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**THE INFLUENCE OF AFRICAN MIGRANT
PARENTS ON THEIR CHILDREN'S CAREER CHOICES
IN A NEW CULTURE**

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To God be the glory: I can do all things through Christ who strengthens me.

(Philippians 4: 13)

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Thesis Abstract

Introduction: The process of young people making career decisions varies between collectivist and individualistic societies mainly due to differences in how much they promote either individuality and uniqueness or conformity and interdependence. In collectivist societies such as Africa and Asia, parental influence on career choice is more pronounced, with most youths being obligated to pursue careers deemed sufficiently esteemed and well-remunerated. In individualistic societies, where independent living is largely promoted, societal obligations are less pronounced, and many youths are encouraged to pursue careers that appeal to their personal interests. The process of career decision-making can become more complicated when youths migrate with their families between different cultures. As parents from collectivist societies usually exert strong influence on their children's career choices, some cultural tensions may be experienced between the parents and youths when they transition to an individualistic society where parental influence is comparatively more flexible. Due to this increased parental influence, it has become apparent that career decision making is one of the most challenging domains for migrant groups, especially those transitioning from collectivist to individualistic societies. It is postulated that during their adaptation process into the host country, migrant youths could face choices about their career pathways that contradict their parents' traditional values. While there is a plethora of quantitative studies which utilise surveys and questionnaires to examine bi-cultural youths' competencies and abilities, self-efficacy, and self-esteem, qualitative research into the influence of parental cultural values, educational and socio-economic backgrounds on bi-cultural youths' career decision-making is limited, with even fewer publications from an African context. Therefore, this thesis aimed to explore the acculturation strategies and perceived parental role in the decision-making processes of Sub-Saharan African (SSA) migrant youths who

transitioned with their parents from their heritage countries that have the cultural ethos of collectivist societies to live within the context of an individualistic society. To address this aim, four research questions were developed: (1) what are the factors which influence youths' career choices, with particular reference to cultural impact?; (2) what are the acculturation strategies utilised by SSA migrant parents and their children during adaptation into a new culture?; (3) what are the perceived roles of SSA migrant parents in their children's career choices?; and (4) what are the perceptions of SSA migrant children about their parents' involvement in their career decision-making?

Methodology: This thesis involved two phases of research: (1) Systematic review and (2) Qualitative research design. Phase one addressed the first research question (RQ1) and involved a systematic review of factors that influence youths' career choices in individualistic and collectivist societies. Findings from this phase projected the need for phase two of the research which involved the construction of theories that adequately provide in-depth understanding of the acculturation and career decision making models utilised by SSA migrant youths and their parents in an individualistic culture. Phase two answered the remaining three research questions using the post-positivist paradigm and the Grounded Theory (GT) research approach which involves systematically collecting, coding, categorising, and analysing interview data to construct theories grounded in participants' responses. A purposive sampling method was used in recruiting participants. Semi-structured interview protocols were used as the procedure of inquiry.

Results and Discussion: From the systematic review, the major factors that influence youths' career choices were identified as intrinsic, extrinsic, and interpersonal. While most youths from individualistic societies are influenced by personal interests and job satisfaction (intrinsic and interpersonal factors), the youths from collectivist societies are mostly influenced by the prestige and reward associated with a profession (extrinsic

and interpersonal factors). The normative practice in individualistic societies is for the youths to be encouraged to choose their own careers and develop competency in establishing a career path for themselves, while youths from collectivist societies may be required to conform to familial and societal standards and are often expected to follow a pre-determined career track. The review findings also revealed a dearth of qualitative studies on acculturation and career decision-making experiences of African migrant parents and their children. In relation to research questions two to four (RQ2-4), findings of the GT approach in Phase two aided the development of three theoretical models respectively. The theory of 'Prioritising Family Needs' was constructed to explain the SSA migrant families' acculturation processes in the Australian society which indicates that these people are family/community-dependent, they relocate as a family, and they promote the needs of the family over individual interests. The theory of 'Preparing Them for the Road' was constructed to capture SSA parents' perceptions of their roles in their children's career development. During the process of constructing this theory it was uncovered that most SSA parents applied their accustomed Authoritarian and Authoritative parenting styles while in Australia. However, while the parents described how they maintained their heritage cultures while integrating into Australian societal practices, it became evident that some SSA parents deviated from their traditional parenting styles. Two new parenting styles, 'Wily' and 'Trustful' were identified. Some professional migrant parents dialogued with their children to circumvent the legal framework of the host country hence they applied the 'Wily' parenting approach. Most of the humanitarian migrant parents who had low educational and socio-economic status decided to trust their children to make their own career decisions whilst supporting them without actively being involved, hence these parents applied the 'Trustful' parenting style. The theory of 'Restrictive Reciprocal Obligations' explained SSA migrant youths'

perceptions of their parents' roles in their career trajectories. All the youths in this study acclaimed their parents as providing them with support and encouragement throughout their career development. However, they (including those with trustful parents) felt restricted by the parents' supportive role which obligated them to reciprocate the generosity of their parents by adhering to parental preferences to fulfil familial and societal expectations.

Conclusion: Overall, this thesis revealed that a selective process of 'Prioritising Family Needs' determines the acculturation strategy of SSA migrant families, underscores the parents' perceptions of their roles in their children's career decision-making, and conscientises SSA migrant youths to honour their restricted reciprocal familial obligations and societal responsibilities. All the developed theories culminate in aiding the fulfilment of participants' migration goals, which ensures effective functioning of the family unit and enables the SSA migrants to create a meaningful life for their families as well as being productive members of their local community. These findings would guide educators, migrant support groups and policy makers in the development of more inclusive career development tools and counselling interventions.

List of Publications

Publication-Based Thesis Chapters

1. Akosah-Twumasi, P., Emeto, T. I., Lindsay, D., Tsey, K. & Malau-Aduli, B. S. A. 2018. Systematic Review of Factors That Influence Youths Career Choices—the Role of Culture. *Frontiers in Education*, 3:58. [doi:10.3389/feduc.2018.00058](https://doi.org/10.3389/feduc.2018.00058). Journal Cite Score: 1.3. This article has 67 citations
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List of Abbreviations

ABS	Australian Bureau of Statistics
AMS	Amy M. Smith
BSM-A	Bunmi Sherifat Malau-Aduli
CAT	Critical Appraisal Tool
CGGT	Classic Glaserian Grounded Theory
CGT	Constructivist Grounded Theory
DL	Daniel Lindsay
EAF	Ecological Acculturation Framework
ERIC	Educational Resources Information Centre
FA	Faith Alele
F	Female
GT	Grounded Theory
GTM	Grounded Theory Methods
HM	Humanitarian Migrant
HREC	Human Research Ethics Committee
IGT	Interpretive Grounded Theory
IOM	International Organisation of Migration
JBI	Joana Briggs Institute
KT	Komla Tsey
M	Male
P	Parent
PA-T	Peter Akosah-Twumasi
PM	Professional Migrant

RAEM	Relative Acculturation Extended Model
RQ	Research Question
SCCT	Social Cognitive Career Theory
SGT	Straussian Grounded Theory
SLTCDM	Social Learning Theory of Career Decision Making
SSA	Sub-Saharan African
TAFE	Technical and Further Education
TIE	Theophilus Ikenna Emeto
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
	United Nations Department of Economic and Social
UNDESA-PD	Affairs Population Division
UNESCO	United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNSD	United Nations Statistics Division
USA	United States of America
Y	Youth

Researcher's Personal Story and Study Context

I was born and raised within the Akan culture in Ghana, West Africa and career counselling services were not common during my primary and high school education. Part of the Akan culture is that children respect and obey adults' directions and advice, which meant that I was expected to follow my parents' educational plans for me without factoring in my personal interests. After my basic education, my parents enrolled me in a private commercial college because the common societal perception where I grew up was that such institutions are job oriented, and students attain employment quickly after graduation. Many parents followed this strategy to circumvent the long traditional educational processes of completing basic, secondary then tertiary education to attain a degree before securing employment. My parents, like most from farming communities in Ghana, had ambitious dreams for their children and anticipated that their children would become better educated than themselves and be able to find employment in the city rather than remaining in the village as farmers. Like many children in my community, my options were limited, so I had to obey my parents' decisions if I were to earn their blessings. Upon completion of the three-year course in the commercial institution, I was awarded a Certificate of Distinction. For a short while, I was employed as an accounts clerk, but the role for me was unfulfilling as this type of work was not my passion. I wanted to do work that would enable me to interact more with people, so I decided to join the seminary to complete my high school education and pursue a vocation as a Minister of Religion.

After completing high school and two years of a Sixth Form course, I was posted as a National Service Personnel to a little farming community in the Brong-Ahafo region in the centre of Ghana, where I taught for two years. This was the first time I lived away from my family, and I had to make life decisions without direction from my parents.

While interacting with the school community and public it became clear that it was not uncommon for youths to rely on their parents for their career journeys. As a teacher, when discussing with children about their personal interests and career aspirations, most of the students responded that they were following their parents' guidance for their career path. A noticeable trend was that students without strong guidance from their parents and who were unsure of their career directions, ended their education at the primary level. Similarly, many students who were directed to follow a career course that did not interest them struggled to maintain their focus and dropped out of school. I encountered similar scenarios regarding children's career narratives later in Cape Coast, Ghana, where I did my internship in a local primary school as a classroom teacher as my placement exercise for my Postgraduate Certificate in Education. The interactions I had with the parents and children made me aware that there is a need to help mitigate the school drop-out rate among youths by providing extra support to students and their family members so they can make informed decisions about their career paths.

After being ordained as a Priest in Ghana in 2002, I worked in high schools as a Chaplain and in guidance and counselling coordinator positions. It was not uncommon for parents to approach me and reinforce their preferences for their child's future career direction. For instance, one parent remarked that they had four kids - a doctor, an accountant, and a lawyer so they wanted their youngest to be a nurse so that the child could look after them in their old age. This is a classic example of parental expectations of their children with regards to career decision making.

Following my migration to Australia in 2009, as a priest I also worked as school chaplain. As a professional migrant transitioning from a collectivistic to an individualistic society, I discovered that, unlike in Africa, the parents in Australia encouraged and supported their children to think for themselves, be independent, and to pursue their

personal interests as they contemplated their future careers. These two varied career decision-making scenarios, determined by cultural prescriptions, caught my attention. I reflected on what happens to migrants and their families who have moved from collectivist to individualistic societies, and the impact the transition may have on the youths' career pathways.

My personal experiences and interaction with families from both collectivist and individualistic societies have provided me with deeper insight into the career guidance and counselling processes of parents and children. Bringing together, what I have learnt and experienced it became apparent how worldviews on parental guidance on children's career aspirations differ between the two societies. This realisation inspired me to look deeper and explore the lived experiences as well as the acculturation of sub-Saharan African families and the parents' influence on their children's career decision-making when they migrate to a new culture.

Chapter 1: General Introduction

1.1 Chapter Overview

This introductory chapter positions my research and gives context for the research questions presented in this thesis. The chapter begins with an outline of the importance of career decision-making for youths (adolescents). It also highlights the pertinent factors that underpin youths' career choices, including the influential roles parents and cultural backgrounds play in the career decision-making process. Furthermore, the challenges of transitioning between cultures and its impact on bicultural youths during their career pursuits is enumerated. The career development theoretical models that underpin the current research, as well as the methodological framework and analytical techniques utilised are also presented. Finally, an outline of the thesis chapters and how they address the research questions is presented.

1.2 Career Decision-Making and its Importance for Youths

Choosing and developing a career is a complex process of managing life, education, and work over an individual's lifespan and is necessary to enhance economic and social capitals (Savickas, 2013). It is a process where individuals can ponder over possible and preferred future lifestyles that will demonstrate the identity they want to present to the world, the kind of lifestyle they are seeking and how they can make an impact at familial and societal levels (Ricketts & Ricketts, 2017). However, when an individual's career choice is not compatible with their personal and societal values it could lead to stress, dissatisfaction, lowered output, fatigue, poor performance and cognitive impairment, which leads to low self-esteem (Orth et al., 2015). Therefore, a career is more than a job that provides sustenance and livelihood (McMahon & Tatham, 2008); it is a type of human activity, which can serve as a source of personal fulfilment

and life enhancement (Prieto & Travieso, 2018; Kahneman & Riis, 2005; Myers & Diener, 1995).

Youths are at a period of their lives when they are shaping their identity and developing physically, intellectually, socially, and emotionally (Amos, 2013). Likewise, they are in a stage of career adaptability, prone to be susceptible to influences, ideas and values that could transform their ways of thinking, acting, and perceiving the world around them (Hirschi & Läge, 2008). Therefore, a chosen career can help define a youth's identity and give them a sense of purpose. To determine their career pathways, youths engage in on-going processes of adaptation to match themselves with their circumstances (Amos, 2013).

1.3 Factors that influence Youths' Career Decision-Making

Studies indicate that youths' career decision-making is underpinned by various factors, including but not limited to the societal context in which individuals live, their personal aptitudes and educational attainment (Bandura, et al. 2001). Carpenter and Foster (1977) state that career-influencing factors have intrinsic, extrinsic, or interpersonal dimensions. Intrinsic dimensions are interests about a profession and its social role. Extrinsic dimensions are a preference for social recognition, employment, and economic security. The interpersonal dimension encapsulates the influence of significant others such as family, friends, and teachers (Ryan & Deci, 2000). Career decision-making is also regulated and underpinned by environmental factors perceived to be significant in pursuit of one's career aspirations. The context of an individual's background forms the basis of their behaviour (Mao, Hsu, & Fang, 2017). In the words of Bandura (2000), "individuals are producers as well as products of their environments" (p. 3). The home where the individuals grow, and even the choice of school environment where they learn,

inform their worldviews and perceptions of career aspirations (Gostein & Lake, 2000). This is robustly supported by the findings of Gofflich and Moses (cited in Bossman, 2014) who posit that about 95% of boys who choose farming as a career are sons of farmers. This suggests that parents exert great influence on the personal characteristics and career choices of their children (Bossman, 2014).

1.4 Parental Role in Youths' Career Decision-Making

Dorr and Lesser (1980) proposed that individuals begin forming concepts of the world around them at an early age under the guidance of their parents, including what profession they would like to do when they grow up (Kaur & Kaur, 2015). Parents therefore serve as role models in aiding their children's career development and decision-making by teaching them about cultural and attitudinal standards and societal expectations (Whiston & Keller, 2004). Parental factors that influence children's career choices include parents' educational level and socio-economic status, role modelling, family size and cultural heritage.

1.4.1 Educational level and socio-economic status

Socio-economic status (SES) refers to the social standing of an individual or group of people, and the measures include level of education, income, occupational status and residence (Hoff et al., 2002). All things being equal, the higher the level of parents' education, the higher their SES in almost every society. The SES of a family influences the career choice of the children, with high SES families encouraging and facilitating careers that are perceived as paying more dividends (Banks et al., 2016). Children's cognitive and academic performance are positively related to parents' occupational status (Korupp et al., 2002). It has been suggested that youths have higher career aspirations if their mothers are well-educated and have prestigious occupations (Castellino et al., 1998). Conversely, children from lower SES backgrounds have higher levels of negative career

beliefs (Arulmani et al., 2003) and may not be exposed to varied career options because their parents are often less able to guide their choice of career due to limited economic and social capital (Bossman, 2014).

1.4.2 Role modelling

Another parental factor that influences children's choice of career is role modelling. Perry et al, (2010) suggest that identification with parents' work is strong among children and this is considered as role modelling. A study by Dubow et al. (2009) established that the combination of prestigious parental role models and close parents-child interactions provide effective parental transfer of career values and influence on children's career choices. When the child sees their family happy and flourishing due partly to the career choices of the parents, they would be inclined to follow the career path of their parents. For instance, a child whose parent is a teacher and who sees that the parent provides well for their family and is making a difference in the community may also want to become a teacher. Unfortunately, if parents' modelling typifies mediocrity, the children's career choices may be adversely affected (Ginzberg, 1988).

1.4.3 Family size

Increased family size may result in poorer outcomes for children. The higher the number of children, the greater the spread of parental financial resources (Schulenberg et al., 1984). Bigger family size could also adversely affect children's developmental outcomes (Black et al., 2010; Booth & Kee, 2009). Family size leads to difficulty in early school years, and this may have consequences for later educational experiences and the children's career aspirations (Cobb-Clark & Moschion, 2013). Increased family size correlates with lower SES and leads to child quantity-quality trade-off which relates to number of children in the family and the level of education the parents can afford for each child (Hotz et al., 1997, Li et al., 2008). The effect of family size on education and career

differ from culture to culture. In collectivist cultures where supporting one's family and siblings is the normative practice, an older sibling may be forced to curtail their career pursuit early to assist in providing resources for the family. If older children are expected to assume more responsibilities for younger siblings, the parents might encourage the elder sibling to pursue a higher paid career. This may assist the elder siblings perform more responsibly at school and become higher achievers (Booth & Kee, 2009). In cultures where succession/inheritance of family property favours the first born, known as 'the law of primogeniture' (Athanasou & Van Esbroeck, 2008), parents might need to compensate other younger siblings by investing more in their career pursuits.

1.4.4 Cultural Heritage

Cultures differ in how much they promote either individuality and uniqueness or conformity and interdependence. Culture has been defined as the collective programming of the mind that distinguishes one group of people from another (Hofstede & Hofstede 2001). In Hofstede's (1980) seminal work, he identified the 'individualism-collectivism' cultural continuum where western countries align with individualism and are oriented to independence, self-reliance, freedom and individual autonomy. African and Asian nations align more closely with collectivism where people identify with societal interdependence and communal benefits (Hofstede 1980; Sinha 2014).

In collectivist societies, where community-dependent living is the norm, most of the youths are obligated to pursue careers deemed sufficiently esteemed and well-remunerated. These youths are expected to fulfil a career vision that will provide a sense of responsibility and self-confidence as well as earning their family a respected position in society (Grimmett, 2006). When expectations are not met, it could dampen morale and lead to feelings of guilt, shame, and a loss of self-worth (Singaravelu et al., 2005). Whereas in individualistic societies, where independent living is largely promoted,

societal obligations are less pronounced and many youths are encouraged to pursue careers that appeal to their personal interests (Tamis-LeMonda et al., 2008; Sinha, 2014). Literature on individuals from collectivist societies such as parts of Asia and Africa suggest that parental involvement is directly associated with career choice, with parents sometimes sanctioning their children's career preferences (Sawitri et al., 2015). The opposite could be the case in many individualistic societies such as America, the United Kingdom and Australia as most parents from these countries permit their children to enjoy flexibility when making their career decisions. The process of career decision-making can become more complicated when the youths migrate with their families between different societies. As parents from collectivist societies usually exert strong influence on their children's career choices, some cultural tensions may be experienced between the parents and youths when they transition to an individualistic society where parental influence is comparatively more flexible.

1.5 Transitioning across Cultures

Influence on Migrant Youths' Career Decision-Making

In recent years, there has been significant movement of people across cultures. At the end of 2019, world migration statistics from the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs Population Division (UNDESA-PD) showed an all-time high of 272 million international migrants living around the globe (UNDESA-PD, 2020). Of the 272 million international migrants reported, about 38.7 million are Africans migrating to developed countries (UNDESA-PD, 2020). Families migrate for various reasons. Humanitarian migrants may be seeking a haven from civil wars, political persecution, or famine (Stebbleton, 2007). There are also large numbers of families (professional migrants) who embark on migration for career advancement and to access

increased employment opportunities to enhance the family's economic prospects (Fargues, 2017). Nonetheless, the literature emphasises that transition between cultures ('culture shock') can be difficult (Saltmarsh & Swirski, 2010) and is typified by feelings of anxiety, loss, frustration, and confusion resulting from the lack of familiar cultural signs, symbols, and social rules (Harrison & Brower, 2011).

While transitioning from one culture to another, migrants inevitably experience various adaptation upheavals. As these migrants go through the process of resettlement and integration, various changes occur across many domains of their lives at both individual and family levels (Sam & Oppedal 2002). These changes result from their exposure to the different cultural value systems of the host countries. Their ability to become completely operational members of the host society is reliant on the adjustments and cultural changes the migrants are willing and able to engage in (Mukhtar 2013). This adaptation process is referred to as acculturation (Berry, 1997). Acculturation dynamics can cause different cultural and social pressures on the settling families. The first challenge is whether migrants are ready to relinquish their heritage cultural values. The second issue is whether they are ready to imbibe the host countries' values and customs (Sam & Berry 2010).

Cross-cultural transitioning makes it possible for youths from individualistic and collectivist societies to interact with each other. This exposes youths of migrant background (migrant youths) to mechanisms by which career pathways are determined in different cultures which can influence their original worldview regarding career decision-making (Gokuladas, 2010; Roofe, 2005). Encountering values and processes that are dissimilar to their original orientation could further complicate the migrant youths' career trajectories in the host country (Zhang et al, 2014) and tension could arise in some families as the youths navigate rival cultural values and demands (Fouad et al, 2008).

Resulting tensions in the career decision-making process can exacerbate the challenges migrant youths may be facing and can sometimes lead to intergenerational conflicts, causing a rift in the family and distorting the equilibrium of the family unit (Ma et al., 2014).

The influence of parents may be more pronounced for migrant youths from collectivist societies because of their dependency on their family and the community (Grimmett, 2006). Due to this increased influence, it has become apparent that career decision making is one of the most challenging domains for migrant groups, especially those transitioning from collectivist to individualistic societies (Black et al., 2010; Booth & Kee, 2009). It is postulated that during their adaptation process into the host country, migrant youths could face choices about their career pathways that contradict their parents' traditional values (Buki et al., 2003). However, research into the influence of cultural values, educational and socio-economic backgrounds on career decision-making is limited, with even fewer publications from an African context (Savickas, 2000).

1.6 Research Gap: Career Decision-Making in a New Culture

Researchers have posited that there is limited information on how the cultural and contextual experiences of African migrant youths affect their integration and contribution to a host country's economy as well as their life satisfaction and overall physical, social and psychological wellbeing (Ryan & Deci, 2000; Kunnen, 2013, Singaravelu et al, 2005; Nyamwange, 2016). According to Jensen (2011), migrant youths are exposed to multiple cultural settings that affect the formation of their identities and complicates their career decision-making processes. Recent studies have shown that conflicting ideas between migrant youths who embrace values from both their host and home cultures (biculturals) and their parents could cause family rifts and raise significant health and psychological

concerns (Wambu et al. 2017, Niles & Harris-Bowlsbey, 2017). Research investigating parental influence on career decision-making is mostly quantitative, utilising surveys and questionnaires to examine youths' competencies and abilities (Sawitri et al, 2017), self-efficacy (Kim et al., 2016), and self-esteem (Orth, 2015). Qualitative studies on African migrants are limited and have focused on the childrearing practices of migrant families (Magudza et al., 2019), youths as contested sites of culture (Renzaho et al., 2017), and on family functioning and parenting styles in a new culture (Renzaho et al., 2011). Exploring the migration journeys of migrant African youths with emphasis on how they conceptualise and navigate through their parents' influence on their career pathways may foster in-depth understanding of their intergenerational and interdependent relational family experiences. Understanding the perceptions of African migrant youths may also provide useful information to enhance the support provided by career counsellors and practitioners in the host country to this group of youths.

Additionally, only few studies have explored the acculturation strategies utilised by this group of migrants (Milner & Khawaja 2010, Smith & Khawaja, 2014). Previous models have either examined the process of acculturation in different communities (Bell 2013) or identified the distinct ways that African immigrants acculturate to different life spheres (Navas et al., 2007). Importantly, there is no research on the cultural dynamics of acculturation at the family level among African immigrants. Yet, this perspective is extremely important to the processes of transition and acculturation for African migrants. After all, even in one family, parents and children may adjust in different ways. Thus, it is important to explore the acculturation process for both parents and their children. When young people, at the stage when they are deciding their roles in society, emigrate with their parents, acculturation becomes important (Stuart & Ward, 2011). Recent research shows that migrant youths may feel particularly vulnerable when searching for self-

identify and inclusiveness in the host society. Questions of who they are (self-identity), what interests them most (e.g., career choices/aspirations) and their self-esteem in relation to other individuals and groups take the centre stage of their adaptation processes (Ziaian et al., 2019). These issues may be complicated by their adaptation to both their heritage and their host cultures (van Oudenhoven & Benet-Martínez, 2015).

1.6.1 The Case of Sub-Saharan African Migrant Youth

Sub-Saharan Africans (SSA) are from collectivist societies and form a big part of the global migration stream. Over 25 million SSA migrants lived outside their countries of birth in 2017, with a 31% increase between 2010 and 2017, outstripping the rate of migrants in the Asia-Pacific (15%) and Latin America-Caribbean (9%) regions (Connor 2018). This growth of SSA migrants is more than the 17% worldwide average increase for the same period (Connor 2018). Although SSA have enormous variations such as diverse languages and religious practices, they still have many cultural and historical similarities, which reflect philosophical affinity and kinship (Karsten & Illa, 2005). Figure 1.1 depicts the various countries that constitute SSA.

Many individuals from SSA societies tend to expect youths to consult and listen to their parents and other significant family members when making major life decisions including their choice of career (Wambu et al., 2017; Prieto & Travieso, 2018). Parents assist their children financially during education and training in addition to providing emotional support and guidance. Consequently, many parents believe that they have entitlement to their children's educational and career decisions (Oyserman et al., 2002; Lowe et al., 2015). The opinions of significant adults are also sought when making career decisions and often youths are expected to balance their personal interests with familial and societal expectations (Guan et al., 2015; Kupka et al., 2016; Watson, 2017). Due to the family/community-dependent culture in collectivist societies, any opposition to the

family's career preference in favour of pursuing one's personal interest could be construed as disobedience. As a preventative measure, social sanctions could be meted out in case individuals promote their own interest at the presumed expense of the group (Rao & Malton, 2004).

As family units from SSA tend to thrive on their interconnectedness and they provide support for one another, their migration experience becomes a shared opportunity that pulls the family members together to plan a future with potential occupational success (Fargues, 2017). Familial expectations may be heightened after the youths migrate with their families to a different society. If any tension surrounding career issues is not properly managed while the SSA migrant family are in the process of resettling into the host country, the children may experience delayed and unsuccessful transitions from school to employment, which can lead to other economic, social and personal disadvantages (Alwakil et al., 2018).

Having an in-depth understanding of how SSA migrant youths conceptualise their parents' influence in their career pathways while in a different society can galvanise host countries' understanding of how to apply their career decision-making intervention programs to maximise beneficial career outcomes for these youths. If migrant youths' career issues are well-managed by all stakeholders, including their family members, they will be able to integrate better into the host country's society as fully participating and productive citizens (Ziaian et al., 2019).

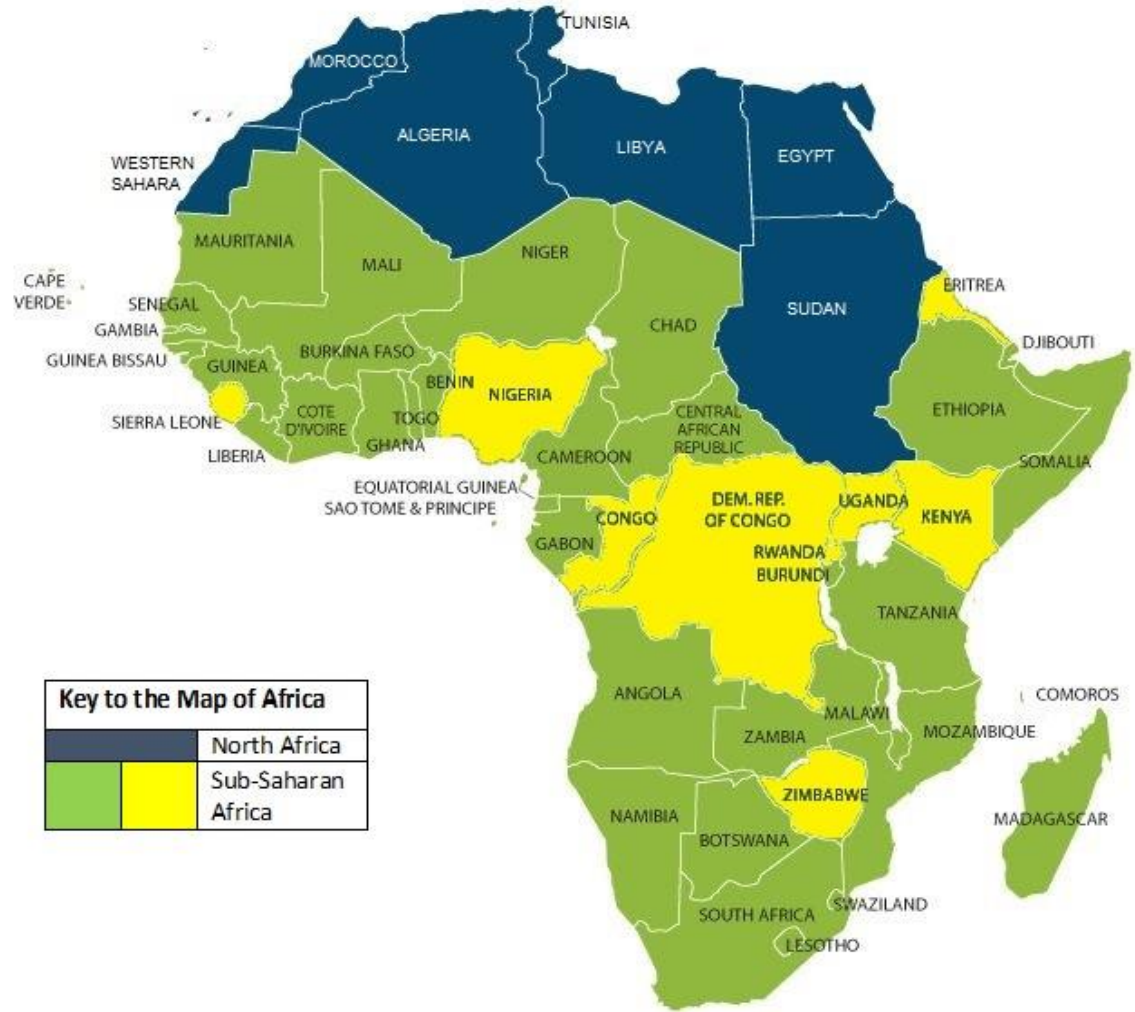


Figure 1.1: Map of Africa illustrating the sub-Saharan African countries.

Source: Adapted from Ngoran et.al (2016).

Figure 1.1 depicts the countries that make up Africa. The countries located in North Africa are highlighted in dark blue colour, while those located in Sub-Saharan Africa are highlighted in green. The Sub-Saharan African home countries of the study participants in this thesis are highlighted in yellow.

1.7 Underpinning Theoretical Frameworks

The earliest career theory which was developed by Frank Parsons (1909) is the trait-and-factor approach in which an individual's personality was matched for job selection. In the 1950s, other career theories which emphasised career development and decision-making approaches were propounded by Ginzberg et al., (1951) and Super (1953) to explain how individual career identities are formed. Ginzberg et al., (1951)

asserted with their theory that a person's career development process comprised of three stages (fantasy, tentative and realistic) and four factors (reality, emotional, personal values, and educational process). Super's (1953) theory also considered adolescence as a critical career development period because students develop and prepare themselves for the future during this time. Subsequently, many other theories have been developed to foster deeper understanding of the career choice and development process. Roe's (1956) theory of personality development and career choice postulated that an individual's occupational choice depends on the type of parent-child interactions, which can orientate individuals toward an occupation that either focuses on working with people or with systems. Holland (1959; 1973; 1985) refined the trait-and-factor approach by developing a "person-environment fit" approach which claims that job satisfaction in an individual is connected to the congruence between personality and the work environment. Gottfredson's (1981) theory of career choice and development postulated a process of elimination in which people gradually eliminate certain career alternatives from further consideration.

With the emergence of social learning and cognitive constructivism theories, more recent career development approaches have emphasised the role of the individual as an active agent in their own career development (Krumboltz et al., 1976; Mitchell et al., 1999; Lent et al., 1994). This thesis draws on and attempts to anchor the research findings on the Social Learning Theory of Career Decision Making (SLTCDM) by Krumboltz et al (1976) and the Social Cognitive Career Theory (SCCT) by Lent et al (1994). These models were chosen because they offer valuable theoretical perspectives from which career development in contemporary contexts could be investigated.

1.7.1 Social Learning Theory of Career Decision Making

The proponents of Social Learning Theory (Krumboltz et al., 1976) constructed a career decision-making theory, which focused on social learning. Social Learning Theory of Career Development (SLTCD) helps elucidate how people make career choices and develop pathways toward their chosen profession (Krumboltz & Levin, 2010). Based on the tenets of SLTCD, career decisions are the product of multi-faceted learning experiences arising from individuals' interactions with people, institutions, and events in their social environments. Four essential factors have been identified as underpinning Social Learning Theory: genetic influences; environmental conditions and events; learning experiences; and task approach skills.

Genetic influences and environmental conditions, including physical attributes and abilities/disabilities, talents, aptitudes, heritage, birthplace, birth order and family resources come together with what an individual has learned to develop an individual's task skills. These skills include the ways in which people cognitively process their beliefs, values, attitudes, feelings, work habits, goals, and expectations. Learning experiences influenced by these four aforementioned factors help to develop beliefs about the nature of careers and their role in life. These beliefs, whether fictitious or realistic, influence career choices and work-related attitudes. According to Krumboltz et al. (1976), observational learning experiences stemming from the activities of role models (e.g., parents, teachers, and heroes) have an important influence on career decisions, making some occupations more attractive. Positive modelling as well as reward and reinforcement are incentives that could stimulate appropriate career behaviour and planning skills.

People make generalisations based on their interests and observations about what is available. These generalisations are used to estimate success in various careers. Hence,

genetic and environmental factors produce perceptions of a changing world and how those changes produce career opportunities (Krumboltz & Levin, 2010). Since environments and people's interests are constantly evolving, role models as well as career practitioners need to support people to avoid career options that may no longer be acceptable and to see the opportunities that unexpected events could produce (Mitchell et al., 1999).

1.7.2 Social Cognitive Career Theory

Social Cognitive Career Theory (SCCT) (Lent et al., 1994) has also inspired this current study. SCCT has been widely used in studies on career choice (Kosine & Lewis, 2008; Rogers & Creed, 2011) as it provides a broader context that could be used to examine career development (Lent et al., 2002). Based on this theory, a variety of factors such as: personal inputs, learning experiences, self-efficacy, and outcome expectations illustrate career choice behaviours. SCCT relates to the interplay between gender, ethnicity, culture, ability, personality traits, socio-economic status (SES) and any support or barriers (one's circumstance) that come together to shape a person's educational and career paths (Lent et al., 2000). Drawing from SCCT, the career interests of youths are mostly shaped by their social environments, cultural ethos, personalities, and their living circumstances (Lent et al., 2000; Grimmett, 2006). SCCT also emphasizes that career choice is sometimes influenced more clearly by self-efficacy beliefs, outcome expectations, or environmental variables than they are by an individual's interests (Lent et al., 1994; 2000).

