being readily available when needed, result in the formation of insecure-anxious attachment style (Bryant et al., 2017). In the case of the participants who presented with this attachment style, the inconsistent care came once they began living in kinship care. The participants displaying this attachment style are hypervigilant to loss and rejection (Widom et al., 2018).

The insecure-anxious attachment style can be replicated in how a person navigates their career development. As such, a person with this attachment style would be less likely to explore further into their careers or would not explore new careers at all due to a fear of inconsistency inherited from this early attachment style, as well as the uncontrollable flow of negative thoughts related to career choices (Braunstein-Bercovitz et al., 2012). Participants four and nine were placed in kinship care as a result of the death of their biological mothers and refer to their childhood as stable before that, but the shift to kinship care during their adolescence was abrupt. On the other hand, participant three had always been under the care of her grandmother and the placement only became formal after the death of her mother at the beginning of her adolescent stage. As such, participants three, four and nine all described their childhoods as relatively stable and this testimony contradicts their anxious attachment tendencies. However, the testimony of their adolescent stage is evidence of their current anxious behaviour. Participant three provided an example that suggested she may have an insecure-anxious attachment style:

"I cut off people very easily. I've got this thing of if I can live without my mother, I can live without anyone else in this world. So that's my biggest challenge, I cut off people." (P3, 25-year-old female)

Similarly, participant four also provided an account of her insecure-anxious attachment behaviour.

"But if I could just tick all their boxes and they could just give me a roof over my head and they'll feed me and take me to school and do that and that… I tried to kill certain parts of myself and the dreams and hopes and all of that…" (P4, 29-year-old female)

Furthermore, participant nine shared his explanation of how his insecure-anxious attachment style developed when he said:

"Being a teenager home alone and everything. So, it was just that and so then unfortunately cause of, where there's alcohol involve, a lot of things don't go well. So, at some point my uncle started being very, you know domestic violence… And so then in a way it affected my studies because at home it was a bit toxic. The environment was not nice. (P9. 23-year-old male)

Having experienced neglect and abandonment as children, the noted participants were highly prone to developing insecure-anxious attachment styles (Widom et al., 2018). It appears as though this resulted in the participants having a fear of more abandonment or loss or rejection, thus causing them to withdraw (Widom et al., 2018). This then hinders them from engaging in a process of career exploration in their career development and decreases career self-efficacy (El-Hassan & Ghalayini, 2019). This applies to participant three, who wanted to be a lawyer when growing up, but she had a stutter and thus feared that she would be rejected by those in the field, resulting in her not pursuing her preferred career. She explained this when she said:

> *"I wanted to be a lawyer. So because I stutter when I speak, especially when I'm angry or too happy so I cannot express my emotions and I get too emotional. So I couldn't take law and in law you have to speak a lot, tame your emotions you understand and speak and I just couldn't do that." (P3, 25-year-old female)*

Participant four related how she felt that she had to lose a part of herself to be able to be in secure relationships all her life, thus fearing that if she followed her dreams, she would be rejected by those close to her. Although kinship care has the benefit of keeping the individual with family and produced better outcomes of adaptive behaviour (McCartan et al., 2018; Winokur et al., 2018), children may establish insecure attachment due to the trauma of the loss and in turn, participant four became hypervigilant to loss and rejection (Widom et al., 2018) thus changing herself in fear.

> *"Moving with my family and getting married kind of killed my dream… then I met my husband and similar situation. This was another person who was going to take care of me so it became a cycle, if I killed a part of myself then yea." (P4, 29-year-old female)*

Similarly, participant nine spoke about wanting to follow many careers, such as engineering, entertainment and theology. However, it appeared as though participant nine may have found it difficult to explore these desired careers further due to a fear of rejection. It appears that his indecisiveness was due to fear of failure and a belief that if he fails in his career, it equates to rejection and not living up to perceived expectations.

The attachment style displayed by participants three, four and nine and its effect on career development sheds light on the influence that living under kinship care can have on an adolescent at the commencement of actively developing their career. Their internal working model becomes apparent when the participants become hypervigilant to loss and rejection when exploring careers.

5.3.1.1.3. Insecure-Resistant (Dismissive) Attachment Style. The last style of attachment identified between participants and their primary caregivers is the insecure-resistant/dismissive attachment style. The insecure-resistant attachment style is described as an attachment style where a person is highly distressed by their separation from those close to them (Bretherton, 2013; Keenan & Evans, 2010). Adults with insecure-resistant attachment tendencies are likely to disregard the value of affectionate feelings (Radebe, 2014). Participants two and six displayed insecure-resistant attachment, as they repeatedly mentioned how difficult it was for them to get close to people. Participant six spoke about how he felt neglected after his mother's death at the age of 16 and believed that his kinship carers were only taking care of him because it was an obligation or duty and not because they genuinely wanted to. This highlights the importance of assessment and evaluation of kinship care placement ***(Davey, 2016)***. This was supported by research about adult attachment conducted by George at el. in 1984 (as cited in Bretherton, 1992), which showed that adults who displayed insecure-dismissive attachment had vague memories of their childhood, but on occurrence suggested rejection and neglect. Participant six expressed this when he said:

> *"... what I mean by neglect is not the same as having your mother, your biological mother being around so it's like they just there, for the sake of being there. So they not there whole heartedly." (P6, 23-year-old male)*

Participant two was placed under kinship care when her mother relocated and as a result, she had to move in with her grandmother during adolescence. Her grandmother passed away a year later and she had to move again and reside with her maternal aunt and uncle. She repeatedly noted that she felt different and distant from her kinship carers, which she understood as not being able to have a meaningful close attached relationship with them. Participant two's experience contradicts the value that kinship care places on identity formation and closeness to family members reported by O'Brien (2012). It appeared as though Participant two found it

difficult to build and maintain close relationships after the relocation of her mother followed by the death of her grandmother. This appears to also be linked to participant two's attachment style of insecure-resistance. This is displayed by the distress felt by participant two since her mom migrated and her grandmother passed away, as well as her difficulty to be comforted and build close relationships with her kinship carers (Bretherton, 2013; Keenan & Evans, 2010).

> *"… because they're so different and I'm very different to them. Like at times, I feel like I'm not myself and I'm just the person I'm supposed to be and I think that leads to conflict in sense." (P2, 26-year-old female)*

This inability to form close relationships is reflected in her career development through her difficulty of being able to network in her chosen career. Furthermore, it is demonstrated through a lack of self-efficacy in her different capacities within her career development as reported by Wright (2017) who states that insecure relationships will directly influence the self-efficacy tasks of career development. Studies by Braunstein-Bercovitz et al. (2012), Wright and Perrone (2008) and Wright (2017) only report on the effect that insecure-anxious and insecure-avoidance attachment will have on career development and there is no mention of insecure-resistant attachment specifically. Participant two has limited self - efficacy in her chosen career and it is evident when she says:

> *I think I'm still exploring it the different routes that you can take with psychology degree. Like I thought I was interested in educational psychology at the beginning of the year and it is so difficult to get into a masters degree, a part of me thought I was just settling for it… So I think, at the moment its still quite open for me and I'm still in the processing of exploration but I definitely want to absorb as much knowledge as possible in the upcoming years." (P2, 26-year-old female)*

As such, these statements made by participant two indicate how her experience in her adolescence with inconsistent caregivers has affected her approach and experiences within her career development, where she seems to be afraid of her failure or success (Wright, 2017). This therefore shows that insecure-resistant attachment tendencies will manifest in one's career development as fear to explore different careers, because they may fear failure or loss of their job.

The abovementioned section of the first theme indicated the different attachment styles of the participants and how this has affected their career development. Some of the participants reported having stable and secure relationships with their biological parents before being, sometimes, abruptly placed with their kinship carers. The losses and changes of caregivers during their childhood and adolescence as well as their experience within kinship care appeared to have altered their attachment styles from secure to insecure. Bryant et al., (2017) gave support to the previously mention statement by stating that the interruption in attachment can have a long-lasting effect on an individual's future attachment style. Furthermore, these attachment styles seem to be applied to their process of choosing and developing their careers during adolescence and their current career trajectories as adults, which correspond with findings identified in previous research by Braunstein-Bercovitz et al. (2012), Wright and Perrone (2008) and Wright (2017).

There were participants who appeared to have a sense of secure attachment with their kinship carers, but experienced insecure-avoidant attachment with their biological caregivers as well as after the death of their kinship carers, whilst others wanted a close relationship. This insecure-avoidant attachment seems to be modelled in other current relationships in their lives. In relation to their career development, these participants reported an ability to explore different careers prior to choosing their current career and hold the belief that they can continue to explore their careers as time progresses. In contrast, the participants who appeared to have

established insecure-anxious attachment and insecure-resistant attachment with their kinship carers reported avoiding exploring their careers due to fear of rejection and fear of failure. This suggests that transition from living with primary caregivers to kinship caregivers has influenced the participants' attachment styles. Once placed in kinship care, it appears that their career development especially during their adolescence changed as well. The nature and intensity will have to be further explored in future studies. From the theoretical framework of the STF, it is evident how factors from the individual system such as attachment style projects a significant influence on an individual's career development (Braunstein-Bercovitz et al., 2012; McMahon, 2005). This relates specifically to how the internal working model of attachment will affect the lifelong and dynamic process of career development.