According to SCCT, interests are generated based on an individual's prior experience and level of success achieved with certain tasks which subsequently boosts their sense of self-efficacy. When there are supportive environmental conditions, personal interests exert the greatest impact on academic and occupational choice (Lent et al., 1994

& 2000). However, economic needs, family pressures or educational limitations are obstacles that prevent individuals from following their interests, particularly if they lack the support of significant adults (Lent et al., 2000). Thus, individuals may need to forego their interests and make practical career choices based on the type of work that is available, their self-efficacy beliefs (“Can I do this type of work?”), and outcome expectations (“Will the job pay enough to make it worthwhile?”). Also, the amount of influence from family members (cultural values) may control personal interests in career choice (Hackett et al., 1981; Bandura, 1997). In practice, discrepancies between measured abilities and interests help counsellors understand clients' self-efficacies and, in order to broaden the clients' options, counsellors may support them to adjust their outcome expectations (Sharf, 2013).

1.8 Thesis Aims, Research Questions and Expected Outcomes

1.8.1 Thesis Aims

To address the existing scarce empirical evidence on the acculturation and career decision making experiences of SSA youths and their interactions with their parents within the context of a new culture, this thesis aimed to explore the processes by which SSA migrant youths develop their educational and career aspirations and how they perceive familial, societal, and cultural influences after resettling in a new culture. The following four specific aims were posited:

1. Examine the factors influencing youths' career choices, with particular reference to cultural impact
2. Identify the acculturation strategies utilised by SSA migrant parents and their children during adaptation into a new culture.

3. Explore the role of SSA migrant parents in their children's career choices/development.
4. Explore the perceptions of SSA migrant children about their parents' involvement in their career decision-making.

1.8.2 Research Questions

The four research questions (RQ) below were utilised to address the thesis aims. These are based on the premise that with deeper understanding of the acculturation and career decision making experiences of SSA migrant youths and their parents, policymakers and service providers can develop effective support and programs to meet the needs of SSA migrants and equip the new settlers to effectively integrate into the local community.

RQ1. What is the role of culture in determining the factors that influence youth's career choices?

RQ2. What are the acculturation strategies preferred by SSA migrant parents and their children during adaptation into the Australian society?

RQ3. What do SSA migrant parents perceive to be their role in their children's career pathways?

RQ4. What are the perceptions of SSA migrant youths about their parents' involvement in their career pathways?

1.8.3 Expected Outcomes

A positive experience that facilitates the wellness of SSA migrants is an essential element for their transitioning into responsible, healthy, and productive citizens in their new societal environment. The research findings will support migrant service providers in aiding these families to settle faster into their new homes. Furthermore, it is anticipated

that the outcomes of this thesis will allow practitioners to be better informed about the intergenerational interplay between SSA migrant parents and their youths in the career decision-making processes and the specific areas needed to be focused on during the provision of career-related services.

1.9 Overview of Research Methods

Figure 1.2 illustrates the two research methods utilised to address the research questions in this thesis – Systematic Review was used to answer RQ1 (*Chapter 2*) while Qualitative Research Method based on Grounded Theory (GT) approach was used for RQ2-RQ4 (*Chapters 3-5*).

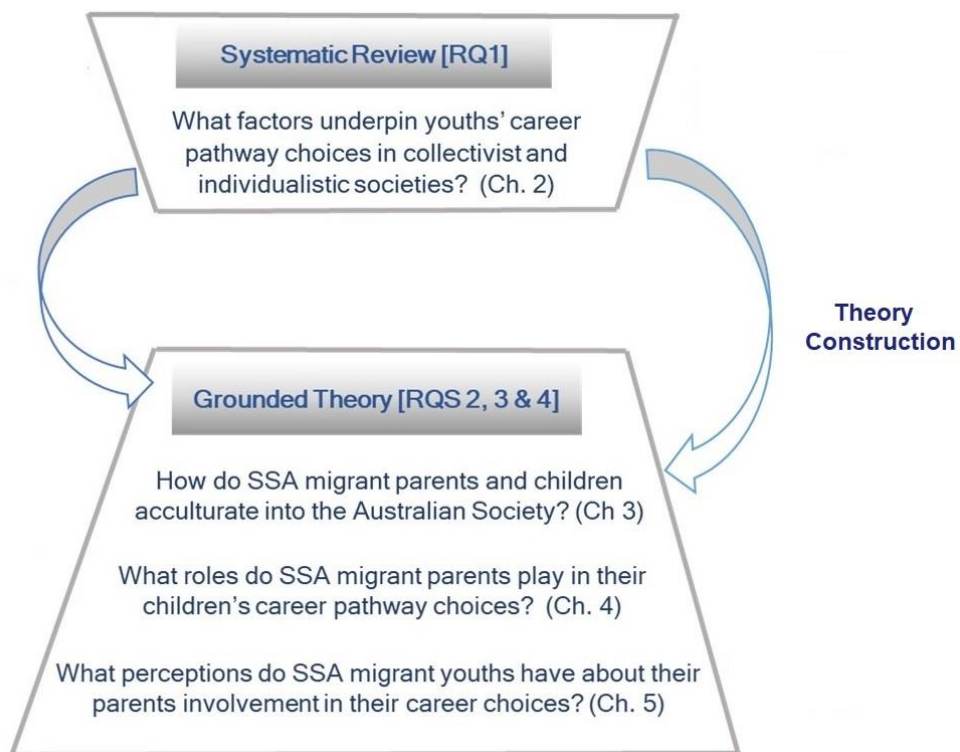


Figure 1.2: Overview of Methodological Approach

1.9.1 Systematic Review - Addressing Research Question One

RQ1: What is the role of culture in determining the factors that influence youth's career choices?

Research Method: The method utilised in addressing RQ1 was a systematic review of international peer-reviewed literature, which focused on career choices of youths from all cultures including migrant youths who reside with their parents in another country. The rationale for using the cultural concepts of collectivist and individualistic cultural settings was inspired by Hofstede's Cultural Dimensional Scores Model (Hofstede, 2011). A systematic review using the Joanna Briggs Institute's (JBI) format was conducted using a search of standard electronic databases. The Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic Reviews and Meta-analysis (PRISMA) was utilised as the evidence-based guide for accurate and transparent documentation of the search strategy. The quality of the reviewed articles was assessed using the JBI critical appraisal tool.

1.9.2 Qualitative Research - Addressing Research Questions 2-4

RQ2. What are the acculturation strategies preferred by SSA migrant parents and their children during adaptation into the Australian society?

RQ3. What do SSA migrant parents perceive to be their role in their children's career pathways?

RQ4. What are the perceptions of SSA migrant youths about their parents' involvement in their career pathways?

Research Method: Considering the social focus of my research topic, it was decided that a qualitative approach was most appropriate to investigate these research questions. Qualitative research is a disciplined inquiry that explores participants' past and ongoing life events, experiences, perspectives, actions, plans, their stories, and the meanings they ascribe to such stories (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011; Yin, 2015). Being

exploratory in nature, qualitative research is particularly suitable for investigating research topics where little knowledge exists (Yin, 2003; Creswell, 2013). Although studies regarding the psychological wellbeing as well as the academic and occupational lives of African migrant youths exist (Ziaian et al., 2019; Hurting & Taber, 2008), none have specifically focused on the career decision-making processes of SSA migrant youths. Given that the career decision-making processes of migrant SSA youths is a fairly underexplored topic in the literature, a qualitative research design was deemed appropriate. The strength of qualitative research design is its' focus on understanding the processes that lead to outcomes, rather than the outcomes alone (Creswell, 2013).

Philosophical Assumptions. Researchers' approaches are influenced by their worldviews which comprise their beliefs and philosophical assumptions about the nature of the world and how it can be understood (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). These ways of thinking about the world are known as research paradigms and they inform the design and conduct of research projects (Creswell, 2013; Wahyuni, 2012). Research paradigms consist of four philosophical elements: axiology, ontology, epistemology, and methodology (Creswell, 2013). Axiology is concerned with the nature of ethics and relates to the values the researcher brings to the study that guide the pursuit of knowledge (Creswell, 2013; Wilson, 2008). Ontology is the study of being and describes how the researcher perceives reality and the nature of human engagement in the world (Creswell, 2007; Scotland, 2012). Epistemology studies the ways knowledge about reality is acquired, understood, and utilised (Babbie, 2020). Methodology is the strategy or action plan that informs the choice and use of particular methods within the context of a particular research paradigm (Crotty, 2020; Wahyuni, 2012), and it asks the question: 'How do I find out more about this reality?' (Wilson, 2008, p. 34). Given that qualitative research is based on interactions, relationships and conversations, explication of the

researcher's underlying philosophical assumptions is important as this approach supports trustworthy research design and dependable outcomes (Crotty, 2020). On this note, I had to consider the paradigms within which I would situate my work, before designing my research.

To ensure a strong research design, I had to identify my own philosophical stance. I explored the main qualitative research paradigms, which included: post-positivism, interpretivism and constructivism. Post-positivists propound that maintaining the certainty that absolute truth is discoverable through science is untenable in today's world (Letourneau & Allen, 2006). Interpretivists advance that research "is guided by the researcher's set of beliefs and feelings about the world and how it should be understood and studied" (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005, p. 22). Constructivists posit that meaning is created through an interaction of the interpreter and the interpreted (Crotty, 2020).

Interpretivist paradigm. This research was informed by the interpretivist paradigm, which is a relativist ontology with a subjectivist epistemology in accordance with postmodern thought. I opted for the interpretive paradigm vis a vis the other two because it focuses primarily on recognising and narrating the meaning of human experiences and actions (Fossey et al., 2002). In the interpretive paradigm, "knowledge is relative to particular circumstances (historical, temporal, cultural, subjective) and exists in multiple forms as representations of reality (interpretations by individuals)" (Benoliel, 1996, p. 407). Interpretivists accept multiple meanings and ways of knowing and acknowledge "objective reality can never be captured and can only be known "through representations" (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005, p. 5). Adopting the interpretivist paradigm enabled me as a researcher to have robust interaction with the data and the study participants with the aim of generating concepts and theories from the lived experiences shared by the participants (Strauss & Corbin, 1990; 1998).

Axiological Assumptions. Axiological assumptions refer to the role of values in research (Lincoln et al., 2011). Qualitative research is value-laden and biased to some degree (Creswell, 2013) by the value systems and beliefs held by the researcher. I am aware that my cultural, personal, educational, and socio-political backgrounds, my biases, and values have to some degree influenced the process of data gathering and the interpretation of information, thereby shaping the outcome of the inquiry. My background as an individual born and raised in Ghana, sub-Saharan Africa, migrating to Australia and serving as a career counsellor in these two countries with different cultural systems is influential in shaping my values and potential biases. My experiences of acculturation and coming to terms with both countries' systems of education and worlds of work have influenced my values. My involvement with young people and their parents, back in Ghana as well as in Australia have all been influential in reshaping my values. Strategies used in this research to deal with my values and potential biases are described in the Researcher Self Reflexivity section of this chapter.

Methodology – Grounded Theory. I realised that I required a methodology that would also allow me to develop a theoretical model to explain the processes used by SSA migrant youths and their parents in acculturating and managing career decision making pathways in the context of their 'new homes', and subsequently identify the implications for practice. Grounded theory (GT) was the methodology I selected as the most appropriate to address all three research questions. My aim in this chapter is to provide a broad overview of GT and how it was applied in this thesis. Detailed information on GT methods have been provided in the research chapters included in this thesis.

As an inductive methodology that attempts to bridge the gap between research and theory, GT is one of the most effective approaches to explain peoples' lived experiences (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss & Corbin, 1998). GT is an appropriate

research design for this current study as it involves analytical processes to gain a better understanding of a phenomenon where theories are otherwise lacking (Creswell, 2013; Mendaglio, 2013). To generate a theory the researcher must systematically collect, code, categorise and analyse data (Charmaz, 2006). Applying GT in this thesis aided me in establishing a dynamic interaction with the participants, which was essential for capturing and describing the lived experiences of the SSA migrant families (Charmaz, 2014). The current study had four research questions to guide the exploration of the chosen phenomenon. This is recommended by Strauss and Corbin (1990), in which they emphasised that broad research questions should be stated before the commencement of a research project.

There are various epistemological and methodological perspectives relating to the goals and processes of GT. These procedural processes are underpinned by different philosophical assumptions of epistemological and paradigmatic perceptions. There are three major approaches to the GT paradigm. The original proponents of GT (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) followed a positivist ontological approach and consider the theory as a purely inductive and flexible methodology. Following the classical GT was Interpretive GT (IGT), developed by Strauss and Corbin (1990), of which they identified interpretivism as their ontological influence (Strauss & Corbin, 1994). In the IGT paradigm, emphasis is placed on individual perspectives as they contain valuable data for the development of a theoretical understanding (Strauss & Corbin, 1994). The third approach is Constructivist Grounded Theory (CGT) and was developed by Charmaz (2006), proclaiming that CGT has a pragmatist ontology with a relativist epistemology (Charmaz, 2017a; 2017b). It is essential for researchers to determine the appropriate philosophical approach that is the best fit for their personal philosophical beliefs (Howard-Payne, 2016). For example, as per Farragher and Coogan (2018), a researcher's

connection and ability to "understand the meanings that the research participants made of their experiences (may lead to) generating theories that may have usefulness when transferred across contexts related to the area of interest" (p. 6). Therefore, the researcher's status should be acknowledged, applied appropriately (only when necessary and not to a point where it steers the research), and addressed within the research they conduct (Charmaz, 2014).

The purpose of this current research study was to develop an in-depth understanding of the lived migration experiences of Sub-Saharan African families and the parents' influence on their children's career decision-making in a different society. To do this I needed to interact with participants and listen to their perspectives on their migration journeys and career decision-making experiences. The research methodological paradigm as described by Strauss and Corbin (1990, 1998) and Corbin and Strauss (2008, 2015) was used in this thesis. Strauss and Corbin's IGT approach is exploratory, interactive, interpretive, and co-constructive. This approach fosters an understanding of the breadth and depth of a phenomenon in participants' contexts. In this paradigm, emphasis is placed on individual perspectives as they contain valuable data for the development of a theoretical understanding of how people construct themselves, society, and reality through meaningful interactions (Strauss & Corbin, 1994; Corbin & Strauss, 2008).

My interpretive role as a researcher in the construction of theories to understand the lived experiences of the studied participants is compatible with the philosophical perspective of Corbin and Strauss' (2015) IGT approach. In their approach, the researcher's knowledge in the existing literature can inform research questions, increase theoretical sensitivity, and stimulate ongoing reflections (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Glaser and Strauss (1967) explicitly advised against conducting a literature review in the early

stages when undertaking research, as by doing so the researcher may develop pre-conceived ideas. Glaser and Holton (2007) reinforced this methodological stance, stating that the researcher does not need an initial research question or guiding theory as these could foster unwanted researcher bias. This stance directly contradicts most methodologies in which a detailed literature review is deemed as an essential foundation upon which to build a study. For instance, Strauss and Corbin (1998) contended that conducting a literature review at the early stage of a research project could inform research questions, increase theoretical sensitivity, and stimulate reflections. A literature review can also provide cogent rationale for a given study, including a justification of a specific research approach (McGhee et al., 2007; Coyne & Cowley, 2006). Additionally, it can ensure the study has not already been done (Chiovitti & Piran, 2003) while simultaneously highlighting pertinent lacunae in existing knowledge (Creswell, 1998; Hutchinson, 1993). Furthermore, it can help contextualise the study (McCann & Clark, 2003a), orient the researcher (Urquhart, 2007) and reveal how the phenomenon has been studied to date (Denzin, 2002; McMenemy, 2006). Based on the compelling evidence in favour of undertaking a literature review before commencing data collection and analysis, I adopted for Strauss and Corbins' GT approach in this study.

I commenced my project with research questions constructed after conducting a systematic review on the chosen phenomenon. As an insider researcher, it was inevitable for me to be viewed as not commencing with a blank slate (Corbin & Strauss, 2015). To mitigate potential researcher bias, I used strategies such as field notes writing, member checking, as well as supervisors' scrutiny to regulate my personal influence and bias on the data. Strauss and Corbin (1996) espoused this philosophical consideration to maximise the objectivity of the study findings. Furthermore, the researcher's experience can enhance theoretical sensitivity, facilitate the generation of hypotheses, and create a

baseline for making comparisons (Corbin, 1998). As an insider researcher, I was well positioned to engage with the African communities in Townsville, Queensland in ways that allowed exploration and co-construction of their lived experiences in Australia.

Data analysis in IGT focuses on using analytical tools, which are thinking techniques that facilitate interaction between the researcher and participants' data. IGT coding and analysis is the only approach with three distinct phases of coding: open, axial, and selective (Walker & Myrick, 2006; Brusaglioni, 2016; Strauss & Corbin, 1990) utilising both inductive and abductive reasoning. In open coding, the transcribed interviews are investigated line-by-line to develop the initial coding for descriptive categories which are then grouped together around commonalities to influence the development of significant subcategories. Axial coding is carried out to establish the relationships between the developed subcategories (Strauss & Corbin, 1990, 2015) and to reconstruct the concepts within them into large and more focused categories. At this stage, the researcher uses a coding paradigm to identify the links between subcategories. By applying constant comparison methods, comparisons are made repeatedly to affirm the link and connections between open and axial coding categories before commencing selective coding (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). The selective coding stage is where the researcher selects core categories as their primary focus. As the final analytical stage of IGT, in selective coding the researcher conceptually relates all categories to the core category to construct a meaningful and coherent story and the theory is supported by verbatim quotes from participants' responses (Strauss & Corbin, 1990; Birks & Mills 2015).

1.9.3 Researcher Self Reflexivity

IGT emphasises the pivotal role of researcher reflexivity as vital to ensuring that the researcher's perspectives are helpful rather than detrimental during recruitment, data

collection and analysis (Strauss & Corbin 1994; 2015). Therefore, it is important for me to define my own relationship to this research. As a Ghanaian, I have worked in both Ghana (West Africa) and in Queensland (Australia) and this has provided me with insight into the importance of family dynamics, particularly as families migrate to a different culture. As a priest, much of my work experience has involved assisting parents to help their children discern their career pathways.

What researchers bring to the study from their backgrounds and identities are considered as influential and are familiarly entwined in the study; they “do not and cannot stand outside of them” (Charmaz, 2006, p. 130). Consequently, the experiential knowledge the researcher brings to the study has been treated as ‘bias’ which if not addressed, could compromise the trustworthiness of qualitative research. To offset the risk of my potential bias in analysing participants’ data, I applied an ongoing process of reflexivity by continually reflecting, examining, and exploring my relationship to the data throughout the research process, as recommended by Kolb (2012). During this study, I built a rapport with participants, responded to their underlying tensions and concerns, and entered more deeply into their eidetic worlds with a non-judgemental attitude (Barnett, 2012). By maintaining an open mind and bracketing any potential preconceived assumptions and personal views (Petty et al., 2012), I ensured that the semi-structured interviews and their subsequent analysis were conducted with due procedural fairness.

My interactions with research participants from pre-recruitment to interview completion all play some role in their perceptions of me and the study, and ultimately the data they provided. Participants’ perceptions of me were first formed through my contact with the Presidents of the different African community associations based in Townsville, when I provided an information sheet about the study along with consent materials. All participants learnt upfront that I am of African descent, a professional migrant living in

Townsville, a Minister of Religion (Catholic Priest), a Chaplain/School Counsellor, a teacher and that I am a PhD candidate conducting the study for doctoral requirement.

My personal identity classified me as an insider researcher, although occasionally I was still required to draw on various strategies and experiences to bring myself closer to participants. Developing an effective rapport with participants while maintaining a professional stance enabled richer data collection, which then led to the construction of theories that better explained the lived experiences of this cohort of migrants. For instance, when appropriate I would share my own learning experiences as a student, as a gesture of reciprocity, but I always did so with humble acknowledgement that my experiences might only partially compare to theirs. Sharing a common link with the participants facilitated them being more comfortable and confident to self-disclose during interviews (Dickson-Swift et al., 2007; Karnieli-Miller et al., 2009). Participants' interests and engagement during the interview sessions would have been different if the initial rapport had not been built, thereby affecting the quality of their responses. On the other hand, my self-disclosure to participants, particularly my identity as a Priest, may have had some influence on the data I obtained from participants as their responses could have been refined or they may have felt compelled to elaborate on their personal experiences. Overall, I ensured that my self-disclosure approach was relevant to the phenomenon under discussion and symbolised empathy to the participants.

Throughout the interview process, the procedural guidelines prescribed by IGT were observed to ensure that any preconceived assumptions (subjective biases) I had were reduced and credibility checks (including member checking and confirmation of identified themes by supervisors) were done to strengthen the trustworthiness of the study findings (Strauss & Corbin, 2015). I utilised memo-writing and field notes to organise my thinking and to enable me to make comparisons and identify patterns during data

analysis. Keeping a record of comparisons and analytical thoughts about the data and the data analysis process enabled me to develop theoretical ideas and direct theoretical sampling (Corbin, 2009; Boychuk-Duchscher & Morgan, 2004). The GT coding and analytical approaches applied in this study were in keeping with the philosophical assumptions and perspectives of Strauss and Corbin (2015) to strengthen the credibility and transferability of the study findings.

1.10 Developing the Research

1.10.1 Population and Research setting

This research was conducted in Townsville, Queensland, Australia. The unabated rise in migrant numbers is depicted in Figure 1.3. In 1995, it was reported that there were 174 million migrants globally, representing 2.8% of the world's population. Numbers reached an all-time-high in 2019 with 272 million migrants, representing 3.5% of the world population (IOM, 2020; ABS, 2019). Of the 272 million international migrants living around the globe, approximately 7.5 million are reported to be residing in Australia (UNDESA-PD, 2020), with a 0.2 million increase from the data reported in 2018 according to the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS, 2019). Most migrants relocate either as humanitarian migrants escaping from various hardships or as skilled migrants seeking improved employment to create a better future for their families (Fargues, 2017).

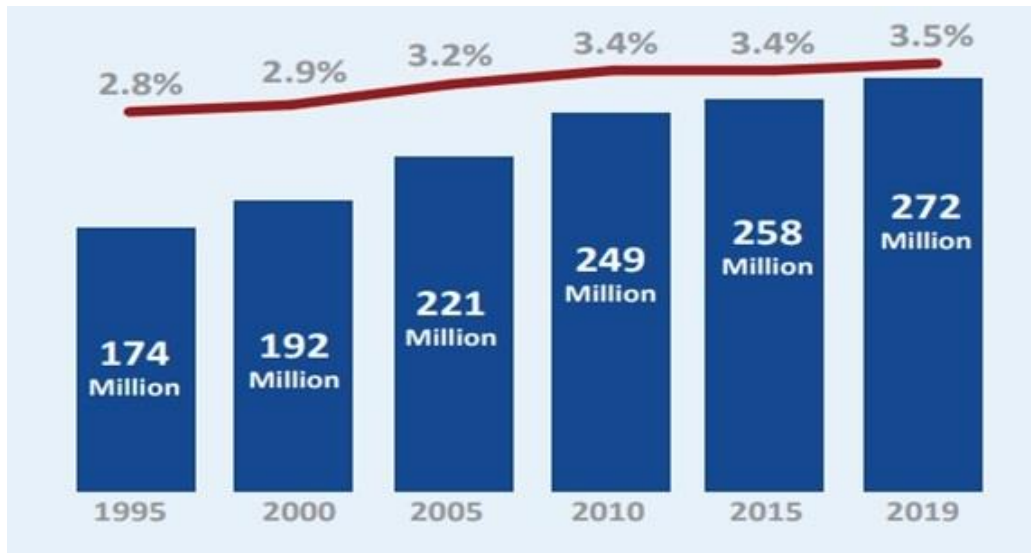


Figure 1.3: Increasing international migration population

Between 1995 and 2019, the international migrant population increased from 2.8% to 3.5% of the world's population.

Australian National Censuses show that the number of African migrants in Queensland has grown exponentially over the years with 3,522 people reported in 1986 and 74,391 recorded in the National Census conducted in 2016 (ABS, 2017). From this latest figure, 67,274 migrants were from SSA countries. The 2016 Census also indicated that in Townsville and the northwest Queensland region there were 32,477 persons born overseas. Within this region, the Townsville local government area had the largest number of persons born overseas with 25,588 international migrants including those from SSA, making Townsville one of the fastest growing regions with a diverse population (ABS, 2019b).

The growing migrant numbers are an essential part of the Australian population with potential long-term positive impact on the nation's economy as 58% of the intakes are under thirty years of age, which helps to mitigate the effects of an aging population (Parr, 2018). The ability of migrants to participate, especially in the host country's labour market, is important for their successful settlement (Collins, 2013). Supporting the

adaptation of SSA migrant families with the aim of better integration is a significant concern for host countries so that these people can contribute towards the receiving nation's economic growth. However, there is a paucity of evidence about the career decision-making processes of this cohort of young migrants especially after they have transitioned from their family/community dependent collectivist societies to individualistic societies such as Australia. The influx of SSA migrants adds to the importance of conducting research on SSA children's career decision-making, to ensure inclusiveness and enhance the public's understanding of their adaptation to the Australian society.



Figure 1.4: Geographical location of the study site

Source: Modified maps from Coast, G. (2014); Unit M.C. (2010)

1.11 Thesis Structure and Organisation

Table 1.1 portrays a summary of the Thesis Outline, Chapter Details, Author Contributions and Publication Status of the chapters. This thesis comprises seven chapters, four of which have been published:

Table 1.1: Summary of Thesis Outline*

Chapter Details and Publication Status	Author Contributions
<p>Chapter 1 - General Introduction: The chapter outlined the justification and focus of the current study. Thesis aims, research questions, research design and methodology justification as well as population /study setting, and researcher reflexivity were also discussed.</p> <p><i>Not Published</i></p>	<p>PA-T wrote the introductory chapter with TIE, DL, KT and BSM-A reviewing each draft before approving the final version.</p>
<p>Chapter 2 (Study 1): - A Systematic Review of Factors That Influence Youths Career Choices—the Role of Culture. This chapter reviewed the available literature on the factors that influence youths' career choices and how the cultural values of individualistic and collectivist societies played significant roles. The following topics were comprehensively examined: intrinsic, extrinsic, and interpersonal factors; the influence of collectivist and individualistic societal norms; as well as the influence of parents and significant others on the children's career decisions. Literature gaps were identified. The findings from this chapter informed the study design and methodological approach used for chapters 3, 4 and 5.</p> <p><i>Published in Front. Educ., 19 July 2018 https://doi.org/10.3389/feduc.2018.00058</i></p>	<p>PA-T and BSM-A extracted the data. BSM-A, TIE, and DL critically appraised and validated the study findings. PA-T developed the first draft of the manuscript. BSM-A, TIE, DL, and KT reviewed and edited the manuscript. All authors read and approved the final manuscript for submission.</p>
<p>Chapter 3 (Study 2): Prioritising Family Needs: A Grounded Theory of Acculturation for Sub-Saharan African Migrant Families in Australia. This chapter was published in Social Sciences and it focused on semi-structured interviews with SSA migrant families (parents and their children) to ascertain the acculturation typology they utilised when adapting into the Australian society. This chapter highlights what underpins the preferred acculturation strategy of SSA migrant families. The outcomes of this chapter were instrumental in developing the research questions for the next two chapters.</p> <p><i>Published in Soc. Sci. 2020, 9(2), 17; https://doi.org/10.3390/socsci9020017</i></p>	<p>The initial interview session was attended by BSM-A and PA-T. All other interviews were conducted by PA-T. PA-T analysed and coded the data. BSM-A, FA and AS confirmed the coding structure. PA-T developed the first draft of the manuscript. BSM-A, AS, FA, TIE, DL, and KT reviewed and edited the manuscript. All authors read and approved the final manuscript for submission.</p>

Chapter Details and Publication Status	Author Contributions
<p>Chapter 4 (Study 3): “Preparing Them for the Road”: African Migrant Parents’ Perceptions of Their Role in Their Children’s Career Decision-Making. This qualitative study which utilised semi-structured interviews was conducted to explore the perceived parenting roles of SSA migrant parents (both humanitarian and professional migrants) in their children’s career pathways after they migrated to Australia. The process facilitated the creation of a new framework to provide an in-depth understanding of how SSA parenting styles informed the migrant children’s career choices while living in Australia. The findings from this study aided in-depth exploration of the SSA migrant youths’ perceptions and experiences in the next chapter. The theory of “Preparing the children for the road” was constructed to reflect the role perceptions of the SSA migrant parents.</p> <p><i>Published in Educ. Sci. 2020, 10(5), 138; https://doi.org/10.3390/educsci10050138</i></p>	<p>PA-T designed the semi-structured questions which were reviewed by BSM-A. PA-T coded and analyzed the data as well as wrote the results and discussion sections. These sections were reviewed and confirmed by BSM-A and FA. PA-T wrote the final manuscript, which was reviewed by TIE, DL, KT, and BSM-A.</p>
<p>Chapter 5 (Study 4): Restrictive Reciprocal Obligations: Perceptions of Parental Role in Career Decisions of sub-Saharan African Migrant Youths. This last study chapter which has been submitted to Frontiers in Psychology employed grounded theory methods and utilised semi-structured interviews to explore how SSA migrant high school and university students currently residing in Townsville, Australia perceived the roles of their parents in their career development.</p> <p><i>Submitted to Frontiers in Psychology</i></p>	<p>PA-T designed the semi-structured questions which were reviewed by BSM-A. PA-T coded and analysed the data as well as wrote the results and discussion sections. These sections were reviewed and confirmed by BSM-A and FA. PA-T wrote the final manuscript, which was reviewed by TIE, DL, KT, and BSM-A.</p>
<p>Chapter 6 – General Discussion: This chapter provides a general discussion of the overall results obtained from the preceding chapters and the implications of the findings for policymakers, educators, counsellors, migrant parents, and service providers.</p> <p><i>Not Published</i></p>	<p>PA-T wrote the general discussion chapter, with TIE, DL, KT and BSM-A reviewing the draft work before approving the final version.</p>
<p>Chapter 7 – Conclusion and Recommendations: This chapter details the overall conclusion for the thesis, recommendations and implementation strategies for better career outcomes and integration into the Australian society as well as direction for future research. <i>Not Published</i></p>	<p>PA-T wrote the general discussion chapter, with TIE, DL, KT and BSM-A reviewing the draft work before approving the final version.</p>

***Chapters 2 – 5 are publication-based chapters in this thesis**

Chapter 2: A Systematic Review of Factors that influence Youths' Career Choices - The role of Culture

2.1 Chapter Overview

Abstract: Good career planning leads to life fulfilment however, cultural heritage can conflict with youths' personal interests. This systematic review examined existing literature on factors that influence youths' career choices in both collectivist and individualistic cultural settings from around the globe with the aim of identifying knowledge gaps and providing direction for future research. A systematic review strategy using the Joanna Briggs Institute's format was conducted. The ERIC, PsychInfo, Scopus, and Informit Platform databases were searched for articles published between January 1997 and May 2018. A total of 30 articles were included in the review, findings revealed that youth from collectivist cultures were mainly influenced by family expectations, whereby higher career congruence with parents increased career confidence and self-efficacy. Personal interest was highlighted as the major factor that influenced career choice in individualistic settings, and the youth were more independent in their career decision making. Bicultural youth who were more acculturated to their host countries were more intrinsically motivated in their career decision making. Further research is imperative to guide the understanding of parental influence and diversity, particularly for bicultural youths' career prospects and their ability to use the resources available in their new environments to attain meaningful future career goals.

2.2 Introduction

Career choice is a significant issue in the developmental life of youths because it is reported to be associated with positive as well as harmful psychological, physical and socio-economic inequalities that persist well beyond the youthful age into an individual's adult life (Robertson, 2014; Bubić & Ivanišević, 2016). The term “youth” is described by the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) as a more fluid category than a fixed age group and it refers to young people within the period of transitioning from the dependence of childhood to adulthood independence and awareness of their interdependence as members of a community (UNESCO, 2017).

The complexity of career decision-making increases as age increases (Gati & Saka, 2001). Younger children are more likely to offer answers about their ideal career, which may represent their envisioned utopia and phenomenal perceptions about what they want to do when they grow up (Howard & Walsh, 2011). As children get older, they are more likely to describe their career choice as a dynamic interplay of their developmental stages and the prevailing environmental circumstances (Howard & Walsh, 2011). Youth career decision-making is required to go through a process of understanding by defining what they want to do and exploring a variety of career options with the aid of guidance and planning (Porfeli & Lee, 2012). Proper handling of the process affirms individual identity and fosters wellbeing, job satisfaction and stability (Kunnen, 2013).

Many theoretical models have been proposed to explain the process of career development and decision-making, one of which is the Social Cognitive Career Theory (SCCT) by Lent et al. (1994). According to the SCCT, career development behaviours are affected by three social cognitive processes - self-efficacy beliefs, outcome expectations and career goals and intentions which interplay with ethnicity, culture,

gender, socio-economic status, social support, and any perceived barriers to shape a person's educational and career trajectories (Lent et al., 2000; Blanco, 2011). This emphasizes the complex interplay between the personal aspirations of youths in their career choices and decision-making and the external influences, which act upon them. Carpenter and Foster (1977) postulated that the earlier experiences and influences which individuals are exposed to form the bedrock of how they conceive their career aspirations (Carpenter & Foster, 1977). These authors' assertion lends support to the tenets of SCCT and they have developed a three-dimensional framework to classify the factors that influence career choice. Carpenter and Foster proposed that all career-influencing factors derive from either intrinsic, extrinsic, or interpersonal dimensions. They referred to the intrinsic dimension as a set of interests related to a profession and its role in society. Extrinsic refers to the desire for social recognition and security meanwhile the interpersonal dimension is connected to the influence of others such as family, friends, and teachers (Carpenter & Foster, 1977).

Further exploration by other researchers reveal that youth who are motivated by intrinsic factors are driven by their interests in certain professions, and employments that are personally satisfying (Gokuladas, 2010; Kunnen, 2013). Therefore, intrinsic factors relate to decisions emanating from self, and the actions that follow are stimulated by interest, enjoyment, curiosity or pleasure and they include personality traits, job satisfaction, advancement in career, and learning experiences (Ryan & Deci, 2000; Kunnen, 2013; Nyamwange, 2016). Extrinsic factors revolve around external regulations and the benefits associated with certain occupations (Shoffner et al., 2015). Prestigious occupations, availability of jobs and well-paying employments have also been reported to motivate youth career decision-making (Ryan & Deci, 2000). Consequently, extrinsically motivated youth may choose their career based on the fringe benefits

associated with a particular profession such as financial remuneration, job security, job accessibility, and satisfaction (Ryan & Deci, 2000; Edwards & Quinter, 2011; Bakar et al., 2014). Interpersonal factors encompass the activities of agents of socialization in one's life and these include the influence of family members, teachers/educators, peers, and societal responsibilities (Gokuladas, 2010; Bossman, 2014; Wu et al., 2015). Beynon et al. reported that Chinese-Canadian students' focus in selecting a career was to bring honor to the family (Beynon et al., 1998). Students who are influenced by interpersonal factors highly value the opinions of family members and significant others; they therefore consult with and depend on these people and are willing to compromise their personal interest (Guan et al., 2015).

Studies have shown that cultural values have an impact on the factors that influence the career choices of youths (Mau, 2000; Caldera et al., 2003; Wambu et al., 2017; Hui & Lent, 2018; Tao et al., 2018). Hofstede's (1980) seminal work on culture dimensions identified four major cultural dimensions in his forty-country comparative research (Hofstede, 1980). The first dimension is known as "individualism-collectivism." In individualistic cultures, an individual is perceived as an "independent entity," whilst in collectivistic cultures he/she is perceived as an "interdependent entity." That said, decision-making in individualistic cultures are based on individuals 'own wishes and desires, whilst in collectivistic cultures, decisions are made jointly with the "in-group" (such as family, significant others and peers), and the primary objective is to optimize the group's benefit. The second dimension is power distance. In high power distant cultures, power inequality in society and its organizations exist and is accepted. The third dimension - uncertainty avoidance denotes the extent to which uncertainty and ambiguity is tolerated in society. In high uncertainty avoidant cultures, it is less tolerated, whereas in low uncertainty avoidant cultures it is more tolerated. Lastly, masculinity and

femininity dimension deals with the prevailing values and priorities. In masculine cultures, achievement and accumulation of wealth is valued and strongly encouraged; in feminine cultures, maintaining good interpersonal relationships is the priority.

In his later work on “Cultural Dimension Scores,” Hofstede suggested that countries' score on power distance, individualism, masculinity, uncertainty avoidance, long-term orientation, and indulgence depicts whether they are collectivist inclined or individualistic-oriented (Hofstede, 2011). Countries that espoused collectivist values may score low and countries that are entrenched in individualistic values may score high on the above-mentioned six cultural dimension score models (Hofstede, 1980, 2001, 2011). This model aids the characterization of countries into either individualistic or collectivist cultural settings.

On this basis, western countries like Australia, United Kingdom (UK) and the United States of America (USA) have been shown to align with individualism and such cultures are oriented around independence, self-reliance, freedom and individual autonomy; while African and Asian nations align more closely with collectivism in which people identify with societal interdependence and communal benefits (Hofstede, 1980; Sinha, 2014). Research indicates that basing cultures on individualistic versus collectivist dimensions may explain the classical differences in career decision-making among youths (Mau, 2004; Amit & Gati, 2013; Sinha, 2014). The normative practice in individualistic societies is for the youth to be encouraged to choose their own careers and develop competency in establishing a career path for themselves, while youths from collectivist societies may be required to conform to familial and societal standards and they are often expected to follow a pre-determined career track (Oettingen & Zosuls, 2006).

The interaction between individualistic and collectivist cultures has increased in frequency over the last 20 years due to global migration. Given that different standards are prescribed for the youths' career selection from the two cultures (collectivist - relatedness, and individualistic - autonomy), making a personal career decision could be quite daunting in situations where migrant families have moved from their heritage cultures into a host country. Friction may arise between the adapting youths and their often traditionally focused and opinionated parents as the families resettle in the host countries.

According to a report by the United Nations (UN), the world counted 173–258 million international migrants from 2000 to 2017, representing 3.4 percent of the global population. Migration is defined by the International Organisation of Migration (IOM) as the movement of a person or a group of persons, either across an international border, or within a state (IOM, 2018). In this era of mass migration, migrant students who accompanied their parents to another country and are still discerning their career pathways could be exposed to the unfamiliar cultural values in general and the school/educational system in particular (Zhang et al., 2014). On this note, migrant students might face a daunting task in negotiating their career needs both within host countries' school systems and perhaps within their own family setups. These migrant youth undoubtedly face uncertainties and complexities as career decision-making trajectory could be different in their heritage cultures compared to the prevailing status quo of the host country's culture (Sawitri & Creed, 2017; Tao et al., 2018). As youth plan and make career decisions, in the face of both expected and unexpected interests, goals, expectations, personal experiences as well as obligations and responsibilities, cultural undercurrents underpin what the youth can do, and how they are required to think. Some studies have examined cross-cultural variations in factors influencing the career choice

of youth from both similar and dissimilar cultural settings (Mau, 2000; Lee, 2001; Fan et al., 2012, 2014; Tao et al., 2018). However, there may be large differences between different migrant populations.

Given the influence of cultural heritage on career choice and with the increasing numbers of transitions between cultures, it is important to examine the scope and range of research activities available in the area of youths' career choice, particularly in relation to how movements across cultures affect the youth in their career decision making. To the best of our knowledge, there is no comprehensive review of existing literature available in this area. Using the three-dimensional framework proposed by Carpenter and Foster (1977), this systematic review aims to examine the factors influencing youths' career choices, with particular reference to cultural impact. It will also identify any gaps in the existing literature and make recommendations that will help guide future research and aid policy makers and educational counsellors in developing adequately equipped and well-integrated career choice support systems that will foster a more effective workforce.

2.3 Materials and Methods

A systematic review strategy was devised, and the literature search was conducted using the Joana Briggs Institute's (JBI) format. The search was conducted between December 2016 and May 2018, utilizing James Cook University's subscription to access the following databases: Education Resources Information Centre (ERIC), PsycINFO, Scopus and Informat. The subject and keyword searches were conducted in three parts.

1. Career and its cognate terms:

“Career development” OR “Career decision” OR “career choice” OR “Career choices” OR “Career planning” OR “Career guidance” OR Career OR Careers OR

“Career advancement” OR “Career exploration” OR Vocation OR Vocations OR Vocational OR “Occupational aspiration” OR Job OR Jobs OR Occupations OR Occupation OR Occupational” AND

2. Youth and its cognate terms:

“Youth OR Youths” OR “Young adults” OR adolescent* OR teenage* OR student” AND

3. Factors and variables:

“Intrinsic OR Extrinsic OR Interpersonal OR Individualistic OR Collectivist OR Culture OR Cultures OR Cultural OR “Cross Cultural.”

The Boolean operators (OR/AND) and search filters were applied to obtain more focused results. The articles included in the final search were peer-reviewed and the references of publications sourced from these searches were hand searched to obtain additional abstracts. Searches of reference and citation lists commenced in December 2016, repeated in March, July and November 2017 and finally May 2018 to identify and include any new, relevant articles.

2.3.1 Inclusion and Exclusion Criteria

Only peer-reviewed articles published in English within the last 20 years (1997-2018) and with full text available were included. Studies included in the final analysis were original research articles that focused on career choices of youth from all cultures including migrant youth who are also known as bicultural (those who accompanied their parents to another country). The rationale for using the cultural concepts of collectivist and individualistic cultural settings was inspired by Hofstede's Cultural Dimensional Scores Model (Hofstede, 2011). Abstracts were excluded if they focused on students

below secondary school level and those already in the workforce as the study mainly focused on youth discerning their career choices and not those already in the workforce.

2.3.2 Data Extraction

Two of the researchers (PA-T and BSM-A) independently assessed data for extraction, using coding sheets. Study variables compared were author and year of publication, country and continent of participant enrolment, cultural setting, study design, participant numbers, and educational level, factors influencing career choice and major outcomes. Data were crosschecked in a consensus meeting and discrepancies resolved through discussion and mutual agreement between the two reviewers. The third and fourth authors (TIE and DL) were available to adjudicate if required.

2.3.3 Quality of Methods Assessment

In this study, two reviewers (PA-T and TIE) ascertained the quality and validity of the articles using JBI Critical Appraisal (CA) tools for qualitative and cross-sectional studies (Aromataris & Munn, 2017). In any event of disagreement, a third reviewer (BSM-A) interceded to make a judgement. Both JBI CA tools assess the methodological quality of the included studies to derive a score ranging from 0 (low quality) to 8 or 10 (high quality). Using these tools, studies with a total score between 0 and 3 were deemed of low quality, studies with a score between 4 and 6 were classed as of moderate quality and studies with scores from 7 were deemed to be of high quality (sound methodology).

2.4 Results

2.4.1 Study Selection

Articles retrieved from the initial database search totalled 5,201. An additional 38 articles were retrieved from direct journal search by bibliographic search. A total of 597 records remained after duplicates and unrelated articles were removed. Of this number,

521 were excluded after abstract review mainly for not meeting the inclusion criteria, leaving 76 full text articles for eligibility check. A further 46 were excluded because they focused on career difficulties, counselling, retention, working adolescents/ youths, or the cultural setting was not stated. Applying this screening process resulted in 30 studies for inclusion in the qualitative review synthesis (see Figure 2.1).

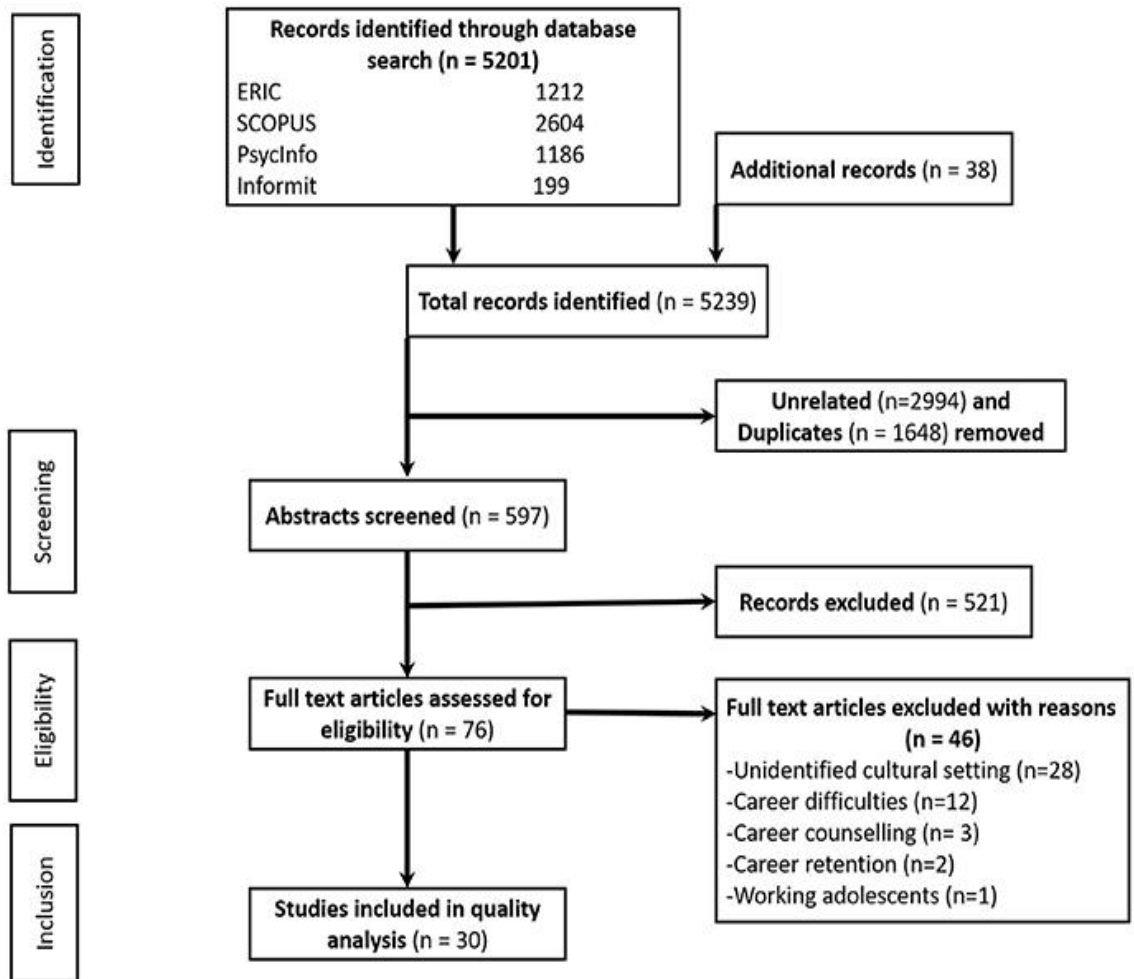


Figure 2. 1. Search strategy

2.4.2 Study Characteristics

All three factors (Intrinsic, Extrinsic, and Interpersonal) affecting youths' career choices were identified in this review (Figure 2.1). Out of the 30 articles, five (17%) explored interpersonal factors exclusively (Cheung et al., 2013; Gunkel et al., 2013; Fan et al., 2014; Zhang et al., 2014; Fouad et al., 2016). Majority of the studies, 16 out of 30

(53%) explored interpersonal and intrinsic factors solely (Mau, 2000; Lee, 2001; Caldera et al., 2003; Howard et al., 2009; Lent et al., 2010; Shin & Kelly, 2013; Cheung & Arnold, 2014; Sawitri et al., 2014, 2015; Guan et al., 2015; Li et al., 2015; Sawitri & Creed, 2015, 2017; Kim et al, 2016; Hui & Lent, 2018; Polenova et al., 2018).

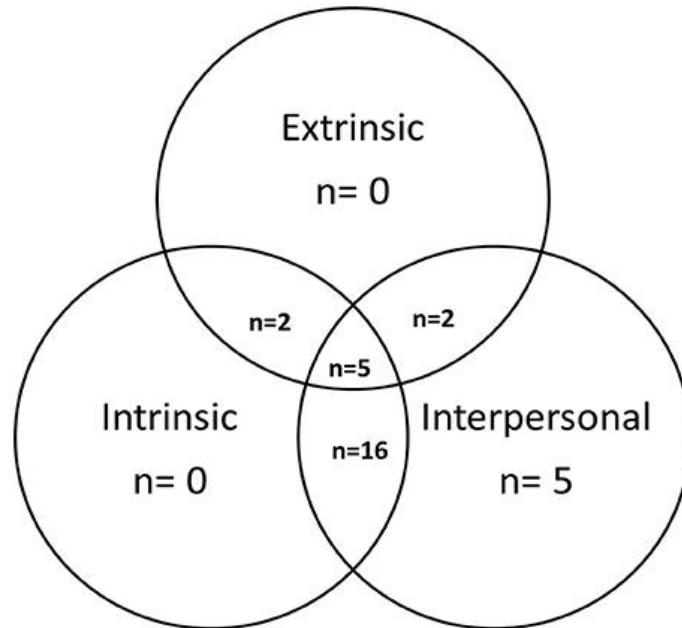


Figure 2.2 Diagrammatic illustration of the included studies highlighting the factors that influence youth career choices

The figure shows the number of studies focusing on each of the three factors (intrinsic, extrinsic, and interpersonal).

No articles focused solely on extrinsic or intrinsic factors. Two studies each explored the relationship between intrinsic and extrinsic (Choi & Kim, 2013; Atitsogbe et al., 2018) as well as extrinsic and interpersonal factors (Yamashita et al., 1999; Wüst & Leko Šimić, 2017). The remaining five articles (17%) explored all three factors (intrinsic, extrinsic, and interpersonal) (Bojuwoye & Mbanjwa, 2006; Agarwala, 2008; Gokuladas, 2010; Fan et al., 2012; Tao et al., 2018). Table 2.1 summarizes the 30 articles included in this review. Intrinsic factors explored in the literature include self-interest, job satisfaction, and learning experiences. Extrinsic factors include job security, guaranteed job opportunities, high salaries, prestigious professions, and future benefits.

Sub-Saharan African Migrant Parents' Influence on their Children's Career Choices

Meanwhile, interpersonal factors include parental support, family cohesion, peer influence, and interaction with educators.

Table 2.1: Summary of Studies included in the Review

Serial No.	Author and Year	Study settings and cultural values identified	Research Method	Sample Size	Participants' level of education	Factors and study outcomes identified
1	Agarwala, 2008	Collectivist: - India	Quantitative	99	University	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Intrinsic - Personal characteristics like skills, competencies and abilities. • Extrinsic – Desire for benefits, financial reward, social recognitions and job security. • Interpersonal - Fathers were the most significant individuals influencing career choice. Collectivistic ethos were the predominant cultural values, though some students demonstrated individualistic tendencies.
2	Atitsogbe et al., 2018	Collectivist: – Burkina Faso Individualistic: – Switzerland	Quantitative	700	University	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Intrinsic - Swiss students more influenced by vocational interests. • Extrinsic - Burkina Faso students influenced by job accessibility, which could prevent them from choosing careers related to their preferred fields.
3	Bojuwoye & Mbanjwa, 2006	Collectivist: - South Africa	Quantitative	80	Institute of Technology students	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Intrinsic - Personal interest (50%) • Extrinsic – Prestigious jobs (52.5%) • Interpersonal - Family members were the most influential when making career decision (82.5% mostly mothers) and then teachers and peers.
4	Caldera et al., 2003	Collectivist – Mexico Individualistic – America	Quantitative	158	University	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Intrinsic – Mexican American women influenced by intrapersonal factors. • Interpersonal - Non-Hispanic White American women wanted to identify with parents. Mexican American women wanted to surpass parents.

Sub-Saharan African Migrant Parents' Influence on their Children's Career Choices

Serial No.	Author and Year	Study settings and cultural values identified	Research Method	Sample Size	Participants' level of education	Factors and study outcomes identified
5	Cheung et al., 2013	Collectivist: - China - Hong Kong Individualistic: - United States	Quantitative	1175	High School	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interpersonal – Influence of significant others (teachers, parents, and peers). Hong Kong students rated perceived efficacy of teachers higher than parents due to lower level of parental education.
6	Cheung & Arnold, 2014	Collectivist: - China	Quantitative	271	University	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Intrinsic - Individually motivated achievement influenced career development. • Interpersonal – Strong influence of significant others. A stronger dependence on teachers, followed by peers and less of parents.
7	Choi & Kim 2013	Collectivist: - South Korea Individualistic: - United States	Quantitative	422	University	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Intrinsic – Personal interests influenced American students' career selection • Extrinsic – Job prospect influenced the Korean students' career choices.
8	Fan et al., 2012	Collectivist: - Hong Kong Individualistic: - United States	Quantitative	761	University	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Intrinsic – American students significantly more influenced by personality traits. • Extrinsic – Vocational/job interest was also a deciding factor for career choice. Personality traits were stronger than vocational interest in predicting career explorations in both cultures. • Interpersonal – Hong Kong students were more accommodating of opinions of others in the social environment.

Sub-Saharan African Migrant Parents' Influence on their Children's Career Choices

Serial No.	Author and Year	Study settings and cultural values identified	Research Method	Sample Size	Participants' level of education	Factors and study outcomes identified
9	Fan et al., 2014	Collectivist: - Hong Kong Individualistic: - United States	Quantitative	1563	University	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interpersonal – In both Hong Kong and United States, culture played a significant role in student choice of career. Significant influences of family orientation in Hong Kong compared to the United States. Strong independence among United States students and higher perceptions of family intrusiveness.
10	Fouad et al., 2016	Collectivist: - India Individualistic: - United states	Quantitative	568	University	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interpersonal – Family influence was similar in the four-factor model between both cultures. However, there is a stronger family influences among the collectivist Indian culture
11	Gokuladas, 2010	Collectivist - India	Quantitative	1550	University	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Intrinsic - Students considered self-interest before societal interest. • Extrinsic - Students saw income as an important component of life. • Interpersonal – Adolescents' career decision-making was influenced by parents, siblings, family members peers and educators.
12	Guan et al., 2015	Collectivist: - China Individualistic: - United States	Quantitative	1874	University	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Intrinsic – American students scored higher on aspiration for ideal occupation, internal locus of control and efforts invested in career decision making. • Interpersonal – Chinese students scored significantly higher on consulting with others, desire to please others, willingness to compromise, dependence on others, and procrastination.

Sub-Saharan African Migrant Parents' Influence on their Children's Career Choices

Serial No.	Author and Year	Study settings and cultural values identified	Research Method	Sample Size	Participants' level of education	Factors and study outcomes identified
13	Gunkel et al., 2013	Individualistic: - Germany, Finland,- Germany, - Spain, United States Collectivist: - Argentina, Bulgaria, China, Ukraine	Quantitative	1845	University	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interpersonal – In high power distance cultures, career related decisions are not solely based on one's own preferences. Career attitudes are influenced by cultural dimensions.
14	Hui & Lent, 2018	Bicultural – Collectivist in individualistic setting: - Asian Americans	Quantitative	348	University	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Intrinsic - Higher self-efficacy, outcome expectations, and interests were related to family support. • Interpersonal – Strong family support and similar results for US-born and Asian-born students. Students with stronger adherence to Asian values were more likely to perceive family support to pursue science related careers.
15	Howard et al., 2009	Partly Individualistic - Northern Italy & Collectivist - Southern Italy	Quantitative	588	Middle School	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Intrinsic – Self-efficacy and goal setting orientation and motivation are influenced by social support. • Interpersonal – For students from Southern Italy which is characterized as agricultural economy, familial support directly influenced their career choice. For students from Northern Italy which is an industrialized setting, family support is related to more career decidedness.
16	Kim et al 2016	Collectivist: - South Korea	Quantitative	420	College Students	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Intrinsic - Self-efficacy is influenced by family support. • Interpersonal – Strong family informational support, family expectations, family financial support.

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Serial No.	Author and Year	Study settings and cultural values identified	Research Method	Sample Size	Participants' level of education	Factors and study outcomes identified
17	Lee, 2001	Collectivist: - Korea Individualistic: - United States	Quantitative	597	High School	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Intrinsic – Stronger career maturity, goal orientation, confidence, and independence among the United States students. • Interpersonal – Strong family influence for Korean students based on societal expectations.
18	Lent et al., 2010	Collectivist - Portugal	Quantitative	600	High School	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Intrinsic – Interest predicts self-efficacy and outcome expectations • Interpersonal – Social support impacts on peoples' self-efficacy beliefs.
19	Li et al 2015	Collectivist: - China	Quantitative	98	University	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Intrinsic – personal preferences but strongly influenced by social comparison. • Interpersonal – career choices influenced by peers through social comparison.
20	Mau, 2000	Collectivist: - Taiwan Individualistic: - United States	Quantitative	1566	University	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Intrinsic – American students were higher on decision-making self-efficacy. • Interpersonal – Familial and societal expectations influence Taiwanese students.
21	Polenova, et al, 2018	Bicultural – Collectivist in individualistic setting:- Asian Americans	Qualitative	12	University	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Intrinsic – Internal locus of control and personal interest. There was an interaction between two cultures. • Interpersonal – High sense of obligation to parents (filial piety).
22	Sawitri et al., 2014	Collectivist: - Indonesia	Quantitative	954	High School	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Intrinsic – Self-efficacy is important, but it is affected by parental influence. • Interpersonal – Perceived career congruence with parents.

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Serial No.	Author and Year	Study settings and cultural values identified	Research Method	Sample Size	Participants' level of education	Factors and study outcomes identified
23	Sawitri et al., 2015	Collectivist: - Indonesia	Quantitative	351	High School	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Intrinsic - Adolescent–parent career congruence is indirectly associated with self-efficacy and career aspirations. • Interpersonal – Strong parental influence.
24	Sawitri and Creed 2015	Collectivist: - Indonesia	Quantitative	601	High School	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Intrinsic – Goal oriented career aspirations, performance and mastery approach are dependent on degree of perceived congruence with parents. • Interpersonal – Perceived career congruence with parents reduces self-oriented goals.
25	Sawitri and Creed 2017	Collectivist: - Indonesia	Quantitative	337	High School	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Intrinsic – Higher career congruence with parents lead to career confidence and self-efficacy. • Interpersonal - Those who value inequality conform to parents and give up their own career goals.
26	wust, 2013	Collectivist: - South Korea Individualistic: - United States	Quantitative	347	University	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Intrinsic - In both cultures, the results show that optimism was an important factor to vocational identity. American families encourage students to become self-sufficient and independent • Interpersonal – Family support plays an important role in career development for the Korean students.
27	Tao et al 2018	Bicultural – Collectivist in individualistic setting: - Chinese - Canadians	Quantitative	194	University	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Intrinsic – Self-efficacy • Extrinsic – Financial stability • Interpersonal – Familial influence • Bicultural Chinese students who were acculturated to Canada were intrinsically motivated in their career decision-making, while those who had stronger Chinese acculturations were influenced by extrinsic and interpersonal factors. •

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Serial No.	Author and Year	Study settings and cultural values identified	Research Method	Sample Size	Participants' level of education	Factors and study outcomes identified
28	Wüst & Leko-Simic, 2017	Collectivist: - Croatia Individualistic: - Germany	Quantitative	478	University	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Extrinsic – High income and secure jobs are important to German students while being part of a recognised profession is important to Croatian students. • Interpersonal – Social responsibility (helping others, support society) is important to Croatian students.
29	Yamashita et al., 1999	Collectivist: - Japan - Korea	Quantitative	2087	University	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Extrinsic – Economic viability, highly appreciated and well-paid jobs • Interpersonal - Parents, teachers and friends have influence on career choice of occupation
30	Zhang et al., 2014	Individualistic: - United States Collectivist: - Mexico	Quantitative	372	University	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interpersonal – Mexican-born females had higher family orientations than their US-born and Non-Hispanic White counterparts. Country of birth was more strongly related to career commitment than ethnicity/ cultural background.

The collectivist cultural settings examined in the reviewed articles included Argentina, Burkina Faso, Bulgaria, China, Croatia, Hong Kong, India, Indonesia, Japan, Mexico, Portugal, South Africa, South Korea, Taiwan and Ukraine; while the individualistic ones were Canada, Finland, Germany, Spain, Switzerland and United States of America. Italy was considered as partly individualistic and collectivist. Fourteen studies included participants from both collectivist and individualistic cultural settings (Mau, 2000; Lee, 2001; Caldera et al., 2003; Howard et al., 2009; Fan et al., 2012, 2014; Cheung et al., 2013; Choi & Kim, 2013; Gunkel et al., 2013; Shin & Kelly, 2013; Zhang et al., 2014; Guan et al., 2015; Fouad et al., 2016; Wüst & Leko Šimić, 2017; Atitsogbe et al., 2018; Hui & Lent, 2018; Polenova et al., 2018; Tao et al., 2018). Twelve studies focused on collectivist cultural settings (Yamashita et al., 1999; Bojuwoye & Mbanjwa, 2006; Agarwala, 2008; Gokuladas, 2010; Lent et al., 2010; Cheung & Arnold, 2014; Sawitri et al., 2014, 2015; Li et al., 2015; Kim et al., 2016; Sawitri & Creed, 2017). Three studies examined participants who moved from collectivist to individualistic settings (Hui & Lent, 2018; Polenova et al., 2018; Tao et al., 2018) and one study considered both cultural dimensions within a single setting (Howard et al., 2009). Twenty-nine of the included studies used a range of quantitative designs. Participant numbers in these ranged from 80 to 2087. One study used qualitative design with 12 participants.

2.5.3 Quality of Methods of Included Studies

The quality assessment of methods employed in the 30 studies included in this review are outlined in Table 2.1. The qualitative study was assessed using the JBI qualitative CA tool and was of sound methodology (Table 2.2). Using the JBI cross-sectional CA tool, 9 of the 29 quantitative studies (31 %) were of sound methodology (score of 6.5–7). The other 20 studies (69 %) were of moderate quality (Table 2.3).

Table 2. 2 Quality assessment of included qualitative studies

Reference	Theoretical Principles	Research Questions	Data Collection Method	Data Analysis	Results interpretation	Researcher Orientation	Researcher Influence	Participant Representation	Ethical Consideration	Evidence Based conclusion	Score
Polenova et al., 2018	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	U	U	Y	U	Y	8.5

Note. N = No (0 points), Y = Yes (1 point), U = Unknown (0.5 points)

Table 2. 3: Quality assessment of included quantitative studies

No	Author & Year	Inclusion Criteria	Study setting & subjects described	Valid measurements	Decreased risk of bias	Confounding identified	Confounding adjusted	Measured outcomes	Appropriate statistics	Score
1	Agarwala, 2008	U	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	6.5
2	Atitsogbe et al., 2018	N	Y	Y	U	U	N	Y	Y	5
3	Bojuwoye & Mbanjwa, 2006	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	5
4	Caldera et al, 2003	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	6
5	Cheung et al., 2013	N	Y	Y	Y	U	U	Y	Y	6
6	Cheung & Arnold, 2014	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	7

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No	Author & Year	Inclusion Criteria	Study setting & subjects described	Valid measurements	Decreased risk of bias	Confounding identified	Confounding adjusted	Measured outcomes	Appropriate statistics	Score
7	Choi & Kim, 2013	N	U	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	5.5
8	Fan et al., 2012	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	6
9	Fan et al., 2014	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	5
10	Fouad et al., 2016	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	6
11	Guan et al., 2015	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	7
12	Hui & Lent, 2018	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	6
13	Gunkel et al, 2013	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	7
14	Gokuladas, 2010	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	U	Y	6.5
15	Kim et al, 2016	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	6
16	Lee, 2001	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	5
17	Lent et al., 2010	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	7
18	Howard et al., 2009	U	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	7.5
19	Li et al 2015	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	6
20	Mau, 2000	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	6

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No	Author & Year	Inclusion Criteria	Study setting & subjects described	Valid measurements	Decreased risk of bias	Confounding identified	Confounding adjusted	Measured outcomes	Appropriate statistics	Score
21	Sawitri et al., 2014	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	6
22	Sawitri & Creed, 2015	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	6
23	Sawitri et al., 2015	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	6
24	Sawitri and Creed, 2017	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	6
25	Tao et al., 2018	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	7
26	Wüst & Leko, 2017	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	5
27	Yamashita et al., 1999	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	5
28	Shin & Kelly, 2013	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	6
29	Zhang et al., 2014	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	7

Note. N = No (0 points), Y = Yes (1 point), U = Unknown (0.5 points)

2.5.4 Synthesis of Study Results

Table 2.3 and Figure 2.3 details the study setting and the underlying factors influencing youth career choices. Analysis of the reviewed articles revealed four major themes namely: extrinsic, intrinsic, and interpersonal factors and emergent bicultural influence on career choice. These four major themes had several subthemes and are reported below.

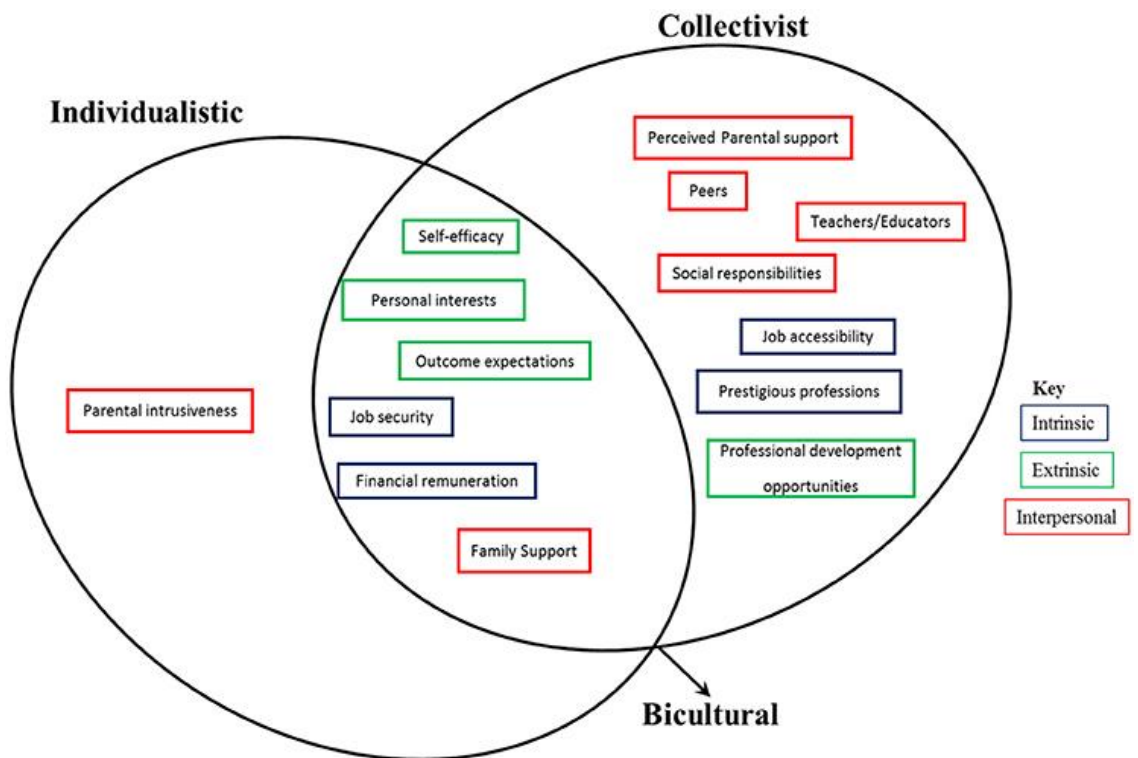


Figure 2.3 Career influencing factors

The figure shows identified career influencing factors and their distribution in different cultural settings.

Extrinsic Factors. Extrinsic factors examined in the reviewed articles included financial remuneration, job security, professional prestige, and job accessibility.

Financial Remuneration. Financial remuneration was identified as the most influential extrinsic factor in career choice decision. Income was considered as an important component of life, particularly among youth who had a higher level of

individualism (Agarwala, 2008; Wüst & Leko Šimić, 2017). Wüst and Leko Šimić reported that German students ranked “a high income” highest with a 3.7 out of 5 and regarded it as the most important feature of their future job in comparison to Croatian students who gave it a lower ranking of 3 out of 5 (Wüst & Leko Šimić, 2017). While amongst Indian management students, it was rated as the third most important factor influencing career choice (Agarwala, 2008). Financial reward was also a high motivator for career decision among Chinese migrant students in Canada (Tao et al., 2018), and Korean students (Choi & Kim, 2013). In contrast, the need for higher remuneration did not influence career decision making among engineering students in India (Gokuladas, 2010), and Japanese senior college students (Yamashita et al., 1999).

Professional Prestige. Professional prestige was identified as an important deciding factor for youth career decision making in India (Agarwala, 2008), South Africa (Bojuwoye & Mbanjwa, 2006), Croatia (Wüst & Leko Šimić, 2017), Japan and Korea (Yamashita et al., 1999), which are all collectivist settings. Prestige statuses attached to some occupations were strong incentives to career choices; was ranked as the second most important positive influence in career decision making by over half of the respondents in a South African study, indicating that these youth wanted prestigious jobs so that they could live good lives and be respected in the society (Bojuwoye & Mbanjwa, 2006). Japanese and Korean students were also highly influenced by occupational prestige (Yamashita et al., 1999); however, the Korean students considered it of higher importance than their Japanese counterparts.

Job Accessibility. Job accessibility was also considered as a deciding factor for youth's career decision in a collectivist Burkina Faso society where nearness to employment locations prevented students from choosing careers related to their preferred fields of endeavor (Atitsogbe et al., 2018). Another study explored the perceptions of

hospitality and tourism career among college students and demonstrated that Korean students are more likely to focus on current market trends such as job accessibility in comparison to their American counterparts (Choi & Kim, 2013), implying that they are less flexible with their choices. However, job accessibility and vocational interest were less predictive of career explorations than personality traits in both cultural settings in a different study (Fan et al., 2012).

Job Security. Job security was reported as influential in only one study where it was identified as highly important by German youth in comparison to their Croatian counterparts (Wüst & Leko, 2017). They suggested that their findings are in line with the uncertainty avoidance index proposed by Hofstede (2011) which also takes on a relatively high value for Germans. They provided two major reasons for the findings—(1) “secure jobs” has a tradition for young Germans and (2) change in employment contracts in Germany; with fewer employees under 25 having permanent contracts (Wüst & Leko, 2017).

Intrinsic Factors. The literature explored intrinsic factors such as personal interests, self-efficacy, outcome expectations and professional development opportunities.