The sense of secure attachment with parent surrogates allows for a lesser impact of the interruption with their primary caregivers (Ainsworth, 1989). This is reported in a study conducted by Albien and Naidoo (2016), which reported that older siblings and teachers were seen as support structures for the individuals during these transitions and are noted to have attempted to create further educational opportunities. Thus, these figures can also work as protective factors in an individual's career development.

5.3.1.2. The Influence of Psychosocial Development on Career Trajectories. The second subtheme that emerged was the influence of a person's psychosocial development, and their self in relation to others and the world on their career trajectories. It should be noted that although attachment is firmly rooted in the self and related attachment bonds to others, which is similar to psychosocial development and it affects the person's interactional bonds, this psychosocial bond is slightly different. The psychosocial development of the participants, in this study, is understood to be a reciprocal and bidirectional interactional influence of the internal and external influences as it pertains to the social self in relation to others. It is indicative of the concept of recursiveness in the theoretical framework of STF. The concept of

recursiveness highlights the influence that other systems have on each other and that the internal and external systems are open systems (Patton & McMahon, 2006). The participants' psychosocial development needs to be taken into consideration to better understand their current developments and influences. This section provides answers for the research question, which set out to investigate the participants' current influences on their current career path.

Erikson in 1963 (as cited in Crain, 2014) set out a series of life stages of psychosocial development, which he believed an individual will go through as they progress through their lifetime. During the interviews, the participants were asked to reflect on and think back to their adolescent years. According to Erikson's theory this would have been the stage of identity vs role confusion, which is considered a very critical stage for career development (Crain, 2014). The participants were also asked to reflect on and articulate any current perceived influences on their lives holistically, and their career trajectories, specifically. The latter was done with the hope of affording participants the opportunity to spontaneously delve into their current psychosocial stages.

5.3.1.2.1. Early Adulthood. The younger participants who were all under the age of 26 were in a different phase in their career development compared to the older participants. The narratives of the younger participants, who are supposedly in the stage of intimacy vs isolation stage indicated that most of the decisions that they are currently executing, were strongly influenced by their relationships with their kinship carers. The psychosocial stage of intimacy versus isolation is characterised by establishing intimate relationships with others (Louw & Louw, 2013). In relation to career development, an individual in this stage would be required to establish a career in which they can commit to (Louw & Louw, 2013).

Prior to early adulthood, participants were expected, according to western ideology, to have navigated through Erikson's previous stage of identity vs. role confusion (adolescence) (Crain,

2014). The main task of this stage is to form a healthy sense of self and if this is not achieved, the result is a confused self-identity, a state which can affect the following life stage (intimacy vs. isolation) as well as subsequent stages after that (Crain, 2014). However, critiques of Erikson's theory purports that this is a westernised notion. This might therefore not apply wholeheartedly to these participants and the researcher was mindful when interpreting the results from this Eurocentric perspective. One of the key tasks during the stage of adolescence is the process of making a decision regarding which career to pursue and thus marks a transition from the stage of adolescence into adulthood (Arnett, 2000; Louw & Louw, 2013; Munley, 1977).

Challenging this linear understanding and westernised view of career and identity development, one needs to observe the development of adolescents from previously disadvantaged populations in South Africa. Research by Arndt & Naude (2016) stated that the previously disadvantaged South African people face many factors, such as the impact of Apartheid, gender and socioeconomic status, which might hinder this linear development, such as participant seven who mentions teenage pregnancy and increased high school drop out rate. These factors are further discussed in a section below, which specifically examines the influence of growing up in a peri-urban area on the participants' career development. When most of the participants were in their adolescent stage, South Africa was undergoing an intense political change. Thus, this change influenced the formation of their identity through the drastic changes in social dynamics across the country (Arndt & Naude, 2016). Thom and Coetzee (2004) noted that during the height of Apartheid, black adolescents formed groups to fight against the political regime, which in turn assisted them to form a collective identity and provided these adolescents with much needed resilience. One of the organisations formed by university students and Steve Biko was the Black Consciousness Movement in the mid - 1960s (Cooper, 1994). An organisation mentioned repeatedly by the participants in this study is the

Youth Alive Ministries, which was formed in the 1959 as a youth Christian organisation for the development of children and adolescents in Dube, Soweto (Youth Alive Ministries, 2018).

The resilience built during adolescence enabled the black adults to manage the demands of the changing environment (Thom & Coetzee, 2004). Additionally, identity is formed by relying on the "society's expectations and recognition of the individual; it also depends on the individual's expectations and recognition of society" (Thom & Coetzee, 2004, p. 183). Therefore, individuals will have to maintain a balance between these expectations to develop a well-rounded identity. In South Africa, great importance is placed on culture, ethnicity and language groups, therefore the socio-cultural context needs to be considered (Arndt & Naude, 2016). As such, the individual identity and the cultural identity cannot be separated (Thom & Coetzee, 2004). This conundrum of not being able to separate the individual identity and cultural identity, applies to the openness of the STF systems and the recursiveness between the individual system and the social system (McMahon, 2005; Patton & McMahon, 2006; Stead & Watson, 2017).

The growth of globalisation has also hugely influenced the cultural identity of individuals and groups because of the exposure to other cultures around the world; also influencing their values and lifestyle (Arndt & Naude, 2016). Globalisation also signifies the influence that the environmental-societal system can have on the social system, in turn highlighting the STF process systems of chance and recursiveness (McMahon, 2011). All of the above-mentioned factors may result in a confused sense of self in South African adolescents, which may cause difficulty in following the expected linear development of identity and career (Crain, 2014).

It appeared as though most of the younger participants, participants six, eight, nine and ten, had difficulty forming a solid identity during adolescence. It seems that the formation of self was disrupted when they were placed in kinship care; with an inconsistent and ever-changing

primary caregiver that may have also affected their identity. Arnett (2000) stated that there is an unnamed stage, later coined the moratorium stage, that was unintentional established by Erikson where "adult commitment and responsibilities are delayed while the role experimentation that began in adolescence continues" (pg. 469). This stage falls between adolescence and the early adulthood stage. Through the analysis of the interviews, it was established that participants six, eight, nine and ten may have gone through the stage of moratorium and are still struggling with their career decisions, which leads to career indecision and not being able to commit to a career. It appears as if this may be due to slower developing identities and them being still dependent on their family bonds and the relationships with their current caregivers and socio-cultural influences. Being dependent on parents for career decision-making, is consistent with a study conducted by Seabi et al. (2010) where it was demonstrated that the participants' parents had a significant impact on their career development. However, in the absence of the normal family constructions, as was with all the participants, the kinship carer appears to have directly influenced their choices in career, similar to how biological parents directly influence their children's career. The similarity in influence from biological parents and kinship carers highlights the advantages of being placed in kinship care, which may enable the maintenance of cultural identity linked to participants' familial bonds and cultural practice, whilst having a deep reliance on their caregivers' opinions related to career choices (Arney et al., 2015). South African cultures place importance on collective and cultural identity, which means taking into consideration their family and community when making decisions. This highlights the STF's social system, which emphasizes that the reasons individuals choose and stay in specific careers is to take care of significant others, contribute to their community or bring respect to their family (McMahon, 2017). This could be the reason why participants chose to rely on kinship caregivers' choices with regards to their career trajectories.

For example, participant ten chose to go into the field of psychology specifically because her grandmother told her how good she is with people. She expressed this when she said:

> *"I'd say another person would be my grandmother. Cause she'd always say, you're very good with your little sister and older people. With always finding ways to analyse them and solve their problems…." (P10, 23-year-old Female)*

Participant eight noted that the reason why she wanted to become a soldier was because a family friend was a soldier and her brother also wanted to be one.