Personal Interests. Personal interests in career decision-making appeared to be an important factor in the selection of a life career (Caldera et al., 2003; Bojuwoye & Mbanjwa, 2006; Gokuladas, 2010; Lent et al., 2010; Choi & Kim, 2013; Atitsogbe et al., 2018). Bojuwoye and Mbanjwa ascertained that about fifty per cent of youth career decisions are based on their personal interests (Bojuwoye & Mbanjwa, 2006), and Gokuladas maintained that students from urban areas are most likely to consider their personal interests before societal interests when making career decisions (Gokuladas,

2010). Lent et al., reported that personal interest predict youth's career outcome expectations (Lent et al., 2010) while Li et al., indicated that in collectivist Chinese culture, personal interests matter significantly however individual preferences are strongly influenced by social comparison (Li et al., 2015). Atitsogbe et al., observed that Swiss students are more influenced by personal interests (Atitsogbe et al., 2018). They reported that in Switzerland, interest differentiation was significantly associated with self-identity. This scenario was compared to the situation in the collectivist Burkina Faso culture where interest differentiation and consistency were less associated with self-identity (Atitsogbe et al., 2018). Similarly, Korean students were reported to focus on the prevailing market trends such as salary, job positions, and promotion opportunities in contrast to American student who were more future oriented and interested in setting individual desired goals in their reality oriented-perceptions (Choi & Kim, 2013). Personal interest was also linked to career aspirations in Mexican American women (Caldera et al., 2003).

Self-Efficacy. Self-efficacy was considered a vital intrinsic factor in the career decision-making process of youth (Howard et al., 2009; Fan et al., 2012; Guan et al., 2015; Hui & Lent, 2018). Howard et al. reported individualistic and collectivist dimensions in two different regions within the same country due to economic factors (Howard et al., 2009). In collectivist cultures, students' self-efficacy was linked to their level of congruence with their parents. Whereas in individualistic cultural settings, like America, families encourage students to become self-sufficient and independent (Mau, 2000; Fan et al., 2012; Shin & Kelly, 2013; Guan et al., 2015; Hui & Lent, 2018).

Outcome Expectations. Two studies carried out in collectivist cultural settings reported that youth's outcome expectation are contingent/dependent on the degree of perceived congruence with parents (Cheung & Arnold, 2014; Sawitri et al., 2015). One

article that studied the outcome expectations of youth in individualistic cultural setting reported that among students in the United States, strong career maturity, confidence, and outcome expectations were culturally based (Lee, 2001).

Professional Development Opportunities. The opportunity for professional development is also a major intrinsic career-influencing factor (Lee, 2001; Cheung & Arnold, 2014; Guan et al., 2015). University students in China were individually matured and influenced by career development opportunities (Cheung & Arnold, 2014). While American students were shown to score higher for ideal occupations (Guan et al., 2015), and influenced by goal motivation and strong career maturity (Lee, 2001). This is similar to high school students in Indonesia, although dependent on congruence with parents (Sawitri & Creed, 2015).

Interpersonal Factors. The literature discussed the extent to which family members, teachers/educators, peers, and social responsibilities influence youths' career decision-making.

Influence of Family Members. Agarwala suggested the father was seen as the most significant individual influencing the career choice of Indian management students (Agarwala, 2008). This could be understood in the context of a reasonably patriarchal society. According to the study, most of the participants' fathers were mainly professionals, which may have motivated their career selection. In another study, mothers (52.50%) were regarded as the most significant family member that impacted positively on students' career choices (Bojuwoye Mbanjwa, 2006). Fathers (18.75%) were the second most significant individual, followed by siblings or guardians (16.25%) (Bojuwoye & Mbanjwa, 2006). Good rapport among family members culminating in an effective communication within the family set up is crucial for laying sound foundation

for career decision making. Higher career congruence with parents also increased career confidence and self-efficacy (Sawitri et al., 2014, 2015; Sawitri & Creed, 2015, 2017; Kim et al, 2016). Furthermore, parents' profession influences career choice as children from agricultural backgrounds tend to take on their parents' job, while those from industrialized settings have more autonomy and career decidedness (Howard et al., 2009).

Other familial influence on career decision-making according to the results of the only qualitative study in our review, include parental values, parental pressure, cultural capital and family obligations (Polenova et al., 2018). The study indicated the apparent Asian American cultural preference for certain professions/careers. Students indicated that, parental opinion sometimes put an emphasis on a specific career. In that study, several participants emphasized that they were not forced, but “strongly encouraged” (Polenova et al., 2018).

“It's not like your parents are going to put a gun to your head and say ‘You're going to be a doctor’ but from a young age, they say things like, ‘You're going to be a great doctor, I can't wait until you have that stethoscope around your neck’.” (Polenova et al., 2018)

Teachers and Educators. Teachers and educators are significant figures in the process of youth's career decision-making (Yamashita et al., 1999; Howard et al., 2009; Gokuladas, 2010; Cheung et al., 2013; Cheung & Arnold, 2014). Cheung et al. and Howard et al. reported that in both collectivist and individualistic cultures, teacher are seen as significant figures who are agents of development and could have influence on students' career decision making (Howard et al., 2009; Cheung et al., 2013). Cheung et al. further reported that students in Hong Kong rated perceived efficacy of teachers higher

than parents due to lower level of parental education (Cheung et al., 2013). In addition, Cheung and Arnold demonstrated a strong student dependence on teachers followed by peers and less of parents (Cheung & Arnold, 2014).

Peer Influence. Two studies carried out in both cultural settings showed peer influence as a third potent force (after parents and teachers) that can significantly impact on the career decisions of youth, especially girls (Howard et al., 2009; Cheung et al., 2013). Other studies reported that peers are a branch of the significant others and as social agents, they influence their kinds through social comparisons and acceptance (Yamashita et al., 1999; Lee, 2001; Bojuwoye & Mbanjwa, 2006; Gokuladas, 2010; Cheung & Arnold, 2014).

Social Responsibilities. The impact of social responsibility as a driving force in youth career decision-making was identified by Fouad et al. (2016), who noted that the career decision-making of South Korean youth is influenced by societal expectations. This is supported by another research, which suggested that societal expectations influenced youth career choices in both collectivist and individualistic cultures (Lee, 2001; Mau, 2004; Polenova et al., 2018; Tao et al., 2018).

Emergent Bicultural Influence on Youth Career Choices. Of the 30 articles, only three explored the career decision-making of bicultural youths (Hui & Lent, 2018; Polenova et al., 2018; Tao et al., 2018). Strong family support influenced US-born and Asian-born students as shown by a recent study (Hui & Lent, 2018). Hui and Lent found that students with stronger adherence to Asian values were more likely to perceive family support to pursue science related careers (Hui & Lent, 2018). High sense of obligation to parents (filial piety), internal locus of control, and personal interests were identified as factors that influenced bi-cultural Asian American students' career decision making

(Polenova et al., 2018). Bicultural Chinese students who were acculturated to Canada were highly intrinsically motivated (internal locus of control and self-efficacy) in their career decision-making, while those who had stronger Chinese acculturations were influenced by extrinsic (financial stability) and interpersonal (family) factors (Tao et al., 2018).

2.6 Discussion

This systematic review examined the existent factors influencing the career choices of the youths from different countries around the globe, from either or both collectivist and individualistic cultural settings. Intrinsic and interpersonal factors were more investigated than extrinsic factors in the reviewed articles. In these articles, intrinsic factors included personal interests, professional advancement, and personality traits. Extrinsic factors included guaranteed employment opportunities, job security, high salaries, prestigious professions, and future benefits. Meanwhile, interpersonal factors are the activities of agents of socialization in one's life, such as parental support, family cohesion, status, peer influence as well as interaction with other social agents such as school counsellors, teachers and other educators (Lent et al., 2010; Shin & Kelly, 2013; Cheung & Arnold, 2014; Guan et al., 2015; Kim et al., 2016).

The three factors (intrinsic, extrinsic, and interpersonal) relating to career choices are pervasive in both cultures. Their level of influence on the youth differs from culture to culture and appear to be dependent on perceived parental congruence leading to self-efficacy and better career choice outcomes. The studies carried out in Canada, Finland, Germany, Spain, Switzerland, and United States of America showed a high level of individualism, which typifies intrinsic motivation for career choice. Youths in individualistic cultural settings were influenced by the combinations of intrinsic (personal

interest, personality trait, self-efficacy), extrinsic (job security, high salaries) and to a lesser extent, interpersonal (parental guidance) factors and are encouraged to make their own career decisions (Mau, 2004; Gunkel et al., 2013). In contrast, studies carried out in Argentina, Burkina Faso, Bulgaria, China, Croatia, Hong Kong, India, Indonesia, Japan, Mexico, Portugal, South Africa, South Korea, Taiwan, and Ukraine showed a high level of collectivism. Youths in collectivist cultures were mainly influenced by interpersonal (honouring parental and societal expectations and parental requirements to follow a prescribed career path) and extrinsic (prestigious professions) (Mau, 2000; Gunkel et al., 2013). The opinions of significant others matter significantly to youths from collectivist cultural settings. Whereas, in individualistic cultures, youths tend to focus on professions that offer higher income and satisfy their personal interests (Wüst & Leko, 2017; Polenova et al., 2018).

Parental influences were found to be significant in collectivist cultural settings (Agarwala, 2008; Sawitri et al., 2014), implying that youths from this culture value the involvement of significant others, especially parents, and other family members, during their career decision-making processes. The activities of parents and significant others are very pivotal in the lives of the youth as they navigate their career paths. Cheung et al. reported the role of significant others (teachers) in influencing youth career choices when parents are unable to suitably play such role (Cheung et al., 2013). Interestingly, one article focused on two different cultural orientations within one country and reported that parents' profession influence career choice as children from agricultural backgrounds tend to take on their parents' job, while those from industrialized settings have more autonomy and career decidedness (Howard et al., 2009). This finding emphasizes the complex interplay of cultural context and the environment in the career aspirations of youths (Fouad et al., 2016).

The review suggests that youths of collectivist orientations, tend to subordinate personal interests to group goals, emphasizing the standards and importance of relatedness and family cohesion (Kim et al., 2016). However, such patterns of behavior may be conflicted, particularly during cross-cultural transitions. Parental influence have been reported to generate difficulties within the family and discrepancies over career choice decisions are not uncommon within both cultures (Myburgh, 2005; Keller & Whiston, 2008; Dietrich & Kracke, 2009; Sawitri et al., 2014). The conundrum is will youths of collectivist orientation be comfortable with their cultural ethos after resettling in a different environment with individualistic cultural beliefs and practices?

Our study revealed that when youth transfer from their heritage culture to a different cultural setting, their cultural values are challenged, and their career decision-making patterns may be affected. For instance, Tao et al. reported that students of Chinese descent who were acculturated to Canada primed personal interests, self-efficacy and financial stability instead of honouring parental and societal expectations in their career decision-making (Tao et al., 2018). Similarly, Asian American students with stronger adherence to Asian values had a high sense of obligation to parents (Polenova et al., 2018) and were more likely to perceive family support than their counterparts who were more acculturated to American values (Hui & Lent, 2018). Our data also suggest a strong interplay of individualist and collectivist cultural values coexisting in harmony and jointly influencing how the youth in the current global environment define themselves, relate to others, and decide priorities in conforming to social/societal norms. Movement across cultures (migration) leads to several changes and adjustments in an individual's life. The internal and psychological changes the youth may encounter, otherwise known as psychological acculturation, also affect their career identity (Berry, 1997). Given that only three out of the 30 reviewed studies were conducted in bicultural settings (Hui &

Lent, 2018; Polenova et al., 2018; Tao et al., 2018), further studies are recommended to examine the career choice practices of youths who have transferred from collectivistic to individualistic cultures and vice versa.

2.6.1 Practical Implications for Counsellors and Policy Makers

Social Learning Theory proposes that the role of a career counsellor is to help clients expand their career choices and help clarify beliefs that can interfere or promote their career plans (Krumboltz, 1996). Culture has a major influence on people's beliefs therefore, it is integral that career counsellors are able to provide culturally responsive career directions to guide the youth in the pursuit of their career aspirations. Providing accessible sources of support and empowering youths to openly discuss their concerns relating to career decision-making will broaden the youths' understanding and this could have a significant impact on their academic and career pathways. Family support is important for all youths as they navigate their career explorations, especially for migrants. The role of counsellors is not only limited to the youths, but it can also benefit the entire family. Essentially, counsellors can attempt to engage not just the youths in exploring academic and vocational opportunities, but also offer avenues for families to become involved and connected to the career decision-making process.

Cultural identities combined with the varied expectations for achievement can be an overwhelming experience for the youth. Counsellors can seize this opportunity to provide companionship and direction as the youth figure out their career pathways (Gushue et al., 2006; Risco & Duffy, 2011).

The significance of a school environment that is conducive and embraces the racial and academic identity of its students can be a huge asset to boost youth morale. Gonzalez et al. reported that students who feel culturally validated by others at school and experience positive ethnic regard, have more confidence in their career aspirations

(Gonzalez et al., 2013). Career counsellors together with other educators and service providers hold influential positions as they can furnish academic, cultural, and social support that family members alone cannot provide.

2.6.2 Strengths and Limitations of This Study

The major strength of this review is that it has provided increased understanding of the cultural underpinnings of the factors that influence the career choices of youths. The study has also highlighted areas of knowledge gap in the literature, such as fewer studies exploring the impact of extrinsic factors on career choice and the need for more bicultural studies. However, the conclusions drawn from this review are limited to the data that were extracted from the studies identified. We acknowledge that there are caveats with the use of the concepts “collectivist and individualistic” to describe the cultural underpinnings of different countries as there are some fluidity around their usage as suggested by Hofstede (1991, 2001). However, the use of these concepts was helpful in classifying the cultural background of the participants included in this review. The findings of the studies reviewed within each country may not necessarily be representative of all the cultural orientations in those countries. Furthermore, researchers from different cultures (or studying different cultures) may have chosen to study only the variables that they believe will have relevance. Nevertheless, most of the studies reviewed had large sample sizes and were conducted in various countries across the globe.

2.6.3 Recommendations

- Of the 30 articles reviewed, only one involved qualitative study designs. Further qualitative studies on this topic are required to provide in-depth understanding of the influences on youth's career choices and to allow causal inferences to be made.
- There were only three articles that examined the career decision-making of the bicultural youths from the perspective of the mainstream and the heritage cultures.

Better career choices for the bicultural youth will enhance their self-identity and lead to commitment to duty and eventual career satisfaction. Without harnessing the potentials of youths through career education and training, the bicultural and migrant youths' face uncertainties in the future in the host country. The rippling effects of such uncertainties in the future could have a detrimental effect on the country's economy. Therefore, there is the need for increased research activities in this area in host countries. Educational system planning should be developed to encourage youth to have self-efficacy and be more involved in job-related information seeking. This will be especially efficient in progressing bicultural youths who might have migrated with their parents into a new culture.

- Sound education at school can open ways for career decisions. Interventions designed to assist youth in strengthening their academic self-efficacy, internal motivation, and goal-setting strategies can foster improved career choice outcomes.

2.7 Conclusions

The three factors investigated in this study are pervasive in influencing the career decisions of youths in both individualistic and collectivist societies. In collectivist societies, parental intervention is understood as a requirement to support their children's efforts and equip them to be responsible and economically productive. Meanwhile, the standard practice in individualistic societies is for parents to endorse their children's opinions and encourage them to choose careers that make them happy. Overall, further research is imperative to guide the understanding of parental influence and diversity in bicultural and migrant youths' career prospects and their ability to use the resources available in their new environments to attain meaningful future career goals. Additional

research, particularly qualitative, is required to explore the level of family involvement in youths' career choices among migrant families in different cultural settings.

Overall, the systematic review in this chapter addressed the first research question in the thesis by providing an in-depth understanding of the impact of culture on youths' career decision-making in different cultural settings. Most importantly, the review revealed that when youths transfer from their heritage culture to a different cultural setting, their cultural values are challenged, and their career decision-making patterns may be affected. However, only three articles examined the career decision-making of the bicultural youths from the perspective of the mainstream and the heritage cultures. Better career choices for the bicultural youth will enhance their self-identity and lead to commitment to duty and eventual career satisfaction. Additionally, of the 30 articles reviewed, only one involved qualitative study design. These findings highlight the need for primary studies that explore SSA migrant families' acculturation and career-decision strategies, parenting styles, and the perceptions of how parental authority affects the SSA migrant youths' career outlooks in a different society. The thesis addressed these concerns in Chapters 3, 4 and 5.

Chapter 3: Prioritising Family Needs: A Grounded Theory of Acculturation for Sub-Saharan African Migrant Families in Australia

3.1 Chapter Overview

Abstract: Pre-existing acculturation models have focused on individual orientation and may not be fully applicable to African migrants due to their strong connection to family. In this study, we utilised qualitative semi-structured interviews to explore how 22 migrant families from eight sub-Saharan African representative countries: Congo, Eritrea, Kenya, Nigeria, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Uganda, and Zimbabwe, who now reside in Townsville, Australia experienced the acculturation process. Data were analysed at the family unit level using the three steps of grounded theory method: open, axial, and selective coding. The theory derived illustrates that the acculturation process involves two major phases (maintaining core moral values and attaining a sense of belonging) within which six categories were identified. Three of the categories were related to deeply held heritage values and beliefs (family relationships, societal expectations, and cultural norms), while the other three (religious beliefs, socio-economic gains, and educational values) indicated integration with the host culture. These categories constitute central concerns for the participants and demonstrate what matters to them as a family unit and not as individuals. We conclude that a selective process of “prioritising family needs” determines the acculturation strategy of sub-Saharan African migrant families, aiding the fulfilment of their migration goals, ensuring effective functioning of the family unit, and enabling them to be productive members of their local community.

3.2 Introduction

In today's increasingly interconnected world, international migration is at an all-time high (Davis et al., 2013; Sequeira et al., 2017). The number of international migrants has increased by 51 million from 2010 to 2019, with major destinations including America, Canada, Europe, and Australia (UNDESA PD 2019a). Of the 272 million migrants worldwide, about eight million reside in Australia. Some of the reasons individuals and families migrate include conflict or political instability which caused people to seek refuge as humanitarian migrants in other countries (Hayes et al. 2016; Nordland 2015). In addition, skilled professionals and individuals migrate for economic reasons as they seek career advancement and personal development (Lundy & Darkwah 2018).

Upon arrival into the new country, humanitarian and professional migrants are exposed to new cultural value systems and must find ways to adapt to this new living environment (Sam & Oppedal, 2002). The degree to which migrants become fully functioning members of the host society depends on their willingness and capacity to embrace the new culture and acceptance in the host country (Mukhtar 2013). Acculturation refers to a set of adaptation and psychological changes a person (the migrant) undergoes through contact and involvement with representatives of other cultures, particularly the host country culture (Berry, 1997, 2005; Redfield et al., 1936). Different acculturation models have investigated the relationship between immigrants and their host society. Berry's (1997) bi-dimensional model of acculturation defines four strategies (assimilation, integration, separation, and marginalisation) migrants may adopt as they settle into the host culture. Over time, other theorists have expanded on Berry's theory. Cohen (2011) developed a three-fold model with four new acculturation strategies: group integration, group nostalgic insulation, group acculturation and group

insulation. Other models such as the relative acculturation extended model (AEM) by Navas et al. (2005) and the ecological acculturation framework (EAF) by Salo and Birman (2015) suggest that acculturation processes vary by ecological context, and this is dependent upon the life domains in which the migration occurred. While both models refer to life domains, the RAEM considers Berry's four acculturation strategies in different contexts, such as work, economic, familial, social and religious practices. Conversely, the authors of the EAF challenged Berry's bi-dimensional model and suggested that life domains are cultural contexts that bring to bear adaptive changes and not merely situations in which immigrants prefer one type of acculturation over another (Salo & Birman, 2015).

Evidence suggests that the processes of acculturation are complex and very challenging (Saltmarsh & Swirski, 2010), predominantly characterised by anxiety, feelings of loss, frustration and confusion, resulting from the loss of familiar cultural signs, symbols and social rules (Chaban et al., 2011). Sam and Berry (2010) assert that people from all ethnicities use similar adaptation processes during acculturation. Contrarily, Kuo (2014) argues that different ethnic groups have their own unique ways of experiencing the world, therefore, the adaptations that characterise the acculturation process vary between ethnic groups. A major criticism of the acculturation literature is that it adopts a "one size fits all" approach (Rudmin, 2003) and focuses on migration changes that occur at an individual level, without taking into account the complex, mutual and reciprocal relationships that migrants share collectively with intimate others who are undergoing acculturation (Choi & Kim 2010; Gonzalez & Méndez-Pounds 2018; Salo & Birman, 2015).

Within the African context, over 25 million sub-Saharan African (SSA) migrants lived outside their countries of birth in 2017, with a 31% increase between 2010 and 2017,

outpacing the rate of increase from both the Asia-Pacific (15%) and Latin America-Caribbean (9%) regions (Connor, 2018). This exponential migration growth of SSA is significantly more than the 17% worldwide average increase for the same period (Connor, 2018). Although SSA have enormous inter- and intra-societal variations such as diverse languages and religious practices, they still have many cultural and historical similarities, which reflect philosophical affinity and kinship (Karsten & Illa, 2005). These societies share a common historical experience that reflects a collectivist approach with a response to collective need rather than individual achievement (Hofstede, 2001). In the SSA setting, cultural practices that foster kinship are the norm and family comprises of both the nuclear and the extended family. The people are predominantly patrilineal and patrimonial with strong power-distance relationships based on ascribed status, gender, and age (Hofstede 2001). Kinspeople are treated as siblings and being part of a kinship group involves taking responsibility for one another, sharing resources as well as child-rearing responsibilities (Alber et al., 2010; Onwujuba et al., 2015).

Similarly, cultural values and practices play a major role in the acculturation process for SSA migrant families because they bring with them cultural and specific customary practices where the expectations and contextual understanding of the family set-up differs from what pertains in individualistic societies (Hofstede, 1980). Individualists (such as Western societies) typically operate on an analytical mindset focused on autonomy, independence, and rule-based reasoning (Varnum et al., 2010). Collectivists (such as ethnic groups from SSA) on the other hand, typically adopt a holistic thinking approach, looking at the broader relationship between objects and individuals and using familial-based reasoning (Nisbett et al. 2001; Varnum et al., 2010). With their strong orientation towards extended family systems, SSA migrants' adaptation to a new environment occurs often in the context of complicated changes in family

relationships, gender roles and social support (Renzaho et al., 2011). Additionally, parents and children may not adapt at the same pace or in the same way (Poppitt & Frey, 2007). For the youths who migrate with their parents, this process may be important because adolescence is traditionally thought to be a stage when individuals negotiate their roles in society (Stuart & Ward, 2011). Questions of who they are (self-identity), what interests them most and their self-esteem in relation to other individuals and groups take the centre stage of their adaptation processes. Resolving these issues may be complicated by their migration journeys, as youths must position themselves relative to both their heritage and the host cultures (van Oudenhoven & Benet-Martínez, 2015).

Past models have either examined the process of acculturation in different communities (Bell, 2013), or quantitatively identified the distinct ways that African immigrants acculturate to different domains of life (Navas et al., 2007). However, no research focuses on acculturation processes through the lens of cultural dynamics at the family level among African immigrants. This perspective is highly important in relation to transition and acculturation processes for Africans migrating to western countries like Australia because there are significant systematic cross-cultural variations in psychological acculturation processes between individualistic and collectivist cultures (Kitayama & Uskul, 2011; Kuo, 2014). Within collectivist cultures, family relationships which underscore inter-dependence and shared responsibility, guide individual choices and this exerts a significant influence on the acculturation process (Onwujuba et al., 2015; Ward & Geeraert, 2016). While Sam and Berry's (2010) reference to acculturation outcomes as "strategies" is limiting in explaining the stages and outcomes of acculturation for SSA immigrants, this disparity may be explained by the ecological context in which the process occurred (Ward & Geeraert, 2016). However, there is limited research

examining the impact that contextual factors (such as family dynamics) have on the acculturation process of SSA immigrants.

Migration, particularly to a country characterised by differences in cultural values, beliefs and traditions often requires fundamental changes in the functioning of the family unit (Renzaho et al., 2017). Consequently, the exploration of acculturation models that are suitable for families with collectivist heritage migrating to an individualistic society is paramount. This will provide insight into the dynamic relational aspects of family acculturation. Furthermore, with deeper understanding, policy makers and service providers can develop more effective support strategies and resettlement programs that meet the needs of this group of migrants as well as equip the new settlers to support the local community. Therefore, this study sought to develop a theory to describe the acculturation process of migrant families from eight SSA representative countries: Congo, Eritrea, Kenya, Nigeria, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Uganda, and Zimbabwe (collectivist heritage), who now reside in Townville, Queensland, Australia (individualistic society). These countries are treated as a single entity because they have many cultural and historical similarities including a deep respect for the elderly, paternalistic, interpersonal and interdependent relationships (Karsten & Illa, 2005). Additionally, given that in any family set-up, parents and children may adapt differently, this study also aimed to explore differences between parents and their children's approaches to acculturation.

3.3 Materials and Methods

A qualitative methodology was used to gain an in-depth understanding of the participants' acculturation processes. Data were collected through interviews and analysed using the grounded theory approach. Grounded theory is a qualitative approach

grounded in data collected from participants' shared life stories (Charmaz, 2014). According to Crooks (2001), grounded theory is appropriate for exploring the integral social relationships and the behaviours of groups where there is scant research of the contextual factors that affect the lives of groups and individuals. This particular approach was deemed most appropriate because its systematic open, axial and selective coding processes facilitate development of an explanatory theory that employs both inductive and abductive reasoning (Birks & Mills, 2015).

3.3.1 Study Setting and Participants

This study was conducted in Townsville, Queensland, Australia. In 2019, an estimated 7,549,250 international migrants were reported to reside in Australia (UN DESA PD, 2019b). The Australian Bureau of Statistics reported approximately 7.3 million overseas migrants in 2018 which increased by 3.1 million from 4.2 million in 1996. In 2016, Queensland had 1,140,040 overseas born migrants and of that number, 85,050 were African migrants (ABS, 2019a). In Townsville and northwest Queensland region, there were 32,477 persons born overseas. Within this region, the Townsville local government area had the largest number of persons born overseas with 25,588, making Townsville one of the fastest growing regions with a diverse population (ABS, 2019b).

3.3.2 Recruitment

A purposive sampling method was used to recruit study participants. Townsville has a representative number of migrants from diverse African communities. Most of these communities have well-organised associations that are coordinated by elected leaders (e.g., presidents), usually the elders. These leaders were consulted, and they provided letters of support as well as encouraged their members to participate in the study. While the African migrant association leaders assisted in the initial stages of connecting the first named author (PA-T) with families, additional participants were obtained through a

snowballing strategy (O'Leary, 2017). The following three inclusion criteria were used in the selection of participants: (a) of African descent; (b) parent/s with children in secondary or tertiary education; (c) youths aged 13 to 29 years old. The term "youth" used in this study refers to young people transitioning from the dependence of childhood to the independence of adulthood and are aware of their interdependence as members of a community (UNESCO, 2017). This study extended the age bracket for youth up to 29 years old to factor in students who had delayed education due to extended migration processes. Parents/guardians provided consent for youths under the age of 18. Ethics approval (H7006 and H7374) for this study was obtained from James Cook University's Human Research Ethics Committee (HREC). For confidentiality purposes, participants were given pseudonyms to maintain anonymity. Involvement in the study was purely voluntary and there were no incentives, monetary or otherwise, offered to participants.

3.3.3 Data Collection

Interviews were conducted between August 2017 and September 2018 and the venues for each session were chosen by participants. These venues included public settings or the participants' residences. Interview sessions ranged from 30 min to one hour. Semi-structured interviews were appropriate for the data collection as they allowed the researcher to gain further insight into the facets of participants' adaptation processes (DiCicco-Bloom & Crabtree, 2006). In most sessions, parents were either interviewed first followed by their adolescent children on the same or different day. Parents were interviewed separately from their children so that the youths could feel at ease to speak their minds. PA-T conducted all interviews in English with BSM-A attending the first interview session to validate the data collection process. No professional bilingual interpreter was required. Participants were asked to describe their background and intercultural context to provide demographic information. A set of open-ended questions

were asked pertaining to participants' migration experiences, family backgrounds and how they were settling into the new environment. With the permission of participants, all interviews were audio-recorded and later transcribed verbatim by a professional transcriber for analysis.

Based on the tenets of GT, both theoretical sampling and saturation were achieved through a two-phased data collection process. The initial data collection involved 13 SSA families. In order to attain data saturation, which confirms or disconfirms the initial categories developed from participants' stories, a second data collection was carried out involving nine SSA families. This process also facilitated identification of categories and saturation of data for theory construction (Birks & Mills, 2015; Charmaz, 2014).

3.3.4 Data Analysis

Data analysis occurred concurrently with data collection to inform when data saturation was achieved. The analysis process followed Corbin and Strauss's three phases of coding: open, axial, and selective (Corbin & Strauss, 1990). In open coding, the transcribed interviews were examined line-by-line to develop the initial coding for descriptive categories. Axial coding was carried out to establish the relationships between the developed categories (Corbin & Strauss, 1990). Selective coding was the final stage of the analysis during which the acculturation outcomes of SSA migrants were analysed to find a meaningful and coherent story; a process that utilises both inductive and abductive reasoning (Birks & Mills 2015). PA-T conducted the initial coding and BSM-A confirmed the emerging categories. Verbatim quotes from participants' responses that support the categories were integrated into the constructed model.

3.3.5 Data Trustworthiness:

To avoid the formation of preconceptions that could jeopardise the credibility of the emerging theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967), the researchers did not conduct any formal literature review in the substantive area until the final theoretical coding phase of analysis. Self-reflexivity was employed to identify any other potential sources of researcher bias by reflecting on presuppositions (Patton, 1999). The study's trustworthiness was ensured through first, the iterative and concurrent data collection, analysis process and the extensive notetaking and reflection. Second, researchers (FA and AMS) less familiar with the substantive area were involved in the interpretive process to determine whether or not the results and interpretations were supported by the data, thereby fostering reflexivity in the data interpretation process. Data triangulation occurred by interviewing multiple participants from similar SSA origins but with different family life circumstances. This was done so that theoretical data saturation would be representative of participants' different characteristics such as entry status (humanitarian or professional migrants), length of residency, parents' level of education and family membership (parents and children). Being able to compare parents' and children's responses both within and between family groups provided a deeper understanding of the intergenerational familial dynamics of adapting into the host culture.

3.4 Results

3.4.1 Participants' Characteristics

Twenty-two families, consisting of 25 parents and 32 children, were interviewed in this study. They comprised 26 males and 31 females from eight SSA countries residing in the Townsville region. Families identified themselves as coming from one of the following ethnic communities: Congo, Eritrea, Kenya, Nigeria, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Uganda, and Zimbabwe. Participants' length of residency in Australia ranged from 1 to 31 years. Eighteen families identified their residential statuses as being Australian citizens and four as permanent residents. Table 3.1 shows the study participants' profiles.

Table 3.1: Study Participants' Profile

Family ID	Family Composition	# of Persons in Family	Entry Status	Level of Education (Father)	Level of Education (Mother)	Length of Residency
1	Parents and Child	3	Humanitarian	Secondary	Secondary	8 years
2	Parents and Child	3	Humanitarian	Secondary	Primary	1 year
3	Parent and Child	2	Humanitarian	-	Secondary	6 years
4	Parents and Child	3	Humanitarian	Tertiary	Secondary	2 years
5	Parent and Child	3	Professional	Tertiary	-	17 years
6	Parents and Children	4	Humanitarian	Tertiary	Primary	4 years
7	Parent and Child	2	Humanitarian	Tertiary	-	5 years
8	Parent and Children	3	Professional	Tertiary	-	12 years
9	Parent and Child	2	Professional	Tertiary	-	12 years
10	Parents	2	Professional	Tertiary	Tertiary	6 years
11	Parents and Child	3	Professional	Tertiary	Tertiary	6 years
12	Parents and Child	3	Professional	Tertiary	Tertiary	11 years
13	Parent and Child	2	Humanitarian	Secondary	-	4 years
14	Parent and Child	2	Humanitarian	Tertiary	-	8 years
15	Parent and Child	2	Professional	Tertiary	-	13 years
16	Parent and Child	2	Humanitarian	Secondary	-	6 years
17	Parent and Children	3	Professional	-	Tertiary	6 years
18	Parent and Children	3	Professional	Tertiary	-	6 years
19	Parent and Child	2	Professional	Tertiary	-	7 years
20	Parent and Child	2	Professional	Tertiary	-	13 years
21	Parent and Child	2	Professional	Tertiary	-	31 years
22	Parent and Children	4	Professional	-	Tertiary	8 years

3.4.2 Open, Axial and Selective Coding

The open coding of the interview transcripts revealed an intricate and complex navigation process whereby participants identified, evaluated, and compared aspects of their host and home cultures. Six categories were identified: three (family relationships, societal expectations, and cultural norms) of which were related to deeply held heritage values and beliefs, while the other three (religious beliefs, socio-economic gains, and educational values) indicated integration with the host culture. These categories constitute central concerns for the participants (SSA families) and demonstrate what matters to them as a family unit and not as individuals.

The axial coding revealed two major themes: (1) maintaining core moral values, which are associated with deeply held heritage values and beliefs and (2) attaining a sense of belonging, which indicates integration with the host culture. These two themes explain the acculturation strategies participants adopt and their reasoning for making such decisions. Based on the participants' description of their acculturation process, a core concept "Prioritising Family Needs" was constructed from the selective coding as displayed in Figure 3.1. The concept of "Prioritising Family Needs" hinges on the two major themes identified and consequently determines the participants' acculturation strategy, fulfils their migration goals, ensures effective functioning of the family unit and enables them to be productive members of their local community.

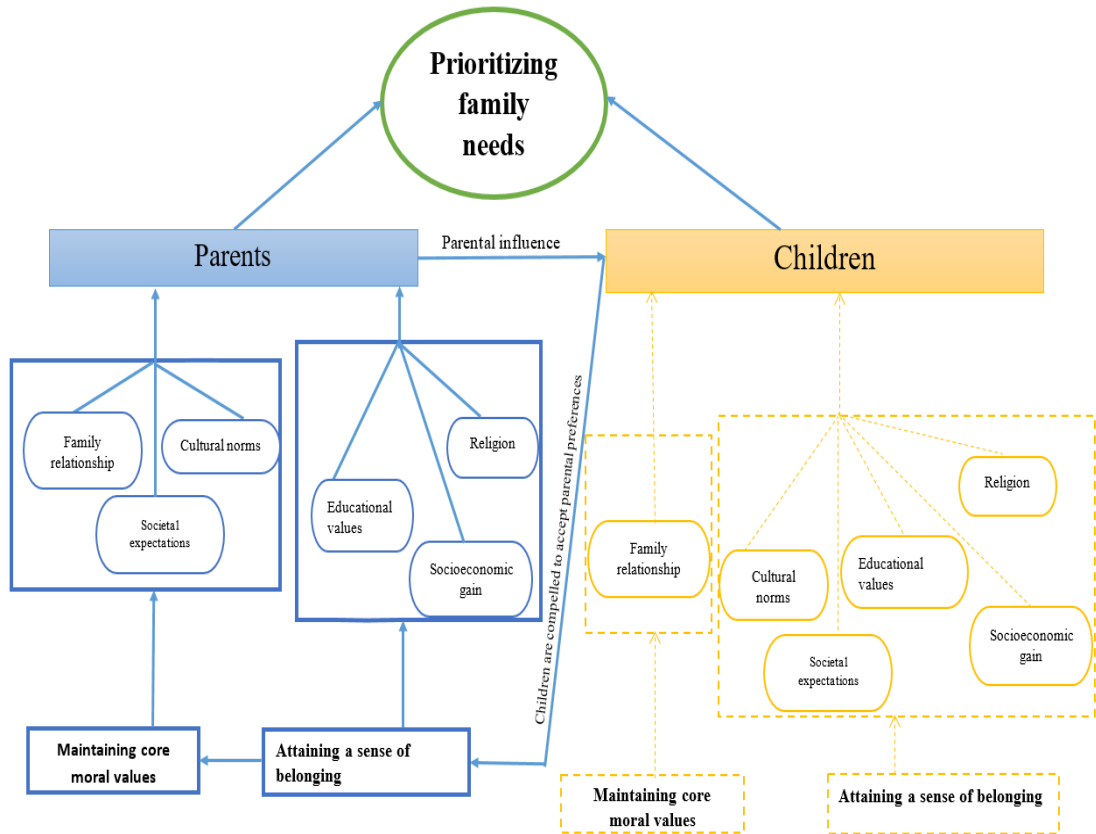


Figure 3.1: The acculturation model for SSA migrant families – “Prioritising Family Needs”

Figure 3.1 depicts Prioritising family needs model for African immigrant families. Maintaining core moral values and attaining a sense of belonging were the two main categories identified. Solid dark lines signify parents as the custodians of their cultural values, which they teach to their children. The broken lines indicate that the children were compelled to accept parental preferences and imbibe cultural values from their parents. Parents maintained core moral values (heritage culture) in terms of family relationship, cultural norms, and societal expectations, while attaining a sense of belonging in terms of educational values, religion, and socioeconomic gains. On the other hand, children preferred to attain a sense of belonging (identify with the host culture) with respect to cultural norms, societal expectations, educational values, religion, and socioeconomic gains. Family relationships was the only aspect for which children maintain core moral

values (heritage culture). However, the parental preferences overrode the children's preferences, and the children were compelled to accept parental preferences, as family needs are valued over individual needs.

In this study, the analysis of participants' acculturation stories revealed that for SSA migrants, adaptation to a new environment is not about the individual - it is a family affair. In terms of acculturation processes, there are two essential conditions deemed to be of paramount importance in navigating through the new environment. These conditions include maintaining core moral values and attaining a sense of belonging in the new society. The strategies SSA families apply in each situation is contingent on their capability to facilitate achieving a particular familial need to benefit the family unit rather than individuals' interests.

Prioritising family needs is always considered significant to SSA migrant families whether they are residing in their heritage country or in the host country. This stands out in the words of one participant who migrated voluntarily:

"We had friends who had come here to Australia and it worked out for them. So, they told us, don't do it for yourself, do it for the children, so that's exactly what we have done!" (Mary, P) (P = parent).

Upon settlement, participants were also concerned about supporting their extended family members back in the heritage country as exemplified in the statement of a participant who migrated on humanitarian grounds:

"My life here is better than our country. Here, the government gives you money, even if you don't have a job... I can sometimes send \$100 to my family to buy some food..." (Grace, P).

Although two major themes emerged for the SSA migrant families, the categories within the two major themes varied for both parents and children. Given that family needs are prioritised over individual needs, children were compelled to accept their parents' preferences (depicted with broken lines in Figure 3.1).

3.4.2.1 Maintaining Core Moral Values. Family relationships, societal expectations and cultural norms are the categories that facilitate maintaining core moral values for the migrant parents. This is to ensure that the African migrants can preserve the ethos of their cultural heritage. In contrast, the children preferred to only maintain core moral values in terms of family relationships while preferring to attain a sense of belonging with the host environment in relation to societal expectations and cultural norms.

Family Relationships. The composition of African families extends beyond the parents and children to include other relatives such as grandparents, aunts, and uncles.

“We explain to our children, so they know that their cousins and aunties and the friends are all part of our family - that the African family unit, it's not just comprised of mum and dad, but it's pretty extended family and let them understand” (John, P).

Children are taught that the family is not just made up of the mother, father, and siblings; other significant figures are also involved in the affairs of the family.

“I would say like in Africa there's a lot of community involvement in the raising up of an individual. So, you have aunties, uncles, so many people are involved in disciplining you” (Caroline, Y) (Y=youth).

Children acknowledged that even important decisions about their future were not only made by their parents, but also uncles and aunts who have great influence in the child's life.

"I think they (extended family members) tend to have that contribution because they understand you and understand exactly what you're going through and they know exactly what would suit you since you see them 24/7" (Angela, Y).

Societal Expectations. Meeting societal expectations is important to African migrants as they promote the emotional bonding of families and foster solidarity among members. This responsibility is not geographically bound, therefore, wherever the migrants relocate they still honour their responsibilities towards ensuring that these ideals are met.

"...my children know, that when I have a child, I expect that one day when I am old, my child will take care of me. ...myself I came here with my mother, though she is older, everywhere I go, I have to go with her" (Tony, P).

Respecting elders and caring for one's parents are noted examples, where interdependence is at the core of societal expectations.

"... but for our house, we make sure we maintain the culture, like the kids have respect just like back home, when my mummy and daddy are speaking, you just listen, and we just listen, my kids, they don't argue when we talk. So we still have that culture as well, and we want to keep that culture" (Sara, P).

"Yes, that's not the way here but these kids are from my culture, I need to impress on them that this is what we do. ...when I see my child not respecting an older person, I cannot let that go. I have to stop them and say, look, that's an older person, they need your respect, and they need to know" (Celeste, P).

Cultural Norms. African families tend to align strongly to, and maintain, their heritage norms and values and their overarching motive for strong alignment is based on achieving the needs of the family rather than the individual. There were instances when some fathers acknowledged that their heritage cultural ethos was challenged by the cultural values of

the host country, resulting in a feeling that their authority over their family was undermined.

“In Africa, in the house the man (dad) is on the top. After the man (dad) is mum and children. But here I can see it is children at the top, mum and father. You see, it is very different here. As parents we feel that we are not considered.” (Tony, P).

As well as being tenacious about maintaining their cultural practices, parents uphold customs such as food preferences. Food is an essential part of culture and participants did what they could to maintain their food preferences.

“Food is a big thing.... Well, I like my African food, but my children being here (in Australia), they don't really like it! They like some, and they don't like some of the African food...” (Olivia, P).

However, some migrant youths were not as passionate as their parents about their heritage delicacies.

“I have a specific (African) food that I don't eat, I just stay away from... but generally I eat most of the African food, and I enjoy eating them. I also like eating maybe stuff like pasta and most food you get from here” (Louisa, Y).

There were some cultural practices that parents prioritised as the binding force for the family unit, and they dissuaded their children from indulging in practices that were alien to their native culture. However, children wanted to negotiate on some of these matters. Sleepovers and invitations to outings with friends are often contentious issues between parents and children.

“When kids go and sleep in another kid's house, I am against those things. We do not do that...! We do not sleep over...” (Sara, P).

Sometimes these contentions affect the emotions of the children.

“There are events my friends invite me to attend, but my parents told me not to go or I can't go, and I've really taken it to heart” (Naomi, Y).

3.4.2.2 Attaining a Sense of Belonging. For successful integration into the host country, the migrants identified areas of common ground with the host culture that gave them a sense of belonging and acceptance in the new society. The factors that were instrumental in developing their sense of belonging for African migrant parents were the connection through shared religious beliefs, pursuing socio-economic gains and imbibing educational values. In contrast to parental preferences, the children preferred to attain a sense of belonging in terms of societal expectations and cultural norms (Figure 3.1).

Religion. Interestingly, for all participating families in this study, religious activities serve as the focal point for social interaction with the members of the host culture.

“...by far, maybe the large (est) share of my Australian friends are actually from the church, because in church we mingle. I serve in different communities and the eldership, and lead activities as well. So, most of the support base and friendship base is mostly from the church” (Mark, P).

“To be honest, it was helpful for me. When I decided to get involved with the church, I went to youth group meetings on Fridays. Once I was able to immerse myself in that, I started to enjoy it, made friends at church and I integrated with the way of life here (in Australia)” (Cathy, Y).

The African families in this study were more willing to integrate and interact more freely with members of the host community regarding religion to meet the spiritual needs of the family. African families are grounded in religious values, for religion provides many buttresses to strengthen family bonds.

“The knowledge of God I have instilled in my children will keep them going..., they will be able to fit into any situation they find themselves” (Rita, P).

Socio-Economic Gains. For parents, the sense of belonging reinforces the importance of economic gains for wealth creation. Parents generally hope that their children will surpass them and utilise the job opportunities in the new environment to enhance the socio-economic conditions of the family. In matters relating to acquisition of competencies for economic gains and social capital, this cohort of migrants were most flexible and ready to assimilate into the host culture in order to safeguard the needs of their families. For instance, the professional migrants were willing to assimilate at the workplace for sustainable employment.

“I think you find that at home (in Africa) the work relationship was more vertical... and here it's more horizontal... you need to see people more as equal fellows... here everybody has their say, and I think if you fail to accept that, then it becomes very hard to assimilate” (Jude, P).

One parent commented: *“We came to Australia for better opportunities, better education system and more career opportunities for the family...” (Mary, P).* Children also understood that migrating with their parents offered them better access to education leading to them acquiring socio-economic capital for future gains *“... It was all about better education for a sustainable job opportunity” (Caroline, Y).*

Educational Value. Education is one of the prioritised needs of SSA families. Through education, parents generally hope that their children achieve high levels of success.

“The beauty of being in the First World is you can do anything... so to me, education opens doors and that's my legacy for my children as a parent, that's why I tried to send them to the best schools” (Celeste, P).

In the SSA extended family system, it is the responsibility of parents to provide education and training to ensure their children have the necessary knowledge and skills for their adult lives.

“If they get good education, that’s the biggest inheritance you can ever have in order to properly assimilate into the local community” (Celeste, P).

Many youths agreed that migration provides educational opportunities, which otherwise may not be available in their heritage countries.

“I think probably back home there isn’t really a lot of options of what you want to do. So, I honestly don’t think I would have been able to do like the whole criminal psychology stuff if I was back home” (Patricia, Y).

However, some of the participating migrant youths expressed opposing views to what their parents intended for them.

“I think my parents are just focused on one thing when it comes to career stuff! ...they like you to go and do something they like. ...and it’s like they have a closed mind... Parents need to open their minds... and dialogue with their children and find out what kids want to do when they grow up” (Angela, Y).

Due to divergent views between some parents and children about career decision-making, there were occasional instances of discordance.

“My parents sent me to school, thinking I will do what they wanted me to do. They wished I became a teacher like one of my aunts ... that was the path they wanted me to take! But it was not my passion. There was a misunderstanding between my parents and myself when I chose to go into nursing! They told me you should do education! I told them, ‘mum, dad, I can’t do that! I am going to do what I want.’ ...this misunderstanding lasted for years, until when I started working and earned good money. Then they said ... ‘that’s good!’” (Seth, Y).

3.5 Discussion

This study examined the acculturation processes of African migrant families, and the differences between parents and their children's approaches to acculturation. What emerged from the analysis is a grounded theory/model, which shows how African migrant families navigate between the host culture and heritage culture. In summary, the model illustrates how in African families in particular, the parents are willing to attain a sense of belonging with the host culture and adopt practices that align with their family goals, while maintaining their core heritage culture and moral values when exposed to situations that do not align with their family needs and goals. However, the acculturation process for children differed from the parents with the children having stronger orientations to the host culture. Interestingly, for the African migrant parent, family needs and goals superseded individual needs and the children were compelled to follow the parental acculturation preference. The findings of this study are supported by a previous study conducted among Hispanic immigrant parents, a collectivist migrant group, where the parents mostly maintained their core heritage values (Gonzalez & Méndez-Pounds, 2018). Another study confirms that acculturation discrepancies exist between parents and children, with the latter having a stronger preference to the host country and weaker orientations to their heritage culture (Ward & Geeraert, 2016).

Previous acculturation models such as Berry's (1997) and Navas et al.'s (2005) RAEM typology suggest that migrants acculturate individually and are more likely to integrate or assimilate into a host culture on public or peripheral issues (work and economy) and less likely to in private core domains (family relations, religious beliefs and cultural norms). Conversely, African migrant families apply these strategies differently to suit their family needs rather than the needs of the individual. This group of African migrants did not dichotomise into peripheral and central domains; their focus,

instead, was on any factor/s that fulfil the needs of the family, and they adopt any appropriate strategy that will achieve this goal. The parents in this study ensured that heritage values such as family relationship, societal expectations and cultural norms were maintained while being receptive to the host country's values regarding religious practices, socio-economic and educational gains. Consequently, our findings imply that current models of acculturation are insufficient in accounting for the complexity of SSA immigrants' lived experiences of acculturation because they do not consider the role of ethnic identity and cultural family dynamics and how these identities are negotiated and understood in the lived experiences of this migrant group.

Additionally, the findings uncovered a trend of divergent views on certain variables between parents and children, which resulted in occasions of discordance in the family. This finding resonates with earlier work by Wilson and Renzaho (2015), Deng and Marlowe (2013) and Rasmi and Costigan (2018). Cultural and educational values posed some conundrums for the participating families and variables that served as strangleholds between parents and children included consumption of African food, the concept of having sleepovers with peers and pursuing a career path endorsed by parents. African migrant parents tended to show greater resistance to change in relation to customs, cultural beliefs, and familial relationships to maintain value systems such as filial piety, family cohesion, respect for the elderly, and food preferences. The results indicate that migrant youths yearn to fit in with their peers in the host culture, but there were restrictions placed on them by their parents. For example, children having sleepovers with peers is frowned upon in African cultural settings; therefore, parents would dis-endorse these practices, even though these overnight stays, if properly supervised by parents, could be a form of integration which leads to building friendships among children.

Furthermore, SSA parents play a key role in the educational choices of their children, such as career decision-making, and they consider education as the “golden key that opens doors” to greater opportunities in life (Saiti & Mitrosili, 2005). Such parental intrusiveness is generally viewed as appropriate intervention to demonstrate support for children’s holistic development (Amos, 2013). However, some children may misconstrue the intervention of parents as overly intrusive. Vested interests in children’s career aspirations were a priority for migrant parents regardless of entry statuses. However, parental educational levels as well as type of occupation defined the degree of influence on their children’s career selection. Professional migrant parents influenced decisively the career outlooks of their children and held a non-negotiable stance on their children to obtain university degrees while humanitarian migrant parents adopted a more flexible view of their children’s career choices. The professional migrant parents mostly had tertiary education and they felt it was their duty to guide their children towards making informed life decisions including their preferred future careers. Educational status may possibly be the reason for the difference between the professional and humanitarian migrant parents’ acculturation priorities in relation to their children’s career choices. Parental inclusiveness in youth career counselling programs is necessary to help the SSA migrants better carry out their parental responsibilities as well as forestall any career discordance between parents and their children. Therefore, it is appropriate to make school-based career counselling programs a family affair.

Interestingly, for all participants in this study, religious practices played a pivotal role in their daily lives. African migrant families maintained their religious beliefs and faith; they found it easy to integrate into the host culture through religion (where their faith and beliefs are similar). Consistent with other research (Hirschman, 2004; Sanni, 2016), our study found that religion provides participants with a common ground to

socialise, integrate and build a community with other co-migrants as well as native members of the host community. This was possible for all participants because religion supports the relevance of one's relationship with a higher power whereby the status quo is already set out. Additionally, the routines are familiar because there are common underlying principles and beliefs. Therefore, deliberate involvement of religious organisations in resettlement programs could enhance the restoration of migrants' well-being and sense of belonging. Similarly, participants were willing to integrate with the host culture to foster socio-economic gains, which particularly for professional migrants, is a major reason for migration. Seeking employment is often the driving force behind a family's migration decision and successful integration may hinge on the migrants' ability to access job opportunities, thereby reducing the initial acculturation and adaptation period (Fang et al., 2010; Mattoo et al., 2008).

According to the Division for Social Policy and Development, it is important to involve families in the design of governmental policies about migrant resettlement as this helps to build inclusive societies, a goal both migrants and the host society seek to achieve (Persson et al., 2016). Policymakers should consider involving elders and educators who are familiar with the cultural context in developing and implementing intervention programs targeted at SSA migrant families. Given that sub-Saharan Africans follow a hierarchical power structure where there is a deep respect for elders and leaders of the community (Wanasika et al., 2011), it is necessary to involve elders and the community in the development of intervention programs (Halliday et al., 2014). This will provide the necessary nuances for successful policy framing and implementation.

In addition, this study uncovered that upon arrival some adult male migrants (fathers) experienced loss of leadership and authority within their families. This finding was highlighted in previous research by Wali and Renzaho (2018). Although the current

services in Australia support migrant families, they do not address the specific concerns of migrant fathers from SSA where the loss of authority is considered as a sign of weakness or failure. In the African context, a father is one who has ultimate authority and responsibility for the affairs of the family including overseeing the management of their children's lives (Mkhize, 2006). Thus, anything that undermines their ability to lead and be role models in their families and society is considered humiliating (Lesejane, 2006). It would be helpful to have some sort of support network for migrant fathers from SSA that are culturally sensitive and inclusive with gender and age appropriate peer groups (Wali & Renzaho, 2018). Provision of peer support networks for migrant fathers from SSA could become platforms for counselling, mentoring and role modelling (Lesejane, 2006). In African communities, it is considered important for fathers to have peer groups where support, advice and counselling are obtained in addition to guidance provided by elders in the community (Lesejane, 2006). Therefore, pairing migrant fathers from SSA with peer groups that share a similar cultural context and experiences will encourage engagement with the services provided.

Furthermore, there is a need for employers, social support workers and service providers who work directly with migrant communities to encourage mutual respect and openness among family members in response to generational conflicts that arise during the acculturation process, family cohesiveness and utilise the social support provided by the family unit to foster successful adaptation (Ward et al., 2010).

3.5.1 Implications for Acculturation Theory

This study makes a significant contribution to the body of acculturation literature by highlighting the acculturation strategies utilised by African migrant families. The present study is unique in that it provides insight into the acculturation process of both parents and children and highlights the importance of family dynamics in the

acculturation process. Most previous studies reported that immigrants acculturate similarly across cultures (Berry, 1997; Cohen, 2011; Navas et al., 2007). However, the present study reveals a much more intricate and complex acculturation process in which ecological context plays a central role in determining the acculturation strategy of African migrant families whereby a selective acculturation process is utilised based on family needs and goals. Although, Barker (2015) identified a similar selective adoption and integration process in which the individuals adopted host-culture features deemed desirable while rejecting those adjudged as contradictory; the present study presents a clearer picture of the acculturation priorities and reasons for the choices made from the African migrant family perspective. Of particular importance is the supportive function of the family unit, which promotes positive outcomes and decreases negative impacts of the acculturation process (Ward et al. 2010).

Furthermore, the present study shows the role of parental influence in the acculturation process of children in life domains like educational, cultural, and societal contexts, which sometimes creates generational conflicts. While previous studies focused on the acculturation process of individuals and parents from collectivist cultures (Choi & Kim 2010; Gonzalez & Méndez-Pounds 2018; Salo & Birman, 2015), this present study makes an important contribution to the literature by highlighting the overpowering effect parental influence can have on the acculturation preferences of their children. The children were more likely to identify with the host culture in most domains and this flexibility may be attributed to their youthful exuberance and openness to change (Cheung et al., 2011). It will be interesting to see whether and how the observed strong parental influence is maintained by future generations. Future research could explore how this family-oriented acculturation model changes from one generation to another within the host country. Furthermore, a closer investigation of the impact of this type of parental

influence on children's career decision-making processes in different ecological contexts is needed.

3.5.2 Strengths and Limitations of the Study

To the best of our knowledge, this study is the first to qualitatively explore the adaptation processes of African migrant families and the study findings extend the literature on the acculturation processes of African migrants, which brings a greater focus and clarity to understanding the interplay between ethnic identity, cultural family dynamics and adaptation processes. Comparing parents' and children's responses both within and between family groups provided a deeper understanding of the intergenerational familial dynamics of adapting into the host culture. Nonetheless, this exploratory study focused on meanings and lived experiences of only eight purposively selected SSA migrant communities living in the Townsville region of Australia, leaving out contextual sensitivities, and hence limiting the representativeness of the sample (Silverman, 2010). Notwithstanding the limitations, the study findings can foster the development of culturally appropriate policies as well as educational support programs and practices that enhance the lived experiences of migrant groups who have strong orientation towards extended family systems. Nevertheless, further research among SSA migrants and other migrant groups in other settings, who have strong orientation towards extended family systems, may be warranted to confirm our study findings.

3.6 Conclusion

This chapter addressed the second research question by illuminating the acculturation strategies utilised by SSA migrant parents and their children during adaptation into the Australian society. The study findings highlight the selective acculturation strategies employed by African migrant families while striking a balance

between attaining a sense of belonging to the host culture and maintaining core heritage values with the focus on prioritising their family needs over and above the needs of individual family members. The study also accentuates the overpowering influence that SSA parents can have on the career preferences of their children. The findings emphasise the importance of family dynamics in the evaluation of cross-cultural acculturation processes and the need for a closer investigation of perceived parental role on children's career decision-making processes in different ecological contexts. The findings from this study guided the development of the interview guide that was utilised in Chapter 4 for further exploration of the SSA migrant parents' perceptions of their role in their children's career decision-making.

Chapter 4: “Preparing Them for the Road”: African migrant parents' Perceptions of Their Role in Their Children's Career Decision-Making

4.1 Chapter Overview

Abstract: There are numerous theories on parenting styles, however, they are Western-oriented and may not be applicable to collectivist non-Western societies. A qualitative study, which utilised semi-structured interviews was conducted to explore the perceived parenting roles of 26 Sub-Saharan African (SSA) migrant parents (both humanitarian and professional migrants) in their children's career pathways after they migrated to Australia. Data were analysed using Grounded Theory methods and this process facilitated the creation of a new framework to provide an in-depth understanding of how SSA parenting styles informed the migrant children's career choices while living in Australia. The study revealed that most SSA migrant parents maintained their style of parenting as used in their home countries. Interestingly, some parents adapted their parenting styles due to their perceptions of changed circumstances within the host country. Other parents, who would normally be authoritative, became trustful due to their perceived lack of educational expertise to guide their children. Conversely, some other parents who would normally be authoritarian employed wily tactics in influencing their children's decision, to circumvent the strict Australian legal framework around children's rights. Irrespective of parenting style applied, all the parents aimed to either guide or direct their children's educational and career development to ensure that they become economically productive adults. From the discourse of the SSA migrants' perceptions of their parental role, we offer potential explanations for what underpins their parenting preferences and the rippling effects on their children's career trajectories. Directions for areas of continued research are presented, and implications of the findings are discussed.

4.2 Introduction

Recent Australian national census data suggested an increased influx of Sub-Saharan African (SSA) migrants into Australia (ABS, 2017). The 2016 census data show that the SSA population in Australia increased from 3522 in 1986 to 63,213 in 2011, and to 388,683 in 2016, representing about 1.6% of the total population in Australia and remains one of the fastest flourishing ethnicities (ABS, 2017). SSA societies tend to emphasise collective group goals and practice interdependence instead of personal accomplishment (Hofstede & Hofstede, 2001). Families in SSA countries comprise of both nuclear and extended family members and cultural practices usually foster kinship. According to Hofstede, people from collectivist societies, such as SSA, are predominantly patrilineal and patrimonial, upholding respect for authority figures, as well as recognising sex roles in the family and society. Lineage members are considered part of the family unit and partake in the family obligation of providing support and sustenance to cater for the needs of all family members (Onwujuba et al., 2015). In most SSA societies, family members pool resources together (financial and human) and depend on each other for economic and social support (MacLean, 2002).

For many SSA parents, migration opportunities provide valuable avenues to enhance their social and economic mobility as well as foster their offspring's prospects of academic development. However, upon arrival in host country, dissimilarities between cultures can affect the career development of SSA migrant children (Sahithya et al., 2019). School counsellors therefore need to be aware of pre- and post-migration contextual factors that may hinder or facilitate the education and career development of African migrant students.

Following migration to Western countries like Australia, SSA migrants are challenged by the new societal climate where parenting practices are based on individualistic approaches that emphasise personal growth, freedom, and independence (Renzaho et al., 2011). In Australia, like most Western countries, good parenting centres on promoting children's self-determination as well as a uniqueness and assertiveness in their career choices (Mugadza et al., 2019). Making a career decision in such a society becomes an individual matter rather than a collective responsibility (Gelfand & Christakopoulou, 1999; Sovet & Metz, 2014). The legal framework in Australia regarding children's education, training and work stipulates that children may have rights in education, training and work that differ from or override that of their parents (Cumming & Mawdsley, 2005). In collectivist societies on the other hand, group interests take precedence over an individual's interests (Kumar & Pansari, 2016; Shen, 2015, and Chen et al., 2002). Additionally, the views and concerns of family, friends and significant others are essential when choosing a career path, so youth depend on them for direction, advice and support (Sawitri et al., 2014).

Prior to migration, most SSA parents tend to use both a collectivist and authoritarian or authoritative approach to inculcate their heritage shared values and practices into their children (Amos, 2013). In-group obligation, respect for authority, adherence to group norms and maintenance of harmony in family relationships are the fundamental cultural values which characterise collectivist societies (Zervides & Knowles, 2007). Previous research on collectivist societies have featured both authoritarian and authoritative parenting styles and shown that parental expectation influences children's career selection (Sawitri et al., 2014; Garcia et al., 2012). Furthermore, researchers have indicated that collectivist and authoritarian worldviews are

common among migrants from societies with conservative cultural practices and are likely to persist after migration (Renzaho et al., 2011; Mugadza et al., 2019).

When families transition between cultures, parental role in the career development of children becomes quite challenging (Sahithya et al., 2019). A study by Abraido-Lanza et al. (2005) stated that though migrants may assimilate to a host culture, they do not adopt the host country's parenting practices. In addition, Kotchick and Forehand (2002) affirmed that migrants maintained their traditional parenting styles as a coping strategy to reinforce their cultural identity and instil culturally endorsed behaviours in their children. Studies indicate that there are different parenting typologies. Early research conducted by Baumrind in 1971, conceptualised parenting styles as authoritarian, authoritative, and permissive. As indicated by Baumrind, authoritarian parents demand obedience from their children and use punitive strategies when children do not comply meanwhile permissive parents demand little and do not set boundaries for their children. In between these two extremes, Baumrind talks about authoritative parenting style where parents' behaviour is consistently loving and supportive yet firm and nurtures autonomy (1971). Research conducted by Sorkhabi (2005) and Bornstein (2012) reported that all three parenting styles from Baumrind's typology (1971), can be found in both collectivist and individualistic cultures, however, the parents in these different cultures may endorse different styles of parenting more frequently. Other researchers have also emphasised the need to understand parenting styles within the context of culture (Bornstein, 2012; Ochocka & Janzen, 2008; Huang et al., 2017). Wang and Leichtman (2000) noted that the primary cultural differences between individualistic and collectivist societies is the concept of independence versus interdependence. Based on the cultural context, either interdependence or independence is endorsed and practiced as a normative developmental task, therefore parenting styles will differ according to the cultural prescription (Albert et

al., 2007). In a study by Tamis-LeMonda et al. (2008), it was concluded that parenting practices in individualistic cultures promote self-expression, independence, competitiveness, and self-sufficiency as opposed to emphasis on obedience, conformity, respect for elders and social interdependence in collectivist cultures. Lansford et al. (2018) recently reported that parents in collectivist cultures like Asia and Africa are more likely than Western parents to value interdependence and hold more authoritarian attitudes, which encompasses obedience, respect, authority and strictness.

While Baumrind's conceptualisation (1971) is valid, these parenting styles may not adequately explain or capture the parenting styles of migrants from different sociocultural contexts. Garg et al. (2005) suggested that Baumrind's approach might not have similar meaning from an ethnic or cultural perspective, indicating that parenting styles differ by racial and ethnic groups. For example, Chao (1994) argued that the Baumrind parenting style conceptualisations may not be culturally relevant to migrants (in particular, Asians). Using a case of migrant Chinese mothers, Chao proved that an alternative parenting conceptualisation known as "chiao shun or training" immersed in the Chinese tradition was more applicable to migrant Chinese families (Chao, 1994). While chiao shun shares similar features such as a set standard of conduct with authoritarian parenting, a distinctive feature is the high involvement, care and concern among parents in the Chinese context (Chao, 1994). In the Chinese context, training is interpreted as positive and involves strict or rigorous teaching, given that this concept has evolved from a sociocultural tradition (Chao, 1994). By contrast, this form of parenting may be viewed as negative in Western societies, where the culture is based on individualism, independence, individual choice, self-expression, and uniqueness (Chao, 1994). Furthermore, migrant Chinese students have reported higher academic

performance, which is not in congruence with the parenting theory if Asian parents were classified as authoritarian based on Baumrind's theory (Yang & Zhou, 2008).

This underscores the importance of understanding the sociocultural contexts of migrant groups while determining their parenting style and its role in their children's academic performance as well as career decision-making processes (Ochocka & Janzen, 2008). Nevertheless, research on this discourse tends to focus mainly on Asian migrant groups (Oettingen & Zosuls, 2006; Zhang et al., 2019; Kang & Moore, 2011), whilst limited research has been carried out among SSA migrant families. Our recent study emphasises the significance of family dynamics among SSA families in their adaptation processes into the Australian society. The study revealed the impact of parental influence during the families' adaptation in different facets of life segments such as academic and social settings, which could potentially create intergenerational dissension in the family (Akosah-Twumasi et al., 2020a). Not addressing this knowledge gap has the potential to undermine the interdependent nature of the SSA family unit, with rippling effects on their integration and eventual productivity level in Australia. Better understanding of parenting roles as influenced by parenting styles of SSA parents while in a different society may aid the development of parenting interventions which may curb rising family tensions and promote family cohesion for smooth integration of parents and their children into the host country.

This study aimed to explore the perceived role of SSA migrant parents living in Australia, in the career decision-making processes of their adolescent children. The research question utilised to achieve this aim was: How do SSA migrant parents perceive their roles in the career development of their children? Study outcomes may spur a better understanding of the influence of SSA migrant parents on the career pathways of their children, thereby contributing to existing literature on this topic. A better understanding

on this phenomenon would be significant for enhancing the career development programs that currently exist in the Australian education system for this group of migrant families. Additionally, the findings may also inform policymakers and school counsellors about how they might support SSA parents and their children in career development. Overall, knowledge about parental perceptions would contribute to answering the broader questions of the future of the SSA adaptation, economic statuses, and educational attainment in the Australian society.

4.3 Materials and Methods

This study utilised a qualitative grounded theory (GT) (Charmaz, 2014) to collect and analyse data through interviews with SSA migrant parents. This approach aided in-depth understanding of the participants' shared life stories about their perceived parental roles in relation to their children's career development (Charmaz, 2014). Crooks (2001) contended that the GT aids exploration of group interrelationships and attitudes in life circumstances, especially in situations where little is known about individuals and groups' lived experiences.

4.3.1 Recruitment

A purposive sampling method was used to recruit participants among representative migrants from diverse SSA communities living in Townsville, Queensland, Australia. Prospective participants were contacted through their community association leaders who provided letters of support and encouraged their members to participate in the study. While the African migrant association leaders assisted in the initial stages of connecting the first author (PA-T) with families, additional participants were obtained through a snowballing strategy (O'Leary, 2017). Participants were selected if they were SSA migrant parents living in Townsville, Australia and had children in

secondary (students in grades seven to twelve in high school) or tertiary education (either attending Technical and Further Education (TAFE) or University). Participation in the study was voluntary with no incentives provided and pseudonyms were used to maintain anonymity. Ethics approval was obtained from the James Cook University's Human Ethics Committee (H7006 and H7374).

4.3.2 Data Collection

Semi-structured interviews (ranging from 30 min to one hour) which provided in-depth insight into participants' perceptions of their parenting roles (DiCicco-Bloom & Crabtree, 2006) were conducted between August 2017 and September 2018 at locations (either public settings or the participants' residences) chosen by participants. All interviews were conducted in English language by PA-T, with the involvement of BSM-A in the first interview to ensure that the interview protocols were duly followed. The interviews commenced with the participants' description of their background and intercultural context. Their cross-cultural experiences, family compositions and the parenting roles they have adopted in relation to the career decisions of their children after transitioning to a new culture were also explored.

4.3.3 Data Analysis

The participants' audio-recorded and transcribed interview responses were analysed using NVivo Software version 11 (Pro, 2016). Guided by Strauss and Corbin's (1990) three phases of GT coding, the transcribed interviews were examined line-by-line to develop the initial coding for descriptive categories. Axial coding was carried out to establish the relationships between the developed categories. Selective coding was the final stage of the analysis during which the participants' perceived 'parental role' in the host country in comparison to their home countries and how it has 'informed/influenced their children's career choices' were analysed to map out a meaningful and coherent story

(Corbin & Strauss, 1990). The three-phased coding process facilitated the identification of categories (Corbin & Strauss, 1990) and saturation of data for theory construction (Birks & Mills, 2015). The participants' shared stories of how they perceived their roles in their children's career choices conformed to Baumrind's parenting typologies (1971). Therefore, further analysis involved the utilisation of these typologies as a point of reference to categorise participants' preferred parenting styles and how their parenting methods defined their perceived parental roles in their children's career decision-making processes. This approach was deemed applicable to the current study context because it aided deconstruction of a complex process into its component parts to enable better comprehension (Beresford, 2010). Additionally, Baumrind's parenting typologies have been utilised in other studies to explore parental influence on children's educational outcomes in both collectivist and individualistic societies (Lansford et al., 2018; Keller & Otto, 2009; Chan & Koo, 2011; Owusu-Kwarteng, 2015).

PA-T conducted the initial coding, while FA and BSM-A confirmed the emerging categories through comparisons and ongoing discussions. Data analysis occurred concurrently with data collection to inform when data saturation was achieved (Birks & Mills, 2015). Illustrative quotes from participants' responses were reported verbatim.

4.3.4 Data Trustworthiness

The credibility and trustworthiness of the study findings were ensured through the iterative and concurrent data collection and analysis process (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). In addition, reflexivity was enhanced by the involvement of two other researchers (FA and BSM-A) in the interpretive process (Patton, 1999). To ensure theoretical data saturation, data triangulation and deeper understanding of the family dynamics, diverse participants with different family life circumstances and characteristics (such as educational level, entry status) were interviewed.

4.4 Results

Twenty interviews were conducted with 26 SSA migrant parents, which comprised of 14 males and 12 females. There were 11 humanitarian and 15 professional migrant parents from 8 Sub-Saharan African (SSA) countries (Congo, Eritrea, Kenya, Nigeria, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Uganda, and Zimbabwe). **Table 4.1** portrays the demographic profile of the participants.