> *"my older brother actually also wanted to be a soldier. But he dropped out of school and didn't want to be a soldier." (P8, 23-year-old female)*

Furthermore, it appeared that she was not able to finish school, just like her brother, and this influenced her decision. Participant eight's narrative of a disadvantaged black woman highlights the impact and limitations that socio-political, socio-economic factors as well as gender can have in one's life (Hall & Posel, 2019). Literature by Davey (2016), Dunne & Kettler (2008) Hartley et al. (2019), Kiraly (2018), McCartan et al. (2018), Save the Children Fund (2007) and Selwyn & Nandy (2014) has previously highlighted that one of the major disadvantages of kinship care is financial constraints, especially in South Africa where most kinship carers are grandparents; may only be receiving support from social grants. This, coupled with limited resources in her community, dating back to the Apartheid era, places participant eight in a more limiting position. For one to be able to develop in the linear procession laid out in Erikson's psychosocial development, their circumstances need to be favourable and participant eight's were not; her circumstances became barriers to her overall development. The intersectionality between participant eight's individual system (identity, self-efficacy, race and gender), social system (kinship care, peers, community) and environmental-societal system (historical impact, geographical location, educational

background and socio-economic status), as indicated by McMahon (2005, 2011) and Patton and McMahon (2006, 2006), has shown that many factors need to be considered when observing one's psychosocial development, specifically when it relates to career development. These factors, however, may have built resilience in the other participants.

5.3.1.2.2. Middle Adulthood. A few participants of this study are currently in the middle adulthood stage. It is highlighted, because a difference in their career development, compared to the younger participants, was established. Participants who are in this psychosocial stage called generativity vs stagnation by Erikson (as cited by Louw & Louw, 2013) reported that they were strongly influenced by a drive or striving towards future stability in their careers and personal lives. Succeeding in tasks set out in this stage provides an individual with more meaning in their life and increases the adult's self-esteem (Louw & Louw, 2013). This would refer to Erikson's stage of generativity, which is an important task to achieve during middle adulthood (Louw & Louw, 2013). The generativity vs. stagnation stage is primarily about establishing a path for future generations (Sadock et al., 2015). Thus, the participants' influences play a part in them finding fulfilment. Some of the influences that were mentioned by the participants were their children, their seniors at work, mentors and a desire to follow their passion. All the above-mentioned factors and influences will impact the participants' current career development and trajectories. The section below will further clarify the participants' current influences during their current psychosocial stage.

The participants in this psychosocial stage are expected to be willing to commit and maintain stability in their interpersonal relationships and career choices; as well as incorporating productivity into all aspects of their lives. Participant four discussed her current influences for maintaining stability when she said:

"…like my first-born started grade 1 this year and it was one of those okay by the time she finishes matric, like before then and everything throughout I should be able to provide for her." (P4, 29-year-old female)

As such, in the case of participant four, one of her primary reasons for staying motivated and current influence on her career path and maintaining stability was the desire to provide for her children. Participant five elaborated on how he felt inspired by the leadership and mentorship he received at his previous and current work and this was his driving stability and generativity. This could be seen as an unintentional and informal career guidance where leadership in workplaces foster employees to advance their abilities and enable the growth of own career development (Zunker, 2010).

"In corporate I got to idealise people that are in corporate which is counter to what I'm looking to. There's a couple of seniors I've worked with that are pretty cool, [name left out] *who runs* [company name], *pretty dope;* [name left out] *I used to report to him at* [company name]. *These are pretty cool people that have intellectual rigour, are ambitious and yea, they are the 2 that come to mind. Yea, so* [name] *was my manager and* [name] *is just somebody that I've known and I've worked with him and I've seen how he does things. So he's like a mentor from afar" (P5, 29-year-old male)*

Participant seven explained his current main influences within the working environment when he said:

"I started working um for one of the marketing firms in SA, and that was going really well. Um, and within, I think it was the first two years, I then decided it wasn't really for me. I was enjoying what I was doing um but my trajectory in terms of where I was seeing myself going was not, was not enticing anymore." (P7, 32-year-old male)

From participant seven's explanation it is evident that a feeling of enjoyment and passion is an important element required in the workplace and without it, he would lose motivation. Participant seven's requirement of enjoyment and passion highlights the individual system influences, specifically related to how he understands himself (Patton & McMahon, 2006). This is supported by Goldschmidt's (2017) research where it was reported that the older participants in the study, who had grown up in kinship care, had greater clarity of their identity. Alternatively, for participant one, what was important for her was being in a context where she had colleagues she could connect with and relate to. The maintenance of interpersonal relationships between colleagues is an important task for career development in the generativity vs. stagnation stage (Louw & Louw, 2013) and the people in the workplace also highlight the interaction of an individual's social system with their career decisions as espoused by the STF (McMahon, 2011). Participant one also highlights the significance that South Africans place on a collective identity, such that people of the same race, ethnicity and language group will drift towards each other (Arndt & Naude, 2016). The recursiveness between the individual system and the social system (McMahon, 2005; Patton & McMahon, 2006; Stead & Watson, 2017), as seen in participant one's discourse where her identity is influenced by the identity of those around her, is reiterated in the middle adulthood stage as well. Participant one explained this when she said:

> *"I think seeing people who look like me in term age and gender. That had a big influence because I could see myself like they talked like me and they shared the same interest as me outside of work as well so all of a sudden it didn't seem out of reach… I was the same in terms of young black females so I can actually do this. So based on my current influence it was people I have worked with but not my close colleagues or friends" (P1, 35-year-old female)*

The first-hand accounts provided by these participants who fall into Erikson's middle adulthood stage of psychosocial development, namely generativity vs. stagnation, revealed their main influences and motivations when it comes to their career experiences. These ranged from a desire to provide for their children, connectedness to colleagues, to needing to have a sense of meaning and passion for what they do.

The sub-theme above also highlights the differences between the participants' current career influences, and this is specifically because of the psychosocial stage that the participants are navigating. When considering the participants' current psychosocial development stages, it indicates their readiness to transition into a particular career. The sub-theme, namely "the Influence of the Psychosocial development on Career Trajectories" arose unexpectedly, but was substantial enough to explore as it highlights a gap in the researcher's aims and research studies explored. Inductive research and thematic analysis seeks to explore if there are similarities and differences within the data. The differences in the participants' influences depict the process system in the STF, specifically change over time. The change over time demonstrates the evolution of individuals and the development of their careers, which the researcher highlighted (Patton & McMahon, 2006). McMahon (2011) further proposes that the aforementioned is illustrated through the adaptability of people and the transitioning of individuals and the influences on them over time. From a developmental perspective, the influences transitioned from crystallising their identity and distancing, but maintaining family ties and establishing intimate relationships in the early adulthood stage, to seeking creativity and productivity as well as generating for the stability of the future, in the middle adulthood stage (Louw & Louw, 2013). The section above also highlights an important career development skill, namely career adaptability. Savickas in Maree (2015) refers to career adaptability as "people's readiness to manage transitions and changes in their study and work-related roles and construct themselves accordingly" (p. 395). This highlights the transition of

the participants over time and how this affects their current career trajectories, specifically in relation to their career adaptability.

The first main theme discusses the intrapersonal influences mentioned by the participants in this study. The first sub-theme highlighted the attachment styles established in their childhood and adolescence, and how this effected the participants' career development. All the participants displayed insecure attachment tendencies, and these filtered into their career development. The second sub-theme highlighted the participants' current psychosocial stage and the impact this is presently having on their current career development and trajectories. The discussion highlighted the difference in influences because of the different life stages that causally affected the participants' navigation of their career stages.

5.3.2. Theme 2: Contextual/External Barriers

The Systems Theory Framework (STF) of Career Development and Counselling denotes an individual's contextual system, which influences the individual system. This is seen as the external barrier to career development in this study, which is the second main theme in this study. Patton and McMahon (2006) highlighted that the individual's contextual system has a profound influence on multiple aspects of their personal lives. This was discussed in the section above. The following section will examine the contextual system and external barriers of the participants whilst navigating their career development when they were living under kinship care during adolescence and which they may still be experiencing. The participants understood these influences as circumstances which were out of their control, but could still hinder their career development. The sub-themes that emerged and that will be discussed in this section are: financial constraints, career interventions, living in a peri-urban environment and lastly, living under kinship care.

5.3.2.1. Financial Constraints. The first subtheme that emerged related to financial constraints. This specifically pertained to the financial constraints of the participants during their school-going and higher education or university years and how this affected their career development and current career trajectory. This sub-theme highlights the environmental-societal system and social system from the STF and the influence thereof on the participants' career development (McMahon, 2011). The majority of the participants cited limited finances as an influence that hindered them from furthering their education after high school.

An individual's race, gender and geographical location also remain a large contributor to poverty in South Africa, even after 25 years of democracy (International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, 2018). It is reported that households, which are led by black females, are most likely to be poverty-stricken (International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, 2018). This was confirmed in the Living Conditions Survey of 2014/15, which stated that 49.9% of the households living below the poverty line were female-headed households (Statistics South Africa, 2018). Eight out of the ten participants' caregivers were older black females with limited education, due to the legacy of the Apartheid regime (Msila, 2007). Research by Unterhalter (1990) reported that educational opportunities for black girls and women during Apartheid were severely limited and constrained to families who could afford to keep their children in school. The intersectionality of being female, black, less educated and their limiting geographical location placed the caregivers at a larger disadvantage (Smith, 2013), especially during the Apartheid regime (Poinsette, 1985). It was reported that the households in urban informal areas, also known as peri-urban areas or townships, had an average expenditure of R35 779 a year, while those living in urban formal areas spent an average of R108 415 annually (Statistics South Africa, 2018). It should be noted that black women's voices and specific experiences have been silenced and disregarded because of the

heteropatriarchal assumption that black women's experiences reflected those of black men (Sullivan & Stevens, 2010).

Furthermore, the effects of the Apartheid regime can also be felt with regards to living locations and land. This is because one of the most devastating consequences of the apartheid system was the unequal division of land, as black people were allocated the smallest share of the most desolate and under-resourced areas (Hall & Posel, 2019). As such, black people were forced to live in rural areas, previously known as homelands, as well as in townships with poor standards of living and limited opportunities (Hall & Posel, 2019; International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, 2018). A controversial yet representative figure of 15% of the population during the Apartheid years, being white people, owned 87% of the land; leaving the rest of the population, being people of colour, with only 13% of the land (Walker, 1998). The effects of such Apartheid laws as well as the continued segregation of geographical locations along the lines of race continue to contribute to poverty to this day. The Land Audit Report (Department of Rural Development and Land Reform, 2017) stated that farm and agricultural areas are mostly owned by white people (72%), followed by coloured people (15%), indian people (5%), and then lastly black people (4%).

All the participants were raised in peri-urban areas (townships) as adolescents and were therefore exposed to the continued effects of these Apartheid laws by living in underprivileged living conditions and being less likely to have access to opportunities (Hall & Posel, 2019). Considering all these factors, based on the abovementioned reports, it probably exposed them to negative financial circumstances or low or harsh socio-economic conditions whilst growing up. The abovementioned continued effect of Apartheid highlights the process system of the STF. The influence that the history of South Africa has on the participants' location and financial circumstances mirrors the process systems of recursiveness and change over time. (Patton & McMahon, 2006; Zunker, Career Counselling: A Holistic Approach, 2012). It should

be noted that despite these financial circumstances, nine out of the ten participants received tertiary or further education. This is remarkable considering that based on the Poverty and Inequality Assessment Report (International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, 2018) unemployment and education are the top contributors to poverty in South Africa, thus most of the participants defeated the odds. Most of the participants of this study have begun and completed their further education and are employed despite living in adverse conditions during adolescence in underprivileged peri- urban areas. This display of resilience may be attributed to the sense of security that the secondary caregivers gave to the participants during adolescence.

Research conducted by Arrington & Wilson (2000) and Garmezy (1991) states that children that are exposed to adverse situations, such as low socio-economic status, and hostile relationships with family members, strive to make positive adaptations in their lives. However, it is noted that the loss of a family member, specifically a parent, during their childhood will "negatively impact the developmental psychosocial characteristics associated with high resilience" (Kennedy et al., 2018). However, those who do display resilience in adolescence, such as most of the participants in this study, will take advantage of educational and societal opportunities presented to them (Kennedy et al., 2018).

A report from the Statistics South Africa (2019) on higher education stated that more than half of the 2.8 million youths aged 18-24, who were sampled in 2017, reported that they could not further their education after high school due to lack of funds. It should also be noted that 53% of black youth stated financial difficulties as the reason for not furthering their education, which was far higher than other race groups (Statistics South Africa, 2019). Participants expressed that financial constraints in their adolescence hindered furthering their education, which they believed stalled their career development. Participants one, three and nine expressed these circumstances in the following ways:

"So I matriculated in 1999, the[n] [in] *2000 I went to Wits university for only a year and I really wasn't meant to go there because when I finished school, I didn't have money for fees but I went and I enrolled, nonetheless. So I went to Wits and I couldn't carry on because I didn't have funds…" (P1. 35-year-old female)*

"*So they did not have money for registration so I stayed home that year and I went back the following year" (P3, 24-year-old female)*

"…unfortunately I could not get a varsity entrance then I opted to do sound engineering at Damelin for which I could not complete because of financial issues." (P9, 23-year-old male)

The abovementioned is supported by research conducted by Mhlongo & O'Neil (2013) and Ramjit (2016), which reported that the participants' family socio-economic circumstances were a leading influence on students' career decisions such as not being able to enrol into a tertiary education institution because of financial constraints, lack of resources and family instability. The family's financial constraints and lack of resources display the intersection of the social and environmental-societal systems in the System Theory Framework, where the family and the socio-economic status transpire together to influence the individual system (McMahon, 2005).

Interestingly, the fear of financial insecurity seems to be a determining factor for the participants remaining in their current jobs as some of them indicated that the main reason for staying was to have a stable income and provide for their family. In "Work and Why We Do It: A Systems Theory Framework Perspective", McMahon (2017) states the reasons why individuals work includes individual influences such as independence and social influences such as taking care of loved ones, which require financial security and thus supports the abovementioned. Mikulincer & Shaver (2008) noted that when individuals have a stable sense

of attachment security they place less reliance on finances. Therefore, the participants' insecure attachment style persuades them to rely heavier on financial stability rather than attachment security. The motivation for financial stability is linked to one of the defining tasks of stability and providing for future generations like their children, in the generativity vs. stagnation stage (Louw & Louw, 2013; Sadock et al., 2015). It can be posited that the participants' financial situation in their current households may not have improved significantly since they were adolescents, although subtle improvement may be noted. Participants 3, 4 and 9 referenced the pressure to get a job in order to be financially secure, in the following way:

> *"Unemployment rate cos there was not enough employment… You get your qualification, you teach and you earn and get all the benefits like a teacher so the lack of jobs made me you know." (P3, 24-year-old female)*

> *"…now the plan is to get a job, even if it is a call centre job, for me it is to make ends meet" (P4, 29-year-old female)*

> *"…I also think you know what I need to get a job because this thing of just chilling and studying is not helping the situation and so I need to get a job, also to be able to handle my own stuff on the side." (P9, 23-year-old male)*

It is apparent that the factor of financial difficulty contributed greatly to participants one, three, four, eight and nine's career development or rather lack of career aspirations during adolescence. Furthermore, for some of the participants it still holds weight, as the threat of being financially insecure may prevent them from changing jobs. The Great Recession of 2008 caused high levels of unemployment and insecure employment, because of retrenchment and these high levels of distress are still felt in today's economy (Atintola et al., 2016). This global distress of the economic climate highlights the environmental-societal system of the STF (Patton & McMahon, 2006). The individual system occurs within the environmental-societal

system and is impacted by the environmental-societal system. In such a manner that the participants of this study were impacted by the political historical effect of Apartheid; presented in their living and socio-economic circumstances (McMahon, 2011). It should be noted that participants one and three have been able to change their financial circumstances since entering their careers and securing employment. Based on the STF, financial circumstances may recur over time or may change over time and influence an individual's career development throughout their lifespan (Patton & McMahon, 2006; Zunker, 2012).

5.3.2.2. Career Interventions. The second sub-theme that emerged prominently was career interventions. This sub-theme caused the researcher to explore the context of a peri-urban area and the participants' exposure to different careers in this context, as well as career interventions provided in these locations. Most of the participants noted that there were no active career intervention programmes except the informal conversations around careers. The findings in this sub-theme were consistent with a study conducted by Buthelezi et al. (2009) which found that learners who went to school in a peri-urban area like Soweto had limited exposure to career interventions and career options.

Maree (2015) stated that a very small number of pupils throughout the country receive career counselling and it has become almost entirely limited to affluent families who can afford these services. It appears as though most of the participants in this study were not offered formal career counselling options when they were adolescents, and this was as a result of growing up in these marginalised peri-urban areas. This seems to be a continuation from the Apartheid era, where career counselling was extremely limited or absent entirely due to the discriminatory Apartheid policies against people of colour, poor people and people living in these peri-urban areas (Msila, 2007).

The post-Apartheid school curriculum was meant to redress these inequalities in education between the different races. A subject called Life Orientation was introduced in the late 1990s, however it should be noted that it was not made compulsory until years later (Ramjit, 2016). There is a section allocated to Career guidance and counselling called Careers and Career Choices for grades 10 to 12 (Department of Basic Education, 2011). The intention with this section is to equip learners with pertinent life skills to guide them and assist them in mapping out their career paths. The objective was to further provide learners with diverse career information, but research by Prinsloo (2007) suggested that this has not met the needs of the learners efficiently. This was confirmed in a study conducted by Ramjit (2016) where the participants reiterated that the Life Orientation teachers did not provide them with adequate information regarding career development. In 2012, the Gauteng Education MEC announced that the government would be introducing career counselling and education programmes in high schools, specifically designed for grade eight and nine learners (Khumalo, 2012). This shows that the career development curriculum had to be amended and hopefully an attempt is being made to teach students about career options at a satisfactory level.