Table 4.1: Study Participants' Profile

Names of Participants	Gender		Participants' Entry Statuses	Father's levels of Education	Mother's levels of Education	Length of Residency
	Male	Female				
Sam & Sarah	1	1	Humanitarian	Secondary	Secondary	8 years
Tony & Martha	1	1	Humanitarian	Secondary	Primary	1 year
Grace	-	1	Humanitarian	-	Secondary	6 years
Frank & Fiona	1	1	Humanitarian	Tertiary	Secondary	2 years
Mark	1	-	Professional	Tertiary	-	17 years
Craig & Mary	1	1	Humanitarian	Secondary	Primary	4 years
Veronica	-	1	Humanitarian	-	Tertiary	5 years
John	1	-	Professional	Tertiary	-	12 years
Matthew	1	-	Professional	Tertiary	-	12 years
Nathan	1	-	Professional	Tertiary	-	6 years
Michael & Rita	1	1	Professional	Tertiary	Tertiary	6 years
Jude & Mabel	1	1	Professional	Tertiary	Tertiary	11 years
Jeff	1	-	Professional	Tertiary	-	13 years
Steve	1	-	Humanitarian	Secondary	-	6 years
Celeste	-	1	Professional	-	Tertiary	6 years
William	1	-	Professional	Tertiary	-	6 years
Hilary	-	1	Professional	-	Tertiary	7 years
Charles	1	-	Professional	Tertiary	-	13 years
Helen	-	1	Professional	-	Tertiary	31 years
Olivia	-	1	Professional	-	Tertiary	8 years

All participants wanted to create a better life for their children, therefore education was prioritised. Hence, the need to secure a better future for their offspring was a common perception of all the participants in this study. Exploration of the perceived parenting roles of the participants revealed that heritage cultural beliefs and practices shaped their

values, and these were applied in their parenting styles in relation to their children's career decisions. All participants applied either authoritative or authoritarian styles of parenting, before entry into the host country. Interestingly, exposure to the host culture resulted in changes in the parenting styles of some parents. A common thread across all participants was that they aimed to *“prepare the kids for the road, not the road for the kids. So, if we prepare them, even if things change ...they can still stand on their feet.”*

Fifteen of the participants were professional migrants who transitioned to Australia because they perceived that relocating would offer many career options and better job opportunities for their children. Nonetheless, the eleven participants who were humanitarian migrants equally had lofty career plans for their children and employed parenting strategies which they anticipated would build their children's career prospects. Regardless of their preferred parenting style or entry status (professionals or humanitarians), all the SSA migrant parents in this study valued higher education for their children because it forms the building blocks of their career development. Overall, the outcomes of the study indicate that majority of SSA migrant parents applied either authoritarian or authoritative parenting styles when engaging with their adolescent children in relation to career decision-making. The current study outcomes demonstrate that the majority of SSA migrant parents preferred using their accustomed parenting practices after transitioning from their heritage collectivist to the Australian individualistic societies. However, there were a few outliers who adjusted their roles and parenting styles in relation to prevailing circumstances within the host culture (see Figure 4.1).

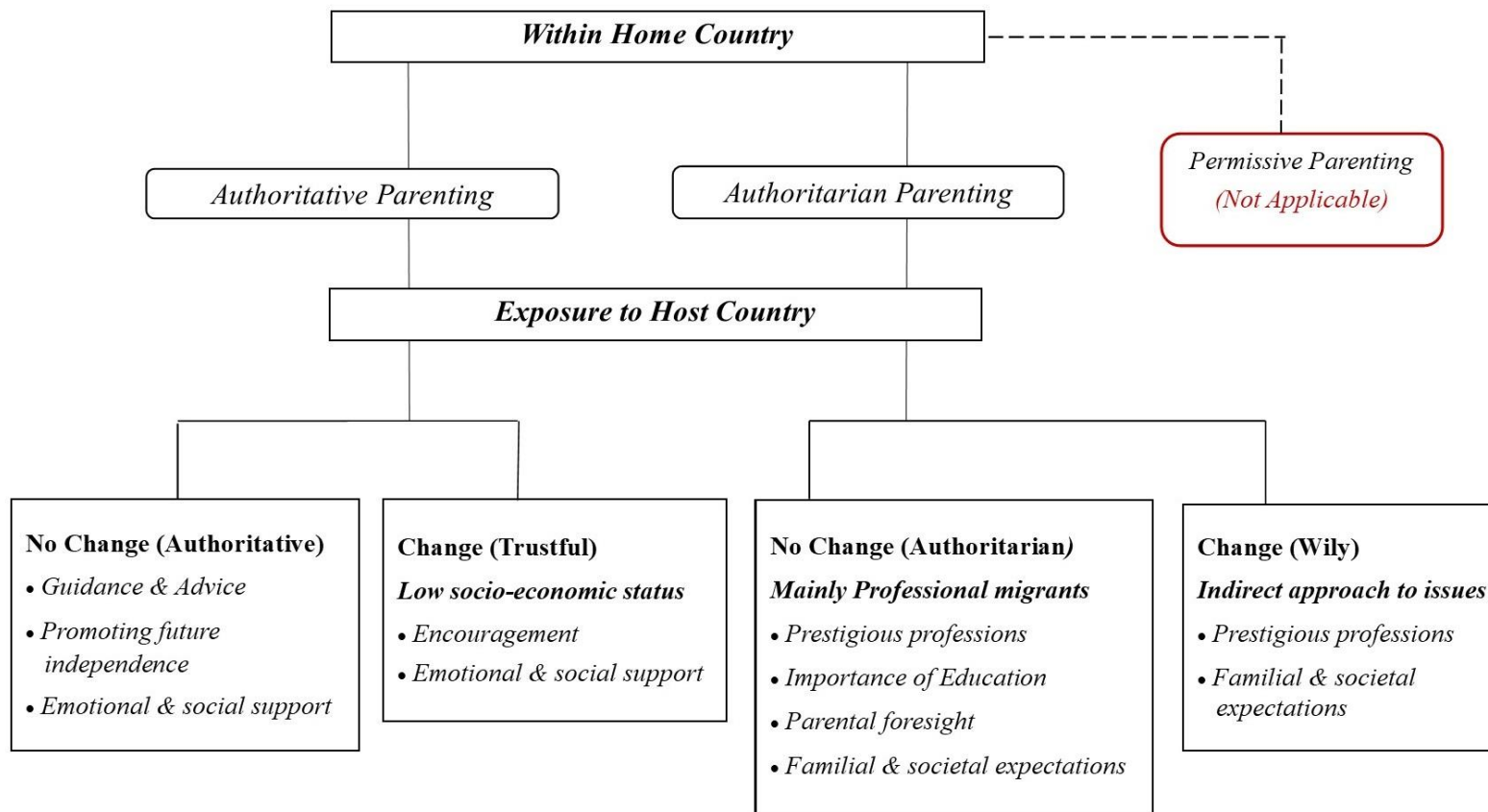


Figure 4.1: Model of the Parenting Practices Preferred by SSA Migrant Parents in Australia

Figure 4.1 presents a model of the parenting practices utilised by the SSA migrant parents. When SSA parents' transition from their heritage collectivist societies to Western individualistic societies, they tend to prefer to maintain their accustomed parenting styles, usually either authoritarian or authoritative approach. For the participants in this study, permissive parenting style was not applied. After settling in the Australian society where the authoritative parenting style is mostly endorsed, some of the SSA parents maintain their style of parenting as it is similar to the host society's practices. However, some parents who would normally apply an authoritative parenting style may feel inadequate because of their perceived educational insufficiencies in the host culture. This group of parents are more trustful of their children's career choices. Authoritarian parents are mostly professional migrants, and they are high-handed and dictatorial in relation to their children's career choices. In contrast, some authoritarian parents altered their parenting style by adopting wily parenting approaches because of the legal framework in the Australian society. This group of parents employed psychological tactics to manipulate the thoughts, feelings, and emotions of their children. Such parents for instance, embark on regular family holidays to their home countries to reinforce to their children the inherent privileges obtainable in the heritage and host societies, so that they will get their children's cooperation when they intervene in their life decisions.

4.4.1 Authoritative Parenting Style to Inform Children's Career Choices.

Eleven participants used an authoritative parenting style, which is nurturing and responsive; marked by firm rules and shared decisions made in a warm and enabling environment. This group of parents perceive that they have a supportive role to guide their children in their career path. Their perceived roles include providing guidance, emotional and social support as well as promoting future independence in their children.

Guidance. These parents indicated that they have a 'duty of care' as pathfinders who provide guidance and counselling to point their children toward desirable career pathways for a secured future.

"I am supposed to just give that child guidance and train that child... If you just leave them, okay, do whatever you like, there's no way they will get it right." (Frank).

Parents made a conscious effort to guide their children's career development by offering directions.

"In the Western world, things are different, children make their own decisions, like: 'I want to do this, I want to be that'. No! We feel we must tell them what's good for them. We don't impose it on them, though, but we guide them, advise them about what is good for them...." (Sam).

It was the hope of many participants that their children would pursue career pathways which could help them secure certain jobs.

"It would not be honest to say you never hope and think that your children should do certain things for a living. But I don't think you ever then force them to sort of say you are going to do this or that. You guide them, and there's no question about that..." (Nathan).

Emotional and Social Support. They also perceived their roles as providing both emotional and social support to encourage their children and to ease any tension their children could face.

"We just kept talking and encouraging the children. Like for (our daughter), she needed a lot of encouragement because she was coming in Year 11, and she was

going to do her OP in year 12. So, we just had a lot of encouragement and support for her not to lose hope” (Martha).

Participants believe that the family home acts as a safety zone in times of need.

“They are always your kids no matter what happens...you just need to keep an eye on them to ensure that all is good, everything is going well. If there is an issue, they are more than welcome to come back and discuss it with the parents, just to see how they are progressing in life” (Frank).

Promoting Future Independence. These parents also perceived that it was important to prepare their children so they could live independently when they are no longer living with their parents.

“We may move on, and the children might decide to stay back, because they're growing here, and they might decide to stay. Or if anything happens to us, they should be able to look after themselves. So that's why you kind of try and steer them into a direction where you think, okay, they could be independent even if they have none of us here” (Jeff).

4.4.2 Trustful (Less Authoritative) Parenting Style to Inform Children's Career Choices.

Interestingly, there were two (2) outlier parents who though had authoritative tendencies, were less responsive and involved in their children's career decision-making. These parents had humanitarian entry status with very limited prior education and so they felt inadequate to provide the needed career guidance to their children although they still offered emotional support and demonstrated vested interest in their children's education.

"...I don't think that I can decide for them. They have to decide by themselves, because they're educated better than what I was. But what I will do, I will just keep praying for them and tell them the word of God. As we are in a different culture, and we are no longer back there in our home country. Here, as you see, I'm getting old and they are growing and maturing, so they know what career is good or bad. Once they know what's good and bad, their career choices will be their own decisions" (Tony).

These parents feel they must not be too intrusive in their offspring's affairs and were not worried if their input was disregarded by their children.

"I don't want to go through their career situations because I want them to choose something they want to do. Everyone has their own choice. However, when they ask me to share something with them, I do. Like, we share ideas which sometimes my input may not be accepted. About their career choice, this is their decision" (Mary).

4.4.3 Authoritarian Parenting Style to Inform Children's Career Choices

Despite transitioning to a different culture, eight participants continued to maintain their traditional authoritarian parenting style which is characterised by high demandingness and low responsiveness. Participants who used authoritarian parenting styles were mostly professional migrants, with high educational levels, which afforded them good employment prospects and a higher socio-economic status in society. Many parents in this category indicated that if they were still living in their heritage culture, they would be in charge of making all family decisions. Consequently, their parenting styles were based on pushing their children towards obtaining prestigious professions,

often disregarding their children's personal interests. These parents also had strong views about obtaining tertiary education, promoted strict familial and societal expectations and perceive that they have better foresight than their children. Often these parents have divergent views to their children.

Prestigious and Well-paying Jobs. This group of parents revered traditional careers such as doctors, nurses, lawyers, engineers, and architects because of their prestigious nature as well as the higher income associated with them. Consequently, they encouraged their children to pursue pathways that would eventually help them to secure a job in one of these professions.

"In a typical African set up, the child doesn't actually have a choice. It is the parents who say, okay, my child, you are going to be a lawyer, and they've made that pathway for you. No matter what happens...you have to be a lawyer. That's what we have decided" (William).

Importance of Education. These professional migrants were determined to impose their will on their children.

"...because my children are university material and we come from a culture where education is very important, I tell them Okay, I am not letting you make a decision... I am making that decision for you! This is what you're going to do, and that's it, I am not discussing it anymore. You see that the children don't like it, but I mean to stand my ground and I will not discuss it further..." (Celeste).

"...I make sure my kids know I'm there for them if they need that support. I'm sending them to good schools, but I need them to go to university! I'm not going to settle for TAFE, or any of the old qualifications! Because to

me, a degree is the only qualification I want to push them towards. I will be disappointed if my children decide not to go to the university” (John).

Parental Foresight. Based on their own experiences, understanding and knowledge, this group of African migrant parents perceived themselves as having the foreknowledge to be able to caution their children to follow certain career pathways and develop good work ethics.

“So, the career choices they make, it has to be something that it’s top level, where they put in a lot of hard yards. But in the long-term it’s much more sustainable. It’s an area where - if you go to an area where everyone goes into it, the chances are that a time will come when that area will be saturated. But if they go to areas where we know, as parents, we know there are certain careers where normally people would try to avoid because they think it is too hard. But we always tell our kids that nothing is impossible. For as long as you put your mind and you’re ready to do the hard yards that it requires, the sky is the limit. You can be anything you want” (Mark).

Familial and Societal Expectations. These parents also believed that it was necessary to ensure that their children become productive members of society.

“I think it’s a simple thing of ensuring that they are productive citizens more than anything else, in that they are doing the right things.” (Helen).

“If we as parents were to put our feet down and say, look, we think this is beneficial for you, the kids, maybe now they don’t understand it but in the long term it’s because you worry about them” (William).

Generally, the fathers preferred to spur the children to stand up to life's challenges. For example, Mark challenged his children by telling them "... *if you're ready to do the hard yards.... The sky is the limit*"; John said "...*a degree is the only qualification I want to push them towards...*", while William said "...*in a typical African set up, the child doesn't actually have a choice...*"

Mothers, on the other hand, tended to act as a source of solace, using encouraging words to guide and advise their children. Martha said: "...*we just had a lot of encouragement and support for her not to lose hope...*"; Sara advised her children that: "...*you need to do something in addition so that in the future, if the basketball don't work, something else will work as a job for you...*" and Rita said to her children: "*Life is not about earning money, it's about adding value and about being the best that you can be...*"

4.4.4 Wily Parenting Style to Inform Children's Career Choices.

Surprisingly, five participants who would normally take an authoritarian approach in their parenting role tried to circumvent the legal framework of the host cultural system (which does not encourage punitive measures from parents) by applying a wily parenting style. This group of parents were particularly adamant about familial/societal expectations and their children going for prestigious jobs. They adapted to the new environment by appearing to support their children's personal interests, but at the same time, indirectly influencing the decisions of their children. These parents begin to mould the attitudes and characters of their children while they are still young. Folktales are shared by parents about their home countries regarding economic, political, social relationships and cultural facets.

"...we always try to put something in their heads to make them focus. Because most of the time I talk to my kids on one-to-one level to organise

and advise them. At times, I even show them what is on TV...something about Africa and say come and see; you guys are fortunate to be in this part of the world where you have everything. Some of us were not fortunate that way! ... like me and my wife, we're not fortunate to have fathers. My father died at an early age; my wife doesn't even know her father” (Matthew).

“Each time I go home, I take the whole family home.... So that when we get home, they can actually see what's going on there...! Then, they really appreciate that oh, okay, at least we are in a better place than our friends and peers, because they can actually see what's going on...” (Jude).

These participants acknowledged that guiding their children is a traditional role. *“So, like, we just advise them as our parents did, because that's what our parents used to do for us also” (Mabel);* and perceived that it is a familial and societal expectation that they, as parents, should direct their children to choose worthwhile career paths...

“Now we know which career path is good, and probably those that are not so good! ... so, we really feel that we should have input in what our children are going to choose as their future careers, and we are going to do that in their best interests, using our experiences.... So, we will be telling them here and there, and trying to mould their thinking as they go along...” (Charles).

“Sometimes it's just good to know that what looks easy or comfortable is not the best. I mean, I just drop out of grade 12, go to TAFE and do a trade and I can earn money. Life is not about earning money, it's about adding value and about being the best that you can be, because again, things change, you know. We came for the children, there are things that we did mainly for them” (Rita).

4.5 Discussion

This study sought to explore SSA migrant parents' perceptions of their role in the career decision-making processes of their children. Various studies have reported that parenting styles influence children's career development and is dependent on different societal values and practices (Renzaho et al., 2011; Mugadza et al., 2019; Rani, 2014; Bennett-Garraway, 2014). The SSA migrant parents in this study preferred authoritarian and authoritative parenting styles because these approaches were commonly used in their heritage societies (Renzaho et al., 2011; Mugadza et al., 2019; Sovet & Metz, 2014). In many SSA collectivist societies, family loyalty, adherence to group norms and maintenance of harmony in relationships are fundamental cultural values (Zervides & Knowles, 2007). Getting involved and keeping a close eye on the academic, social, physical and spiritual development of their children through the imposition of an absolute set of standards is a societal as well as familial expectation of collectivist parents so that children can become responsible adults (Amos, 2013; Tamis-LeMonda, 2008). From the participants' perspectives, their children needed firm rules and guidance. Therefore, applying authoritative and authoritarian parenting styles was appropriate to stir the enhancement of their children's education and career development so that they can support their family and contribute to the advancement of society. The study findings resonate with Baumrind's (1971) parenting typology. From the current study, parents with authoritative tendencies were approving, responsive and nurturing with moderate control. They were more facilitative in their children's development of academic career pathways and social competence in comparison to those with authoritarian parenting style. The current study outcomes also demonstrate that majority of SSA migrant parents preferred using their accustomed parenting practices after transitioning from their heritage collectivist to the Australian individualistic societies. Most participants used an

authoritative parenting style, which involves high demandingness and high responsiveness, which is marked by firm rules and shared decisions made in a warm and enabling environment (Sarwar, 2016).

However, some of the SSA migrant parents who participated in this study perceived that their children were better educated than themselves. While they had confidence in the judgement of their children to make their own life decisions, they recognised the limiting effects of their own educational and socioeconomic statuses. Consequently, these parents provide encouragement, guidance, and spiritual support to their children, trusting that their children would be able to utilise the economic structures and educational system of the host country to develop their potentials and make prudent decisions in relation to their career pathways. This finding is consistent with earlier research by Stull (2013) who postulated that parents with low socio-economic backgrounds appear to not be highly expectant of their children.

Participants who used authoritarian parenting styles were mostly professionals, with high educational levels, which afforded them good employment prospects and a higher socio-economic status in society. This revelation is consistent with some findings by previous researchers who contended that parents with elevated educational levels are most likely to be in well-remunerated jobs resulting in a high socio-economic status and have loftier expectations for their children, which underpins their parenting styles (Banks et al., 2016).

Many SSA migrant parents who apply authoritarian parenting styles perceive that higher education will provide their children with numerous opportunities to '*reinvent*' themselves at any time in life such as changing their career, to be self-employed and to have the ability to retire early. Therefore, they expected their children to imbibe the values

of higher education, so they pushed them to attain university degrees rather than allowing their children to settle for lower qualifications.

Rather than adopting the authoritative parenting style, these SSA migrant parents preferred to employ authoritarian parenting methods, which is characterised by high demandingness and low responsiveness. The parents perceived that using the authoritarian approach ensured that their children conformed to familial and societal rules and they would meet the high parental expectations (Sovet & Metz, 2014). In their heritage collectivist societies, it is incumbent on parents to teach their children to be respectful and obedient, to comply with rules and to have a strong interdependent spirit as participants themselves inherited this approach from their parents (Sovet & Metz, 2014; Johnson et al., 2013). According to Amos (2013), for most collectivist SSA societies, a “good” parent is one who takes the initiative in their child’s life because the parents are presumed to know best. Therefore, the participants in this study who applied the authoritarian approach tended to perceive that if they allowed their children to do whatever they like, there is no way that the children will make the right life decisions, especially the type of career path they choose to pursue. The findings of this study are consistent with other researchers who concluded that traditional societies tend to apply authoritarian parenting styles (Renzaho et al., 2011; Rani, 2014; Bennett-Garraway, 2014).

By contrast, other authoritarian parents altered their parenting style by adopting the wily parenting approach because of the legal framework in the Australian society. In matters relating to children’s education, training and work, the Australian legal framework stipulates that children have the right to decide and that their decisions may override that of their parents (Cumming & Mawdsley, 2005). These parents employed psychological tactics to manipulate the thoughts, feelings, and emotions of their children

(Barber et al., 2005). Such parents for instance, embark on regular family holidays to their home countries to reinforce to their children the inherent privileges obtainable in the heritage and host societies, so that after exposing them to both cultures, the parents will get their children's cooperation when they intervene in their life decisions.

The wily parenting approach provides a different perspective on the concept of 'parental psychological control,' which was introduced in the literature by earlier researchers (Barber et al., 2005; Pettit et al., 2001; Barber & Harmon, 2002). These researchers argued that parental psychological control typifies a hostile and dysfunctional parent-child relationship, which include the use of punitive disciplinary parenting practices. In contrast, the authoritarian turned wily parents in this current study who psychologically manipulate the affairs of their children do so in a more subtle manner.

SSA migrant parents tend to have strong expectations for their children to pursue prestigious professions for a sustained employment with good social statuses and ensured that their children conformed to familial and societal rules and they would meet the high parental expectations (Sovet & Metz, 2014). In their heritage collectivist societies, it is incumbent on parents to teach their children to be respectful and obedient, to comply with rules and to have a strong interdependent spirit as participants themselves inherited this approach from their parents (Mugadza et al., 2019; Johnson et al., 2013). According to Amos (2013), for most collectivist SSA societies, a "good" parent is one who takes the initiative in their child's life because the parents are presumed to know best (Amos, 2013). Therefore, the participants in this study who applied the authoritarian approach tended to perceive that if they allowed their children to do whatever they like, there is no way that the children will make the right life decisions, especially in relation to the career path they choose to pursue.

Conversely, other authoritarian parents altered their parenting style by adopting the wily parenting approach because of the legal framework in the Australian society. These parents employed psychological tactics to manipulate the thoughts, feelings, and emotions of their children (Barber et al., 2005). The wily parenting approach provides a different perspective on the concept of 'parental psychological control' introduced in the literature by earlier researchers (Barber et al., 2005; Pettit et al., 2001; Barber & Harmon, 2002). These researchers argued that parental psychological control typifies a hostile and dysfunctional parent-child relationship, which includes the use of punitive disciplinary parenting practices. In contrast, the authoritarian turned wily parents in this current study who psychologically manipulate the affairs of their children tend to do so in a more subtle manner.

Generally, fathers were more assertive than mothers. The different roles fathers and mothers played resonate with the research by Germeiji and Verschueren (2009) who contended that mothers generally are intimate and symmetrical and tend to use more supportive language in communicating with their children, which eventually may have more influence on their children's inner disposition. On the other hand, fathers are more likely to stimulate children's exploration of their outer social world (Soenens & Vansteenkiste, 2005). Parents with limited prior education felt inadequate to provide the needed career guidance to their children. This finding corroborates previous research which indicates that social class influences the extent to which parents possess the resources and afford the opportunity to engage in the educational and career choice behaviours of their children (Diamond, 1999). Nevertheless, the fact that they still offered emotional support demonstrates their active engagement and vested interest in their children's education.

SSA migrant parents tend to have strong expectations for their children to pursue prestigious professions for a sustained employment with good social statuses and a potentially high salary. They do this with the likely goal of upward mobility and financial stability for the family unit. However, if their children's personal interests are not fulfilled, then satisfaction and performance could be lower in their chosen professions (Van Iddekinge, et al., 2011). This could thwart the children's career goals of becoming satisfied and productive workers to create life for their families and support the host country's economy (Griffin & Hu, 2019). Lack of independence in one's career choice could lead to lower personal interest, which affects one's motivation for achieving fulfilment in that career (Griffin & Hu, 2019). The study outcomes acknowledge that parental support strengthens children's expectations for success in the pursuit of their career goals. However, divergent views relating to familial expectations can be a source of tension within the SSA migrant families, therefore the intervention of a career counsellor is crucial for defusing any friction between the parents and their children.

4.5.1 Strengths and Limitations of the Study

To the best of our knowledge, this qualitative study is the first to explore the perceptions of SSA migrant parents living in Australia regarding their perceived role in relation to their children's career decision-making. Furthermore, the information gathered from this study is useful for resourcing career counsellors as to how best they can work with SSA migrant parents regardless of their parenting styles. However, the current study is limited to only eight purposively selected SSA migrant communities residing in the Townsville region of Australia, hence limiting the representativeness of the sample (Silverman, 2010). Therefore, the outcomes of the study may not be transferable to other settings due to the composition of the participant groups. Additionally, the fewer number of couples (six only) did not allow for detailed analysis of impact of joint parenting.

Furthermore, there were more professional migrant parents involved in this study than humanitarian migrant parents. This may be a consequence of bias sampling in which the humanitarian immigrants may have limited English proficiency and knowledge about research, which could serve as barriers to research participation among this group of migrants (Shedlin et al., 2011).

4.6 Conclusion

Existing theories on parenting styles and career decision-making place emphasis on personal interests, autonomy and cultural circumstances mostly developed in Western societies. These concepts may not fit well in collectivist cultures where decision-making is typically interdependent, with career choice guided by factors that benefit one's family and community rather than oneself. Our findings suggest that irrespective of parenting style applied, SSA parents are a significant source of support and guidance for their children's career construction. However, the approaches adopted by parents may impact on the success of their children's career choice. Authoritarian SSA parents emphasised prestigious jobs, cultural values, and expectations as a way of fostering high academic and professional achievement in their children. On the other hand, authoritative parents were more supportive of their children's career choices and encouraged them to undertake careers that best suited their abilities and interest. Some parents deviated from the normative parenting styles either due to their educational deficiencies (trustful parenting style) or to circumvent the legal framework of the host cultural system (wily parenting style). These parental factors have significant implications for child-parent relationship and may subsequently affect the children's self-esteem, academic achievement, cognitive development, and behaviour. Parental orientations that influence career decision-making processes for SSA migrant students must be understood and acknowledged by school counsellors, teachers, researchers, and policymakers. Such insights would inform policy

and aid the development of effective school and community-led support programs that guide SSA migrant parents so they can adapt their parenting styles to the needs of their children. These measures will ultimately facilitate smooth and successful career paths for SSA migrant students whilst living in a different context.

The findings from this chapter revealed that parental characteristics such as entry status, educational level and gender defined their stance in relation to their children's career choices. However, as highlighted in Chapter 3, for the SSA migrant youths, migrating to Australia has made it possible for them to interact with their local peers and discover a different approach to career decision-making. Therefore, this was a potential source of apprehension for the SSA migrant children. It became paramount at this stage for the study to explore how the SSA migrant youths perceived the roles of their parents in their career development. These perceptions were explored in Chapter 5.

Chapter 5: Restrictive Reciprocal Obligations: Perceptions of Parental Role in Career Choices of sub-Saharan African Migrant Youths

5.1 Chapter Overview

Abstract: This study employed interpretivist, grounded theory method and utilized semi-structured interviews to explore how 31 African migrant high school and university students from eight sub-Saharan African representative countries and currently residing in Townsville, Australia, perceived the roles of their parents in their career development. The study findings revealed that the support (financial, social and emotional) and encouragement (sacrificial love, role modeling and guidance) received from parents underpinned the youths' perceptions of their parents as influential in their career trajectories. Though participants acknowledged their indebtedness to parents and the system that nurtured them, they faced a dilemma conforming to parental preference or personal conviction, which presented "a fork in the career decision-making road." Study findings indicate that participants' reactions and strategies for negotiating parental approval differ based on entry status and gender. Most participants, particularly those with professional entry status, conformed to their parents' career choice for fear of failure, while a few who followed their personal interests negotiated parental approval through dialogue and educating parents. Male participants with humanitarian entry status opposed their parents' career preferences and followed their own personal interests. Taken together, all participants had strong desire to obtain parental approval and whether sought early or later, the main focus for all participants was prioritizing family needs and obligations. The practical implications of these findings for all stakeholders are discussed.

5.2 Introduction

Choosing a career path is challenging for youths as they explore employment options that match their abilities and interests. In most individualistic societies, freedom and autonomy are promoted, allowing independent choice of career and work, often with parental support (Taylor & Wilson, 2012; Sovet & Metz, 2014). In contrast, group interests tend to take precedence over the individual's interests in collectivist societies (Fouad et al., 2008; Shea et al., 2009). The views and concerns of family, friends and significant others in collectivist societies are essential when choosing a career path; therefore, youths often depend on them for guidance (Gelfand & Christakopoulou, 1999; Whiston & Keller, 2004). Socio-economic context and labour market are particularly important because of their influence on job availability in these settings (Metz et al., 2009). Studies have shown that career decisions are influenced by job markets, particularly in collectivist societies (Ryan & Deci, 2000; Edwards & Quinter, 2011; Bakar et al., 2014). Youths are constrained in their career aspirations and choices by prevailing job market trends, such as salary, prestigious jobs, promotion opportunities and job accessibility (Choi & Kim, 2013; Jin & Paulsen, 2017; Atitsogbe et al., 2018). These socio-cultural contextual issues imply that fewer career opportunities are available to them, hence the reliance on parental guidance. Youths in collectivist cultures usually do not have the final say about their educational and career decisions due to a societal belief that children do not have the maturity and capacity to make prudent decisions (Howard & Walsh, 2011).

Studies within Asia, Africa, Latin America and portions of rural Europe predominantly identified collective identity, emotional dependence and the importance of family (Singelis et al., 1995; Kim & Atkinson, 2002). In these societies, academic excellence and success in other facets of life bring honor to the family unit (Singaravelu

et al., 2005). Furthermore, youths imbibe reciprocity from the family unit as a common feature in most collectivist societies (Kitayama et al., 2007). Multiple studies lend support to youths from collectivist societies perceiving parental expectations as making significant contributions to positive career-related outcomes (Fouad et al., 2008; Sawitri & Creed, 2015; Kim et al., 2016). However, whether the same can be said when these youths migrate with their families to predominantly individualistic societies, like Australia, requires further inquiry.

Cross-cultural migration makes it possible for youths from individualistic and collectivist societies to interact with each other and exposes them to how career pathways are determined in different cultures. This can influence their original world view regarding career decision-making (Dastoor et al., 2005; Gokuladas, 2010). For many migrant youths, choosing a profession is even more complex as they must balance their personal interests with career preferences endorsed by their parents as they integrate into a new culture (Chen et al., 2002; Shen, 2015; Kumar & Pansari, 2016). Most studies on migrant children's perceptions of parental career related behaviors have been conducted with participants from Asia (Chen et al., 2002; Cheung & Arnold, 2014; Hashim and Embong, 2015; Shen, 2015; Kim et al., 2016; Hui & Lent, 2018). However, research on the perceptions of sub-Saharan African (SSA) migrant youths regarding the roles of their parents in their career decision-making is limited (Kumar & Pansari, 2016; Wambu et al., 2017). Forty-eight African countries constitute the SSA region, and this group of people have many cultural and historical similarities, which reflect philosophical affinity and kinship (UNSD, 2019).

Recent Australian Census data suggest that SSA migrants are migrating to Australia at an increased rate (ABS, 2018). The 2016 Census data show that the SSA population in Australia increased from 3,522 in 1986 to 388,683 in 2016, representing about 1.6% of

Australia's total population, and it is among the fastest developing ethnic groups in Australia (ABS, 2018). Given the increasing numbers of families transitioning cross-culturally from SSA countries, it is important to understand the perceptions of SSA migrant youths of their parents' roles in their career development in Australia. The realization that the national children's right framework within Australia (Cumming & Mawdsley, 2005) allows children to negotiate the selection of their career path with their parents or even override their parents' preferences might exacerbate the youths' already challenging process of career decision-making, particularly if their parents are insistent on maintaining their heritage cultural practices (Akosah-Twumasi et al., 2018, 2020a,b).

When the youth's career aspirations are compatible with parental expectations, then any guidance from parents is considered as being positive (Otto, 2000). However, if the career interests are different from parental expectations, then parental guidance will be misconstrued as being intrusive and could affect youths' emotional wellbeing and academic performance (Laursen & Collins, 2009; Pinquart & Gerke, 2019). In such circumstances, the role of a career counselor is crucial as their intervention can be beneficial for both parents and students (Boerchi & Tagliabue, 2018). Exploration of SSA migrant youths' perceptions of their parents' role in their educational and career construction can foster a deeper understanding of the contextual parent-child relational dynamics. Findings of such explorative studies can also serve as a resource or guide for parents, teachers and career counselors in assisting SSA youths with their career support needs. This can ultimately ease any tension that arises between family members and promote family cohesion for smooth integration. This study explored the perceptions of SSA migrant youth living in Townsville, Australia, about their parents' involvement in their career choices and how they cope with any conflict of interest between their choices of career and the expectations of their parents. The study was guided by the research

question: How do SSA migrant youths perceive the roles of their parents in their career decision making?

5.2.1 Theoretical Framework

This paper draws on and attempts to anchor the study findings on two career development models that have been propounded in the Western literature to explain the career decision-making processes of individuals. These models are the Social Learning Theory of Career Decision Making (SLTCDM) by Krumboltz et al. (1976) and the Social Cognitive Career Theory (SCCT) by Lent et al. (1994). These models were chosen because they offer valuable theoretical perspectives from which career development in contemporary contexts could be examined.

Building on Bandura's (1971) social learning theory, Krumboltz and his colleagues introduced the social learning theory of career decision-making in 1976. The authors proposed four major categories of career selection influencers, namely genetic or personal characteristics, work environment, learning experience and task skills. These factors act as constraints or facilitators, and the interaction between them results in the development of socio-cognitive beliefs that significantly impact on career development (Mitchell et al., 1979). Krumboltz et al. (1976), p.71 emphasizes that career decision-making is "influenced to a large extent by factors usually outside the control of any one individual". Similarly, SCCT posits that career decision-making is a function of a reciprocal relationship between three intricately linked variables – self-efficacy beliefs, outcome expectations and goal-setting behavior (Bandura, 1986; Lent et al., 1994). The theory also emphasizes the dominant influence of variables, such as economic need, family pressures or educational limitations, on adolescents' career decision making processes (Lent et al., 2002).

5.3 Materials and Methods

5.3.1 Study Context and Participants

SSA migrant youths attending secondary school and university in Townsville, Queensland, Australia, were purposively sampled and recruited to participate in this study. Townsville is one of the fastest growing regions in Queensland, Australia, with a diverse population (ABS, 2018), including SSAs who are mostly from collectivist societies and practice patrilineal and matrilineal kinship with much respect afforded to the hierarchical structures in the family, community and society (UNSD, 2019). In these societies, relatives are considered as brethren with the responsibility of being companions and burden sharers to cater for the needs of all family members especially the most vulnerable ones (children and the elderly) (Hofstede, 2001; Alber et al., 2010). As a society with collectivist tendencies, individual concerns receive communal response because maintaining family cohesion, solidarity and unity of purpose is a shared perception among SSA families (Hofstede, 2001).