Participant five, who experienced living in a peri-urban area during the week with his grandparents whilst visiting his parents over the weekend in an urban area, noted that he had insufficient knowledge and comprehension about careers during adolescence. This is because he did not have the opportunity to witness the execution of developing a career, from studying to finding a job and joining the workplace, aside from the careers held by his parents.

> *"You don't see a lot of careers in Meadowlands at that time… you know of that person who work, works around. But a career…" (P5, 29-year-old male)*

Reddy (as cited in Buthelezi et al., 2009) noted that the limited career counselling provided and the overall lesser quality of the educational system provided for black people resulted in them

only working in specific careers such as teaching, nursing and policing. This was echoed in participant one's reply when she was asked about career development in Soweto, where she grew up. Participant one's narrative suggested that having grown up in two different worlds, going to school in a different environment from where she lived exposed her to different careers for different races. She indicated that the careers that black people followed were perceived to be different to those followed by other designated race groups, and she experienced the same incongruence between townships and suburban contexts. Therefore, her response indicated that the careers that people are exposed to and feel they are able to pursue differ depending on racial categorizing and may also be determined by their location. Buthelezi et al. (2009) reported that black people received subpar education so that they may work in secondary industries or jobs which require minimal skills, thus supporting participants one and five's narratives. Ramjit (2016) further supports participant one's narrative when they reported that white learners received career guidance from 1967, but black learners only began to receive career guidance in 1981. Participant one explained this as follows:

> *"…compared to my peers at Parktown Girls who were white or black but in a different class had better exposure to the different types of worlds. So you find that they will know what actuaries do because someone in their family does it or works with one. So unlike me having grown here, a lot of the careers that we had were the simple ones and limited ones like doctor, nurse, teacher and accountants. Maybe even engineer but we didn't know the specifics. So I think the influence, is more from a limited exposure." (P1, 35-year-old female)*

Although this was not a main theme, it was interesting to note the participants' choice of career. Through analysis, it became evident that 80% of the participants chose to study and pursue a career in the humanities or education sector, which is also known as the "caring" or "helping" professions; these were careers such as psychologists, early childhood development educators

and religious leaders. Furthermore, this finding could also suggest that children raised in kinship care who felt that they were not loved and cared for adequately when they were young, might unconsciously grow up wanting to provide the care for others which they perceive they did not receive (Wild & Gaibie, 2014). The other 20% of the participants chose careers in the business sector such as entrepreneurship and investment management. The participants iterated that the latter was done possibly due to a lack of knowledge about other various available choices. Furthermore, it could also be as a result of influences of wider contextual constraints relating to poverty and the pressure to find a career that is perceived to provide financial stability, which emphasises the social and environmental-societal systems influences. The participants' choice of career may be linked to the difficulties they encountered in the separation-individuation process in their adolescence. It appears as though the participants found it difficult to separate themselves from the internalised and idealised image of their caregivers (Lapsley & Stey, 2010; Xiang et al., 2020) such that if they choose a specific career, they would be able to stay connected to a specific image of their caregivers.

The aforementioned interpretation of the results alluded to and possibly verify that career intervention provided to black adolescent learners in peri-urban areas during Apartheid and post-Apartheid has not changed significantly if at all, which was previously stated by Stead (1996). Most of the black adolescent learners from these areas still seem to be exposed to limited career choices and are seemingly not taught the necessary skills for adequate career decision making. This is supported by research by Ramjit (2016) and Prinsloo (2007) who stated that although there is an attempt to teach the necessary skills for career development in schools, the teachers are not adequately trained and find it difficult to address career guidance issues.

It was also highlighted that traditional career counselling and intervention methods which are being used are not user-friendly to those adolescents living in South African peri-urban areas

and rather cater to the needs of the more privileged peers who reside in suburban areas. It should be noted that career counselling was not an important or traditionally significant part of career development in a country such as South Africa, which has slowly begun to move into the constructivism phase (Keevy et al., 2012). Literature has shown that the traditional approach to career development is rooted in Western practices, by American theorists, of individualism (Keevy et al., 2012; Stead & Watson, 2017; Zunker, 2012) and are not being culturally sensitive (McMahon, 2002; Watson & McMahon, 2009). It was initially noted that the traditional approach placed the career counsellor as the expert who advises the client on their career choices (Keevy et al., 2012). However, it would be difficult for a counsellor to advise a client if they do not know or understand the client's context, clearly depicting them as not being the experts. Therefore, a more adequate and decolonised approach to career counselling would have to be implemented that understands the career development of adolescents from a South African peri-urban context. Watson and Stead (2002) reported that more research needs to be placed in finding career theories which are culturally sensitive and are mindful of individuals' socio-economic factors. This can be achieved by using the appropriate approach to career counselling, which will be able to consider the major aspects, such as an adolescent growing up in a different family structure, with limited resources and exposure to career and historical impact on geographical location, in the career intervention process.

Considering South Africa's political history, it needs to be noted whether there has been a shift to decolonisation within schools and universities. Lebeloane (2017) noted that one of the aims of decolonisation "is to re-instate, re-inscribe and embody the dignity, equity and social justice in people whose norms and values as well as their nature, their reasoning, sensing and views of life were violently devalued or demonised" (pp. 2). Therefore, in South African education it would be important to teach the importance and richness of indigenous South African

knowledge, specifically the history and culture which has actively been repressed. Lebeloane (2017) believes that the starting point for the decolonisation is through decolonising from the primary level of the school curriculum. The current national curriculum aims to heal the divisions of the past, enhance the quality of life for all citizens and lay the foundation for social justice (Department of Basic Education, 2011). Prior to the implementation of the Apartheid system, South African schools and universities were built on the foundation of promoting Eurocentric views while subduing anything else that is different such as indigenous knowledge (Heleta, 2016). It has been highlighted that to this day that in certain fields of study, but particularly the Social Sciences, the curricula are still heavily informed by Eurocentric and Westernised theories (Heleta, 2016; Pillay, 2017). Since 1994, many policies have been written and accepted for greater inclusivity of all races, cultures and knowledge bases, but it appears that there has not been a willingness to implement these policies (Heleta, 2016). 21 years into democracy, students in higher education institutions began to protest for a decolonisation in education (Mampane et al., 2018), displaying that improvement of the policies were inefficient and students were disgruntled with the slow rate of progress. A balance however needs to be found between not rejecting all Eurocentric knowledge and injecting and highlighting African knowledge. Most of the participants in this study did not experience decolonised education, from primary school through to higher education. There are however two participants who are currently in institutions of higher education and may begin experiencing the effects of the 2015/16 /17 protests by students fighting for decolonised education.

5.3.2.3. Influence of living in a Peri-Urban Environment. The overwhelming majority of the participants were able to identify specific influences, which obstructed their career developments from the peri-urban context (townships) that they were raised in. The findings indicated that there were various influencers, both positive and negative, swaying the participants' career development, during their adolescence.

Most of the participants stated negative influences from the peri-urban environment, such as the low success rate following matric and exposure to "social ills". Participant six, seven and nine reported witnessing negative influences which could have steered them in the wrong direction. They all mentioned the difficulties of breaking the cycle of poverty and crime in the township. Pillay (2008) supports these findings by reporting that high incidences of crime occur in areas with "high levels of poverty, low levels of formal education, housing, electricity and sanitation" (pp. 142) and townships are usually characterised by these factors (Silber & Geffen, 2009). Thus, the high levels of poverty perpetuate the cycle of poverty. These findings can be seen in the first-hand account provided below:

> *"… some people were just happy to be in high school for a very long time without really getting anywhere… the success rate post matric is exceptionally low." (P7, 32-year-old male)*

It is clear from this statement that participant seven felt as if his surrounding environment where fellow learners felt demotivated and did not believe they could be successful had an impact on his approach to his career path. The contextual impact, from his peers, on participant seven represents the influence of the social system from the STF (Patton & McMahon, 2006); highlighting the interaction that an individual has with those around him and the influence this has on their career decision-making. Learners' belief in their intelligence is a large determinant of feeling motivated or demotivated and their belief can be influenced by feedback from their caregivers and teachers (Aditomo, 2015). It is noted that attributing one's failure or success to uncontrollable factors is likely to produce negative behaviours such as feeling demotivated (Aditomo, 2015). Conversely, with participants six and seven, who are friends, the uncontrollable factors of the environment around them did not negatively influence them, but conversely motivated them to want to rise above their circumstances. These participants frequently received supportive feedback from their grandmothers, which may have countered

the effects of the negative surroundings and elements. This is consistent with the findings of Seabi et al. (2010) reporting positive verbal persuasion by primary caregivers, in this case kinship carers, had a considerable positive impact on the foundations of successful career development. Bandura (1986, as cited by Seabi et al., 2010) noted that verbal persuasion is one of the ways to acquire self-efficacy, thus the supportive feedback from participants six and seven's grandmothers had a positive impact on their career self-efficacy. Participant six spoke about how growing up in the township of Soweto influenced his belief in his own capabilities.

> *"You are constantly facing bad influences all the time, each and every day, 24/7 and it's quite challenging cause if you don't have a backbone then you won't make it and I feel like they think if you grew up in Soweto then you are the toughest and you can deal with everything but it's not entirely true. It's not entirely true, like it make or break you and when it breaks you, it literally breaks you." (P6, 23-year-old male)*

On the contrary, participant nine spoke about how his neighbourhood made him feel trapped and as if he were not able to access opportunities to succeed. Participant nine's feeling may be rooted in Galtung's definition of structural violence, which is understood as being constructed into the formation of society, displaying itself as unequal power and subsequently as unequal life opportunities (Galtung, 1969 as cited in Pillay, 2008).

> *"Well it is a poverty-stricken place… Many people don't necessarily make it out to their dream careers. A lot of teenage girls get pregnant… Influence from initiation, traditional initiation school… Cause nje it was not a place that encouraged people to dream." (P9, 23-year-old male)*

There were some participants who identified positive influences on career development as well as their overall well-being., while living as an adolescent under kinship care in the peri-urban area. Resilience is seen when an individual overcomes adversities. It is also colloquially known

as the ability to "bounce back" and protective factors are usually given recognition for facilitating this resilience (Smokowski et al., 2000; van Breda, 2017). According to Werner (1989, as cited in Smokowski et al., 2000) protective factors are clustered into three major categories, namely: "(1) personal attributes of the individual, (2) affectional ties within the family, and (3) existence of external support systems which arise at school or within the community" (p. 426). Therefore, the following influences as mentioned by participants five, six, seven, nine and ten were seen as protective factors, which assisted in building their resilience. Protective factors are seen as being "sheltered" or being a part of a youth organisation. Participant five reported being raised by very protective grandparents, which highlights the bonds built with family members (Smokowski et al., 2000). He spoke about the collective evils, such as shootings, that were happening around his neighbourhood. His grandparents would not let him be exposed to or to witness these "social ills". He is quoted as saying:

> *"but my grandmother made such a big effort to make sure that the streets did not taint you; that you didn't necessarily get the full experience… they were very deliberate in not hiding what was happening but they would shelter you so that you don't experience it. It's like they don't want you to go see the person who got shot but they'd come and tell you that's what happened right… this goes back to being sheltered. It's like you grew up there but my grandmother made such a big effort to make sure that the streets did not taint you; that you didn't necessarily get the full experience." (P5. 29 year old male)*

Participants six, nine and ten spoke about how being a member of a youth organisation led to them feeling sheltered from the negative influences of growing up in a township. The participants' membership in this youth organisation highlights the impact that external support systems had on building their resilience (Smokowski et al., 2000) as well as the impact of their

interactions with individuals from this social system (Patton & McMahon, 2006). Youth groups supply the individual with a social group that they can relate to and receive input when it came to the individual's identity and specifically their career identity. According to a study by Zeldin in 2004 (as cited in Martinez et al., 2017) youth organisations can be environments that can match and enhance the youth's developmental needs, interests and abilities and this allows for their personal development. The development of youth organisations or clubs in South Africa dates back to the early 1970s which was a period of turmoil, with the further aftermath of Soweto youth uprising in 1976. There was an upsurge of the involvement of youth organisations in the fight against Apartheid (Moller et al., 1994). These clubs seem to have "provided positive direction for youth who had suffered from disruptions in their education" (Moller et al., 1994, p. 6), which is still the current reason these establishments are still in existence as deduced from participants six, nine and ten. They recount heroes from their neighbourhoods who as adolescents grew up in the township, but were able to succeed through joining programmes and having mentors.

> *"Okay so Youth Alive Ministries is a youth organisation based in Christianity but it's not entirely a church. So it deals with the youth, current situations and what the youth is going through like how to tackle those obstacles they are facing…" (P6, 23 year old male)*

> *"…the Youth Alive I started the mentorship and its program, whereby then we were taught by Mr.Matlou the one who is leading the program in the, into spiritual gifts and passion. He taught us passion and ministry. So as I understood those things that's when I thought hang on this is my passion, this is what I enjoy doing, why don't I just study into it and make it my career and my life? (laughs)." (P9, 23 year old male)*

"So when I first got to Youth Alive there was a sponsor named Thabile. So, I got to sort of shadow her, sort of get to know her and what she's about. And when I got to see the love she has for people that also helped me cause she was also like kay what are you doing with your life, what are you deciding on doing after school. (P10, 23 year old female)

Participant seven spoke about growing up in kinship care but reported that most of the adults in his neighbourhood presented as his parents. This proved to be a normalised manifestation in townships where parents rely on other parents in the neighbourhood to monitor children playing on the street (Lachman et al., 2016). The sense of Ubuntu and togetherness within the parental social networks appears to be a vital resource for resilience within low-income communities (Lachman et al., 2016). Participant seven alluded to being raised by not only his grandmother, but his neighbours as well. Any child in the neighbourhood could be reprimanded and celebrated by any adult and all the children had to respect the adults the same way that they would respect their own parents/caregivers. Thus, a child or adolescent being raised under kinship care may have more than their secondary caregiver fulfilling a parental role and it suggests that the other parents in the neighbourhood may step in and step up to fulfil parenting roles. This may be because they knew that the child's biological parents were not actively involved in the child's life. This is evidenced by Ariyo et al. (2019) who stated that kinship care is rooted in the belief that the community is responsible for a child. Participant seven elaborated on this when he said:

"there was more a sense of community there than there is here. Um, yeah. And, and, you knew that every father or, or mother in the streets was an adult and was a parent. Um, so if you did something wrong, they had the right and a privilege to smack you. And you couldn't challenge them ever. Um (laughs) and if you did challenge them they'd go to your parents and then they tell your parents that they smacked you because

you did one two three and then your parents would add on... a majority had that sense of responsibility towards every child in the community." (P7, 32-year-old male)

The section above exemplifies the influence of growing up in a peri-urban area, also mentioned as a township, in South Africa, which has its positive and negative aspects. Through the lens of the participants it seems growing up in a peri-urban area during adolescence is viewed as having hindered their career development in many ways, but it has also assisted them in their career trajectories. The environmental-societal influence of geographical location, based on the STF model, is a source, which can influence the participants' success. Therefore, displaying that environment could also influence the participants' future life and career trajectory by being surrounded with "social ills" during their adolescence. The involvement in youth organisations, as adolescents, seemed to have been a protective factor that the geographical location offered and assisted them in overcoming the negative influences. It should also be noted that the spirit of Ubuntu and protective kinship caregivers from the participants' social system assisted them in overcoming the negative influences from the influences in their geographical location.

5.3.2.4. Influence of living under kinship care. All of the participants expressed that specifically living under kinship care as adolescents had an impact on their career development, where both their kinship carers and biological parents had an influence, directly and vicariously. Research by Save the Children Fund (2007) and Smithgall & Mason (2008) reported that individuals who were raised by older kinship carers, such as grandparents who had financial difficulties, proclaimed or acknowledged that their career development was negatively impacted. This was later confirmed by Davey (2016) and McCartan et al. (2018). Therefore, the magnitude of the influence of living under kinship care as perceived by participants on their career development was not surprising. It should be noted that family is one of the most important social influences in an individual's career development (McMahon et al., 2008).

As previously noted, an individual's perception, as influenced by their context, can be tainted by their experience. This notion is evident in the findings that all 10 participants attributed their current career placement to their kinship care origin. This theme resulted due to a question posed in the interview, namely: "Do you believe that living under kinship care has had a major influence in choosing your career path?" which directly linked to the research question, "What is the perceived nature and sway of kinship care on the career development during adolescence, if any?" Some of the participants noted direct influence from their kinship carers. However, some had direct influence from parents who did not or could not raise them, where they chose to pursue a career like their parents and/or kinship carer. The relationship between the participants and their biological parents and kinship carers highlights the influence that the social system in the STF has on the individual's career development as well as the interactions with these agents of socialisation (Patton & McMahon, 2006). Participants two and seven indicated the sway of their biological parents, although they were not living with them. Conversely, some participants noted vicarious influences on their career development, for instance making specific decisions so that they do not turn out to be like their parents or kinship carers. Participant two spoke about this when she iterated:

> *"And she is single parent* [biological mother] *so seeing how hard she works, that emphasised the importance of having career goals and maybe that's also why I took a tertiary education so seriously and placed such importance on it was… she definitely had an influence on my need to pursue a career and develop myself and the importance of it." (P2, 25-year-old female)*

Participant seven reported that his biological mother, who did not raise him, but was around and involved in his life, motivated him to succeed in everything that he did.