Participants were SSA migrant youths who had migrated to Australia with their parents on either skilled or humanitarian grounds and were in high school or studying at different levels at tertiary institutions. According to the International Organisation for Migration (IOM, 2020), humanitarian migrants are individuals and families in need of urgent protection, including but not limited to refugees, asylum seekers and migrants in vulnerable situations requiring assistance and care. Humanitarian migrants can be either professionals with university degrees or people with limited qualifications. It is not their level of training or work experience that characterises them as humanitarian migrants, but what causes them to leave their heritage countries. However, irrespective of migrants' entry statuses, when they upskill themselves and acquire the host country's qualifications and training, they stand to gain meaningful employment in the host country. According

to Crowley-Henry et al. (2018), professional migrants, also referred to as skilled migrants, are people in transit who already possess university degrees or extensive work experience in their professional field at the time they leave their heritage countries to seek employment elsewhere. In most receiving countries, such as Australia, professional migrants are sought after because they either already have a job lined-up or they have an increased likelihood of gaining employment to achieve economic independence (Birrell, 2003). Additionally, professional migrants contribute with their skills, knowledge and expertise to fill skill shortages in the host country's labour market and help sustain the nation's economy.

5.3.2 Recruitment

This study was part of a larger exploratory study that involved SSA migrant parents and their children (Akosah-Twumasi et al., 2020a). A purposive sampling method was used to recruit participants. Study participants included youths of SSA descent and aged between 13 and 29 years. The term "youth" is used in this context to refer to adolescents within the period of transitioning from the dependence of childhood to adulthood independence and awareness of their interdependence as members of a community (UNESCO, 2016). SSA youths whose parents were not residing in Australia and those who were in higher institutions but were older than 29 years were excluded from participating in the study.

5.3.3 Study Design

The study employed grounded theory (GT) methods to gain in-depth understanding of SSA migrant youths' perceptions of parental influence on their career choices. Grounded theory represents both a method of inquiry and a resultant product of that inquiry, and it aims to generate theory that is grounded in the data (Bryant & Charmaz, 2007). The authors followed Strauss and Corbin's (1990) interpretivist method

of GT, which utilises a sociological perspective that relies on the symbolic meaning people ascribe to the processes of social interaction. This approach addresses the subjective meaning people place on objects, behaviors or events based on what they believe is true (Clarke, 2005). James Cook University's Human Research Ethics Committee granted approval for this study (ethics approval numbers, H7006 and H7374).

5.3.4 Data Collection

Data collection via semi-structured interviews occurred between August 2017 and September 2018, and interview sessions were held at locations chosen by the participants. PAT facilitated all the interview sessions, and BSMA observed the first interview session to ensure adherence to the interview protocol. Interview questions posed to participants included how they decided on their preferred careers; the support/contribution from parents (family members) towards their career development; participants' feelings about any divergent views in career matters; participants approach to negotiating competing cultural values; the outcome of the career choice; and past and current relationship with parents (family members). Each interview commenced with a verbal acknowledgement of consent. To avert social desirability bias during the interviews, participants were assured of the researcher's adherence to confidentiality and anonymity protocols and that there were no right or wrong responses. Additionally, an interview guide, including probing questions and prompts for personal stories, was utilized for the interviews. The interviews continued until data saturation was achieved (Birks & Mills, 2015). For confidentiality purposes, participants were given pseudonyms to maintain anonymity. Involvement in the study was purely voluntary, and there were no incentives, monetary or otherwise, offered to participants. Interview sessions ranged from 30 to 60 min.

5.3.5 Data Analysis

Participants' responses were transcribed, and the data were analyzed in Nvivo Software version 11 (Pro, 2016), in line with Strauss and Corbin's (1990) three phases of GT coding – open, axial and selective, utilizing both inductive and abductive reasoning (Birks & Mills, 2015). In the open coding, the transcribed interviews were examined line-by-line to develop the initial coding for descriptive categories which are then grouped together around commonalities to influence the development of significant subcategories. Axial coding was subsequently carried out to establish the relationships between the developed subcategories and to reconstruct the concepts within them into large and more focused categories. At this stage, the researcher used a coding paradigm to identify the links between subcategories. By applying constant comparison methods, comparisons were made repeatedly to affirm the link and connections between open and axial coding categories before commencing selective coding. During the selective coding stage, the researcher identified the core category and conceptually related all categories to the core category to construct a meaningful and coherent story. This process of analysis fostered the construction of a meaningful and articulate story regarding participants' perceptions of their parents' roles in their career development (Strauss & Corbin, 1990; Birks & Mills, 2015). PAT and BSMA independently identified and collaboratively confirmed the categories that emerged from the data through continuous discussions.

The trustworthiness of the outcomes of the study was ensured through the four qualitative criteria of credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Birks & Mills, 2015). Credibility of the study was achieved through data saturation. Transferability was demonstrated through purposive sampling and in-depth descriptions of the data analysis process. Dependability was ensured through field notes and memo writing that highlighted significant issues for further exploration.

Confirmability was achieved through participants' validation of the study findings for accuracy and resonance with their experiences (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Furthermore, reflexivity was heightened by the involvement of the researcher and his supervisors in the processes of data interpretation (Patton, 1999). Collecting data from several participants from different backgrounds with dissimilar characteristics (gender, entry status, level of education and duration of residence) offered dynamic perceptions on the phenomenon under consideration, which facilitated the attainment of theoretical data saturation. The analysis of the data followed concurrent data gathering until thematic data saturation was reached. Relevant exemplar responses from participants were quoted verbatim to support the results.

5.4 Results

5.4.1 Participants' Characteristics

Thirty-one SSA migrant youths from 21 families participated in the interviews. The study participants came from eight SSA countries: nine from Congo, eight from Nigeria, seven from Zimbabwe, three from Kenya and singular participants from Eritrea, Rwanda, Sierra Leone and Uganda. These SSA communities are part of the most represented African groups in Townsville. The participants comprised 12 males (M) and 19 females (F) with length of residency in Australia ranging from one to 17 years. There were 20 high school students with an age range of 14–18 years and 11 tertiary education students whose ages ranged from 19 to 29 years. Twenty-one participants identified their residential statuses as being Australian citizens and 10 as permanent residents. Twelve participants indicated that their family had humanitarian entry (HM) status and 19 had professional entry (PM) status. Table 1 indicates the participants' profiles.

Table 5.1: Study Participants' Profile

Interview ID (# per family)	Participants' Pseudonyms (Gender)	Level of Education		Entry Status	Length of Residency
		Secondary	Tertiary		
1	Gideon (M)	1	-	Humanitarian	8 years
2	Daniella (F)	1	-	Humanitarian	1 year
3	Seth (M)	-	1	Humanitarian	6 years
4	Isaac (M)	-	1	Humanitarian	2 years
5	Edna (F)	2	-	Professional	17 years
	Cecilia (F)				
6	Philip (M)	2	-	Humanitarian	4 years
	Zoe (F)				
7	John (M)	-	1	Humanitarian	5 years
8	Madison (F)	2	-	Professional	12 years
	Rita (F)				
9	Naomi (F)	1	-	Professional	12 years
10	Evans (M)	1	1	Professional	6 years
	Paul (M)				
11	Angela (F)	1		Professional	11 years
12	Patrick (M)	1	1	Humanitarian	4 years
	Tom (M)				
13	Madonna (F)	1	1	Humanitarian	8 years
	Felicia (F)				
14	Jessica (F)	1	-	Professional	13 years
15	Eric (M)	1	-	Humanitarian	6 years
16	Gail (F)	2	-	Professional	6 years
	Charles (M)				
17	Cathy (F)	1	1	Professional	6 years
	Martin (M)				
18	Caroline (F)	-	1	Professional	7 years
19	Patricia (F)	-	1	Professional	13 years
20	Eugenia (F)	-	1	Professional	31 years
21	Denise (F)	2	1	Professional	8 years
	Nadine (F)				
	Louisa (F)				

5.4.2 Perceived Parental Roles

Figure 1 presents the results of the open, axial and selective coding. The open coding phase involved conceptual labelling and assignment of codes to chunks of data. Identified codes were clustered into 14 major codes. For the axial coding phase, open codes were grouped into categories with relationships between categories identified. Overlapping categories were refined. The cycle was repeated until theoretical saturation was achieved. Three main categories were identified, namely, Encouragement, Support and Restrictive Reciprocal Obligations. In the selective coding phase, the three categories

were used to form the theory “Prioritizing Family Needs” in career decision-making, which explained the phenomenon of investigation. Most participants in this study appreciated their parents’ effort to give them a good education and a better future. As shown in Figure 2, the participants reported two major parental roles – encouragement (sacrificial love, role modeling and advice/guidance) and support (financial, emotional and social) that aided their career decision-making process. These roles were related to deeply held perceptions of parental caring, supportive and nurturing responsibilities.

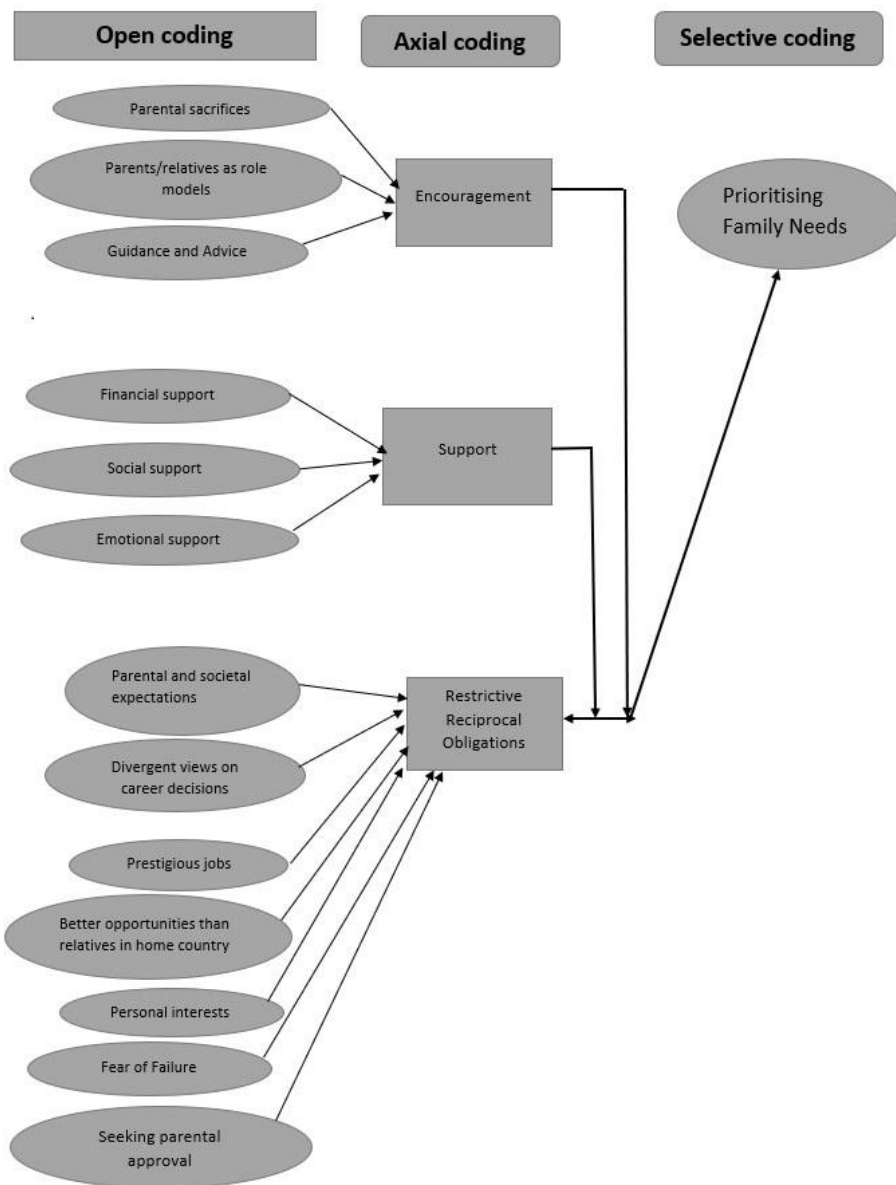


Figure 5.1: The three phases of coding

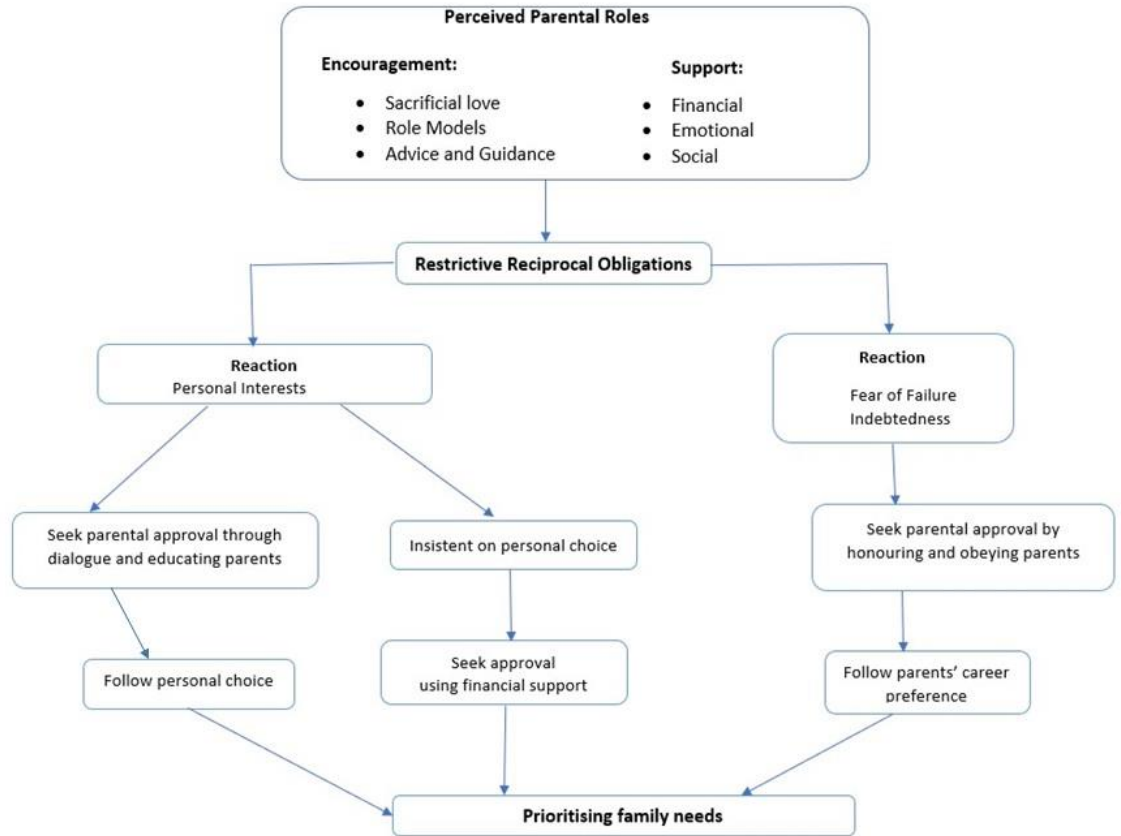


Figure 5.2: Model of sub-Saharan African (SSA) migrant youths' perceptions of parental roles in their career decision making processes

Sacrificial Love. Most participants began with an appreciation of the sacrifices their parents made on their behalf in migrating to Australia. They also acknowledged the relentless effort of their parents to support them in their academic endeavours.

“Family support has helped me along my career journey” (Patrick, HM, M).

“I think my parents and my family they were very supportive of my education, and especially considering where I come from” (Zoe, HM, F).

“You can't really quantify their support for what they've done, and I guess also something I'd like to stress is just how they put themselves aside for us and have spent money on us” (Cathy, PM, F).

Irrespective of their entry status or level of education, participants perceived that their parents were committed to ensuring they attained the best educational and career outcomes.

“You should not walk this path in discovering who you are and who you're meant to be by yourself and for society without the influence of your parents. I feel that is very important as they only have your best interest at heart” (Rita, PM, F).

Parents as Role Models. Most participants in this study perceived that their parents were people to look up to *“because parents show to their children that they are there for them, not just there to tell them what to do but to show them how to do it”* (Angela, PM, F). Whether they are tertiary or secondary students, participants from professional migrant homes relied on their parents' professional lives to figure out their career pathways and tapped into their parents' expertise.

“Dad's done business and mum's done law as well. ...because they always have the experience, that's how I look at it. So, I might sort of realise that I want to do something else but at the same time I sort of rely on them to have their input, because they've obviously had experience. So yeah, I would sort of choose my own way, but I need their advice as well” (Martin, PM, M).

“I see them both as successful professionals, so it makes sense in my head because I've seen it. If they weren't providing an example for me to see it would be hard for me to believe but I would have a lot of talks, like frequent talks, (with them) on career choice and stuff” (Caroline, PM, F).

Advice and Guidance. Participants also consulted their parents for advice and guidance regarding their career choice because they felt their parents know what kind of job they are best suited for, having lived with them all their lives. However, the younger children (mostly in secondary school) were more inclined to consult their parents for career guidance and they tended to follow their parents' career preferences.

"It's nice to go to them when we have our ideas about our career so that they can direct us and tell us if they think we are going in the right direction or not" (Edna, PM, F).

"I'm really happy with my parents' encouragement and assistance for my education and my training for future work." (Zoe, HM, F).

Some students indicated that their fathers provided practical advice while the mothers were more affective.

"...like my dad, the advice he would give it's very practical. Like this is life you know, what I mean? You can't avoid these things. You need to go through them, and you need to find ways to deal with them. There's no point crying because you're going to experience worse things. So, if you can't cope with it now, then what are you going to do later? Then in terms of my mother, it's more of comfort and caring... So, I think in different ways their advice just provides the perfect balance of practical advice and affection" (Caroline, PM, F).

Intriguingly, one participant highlights an important aspect of his career decision process in which he felt his parents helped him gain a perspective of the limited options he had in his home country as against the wide range of options that are available in his

new country of residence. Given this reality, he is guided to frame his career options taking these backgrounds into account.

“Back home you don't have any options, but the societal expectations are great. So for them, it wasn't like what you are going to do. It is like what you are going to get from what you're going to do, you know” (Patrick, HM, M).

Financial Support. Participants from both professional and humanitarian migrant backgrounds appreciated the financial support they received from their parents and acknowledged it was vital to enhancing their academic and career outcomes.

“I don't even think you can quantify it, to be honest...they absolutely exceed whatever scale there is financially, emotionally and spiritually they've been there the whole way” (Cathy, PM, F).

“Yeah, I'm happy for their support because the biggest support is that I am in school still learning, and dad even gave a laptop to support my studies” (Eric, HM, M).

All participants in this study affirmed that their parents provided accommodation during their studies and they were not required to pay rent. Even participants who were undertaking tertiary education received full financial assistance from their parents and relied on them for sustenance so that they could focus on their tertiary education.

“I still live at home so that aspect of having - not having to worry about paying rent. I don't pay any bills, I don't pay my - any kind of bills, my car, nothing. I don't have to exert extra stress on myself. I think that helps because then that means I don't have to do part-time job but - I used to

work, I think, four shifts a week and my parents were like, no. They made me cut to once a week because of school” (Caroline, PM, F).

“I am here with my parents. I live with them and they provide everything. Maybe when I've got a job, that's when I'll move – but now, no!” (Isaac, HM, M).

Emotional and Social Support. Participants turn to their parents for emotional and social support when needed. Many participants affirmed that their stability and the focus on their career paths was contingent on the support they received from their family. They depended on encouragement from their parents to sustain their momentum in their career development.

“If it wasn't for my parents support and encouragement my career trajectories would be different” (Madonna, HM, F).

“Emotionally and mentally, there are a lot of moments where you're sort of like really down. You're like maybe this is not me. I want to leave this course. ...With my parents, I feel like they're obviously a huge influence in my life. So just explaining to me where I'm at, how I feel, they're really encouraging and always saying this is right, you've made the right choice and you just believe in yourself - it's part of life.” (Caroline, PM, F).

Participants who were working and studying at the same time appreciated the domestic support their families provided.

“My family, they support me a lot in terms of cooking food - because they see me always with my books and, they really help me to overcome some of the study difficulties that really helped me to get through with my studies” (Patrick, HM, M).

5.4.3 Restrictive Reciprocal Obligations

Interestingly, in unpacking the parental roles, participants also identified familial needs and societal expectations, which presented restrictive obligations to the participants. From an early age, participants learnt from their parents about the societal values of their heritage country as their parents embody the customs and practices of their heritage societies. Therefore, to the SSA migrant youths, following their parents' career preferences represents the fulfilment of their obligation to their family and societal expectations. In their home countries, it is the duty of the parents to provide for the children while they are young including their educational needs. In a similar way, the youths are obligated to reciprocate the care and support their parents had provided when the youths become adults. All participants in this study indicated that the support and encouragement they received from their parents is over and above expectation. In acknowledging their parents' supportive role, the youths realise that their obligations become restrictive, and they felt compelled to honour their parents by making career choices that made their parents proud and helped to fulfil their parents' migration goals for the family.

These restrictive obligations presented a fork in the career decision-making road of participants (Figure 5.2). The participants reported that when choosing a career, they must balance their personal interests with what is acceptable to their parents. They find themselves having to decide on whether to conform to the career preferences of their parents or follow their own personal interests. All participants indicated that their parents had expressed career preferences for them. These participants realised that their freedom was restricted by their parents unlike their local peers.

“At a glance, when I look at my friends, I kind of didn't understand how come their parents allowed them to do whatever they wanted and followed

their dreams. However, when I say that it's like, yes, you can do that as well, you can be like your friends but just remember where you come from and the expectations placed on you. You don't want to regret it one day and say, oh, I wish I'd gone to school and done this” (Caroline, PM, F).

“I’ve come to this realisation that sometimes, you know, we’re tempted because you’re still in those years when your friends influence you as well. So, you’re just – you get those feelings like I should be able to use my phone as my friends but sometimes you just have to come back and remind yourself why your parents do it for you” (Rita, PM, F).

Although the participants did not like the restrictive obligations posed by their parents, obtaining parental approval was of utmost importance to them. However, their responses to the situation and how (strategies utilised) and when (timing) they negotiated parental approval was largely determined by their migrant entry status. Majority of the PM participants, in seeking parental approval, chose to obey, honour, and accept their parent's career preferences.

“I’m kind of used to being reassured to go the way my parents want me to go. I am trying to follow on from my parents’ profession, maybe something in nursing” (Naomi, PM, F).

“...my parents made me become a lawyer and now I enjoy it but when I was a little kid I wanted to become a singer, something else” (Evans, PM, M).

“I think we're lucky because our parents want it as bad for us as we want it for ourselves. So, it's kind of like we're in the same boat.” (Rita, PM, F).

They felt they needed to honour their parents by making choices that pleased and fulfilled their parents' desires and made them proud.

"I think it's a little bit too late for me to say I no longer want to do this; I'm going to give my parents a heart attack. I feel like, okay, as much as my parents want me to do it, it's my life and this is my future. It's not just I'm doing it for myself, I'm doing it for my parents as well... (also) the pride that they have: like whenever the family is over in Africa, my parents tell everybody, that's (Caroline), she's ... studying medicine. It really brings me joy. So that's what makes it even sweeter. I feel like it's a way of me saying thank you for where my parents have brought me thus far" (Caroline, PM, F).

They conceded, became obedient and conformed to their parents' career choice for fear of failure if they attempt to follow their own career pursuits. Being unsuccessful in their educational or career pursuits was considered a failure, not only by the individual but also by the family and their society.

"I feel like if I had gone into the sport part and ignored their (the parents) advice earlier on, I don't think if anything had happened, like say I got injured, I don't think I would have had that same support..... It would be more like I told you so!" (Caroline, PM, F).

This group of participants also felt indebted because of the sacrifices their parents have made for them.

"I don't think we can ever pay them (parents) back. But I guess after Uni and whatnot we can sort of try and – you know, also look after them as they get older" (Martin, PM, M).

For some participants, comparing themselves to relatives still living in the heritage country helped them to appreciate what their parents have done for them.

"I've seen my family members (in the home country); they're probably smarter than I am but it's just because of lack of opportunity...like maybe there's no jobs...so you see them selling things at markets. Some of them are very educated but they don't have the chance to go to school... So, I think lack of opportunity makes all the difference." (Cathy, PM, F).

Participants who chose to follow their personal career choices were mostly males from HM homes.

"My family, they wanted me to do health. They wanted me to go into health professions, but I told them that, no, I don't like that profession, there are opportunities and a lot of jobs in the accounting side so I'm going to do my accounting, so that was my decision" (Patrick, HM, M).

"I like soccer because we get to like travel and see around the world, (internationals). Well, because I usually play soccer with my friends at the park in the school and the teachers as well at school" (Tom, HM, M).

"...as much as my parents want me to do this course. That's my life. So, I'm the one who's going to be working. It's like, this is my future" (Gideon, HM, M).

Only two female participants from PM homes also chose to follow their personal interest.

"I think every parent seems to think they know what's best for you.... I think they've mentioned it since I left high school. They (the parents) wanted me to do nursing... I have never even thought about getting into nursing... it just wasn't for me.... right now, I am doing criminal psychology" (Patricia, PM, F).

Interestingly, participants who stuck to their personal career choices still ensured that they gained parental approval before proceeding and the strategy they adopted in gaining parental consent was constant dialoguing with and educating parents. This group of participants were mostly the older ones who had broadened knowledge base and increased level of social capital, which made them better equipped to discuss maturely with their parents if they had different career interests from what their parents preferred.

“That's always driven me, yeah. But I've also known when I grew up and I told mum, Mama, I think I want to be a lawyer when I grow up. She told me as you are a minority you have to also think that the clients you may get you will have to focus on that they might not always be the best for you are a minority. The dominant culture of the area would want to go with their lawyer, like the same as theirs. So, I've known that the profession I want, I have to work harder. If I want to get work, I have to do over and above. I enjoy performing well in school and I enjoyed learning and stuff. So, I don't think it was, you know, much of a push or much a, you know I tried to explain to them that I was on certain direction. It just naturally happened” (Jessica, PM, F).

“...you have to educate them (the parents) to understand why you are directing them in this pathway... and you must be someone who is flexible to understand their views too. I had to educate them before I even made my career decision. ...otherwise, you can take a decision and you upset them even if it is a good decision... later they will come to understand that you did not take a decision which was bad or a decision which could take you in a blind career pathway” (Patrick, HM, M).

Only one HM participant blatantly refused their parents' career preference, and this caused an interim rift in the family. Nonetheless, this participant who had completed his first degree and was doing a postgraduate program at the time of this study endeavoured to seek parental approval later by providing financial support to the family after commencing work.

“My parents sent me to school, thinking I will do what they wanted me to do. They wished I became a teacher like one of my aunts... that was the path they wanted me to take! But it was not my passion. There was a misunderstanding between my parents and myself when I chose to go into nursing! They told me you should do education! I told them mum, dad, I can't do that! I am going to do what I want. ...this misunderstanding lasted for years, until when I started working and earned good money. Then they said...that's good!” (Seth, HM, M).

One HM participant preferred to seek advice from their friend and teacher. However, the advice provided stirred them away from their personal career interest.

“When I came here, I tried to ask friends: how do you feel about my career? They told me it takes longer. I tried asking the teacher... he told me that it will take me a long way for me to become a doctor, like maybe seven years, eight years. ...it's actually a long way for me to become what I wanted to be...too long...plus it is really hard....I am just studying social work. I think it's pretty easy for me, so I don't want to pursue a higher career that's going to take me too long to graduate” (Isaac, HM. M).

All participants perceived they had an obligation to pay back their parents and the home society that nurtured them. Regardless of participants' characteristics, they all perceived that their career choice is expected to support their family. Due to emphasis on

familial/societal duties and obligations, the participants expressed their intention to return to their heritage countries after completing their education and training so that they can support their family and community.

“It's not what you are going to do, it's what you are going to get from what you do that will support your family” (Seth, HM, M).

“I think there's that huge part of me, which makes me think that I owe my heart to my home country...one day I would like to go back, because that's where it all started, otherwise I wouldn't be here. If I hadn't had the experience I had from my culture, I wouldn't be where I am today” (Caroline, PM, F).

5.5 Discussion

The current study makes worthwhile contributions to the body of literature on SSA youths' understanding of their parents' role in the course of their career construction in Australia. One of the main reasons why people migrant is a desire to provide better educational and economic opportunities for their families (Jung, 2015; Lundy & Lartey, 2017). This sentiment is applicable to all our study participants regardless of their entry status, educational level or country of origin. The study participants acknowledged prioritization of education by their parents, who believed that academic achievement and occupational success are prerequisites for successful integration. These findings are in line with recent work by Albertini et al. (2019) who posited that education is an investment for youths' future occupational success which also benefits the entire household's economic wellbeing.

Overall, our findings suggest that all participants had a positive perception of their parents' roles. The participants identified their parents' roles as providing support (financial, emotional and social) and encouragement (sacrificial love, role modeling and

advice/guidance). These findings are in line with earlier studies, which documented that youths perceive their parents as being their most influential role models (Brown & Treviño, 2014), and sources of motivation and wisdom (Karunanayake & Nauta, 2004). Participants in this study tended to turn to their mothers for solace and assurance, while their fathers challenged them to persevere in times of difficulty. The findings of this study align with earlier research on the patterns of advice provided by mothers and fathers (Germeijs & Verschueren, 2009). According to Soenens and Vansteenkiste (2005), fathers tend to challenge their children to aspire towards greater heights, but they may not be expressive on an emotional level. Mothers, on the other hand, tend to be more comforting and friendly (Germeijs & Verschueren, 2009). The high school students relied on the guidance of their parents when making important decisions, while the tertiary students sought encouragement and support to maintain momentum while navigating their career trajectories. Previous studies have found that younger adolescents perceive more support from their parents, while older ones are more inclined to perceptions of parental coercive control (Degoede et al., 2009). Most of the participants who turned to their parents during the times they felt academically stressed and down spirited were from PM backgrounds, while only three HM participants sought parental advice during stressful academic periods. These numbers reflect that the students from PM backgrounds were more likely to consult with their parents for career advice because they perceived them as role models who have the knowledge required to provide the much-needed career guidance.

Another factor that needs further pondering is the career histories of the parents and their education backgrounds. The reason is that these form the first and immediate career contexts the participants were exposed to and might influence the participants' career constructions. In their narratives, both Martin and Caroline drew attention to the

career affordances their parents created and this indicates that the parents were not only role models, they also produced career backgrounds from which the children could start their own career explorations. Parents who entered as professional migrants had higher levels of education and qualifications with enhanced employability in Australia as they had jobs already lined-up for them before entry into the country. As these people had migrated voluntarily, it is an indication of their competitiveness in the labour market; therefore, they are more confident and upfront with their offspring regarding their career directions. However, the humanitarian migrants who have been forced to relocate due to troubles in their home countries could have been limited in their ability to influence their children's career pathways. As indicated by some participants and in our previous study (Akosah-Twumasi et al., 2020b), some of the humanitarian migrants with lower educational and socio-economic backgrounds may not have the confidence or the necessary resources to provide the required career guidance to their children. Parents with higher education and workforce skills, who were forced to migrate as humanitarians to escape persecution, had the educational acumen and career know-how to guide their children's career pathways. However, as these parents may have been unable to prepare ahead of their settlement into the host country, they possibly experienced delays in gaining employment that could give them the social status and financial power to be more assertive about their children's career decisions. It is worth noting that the varied lengths of residency of the participants did not influence their career outlooks, and this is probably because their career experiences were majorly determined by the entry status and educational backgrounds of the parents.

Often, the parents' deep love for their children inspired them to go beyond their call of duty. However, the parents' commitment to duty in providing the needs of their children ultimately made them feel that they were entitled to have a say in their children's

career development (Akosah-Twumasi et al., 2020b). This finding is supported by the works of Lowe et al. (2015) who argued that if parents provide financial support to fund their children's education, they are entitled to participate in the decision processes of their children's education and career selection. From the perceptions of the study participants, their parents' commitment to duty of care became restrictive. As a result, the participants had feelings of indebtedness and restrictive reciprocal obligations to their parents/families. Participants' familial experience and expectations engraved in their impressionable minds that their career choices must align with their parents' preferences and decisions must be made not only for their own sake but also for the collective good of the entire family (Sawitri et al., 2014; Kim et al., 2016).

In-depth exploration of the findings revealed that participants' career choices are filtered through the lens of the SSA's acculturation model – prioritizing family needs and societal expectations (Akosah-Twumasi et al., 2020a). These familial and societal expectations serve as restrictive obligations that present a “fork in the career decision-making road” – a dilemma as to which career option to choose. This confirms that youths of collectivist orientations tend to pursue group/societal goals and not their personal interests, emphasizing the standards and importance of relatedness and family cohesion (Kim et al., 2016; Akosah-Twumasi et al., 2018). The current study outcomes lend support to a recent finding by Albertini et al. (2019), which suggests that intergenerational support is pivotal for migrant youths' socio-economic integration into the host society. The phenomenon of intergenerational support is a standard practice in many collectivist societies. For example, Filipinos regard living together with relatives, as a coping mechanism to cater for the needs of family members (Hofstede, 2001). It is therefore the norm for adult offspring to provide financial support to parents in their older age (Hofstede, 2001). Family solidarity and commitment are also the normative practice of

Chinese families as they maintain filial obligations to provide help to elderly parents (Ofstedal et al., 2004; Thang, 2010; Guo et al., 2012). Whether they live in their home country or they have migrated, families from SSA and Asia tend to maintain their heritage societal practices of familial duty and reciprocal obligations to the community (Sue & Okazaki, 1990; Kao & Thompson, 2003; Zhang, 2004; Akosah-Twumasi et al., 2020a).

A sense of indebtedness to parents and society is embedded in SSA parent–child relationships, and children are expected to follow through due to cultural practices and as a way of repaying their parents for their sacrificial love. These findings are consistent with the assertion by Ma et al. (2014) that Asian migrant children's sense of indebtedness is grounded in their cultural orientation as their response to the sacrifices parents made during their migration journey. The responsibility of restrictive reciprocal obligations compelled some participants to conform to parents' career choice because of repercussions or the backlash of fear of failure (Wambu et al., 2017). The implication of this line of action is that SSA youths may struggle not only in the pursuit of their career training but also with their work-life balance in the future, which may affect their health, social life and psychological wellbeing (Laursen & Collins, 2009). There are potential consequences for the participants who conform to their parents' career preferences. If the career choice favored by their parents leads participants to a fulfilling career path that they enjoy, they would forever be grateful to their parents. On the contrary, if participants do not enjoy their job and feel unfulfilled by the type of profession chosen for them, this could affect their psychological connectedness with their parents, which may erode participants' loyalty and obligation towards parents for making them follow a career path that they despise (Gavazzi et al., 1999).

PM participants who followed their personal interests for the most part dialogued with their parents, while the HM participants utilized strategies, such as educating parents and providing financial support after commencing work to obtain parental approval. In our previous study, trusting parents reported having limited understanding of the education system and a lack of confidence in their ability to provide their children with guidance on career choices (Akosah-Twumasi et al., 2020b). In this case, educating parents was an effective strategy to enhance the parents' knowledge of the employment prospects of their children's chosen career in Australia. In some circumstances, participants consulted other significant figures, like friends and teachers, on career related matters. Isaac [HM, M] demonstrated this by conferring with his educators and peers about his desire to become a doctor and the required years of training. This finding is consistent with recent research by Bartoszyk et al. (2019) who postulated that if students perceive that the level of support they are getting from parents is insufficient, they may look elsewhere for the support they need. This implies that some humanitarian migrant students may rely on friends and teachers for career guidance instead of their parents. Peer and educator influence could change the dynamics of the parent-child relationship, and this may warrant future exploratory studies.