"Uhm, but I think the biggest motivator was I did not want to be anything like my biological mom um who… I think only started, who only valued education for other people but not herself." (P7, 32-year-old male)

Another indirect influence mentioned by the participants is the inability of their caregivers to provide them with accurate career information. Participant one spoke about the generational gap between her and her grandmother as the reason why her grandmother was not able to help her with her career decisions. This report specifically relates to the prominent difficulty that grandparents had with handling the adolescent's future educational and career needs (Dunne & Kettler, 2008; McCartan et al., 2018; Save the Children Fund, 2007; Smithgall & Mason, 2008).

"…so I guess from a career choice point of view, I didn't have them [grandmother] *to guide me because they didn't have a lot of options or know what is out there. So I guess it probably did but from a delaying point of view but not intentionally because I did not have enough exposure coming from them per say." (P1, 35-year-old female)*

Participant four narrated that she chose her career so that she could assist children who have a similar adolescence and growing up experience as her; to be able to repudiate the negative impact that she had.

"I can make a difference somehow like one day I'll give orphaned children what I never got… We can never get rid of a child being raised by family members, we can never get [rid of] *the abuse that happens during that time but if you got someone in their corner who's going to give her hope and for them to pursue their dreams and do differently do things differently then for me, I would achieved my purpose. I would have achieved what I wanted." (P4, 29-year-old female)*

She however also narrated that she followed her previous career only to please her caregiver and her family. This relates to the relational reason of choosing a career, such as bringing honour to their family, and reiterates that career decision making is inclusive of factors outside of the individual's influences (McMahon, 2017). Participant four alluded to having to please her family so that they could keep taking care of her.

> *"For me, I'm from a family where you need to be 100% of what they want so it was more of that Cinderella cliché kind of thing, like I literally had no life my life was them and I felt that, and I was always reminded that, you not of here, you not a family member like we just helping you. So it was one of those if I could just give them what they want and tick all their boxes and in the process find who I was. But if I could just tick all their boxes and they could just give me a roof over my head and they'll feed me and take me to school and do that and that." (P4, 29-year-old female)*

The abovementioned section illustrates triadic reciprocity (Stead & Watson, Career Psychology: In The South African Context, 2017): the social system consisting of the family, specifically kinship carers, the kin and their influence on the participants' career development, as adolescents. This influence highlights the importance of how black people, specifically black adolescents, in South Africa define themselves and establish their identity through their social context such as family support and culture (Arthur and McMahon, as cited in Albien and Naidoo, 2016), which has proven to impact their career decision-making.

5.4. Conclusion

The above chapter of results and discussion display the findings of this research. It further discusses these in relation to past literature. The chapter links the main and sub-themes to the theoretical frameworks of System Framework Theory and attachment theories. Erikson's stages of psychosocial development were also utilised to comprehend some of the findings.

The findings and discussion illustrate that there are multiple factors that the participants faced during their adolescence that influenced their career development during adolescent and currently.

Chapter 6: Conclusions, Limitations and Recommendations

6.1. Introduction

This chapter will reveal the conclusions that have been drawn from the study, which focused on the influence that living under kinship care in a peri-urban area as an adolescent has had on career development. There will be an overview of the limitations faced during conducting the study. This chapter will also attempt to suggest ways to address these limitations for future studies. Finally, the recommendations for future studies, drawn from this study will be suggested.

6.2. Conclusions drawn from the study

The conclusions that are drawn from this study, aimed to gain comprehensive knowledge and understanding of how career development can be influenced by kinship care, from reflections of those adolescents who are now in adulthood. The intent was to have an in-depth understanding of how living under kinship care and living in a peri-urban area during adolescence could have influenced an individual's career development. The findings of the study highlighted that career development was directly and indirectly influenced by kinship care.

The findings were discussed and contextualised using the theoretical framework of the Systems Framework Theory of Career Development and Counselling and Attachment Theory. The findings highlighted the intersections between the content and process systems and influences based on the STF clearly surface in the findings. The Attachment Theory and Psychosocial Development Theory are also highlighted as content influences.

The content influences are categorised as the individual system, the social system and the environmental system. The main influences, which were identified in the individual system, were the participants' attachment style and their psychosocial development stage. These

intrapersonal influences contributed to the participants' career choices. In this research, the main influences under the social system were physically living in kinship care and having received career interventions and exposure. Due to the limited career intervention and exposure that the participants received, the participants' perceptions were that their career development was obstructed in multiple ways. They further believed that the generational gap and lack of close relationships while living under kinship care further located them at a disadvantage in terms of their career development. Through the environmental-societal system, influences of socioeconomic status and geographical location evolved as meaningful themes. The participants further articulated that their financial circumstances and conditions of residency further appeared to inhibit them from gaining sufficient knowledge of careers. As a result, it appears as though there were more multiple negative content and contextual influences.

However, it appears that due to supportive caregivers and the sense of security they brought into the participants lives, as well as the youth clubs/organisation that empowered them to develop a positive self-efficacy they were assisted and motivated to overcome their difficult circumstances. The reciprocal interaction between the different systems revealed that the participants experienced perceived barriers to career development and how they overcame these barriers.

These systems and influences are dynamic and continuously change over time, which refers to the process influences, according to McMahon (2011). The changes that influenced the individual system are the adjustment of self in terms of family bonds, becoming parents and changes in careers/jobs. The changes that may have influenced the social and environmental-societal systems are the loss of a parent, changes in residential area and changes in socioeconomic status. The recursiveness experienced through an individual's life span and career development further demonstrates the influence that the process systems have on each other. The concept of recursiveness refers to all the above-mentioned influences that are open

systems, which means they are subject to influence from external factors and can also influence other systems outside of its borders (Patton & McMahon, 2006). Thus, the participants were not only influenced by their kinship carers, but were also influenced by their environment.

It was noted that most of the participants did not explicitly name their influences as barriers, but it appeared to the researcher as though they were. Although the reported influences and events mentioned by the participants were deducted to be obstructions or barriers, they could be seen through another lens as encouragers. The lens that the participants chose to reflect and articulate their life experiences through and reported from, mostly gave the impression that it has been tainted by experiences such as the disruption of attachment, exposure to social ills, lack of information and resources. This reflection could not be studied further but is suggested for future research. Additionally, the protective factors of supportive caregivers and being a part of a youth club or organisation fractured their tinted lens and were briefly explored. Thus, this is also suggested for future exploration, focusing on the protective factors, which come from living in kinship care.

6.3. Limitations

The research was qualitative in nature/approach, where the data was collected through the instrument of one-on-one semi-structured interview conducted through the medium of English. The researcher did not anticipate that there may be participants who did not understand English. Thus, the researcher did not obtain the services of a translator as she is fluent in Setswana and as one of the requirements for participation was that the participants needed to be conversant in English. This may have impacted the research in terms of the diversity of the participants. Because it was an unspoken requirement for participants to know and understand English, it reveals that the study was limited to those privileged enough to learn English.

The research was essentially exploratory because of the minimal research produced in South Africa about kinship care, specifically informal kinship care. Hence, the literary background is rooted mostly in international research.

Because the researcher collected the data themselves and was the primary medium of data collection/gathering, and analysing it, despite efforts at triangulation analysis, their subjective influences might have prejudiced the results and interpretation in unknown ways. When other investigators may look at the same data, they might interpret and perceive it differently. The latter is valid for consideration, especially considering that the researcher knew of most of the participants by sight and grew up in similar peri-urban areas. Although it should be noted that triangulation from an external data analyst was used to verify the primary researcher's analysis.

6.4. Recommendations for Future Research

The experiences expressed by the participants are extensive and complex. The researcher could only focus on the experiences that were linked to career development, specifically during their adolescence. Thus, the following were noted by the researcher as recommendations for future research.

Most of the participants were able to mention some protective factors, despite their tinted perception of their lived experience as being negative. Therefore, an exploration of the positive experiences and protective factors that came with living in kinship care is suggested for future studies.

During the writing of the literature review, it was noted that there is limited research on kinship care in South Africa, which is controversial considering it is such a well-known practice. Therefore, the body of work in specifically the lives of children in kinship care needs to be explored and expanded. Literature from the perspective of the kinship carers is also limited,

thus an expansion from that point of view will be beneficial to future literature as well as in terms of support from the state.

Most of the participants mentioned having a relationship with their biological parents or at least knowing where they are. Some of the participants mentioned that their parents had major influences in all their life decisions. With this in mind, research on the individuals' relationships with their biological parents while living under kinship care is critical to explore. Research from the perceptive of the biological parents who have children living in kinship care may provide insight into the decision-making of biological parents.

Three of the participants have children themselves and having not grown up with their biological parents, it would be thought provoking to explore how growing in kinship care may have affected their parenting style.

Most of the participants spoke of supportive figures who may have hindered the impact that their adverse circumstances. These figures also worked as protective factors in the individual's career development. Career psychologists can therefore further explore and possibly develop a programme, which assists the supportive figures to maintain the secure attachment in adolescents who have recently entered kinship care, as well as assist them in their career development tasks.

Although there is an abundance of academic articles on the policy and programmes which have been set out to assist the marginalised population of South Africa, there needs to be more research on the implementation of these studies and policies. This also applies to the studies conducted on decolonising education and career theories however, there is limited studies on the implementation. Studied on the implementation of the abovementioned will assist to identify how well it has operated and how much further work need to be completed.

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Appendices

Appendix 1 – Ethical Clearance

UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND, JOHANNESBURG

HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (SCHOOL OF HUMAN & COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE	**PROTOCOL NUMBER: MEDP/17/006 IH**
PROJECT TITLE:	The Influence of Kinship Care on Career Development – Reflections of Adults Living in a Peri-Urban Context
INVESTIGATORS **DEPARTMENT**	Morobane Masego Psychology
DATE CONSIDERED	05/06/17
DECISION OF COMMITTEE*	Approved

This ethical clearance is valid for 2 years and may be renewed upon application

DATE: 10 May 2017

CHAIRPERSON
(Prof. Joseph Seabi)

cc Supervisor: Dr Dinah Alexander
Psychology

DECLARATION OF INVESTIGATOR (S)

To be completed in duplicate and **one copy** returned to the Secretary, Room 100015, 10th floor, Senate House, University.

I/we fully understand the conditions under which I am/we are authorized to carry out the abovementioned research and I/we guarantee to ensure compliance with these conditions. Should any departure be contemplated from the research procedure, as approved, I/we undertake to submit a revised protocol to the Committee.

This ethical clearance will expire on 31 December 2019

PLEASE QUOTE THE PROTOCOL NUMBER IN ALL ENQUIRIES

Figure 2: Ethical Clearance Certificate for current research project

Appendix 2 – Participant Information Sheet

Participant Information Sheet

Good day,

My name is Masego Morobane, a Masters in Educational Psychology student at the University of Witwatersrand. I am doing my Masters research as a partial completion for my degree. The title of my research is "*The Influence of Kinship Care on Career Development- Reflection of Adults Living in a Peri-Urban Context*." The aim of my research is to analyse the influence of living under the care of family relatives (kinship care) on the career development of adults during their adolescent years while living under kinship care in a peri-urban context, for the purpose of this study, specifically townships in Gauteng.

I would like to invite you to take part in my research study. Before you decide, you need to understand why the research is being conducted and what it would involve for you. Please take time to carefully read through the following. Please feel free to ask questions if anything you read is not clear or if you need more information

If you agree to take part in the study, you will be required to take part in an audio recorded interview regarding questions about career development, living in Soweto and living under kinship care. If you feel uncomfortable about answering a question, you may decline to answer the question. The interviews will take place during late 2017/early 2018 at a time and place most convenient to you. Please take the following into consideration:

- An informed consent from will have to be signed by you before taking part in the interview
- Your identity will be kept confidential in reporting of the findings. If any direct quotes are used from the interviews, your identity will be kept anonymous by using pseudonyms
- The interviews will be audio-recorded as the interviews will be transcribed verbatim
- There will be no benefits or penalty for taking part in the research. If at any point during the study, you feel uncomfortable you may choose to withdraw from the study.
- The report of the findings may be used in publications or for conferences
- The report of the findings will be available on The University of Witwatersrand's online library

- All the data collected for the purpose of the study will kept in a locked cabinet or password protected laptop for a maximum of five years. The data will be archived thereafter then be destroyed.

If you experience any emotional difficulties, which are evoked because of the study, you may contact the following places for counselling:

- **Counselling Careers and Development Unit (CCDU)**
  - CCDU Building, West Campus, Gate 9, Enoch Sontonga Avenue, Johannesburg
  - (011) 717-9140
- **Emthojeni Centre**
  - Emthojeni Centre, 1 Jan Smuts Avenue, Wits University, Johannesburg
  - Paballo.lepota@wits.ac.za
  - (011) 717-4513
- **Life Line**
  - 2 The Avenue, Cnr Henrietta Street, Norwood, Johannesburg
  - lifeline@lifelinejhb.org.za
  - (011) 728-1347
- **FAMSA Pretoria**
  - 218 Lange Street, Brooklyn, Pretoria
  - famsa@absamail.co.za
  - (012) 460-0733/8
- **Life Line- Pretoria**
  - Educational Block: Itsoseng Clinic, Mamelodi Campus, University of Pretoria
  - Reception.lifeline.pta@gmail.com
  - (012) 842-3726 or 072-592-2858
- **FAMSA East Rand**
  - famsa@mweb.co.za
  - (011) 892-4272/3/6
- **Life Line- Ekurhuleni**
  - 3 Russel Street, Benoni
  - lifelineoffice@gmail.com
  - (011) 421-0385

For any further detail or questions, please feel free to contact

- Masego Morobane on 705040@students.wits.ac.za
- Dr. Daleen Alexander on dinah.alexander@wits.ac.za (supervisor)

Appendix 3 - Participant Informed Consent

Informed Consent for participant taking part in the study

The Influence of Kinship Care on Career Development- Reflections of Adults Living in a Peri-urban Context

I _____ (name) volunteer to participate in a research study conducted by Ms. Masego Morobane from the University of Witwatersrand. I understand that the research study is designed to gather information about the influence of kinship care on career development.

- My participation in this study is voluntary. I understand that I will not be paid or benefit in any way for my participation. I may withdraw from the study at any time without any penalty.
- My participation in the study involves being interviewed by Masego Morobane. Interviews will last approximately 1 hour. Notes will be written during the interview and an audiotape of the interview.
- I understand that I may be asked thought-provoking questions which may provoke some emotions during discussions. If I feel uncomfortable during the interview session, I have the right to decline to answer a question or to end the interview.
- I understand that the researcher will not identify me by name in any reports using information given by me during the interview. My confidentiality as a participant in this study will be kept secure.
- Any and all data collected for this study will be destroyed after five years from the publication of the study.
- By request, I can be sent a summary of the results in approximately a year from the date of the interview (June/July 2018)
- The report of the research findings will be available online on the University of Witwatersrand library website.
- The report may be published and used in conferences
- I have read and understand the explanation provided to me. I have had all my questions answered to my satisfaction and I voluntarily agree to participate in this study.
- I have been given a copy of this consent form.

My Signature	Date
Printed Name	Signature of researcher

For further information, please contact:

Masego Morobane

Mmorobane@ymail.com

Appendix 4 - Participant Audiotape Consent Form

Informed consent for Audio Recording

I _____ have been informed that this interview will be audio recorded and I grant permission for the researcher to do so. The audio recording will transcribed verbatim for the purpose of the research. I understand that the data collected from this audio recording will be kept for a minimum of 5 years where it will be kept in a password protected laptop and a locked cabinet.

_____ _____

Name of Participant Date

_____

Signature of Participant

Appendix 5 - Interview Schedule

Possible questions for Interview with Participants

1. Demographic Information

1.1. Female/ Male?

1.2. Age?

1.3. What is the highest level of education you have completed?

1.4. Where are you currently living?

1.5. What is your current living situation? (Such as are you living alone or with other people and where exactly)

1.6. Including you, how many people live in the household?

2. Career Development

2.1. Are you currently in an institution of education such as college or university? If so, which university and what are you studying?

2.2. Are you currently employed? If so, what are your feelings about your current employment?

2.3. Tell me more about your career goals during adolescence

2.4. Tell me about your current future career goals.

2.5. Has there been a change in your career goals from adolescence to now in adulthood? If so, what are the changes?

2.6. Tell me more about who or what were the major influences of your career goals? In adolescence and currently in adulthood?

3. Kinship Care

3.1. Who were you living with during your adolescence?

3.2. Tell me about your experience living in kinship care during your adolescence.

3.3. Tell me more about your relationship with your kinship caregiver

3.4. Are you currently still living with your Kinship caregiver? If so, how is the relationship now in adulthood, compared to adolescence?

3.5. What were the circumstances that led to you living under kinship care? Can you tell me how they made you feel growing up?

3.6. Are you in contact with your biological parents? Tell me more about the relationship with your parents? And have they (or still do have) an influence on your career path?

3.7. Do you believe that living under kinship care has had a major influence in choosing your career path?

4. Peri-Urban Context

4.1. How did you experience growing up in (name of township)?

4.2. Do you believe that growing up in (name of township) had an impact on your career decisions?

4.3. Has the culture in (name of township) had an influence of your career decision?

4.4. Do you believe that living in a different context could have a different influence on your career decision?