The participants who opposed their parents' career choice risked facing dire consequences as their refusal to follow their parents' career directions resulted in a rift in the family. This finding is consistent with earlier research by Ma et al. (2014) who contended that career decision-making conflicts between parents and children of Asian descent brought a sense of guilt to their children leading to possible repercussions with their health and wellbeing. As evidenced in this study, rifts occurred within some families when some participants insisted on pursuing their personal interests. This study outcome aligns with earlier research by Rao and Walton (2004) who reported that any opposition

to the collectivist family's career preference and the desire to pursue one's personal interests could be construed as disobedience, warranting familial/societal sanctions. Nonetheless, they still kept their psychological connectedness with their parents, and eventually, such rifts were repaired when participants negotiated with their parents after they had secured their career and were gainfully employed. These participants must be courageous and brave because talking back at parents, especially in the African cultural context, could have serious repercussions. Ultimately, migrant SSA youths acknowledge the potential challenges posed by restrictive parental obligations. However, parental approval is essential, and whether these young people went with their parents' choices or not there appears to be reconciliation with family in the end.

5.5.1 Practical Implications

The theoretical framework identified in this study which is restrictive reciprocal obligations that compel SSA youths to prioritize their family needs and seek parental approval when making career choices aligns with the SLTCDM which posits that socio-cognitive beliefs are influenced by various factors which could facilitate or inhibit the career decision-making behavior of individuals (Krumboltz, 1994). In this study, such factors include environmental conditions and associative learning experiences, in which socio-economic and cultural sources influence skill development, interpretations of self-observations and world-view generalizations (Krumboltz & Nichols, 1990). This theory provides in-depth understanding of the career development trajectories of youths from collectivist societies as it highlights the influential role of SSA parents in ensuring that their children prioritize family needs in their career choice decisions. This implies that for this group of people, career decision-making processes may not be internalized within the individual youth's mind but is rather processed by the family unit and transmitted through social learning to the young adult. Lent et al.'s (1994) SCCT model of career

choice process provides further insights into the study findings. SCCT accentuates that career choice goals are sometimes less influenced by personal interest. In such cases, supportive environmental conditions may be lacking (Lent et al., 2002). The role of personal interests in career choice may be limited by self-efficacy beliefs, outcome expectations, cultural values or environmental variables. In such instances, people may need to compromise their interests and, instead, make their choices on the basis of pragmatic considerations, such as full support of important others, perceived ability, job opportunities/accessibility and financial remuneration (Lent et al., 2000, 2002).

Data from this study suggest that parental influence based on cultural beliefs/values and outcomes expectations could pose as barriers, preventing youths from taking control of their lives and exploring career opportunities that align with their personal interests. In this study, we note that career decision-making is not a personal individual process for the SSA youth. However, the significant and highly influential role of parents in the career trajectory of young people from collectivist societies is not quite explicit in existing career theories which are more closely linked to individualistic cultures (Arulmani et al., 2003; Polenova et al., 2018). The findings of this study can be used to inform and develop culturally sensitive career counseling services. Career counseling that addresses career beliefs, values and goals could create a platform upon which migrants from collectivist societies approach career decision-making. Career counseling with SSA migrant clients requires understanding of their unique and complex circumstances, and a set of practical tools specifically tailored to address issues of migrant career development (Chen, 2009). An essential role of counselors is to assist students with establishing rapport with their parents on career matters. School career counselors could re-orientate SSA migrant parents by offering them courses and training programs to broaden their resource base on available career options (Ma & Yeh, 2010). In doing so,

the career counselors can dispel the erroneous impressions associated with fear and shame connected with lower academic aspirations and failure. Replacing the failure mentality with resilience, confidence and a "can do" spirit will assist youths in identifying the abilities and skills that are best suited to their career interests (Wambu et al., 2017).

The study findings also call attention to the intergenerational differences between the career schema of the parents and the children, which sometimes create tensions and conflicts. Such tensions and conflicts stem from perceptions of generational differences in values, behavior and/or identity (Foster, 2013). The children may be operating from another set of schema mainly based on career information available in their new contexts, particularly in the light of constant advancement of technology which brings about new experiences that provide opportunities for them to discover new interests. The difference of values, behavior and goals between generations may negatively impact on self-efficacy beliefs (Lent et al., 1994, 2002), and this needs to be considered by career counselors with the development of strategies that would help SSA clients identify their personal interests and work values. School counselors and other service providers could further assist SSA migrant students with culturally responsive programmes to increase the participants' social capital, which will facilitate and support their career decisions processes. Given that SSA migrants are used to consulting significant others when making major life decisions, shadowing a mentor during their career decision trajectories for instance, will be beneficial to them.

5.5.2 Strengths and Limitations

The major strength of this study is the use of an exploratory research design to unpack the complexity of career decision-making among SSA migrant youths and their perceptions of their parents' roles in the process, which extends the literature on this subject. However, the study is limited to only migrant youths from eight purposively

selected SSA countries who are residing in Townsville, Australia, which may impact on the transferability of the findings given the specificity of participants' unique characteristics (for example, most participants were children of professional migrants). Nonetheless, the study findings may provide both educators, especially career counselors, and parents with an in-depth understanding of their roles in assisting in the career development trajectories of SSA migrant youths. Future longitudinal studies are required to explore the occupational outlooks of the participants who opposed their parents' career choice and followed their own personal interests and those who chose to follow their parents' career preferences for fear of failure. Such longitudinal studies could also provide insight into how these migrant youths will approach the career decision-making of their own offspring.

5.6 Conclusion

This study has implications for teachers, career counselors and other professionals as well as for the parents of SSA migrant youths. The strong value of education buttressed by a sense of obligation to the family bodes well for the educational development of SSA migrant youths. The study findings highlight the SSA migrant youths' sense of responsibility towards their families and society (reciprocal obligations). This calls for teamwork between their parents and counselors so that the children are better supported and guided through their career related challenges. Due to the apparent culturally non-negotiable nature of SSA migrant children's reciprocal obligation, it is incumbent on career counselors to allay the children's fears of potentially disappointing their parents through perceived poor performance or academic failure because they chose to pursue careers based on their personal interests. Programmes by policymakers, building on the SSA cultural traditions could provide these migrant families with the required resources to assist their children to become economically productive adults in the host country.

Chapter 6: General Discussion

6.1 Chapter Overview

This chapter provides a general discussion of the results presented in the preceding chapters. Major findings of the various chapters and their contributions to the thesis are presented in Table 6.1. The research findings are positioned in relation to the literature. Insightful contributions of the various studies and practical implications within a wider context, particularly for policymakers, educators, counsellors, migrant parents, and service providers are projected. The chapter also addresses the strengths and limitations of this research and proffers recommendations for future research.

6.2 Bringing the Research Together

With the Systematic Review conducted in **Chapter 2**, I identified the factors influencing youths' career choices, with particular reference to cultural impact. The methodological (Qualitative Research Method based on Grounded Theory (GT)) approach utilised in **Chapters 3-5** has aided in-depth understanding of the acculturation and career decision-making experiences of SSA youths and their interactions with their parents within the context of a new culture. The findings presented in **Chapters 3-5** revealed “Prioritising Family Needs” as the core category, with three dimensions namely: (a) acculturative strategies in a new culture; (b) divergent views on career decisions; and (c) seeking approval. This core category and its dimensions describe the process by which SSA migrant youths make career decisions in their new environment. Figure 6.1 portrays the link between the core category and its dimensions. Altogether, the research findings highlighted the need for career development theories to take into account cultural, contextual and familial interactions for better understanding of the career decision making processes of SSA migrant youths. Each of these findings are discussed below.

6.2.1 Factors that influence youths' career choices: the role of culture

In **Chapter 2**, I conducted a systematic review of the literature on youths' career decision-making to examine the factors influencing the career choices of youths from different countries around the globe, from either or both collectivist and individualistic cultural settings. As indicated in previous research, it became apparent that youths in collectivist cultures were mainly influenced by interpersonal (honoring parental and societal expectations and parental requirements to follow a prescribed career path) and extrinsic factors (prestigious professions) (Mau, 2000; Gunkel et al., 2013). The opinions of significant others matter to youths from collectivist cultural settings. Whereas, in individualistic cultures, youths tend to focus on professions that offer higher income and satisfy their personal interests (Wüst & Leko Šimić, 2017; Polenova et al., 2018).

6.2.2 Acculturative strategies in a new culture

The study findings in **Chapter 3** revealed "***Prioritising Family Needs***" as the goal and model of acculturation utilised by SSA migrants at the family unit level and they adopted any appropriate strategy that would achieve this goal. SSA parents were willing to attain a sense of belonging with the host culture and adopted practices that aligned with their family goals, while maintaining their core heritage culture and moral values when exposed to situations that do not align with their family needs and goals. However, the acculturation process for children differed because they had stronger orientations to the host culture. Interestingly, for the SSA migrant parent, family needs and goals superseded individual needs and the children were compelled to follow the parental acculturation preference. Other studies from collectivist cultures about acculturation confirm that there are differences between children and parents, with children displaying a stronger inclination to the host country and a weaker inclination to their traditional culture (Ward & Geeraert, 2016; Gonzalez & Méndez-Pounds, 2018). This finding is inconsistent with previous acculturation models (Berry, 1997; Navas et al., 2005) that have long suggested

that migrants acculturate individually and in the same way across cultures (Berry, 1997; Cohen 2011; Navas et al., 2007).

This current study reveals a much more intricate and complex acculturation process in which ecological context plays a central role in determining the acculturation strategy of SSA migrant families whereby a selective acculturation process is utilised based on family needs and goals. Consequently, the findings in this study highlight the importance of family dynamics in the acculturation process. Existing models of acculturation are insufficient in accounting for the complexity of SSA migrants' lived adaptation experiences. This is because these models do not consider the role of ethnic identity and cultural family dynamics and how these identities are negotiated by this migrant group. The insistence to follow parental acculturation processes highlights the overpowering effect parental influence can have on the acculturation preferences of their children. The findings emphasise the importance of family dynamics in the evaluation of cross-cultural acculturation processes.

6.2.3 Divergent views on career decisions

Interestingly, the influential nature of exposure to western conceptualisations of career through regular interactions with their peers led to divergent views and intergenerational conflicts between the SSA migrant youths and their parents. Possibly, due to their readiness to change (Cheung et al., 2011), the children desired to construct their career identities based on social structures outside their family's cultural values, but the dissimilar standpoints resulted in tension and intergenerational conflicts. During further exploration of parents' perceptions about their roles in their children's career pathways, it was found that the majority of SSA migrant parents in this study upheld the heritage societal belief that children require guidance as they might not have the maturity and capacity to make prudent decisions, hence they felt it was incumbent on them not to

let their children decide their own career pathways. The viewpoints of these parents resonate with research by Howard & Walsh (2011), who concluded that youths in collectivist societies usually do not have the final say about their educational and career pathway choices. The findings of this current study indicated that parents' leadership approach (parenting styles) inevitably shapes the career pathways of SSA migrant youths. Majority of the SSA migrant parents still maintained the conventional parenting styles (Authoritarian and Authoritative) to which they were accustomed from their heritage collectivist culture in "*preparing their children for the career road*" after transitioning to the Australian individualistic society. These parenting styles have been confirmed in other studies focused on collectivist societies (Renzaho et al., 2011; Mugadza et al., 2019; Sovet & Metz, 2014), it also resonates with Baumrind's (1971) parenting typology. Authoritarian SSA parents prioritised prestigious jobs, cultural values, and expectations as a way of fostering high academic and professional achievement in their children. The Authoritarian parents were more supportive (than Authoritative parents) of their children's career choices and encouraged them to choose occupations that best suited their abilities and interest. Interestingly, some parents deviated from normative parenting styles either because of their educational deficiencies (trustful parenting style) or to sidestep the legal framework of the host culture (wily parenting style). Nonetheless, irrespective of the parenting style, SSA parents play a significant role of support and guidance in their children's choice of career.

Parenting style was largely influenced by gender and entry status, whereby well-educated and professional parents (who had good careers and a higher socio-economic status), were more forceful and had high hopes for their children's career paths (Banks et al., 2016). These factors have significant consequences for the child-parent relationship and may affect children's self-esteem, academic achievement, cognitive development,

and behaviour as well as their choice of career. Existing Western theories on parenting styles and career decision-making emphasise personal interests and individual autonomy, which is the standard ethos of individualistic societies. However, these theories may not fit well for family-oriented people from collectivist cultures where decision-making is typically interdependent and career choices need to factor what benefits the family and community. Such familial expectations ensured the SSA migrant family's economic sustainability and the requirement of the youths to maintain the status quo by looking after the aging parents and other members of the family in the future (Shen, 2015). The apparent non-negotiable stance of most SSA migrant parents on their children's expected career outlooks (i.e., children must obtain university degree, pursue prestigious professions, support relatives) appeared confronting and could be stressful for the young migrants as they contemplate their career journeys.

6.2.4 Seeking Approval

In eliciting the views of the SSA migrant youths about their perceptions of their parents' involvement in their career pathways, I discovered that majority of the SSA migrant youths in this study were morally compelled to reciprocate the sacrificial love of their parents and believed they had an obligation to care for their parents in their old age, just as the parents had looked after them while they were young. This finding aligns with Stebleton et al.,'s (2020) recent postulations that African migrant youths may choose career pathways that allow them to support their families and give back to the systems (communities) that nurtured them. Accordingly, not only did the SSA migrant youths in this study credit their families with making their academic and occupational journeys possible, but they considered family needs and desires when making such important life decisions.

Although the “**restrictive reciprocal obligations**” created a “**fork in the career decision making road**” and led to different reactions and mediation strategies, the unifying outcome was that they all sought to obtain parental approval for their chosen career path. This ultimately required **prioritisation of family needs**. This current study's findings indicate that participants' reactions and strategies for negotiating parental approval differ based on their gender and on their parents' entry status and educational level. Most participants, particularly the females and those with professional entry status conformed to their parents' career choice for fear of failure while a few who followed their personal interests negotiated parental approval through dialogue and educating parents. This is consistent with earlier research by Ma et al. (2005) who reported that migrant youths reconcile parental career expectations with their personal interests to curb intergenerational conflicts in the family.

All participants had a strong desire to obtain parental approval either early or later, during their career journey. This desire was likely based on their heritage societal orientations where youths who followed their personal career interests risked generating a rift in the family. The responsibility of restrictive reciprocal obligations compelled some participants to conform to parents' career choice because of repercussions or the backlash of fear of failure (Wambu et al., 2017). The implication of this line of action is that SSA youths may struggle not only in the pursuit of their career training but with their work-life balance in the future, which may affect their health, social life, and psychological wellbeing (Laursen & Collins, 2009). There are potential consequences for the participants who conform to their parents' career preferences. If the career choice favoured by their parents leads participants to a fulfilling career path that they enjoy, they would forever be grateful to their parents. On the contrary, if participants do not enjoy their job and feel unfulfilled by the type of profession chosen for them, this could affect

their psychological connectedness with their parents, which may erode participants' loyalty and obligation towards parents for making them follow a career path they despise (Gavazzi et al., 1999). Some youths faced rejection from their parents, while others experienced a hostile reaction and temporarily severed relationship with their parents. One participant who caused a rift in the family by insisting on pursuing his career interests was later able to rectify the conflict when he was able to financially support the family through his chosen career. Whether or not the SSA migrant youths followed their parents' preferences, they all sought parental approval and maintained their allegiance to their family as they were determined to maintain the equilibrium of the family.

Some SSA migrant youths outsourced career guidance to educators and career counsellors as well as their local peers when they were exploring their career pathway choices in addition to what they received from their parents. This was especially the case for youths from humanitarian migrant backgrounds where their parents may not have the educational acumen to confidently provide the required career guidance. This finding aligns with recent research by Bartoszuk et al. (2019) who postulated that if students perceive the level of assistance they get from parents as insufficient, they might consult other significant adults and peers for the support they need.

Overall, the theory of "***Prioritising Family Needs***" is the summit and the substance of every decision of SSA migrant families. The achievement of their migration goals is premised on meeting the needs of the family therefore '*doing what is best for the family*' underpins their preferred acculturation strategies. The parents adopt and adapt their parenting methods to suit the needs of their families while the youths are expected to balance their career interests with familial and societal expectations. The SSA migrant children in this study used different dialoguing approaches and/or reconciliation tactics to resolve any career-related issues with their parents and they sought parental approval

to maintain family cohesion. Ultimately, migrant SSA youths acknowledge the potential challenges posed by restrictive parental obligations. However, parental approval is essential, and whether these young people went with their parents' choices or not, there appears to be reconciliation with family in the end.

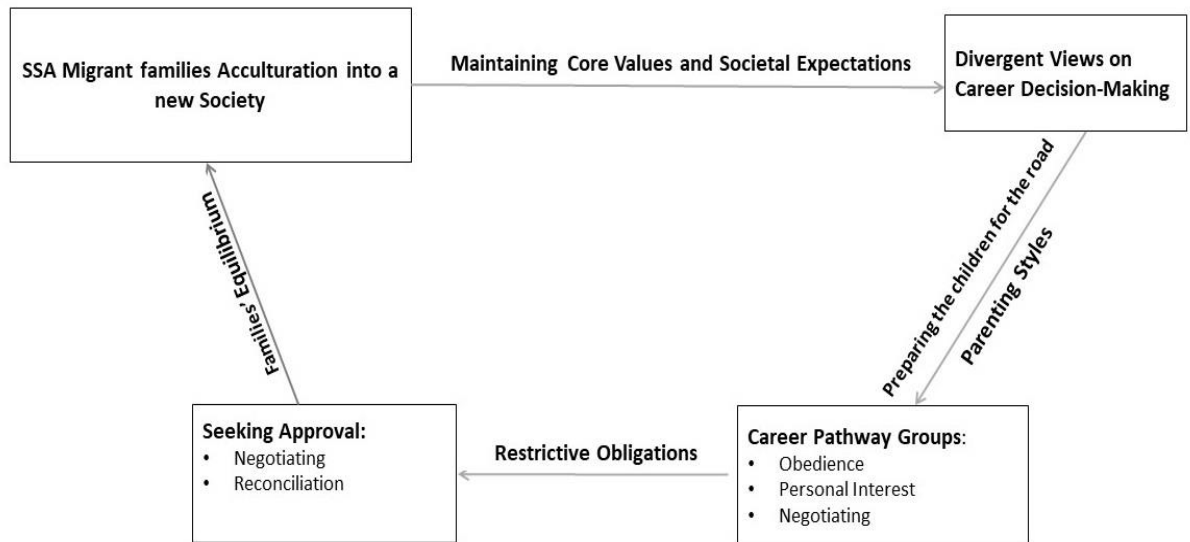


Figure 6.1: Conceptual Framework for SSA Migrant Families' Adaptation and Career Decision-Making Strategy

Table 6.1: Major chapter findings and their contributions to the thesis

Chapter	Major Findings	Contribution to the Thesis
2	<p>The systematic review uncovered that:</p> <p>Intrinsic, extrinsic, and interpersonal factors influence youths' career choices in all societies.</p> <p>In collectivist societies, youths' career choices are mainly influenced by extrinsic and interpersonal factors whereas youths in individualistic societies are mainly influenced by intrinsic and interpersonal factors.</p> <p>Youths from collectivist cultures were mainly influenced by family expectations, whereby higher career congruence with parents could increase career confidence and self-efficacy.</p> <p>In all societies, parents play instrumental roles in their children's career pathways.</p> <p>The systematic review revealed there were limited studies on the following:</p> <p>Qualitative studies on bicultural youths</p> <p>Theories to explain the acculturation strategies of African migrants</p> <p>The career decision-making experiences of African migrant youths</p>	<p>Chapter 2 addressed Research Question 1: <i>What is the role of culture in determining the factors that influence youth's career choices?</i></p> <p>The findings from this systematic review gave a baseline understanding of the role societal ethos and cultural values play in youth's career choices in both individualistic and in collectivist societies. The knowledge gaps highlighted in the review prompted the construction of research questions 2, 3 and 4, which have been answered in chapters 3, 4 and 5.</p>
3	<p>The acculturation strategy of SSA migrant families was underpinned by prioritising family needs. Thus, group goals were promoted over individual interests.</p> <p>SSA migrant families do not dichotomise their needs into peripheral and central domains.</p> <p>SSA migrants acculturate as a family rather than as individuals.</p> <p>The acculturation process of SSA migrants involves two major phases:</p> <p>maintaining core moral values</p> <p>attaining a sense of belonging</p>	<p>Chapter 3 answered Research Question 2: <i>What are the acculturation strategies preferred by SSA migrant parents and their children during adaptation into the Australian society?</i></p> <p>A new theory: "Prioritising Family Needs" was constructed from the data to describe the acculturation strategy applied by SSA migrant families.</p> <p>The theoretical model constructed in this chapter is the first acculturation model developed to explain the lived experiences of SSA migrant families in a different society. The outcomes of the study in this chapter established the groundwork for the divergent views expressed by SSA migrant parents and their children on career decision making which were further explored in chapter 4 (Parental perspectives) and 5 (youths' perspectives).</p>

Sub-Saharan African Migrant Parents' Influence on their Children's Career Pathways

Chapter	Major Findings	Contribution to the Thesis
4	<p>The study revealed that most SSA migrant parents maintained their Authoritarian and Authoritative styles of parenting as used in their home countries.</p> <p>Some parents adapted their parenting styles due to their changed circumstances within the host country.</p> <p>Identification of two new parenting styles: “Wily” and “Trustful”.</p> <p>Some SSA migrant parents, who would normally be authoritative, became trustful due to their perceived lack of educational expertise to guide their children.</p> <p>Other SSA migrant parents, who would normally be authoritarian employed wily tactics to manipulate their children’s career decisions, to circumvent the strict Australian legal framework around children’s rights to select their own careers.</p> <p>Irrespective of parenting style applied, all the participants aimed to either guide or direct their children’s educational and career development to ensure their children become economically productive adults. Therefore, the theory of “Preparing them for the road” was constructed to typify the parents’ perceptions about the roles they play in their children’s career pathways.</p>	<p>Chapter 4 addressed Research Question 3 - <i>What do SSA migrant parents perceive to be their role in their children’s career pathways?</i></p> <p>The chapter outcomes demonstrate the strong influence that parenting behaviours/styles and family functioning have on SSA migrant youth’s career pathways.</p> <p>Two new parenting styles were constructed: “Trustful” and “Wily”, to explain how SSA migrants adapt their parenting styles to inform their children’s career pathways.</p> <p>The theory of “Preparing them for the road” was instrumental in understanding the perceptions of SSA migrant parents regarding their roles in their children’s career outlooks.</p> <p>In addition to participants’ cultural orientation of prioritising the needs of the family which influence the children’s career decision making, parents’ characteristics such as gender, educational levels and entry statuses clearly measured out how much SSA migrant parent could influence their children’s career journeys.</p>
5	<p>All participants acknowledged their parents’ supportive and encouraging roles.</p> <p>The children acclaimed their parents for carrying out their parental roles beyond the call of duty. The sacrificial love of parents conscientized the participants to their indebtedness to their parents and the system that nurtured them thereby feeling obligated to fulfil familial and societal expectations.</p> <p>As they try to balance familial expectations with personal interests, SSA migrant youths encountered ‘a fork in the road’ in their career decision-making.</p> <p>All participants, regardless of their background, sought parental approval.</p> <p>Study findings indicate that participants’ reactions and strategies for negotiating parental approval differ based on entry status and gender.</p>	<p>Chapter 5 answered Research Question 4: <i>What are the perceptions of SSA migrant youths about their parents’ involvement in their career pathways?</i></p> <p>Potential perceptions of SSA migrant youths were identified which designated/typified the parents of this cohort of migrants are being supported and encouraging as the parents demonstrated sacrificial love to their children by carrying out their responsibilities beyond the call of duty.</p> <p>The theory of “Restricted Reciprocal Obligations” was developed in this chapter to illustrate that, irrespective of their backgrounds (professional and humanitarian migrants), SSA migrant youths sought parental approval using different approaches to maintain their family’s equilibrium.</p>

6.3 Implications for Practice

The study findings may be anchored on two career development models that have been propounded in the western literature to explain the career decision making processes of individuals. These models are the Social Learning Theory of Career Decision Making (SLTCDM) by Krumboltz et al. (1976) and the Social Cognitive Career Theory (SCCT) by Lent et al. (1994). Krumboltz et al. (1976) emphasise that career decision making is “influenced to a large extent by factors usually outside the control of any one individual” (p.71). On the other hand, SCCT posits that career decision making is a function of a reciprocal relationship between three intricately linked variables: self-efficacy beliefs, outcome expectations, and goal setting behaviour (Bandura, 1999; Lent et al., 1994). The theory also emphasises the dominant influence of variables such as economic needs, family pressures, or educational limitations on youths' career choice making processes (Lent et al., 2002). Data from this study suggest that parental influence based on cultural beliefs/values and outcomes expectations could pose barriers, preventing youths from taking control of their lives and exploring career opportunities that align with their personal interests. In this study, I noted that career decision making is not a personal individual process for the SSA youth.

Unfortunately, the significant and highly influential role of parents in the career trajectory of young people from collectivist societies is not quite explicit in existing career theories, which are more intricately linked to personal interest, a feature of individualistic cultures (Arulmani et al., 2003; Polenova et al., 2018). SSA migrant families have come from societies (heritage countries) where career options, particularly those deemed prestigious, are limited. Therefore, the parents perceived it is incumbent on them to ensure their children have access to higher education that will prepare them adequately for better paying jobs that will provide financial support and bring honour to the family. When these

parents migrate with their children, some maintain the mindset that their children must pursue traditional prestigious careers, without considering that diverse career options exist in the host country and could earn an individual a decent living. Due to such traditionally held career perceptions, the parents emphasise that their children must pursue prestigious professions.

This study findings could inform policy makers and assist school counsellors in the development of effective school and community support programs to guide SSA migrant families, to ensure efficient and effective career paths for SSA migrant students. Support from school counsellors, teachers, researchers, and policymakers who may influence the career decision-making of youths could alleviate the potential challenges faced by the SSA migrant students. They can do this by working with the SSA migrant parents and helping them to understand possible career opportunities and job market trends. The difference of values, beliefs and goals between generations may negatively impact self-efficacy beliefs (Lent et al., 1994, 2002). These intergenerational differences need to be considered by career counsellors in the development of strategies that would help SSA clients identify their personal interests and work values. School counsellors and other service providers could further assist SSA migrant students with culturally responsive programs to increase the participants' social capital, which will facilitate and support their career decisions processes. Because SSA migrants are used to consulting significant others when making major life decisions, shadowing a mentor during their career decision trajectories for instance, may be beneficial to them.

Providing accessible sources of support and empowering youths to openly discuss their concerns relating to career decision-making will broaden their understanding of career prospects and this could have a significant impact on their career decision-making processes. Family support is important for all youths as they navigate their career

explorations, especially for migrants. The role of counsellors is not only limited to the youths, but it can also benefit the entire family. Essentially, counsellors can attempt to engage not just the youths in exploring academic and vocational opportunities, but also offer avenues for families to become involved and connected to the career decision-making process. Literature indicates that when migrant youths are able to apply their culturally endowed talents and skills, they are more likely to thrive socially, academically and integrate better in any host country (Meadows, 2017). It is therefore incumbent on the policy making bodies to implement programs that would continue to celebrate and promote diversity through culturally appropriate educational support programs that improve the experiences of migrant groups.

Finally, career development theorists are challenged to be more inclusive in their theories to incorporate the realities of individuals from collectivist migrant groups. Often, there are discrepancies between the dreams that SSA migrant youths and their parents have for their careers. SSA migrant youths understand the significant role of their heritage cultural values and the difference between their aspirations and parental expectations. However, rather than see these issues as barriers to accomplishing their personal educational and occupational goals, they are perceived as necessary obligations that aid the group goal of prioritisation of family needs. It appears that these barriers are also part of the reality of making career choices and thus are part of the cultural context for SSA migrant youths.

6.4 Quality Checks

To enhance the trustworthiness of the current research, the four qualitative criteria of dependability, credibility, transferability, and confirmability guided the research processes (Charmaz, 2006, 2014). The trustworthiness and dependability of the study findings is sufficiently supported by primary data provided by the 57 participants. I

applied Corbin & Strauss's (1998, 2008, 2009 and 2015) approaches to GT by robustly collecting data (individual interviews); performing open, line-by-line coding, followed by axial and selective coding supported by field notes and memo-writing to develop categories and subcategories. As the study progressed, I did reach a point of theoretical saturation, which Charmaz (2006) delineates as the juncture at which obtaining further data about a theoretical category reveals no new properties nor yields any further theoretical insights about the constructing GT. In addition, I solicited feedback from the study participants on an early draft of the results and discussion portions of the study. This practice of member validation is a way to "check that the researcher's interpretation of the data typifies what they said or their experiences" (Elliott & Lazenbatt, 2005). To offset potential researcher biases, at every level of the study analysis, the study process was reviewed and rechecked by the team of advisors for confirmation. Furthermore, I used reflective strategies such as researcher reflectivity, having a supervisor attend, monitor the initial interview session, and confirm the development of coding categories and themes from the transcribed participants' responses. Overall, adherence to GT methods, consistent with my stated philosophical and methodological stance, as well as my demonstrated attributes as an emerging researcher establish the quality of this GT research project.

6.5 Strengths and Limitations of the study

The major strengths of this research include the fact that it has provided increased understanding of the cultural underpinnings of the parental factors that influence the career choices of SSA migrant youths. The study is also the first to explore, through qualitative research the adaptation processes of African migrant families. Thus, the study findings extend the literature on the acculturation processes of African migrants to bring a greater focus on the interplay between ethnic identity, cultural family dynamics,

adaptation and career decision making. The findings provide a deeper understanding of the intergenerational familial dynamics of adapting into the host culture and this has been done by comparing parents' and children's responses both within and between family groups.

However, this study also has several limitations. As a qualitative study, the focus of the study was on the meanings and lived experiences of eight purposively selected SSA migrant communities living in the Townsville region of Australia. Despite the in-depth exploration of the participants' experiences, values and practices, the study does not cover all the sensitive aspects of their lives, such as the experiences of single mothers and fathers, and hence limits the representativeness of the sample (Silverman, 2010). Additionally, the small number of couples (six only) did not allow for detailed analysis of the impact of joint parenting. Furthermore, there were more professional migrant parents involved in this study than humanitarian migrant parents. This may be a consequence of bias sampling in which the humanitarian immigrants may have limited English proficiency and knowledge about research, and this could create barriers to participation (Shedlin et al., 2011). I also acknowledge that there are caveats with the use of the concepts "collectivist and individualistic" to describe the cultural underpinnings of different countries as there is some fluidity around their usage as suggested by Hofstede (1991, 2001). However, the concepts of collectivist and individualistic societies are commonly used and accepted terms in the literature.

Being an insider researcher can also appear as a limitation due to the potential influence of personal values and biases on the interpretations of the data and the trustworthiness of the findings. However, my position as an insider researcher in this study may be considered a strength. Early in the research process, I was able to establish some rapport with the participants. This familiarity galvanised my acceptance and trust

with the SSA migrant families, so they were willing to commit themselves to participate in the study, as recommended by Berger (2015). As participants trusted me and were confident in the study process, they were encouraged to share their migration stories and career decision-making experiences, providing me with richer data for deeper insight about their lived experiences.

Notwithstanding these caveats, the study findings provide an impetus for the development of culturally appropriate policies and educational support programs and practices that support educational and career decisions of migrant groups with a strong orientation towards extended family systems. Further qualitative research among similar groups of SSA migrants and other migrant groups with a strong orientation towards family systems, may be warranted to confirm the study findings. Additionally, longitudinal studies could explore the occupational results of participants who opposed their parents' career choice and followed their own personal interests, and this could be contrasted with those who chose to follow their parents' career preferences. Such longitudinal studies would also provide insight into how these migrant youths will approach the career decision-making of their own offspring.

Chapter 7: Conclusion and Recommendations

7.1 Chapter Overview

Chapter seven summarises the outcomes of the research and recommendations that were made based on the findings. This research study focused on ascertaining the influence of SSA migrant parents on their children's career choices after settling in a different society. The research questions explored the role of culture in determining the factors that influence youth's career choices, the acculturation strategies preferred by SSA migrant parents and their children during adaptation into the Australian society as well as the perceptions of SSA migrant parents on their roles in their children's career choices. The research project also explored the perceptions of SSA migrant youths about their parents' involvement in their career pathways. To conduct this project efficiently the research was undertaken in two phases (systematic review and the construction of theories) to explain the lived migration and career decision-making experiences of the participants in this study.

7.2 Summary of the Study Findings

This research study uncovered that the factors most influential in youths' career decision-making processes are intrinsic, extrinsic, and interpersonal. While most youths from individualistic societies are influenced by personal interests and job satisfaction (intrinsic and interpersonal factors), prestige and reward associated with a profession (extrinsic and interpersonal factors) underpin most youths career pathways in collectivist societies. The normative practice in individualistic societies is for youths to be encouraged to choose their own careers and develop competency in establishing a career path of their interest with less familial and societal expectations than their collectivist society counterparts. The youths from collectivist societies are expected to balance their

personal interests with parental and societal expectations and to follow a pre-determined career path.

The systematic review conducted in this study indicated a lack of qualitative research on the acculturation model and career decision-making experiences of African migrant parents and children. Findings from the systematic review projected the need to construct theories to better understand SSA migrant families' acculturation strategies, the roles the parents' play in their children's career decision-making process, and the perceptions of the youths regarding their parents' involvement in their career pathways.

Grounded Theory (GT) methods were used to construct the theory of 'Prioritising Family Needs' to explain the SSA migrant families' acculturation processes in Australian society. This newly constructed theory indicates that SSA migrants are family/community-dependent, and they relocate as a family, promoting the needs of the family over the interests of individuals. A second theory, 'Preparing Them for the Road', was constructed to capture SSA parents' perceptions of their roles in their children's career development. During the process of constructing this theory, it was uncovered that most SSA parents applied their accustomed Authoritarian and Authoritative parenting styles while in Australia. However, while the parents described how they maintained their heritage cultures as well as accommodating the Australian societal practices, it became evident that some SSA parents deviated from the traditional parenting styles. Consequently, two new parenting styles, 'Wily' and 'Trustful', were developed.

Existing explanations of parenting influences on career decision-making place emphasis on self-achievements, personal interests, autonomy, and cultural circumstances, and are mostly developed in Western societies where these concepts are entrenched in individualism. These concepts may not fit well in collectivist societies, particularly for

SSA migrants where decision-making is typically interdependent, with career choice guided by factors that benefit one's family and community rather than oneself.

Some professional migrant parents dialogued with their children to avoid the legal framework of the host country where children can repudiate parental preferences. Hence, these parents applied the 'Wily' parenting approach to enable better collaboration with their children for a career path that benefits the entire family. Most of the humanitarian migrant parents who had low educational and socio-economic status decided to trust their children to make their own career decisions whilst they supported them from behind, hence these parents applied the 'Trustful' parenting style. Both 'Trustful' and 'Wily' parenting approaches assisted SSA migrant families to manage their transitioning processes in a new society. This innovative move of SSA parents being more flexible regarding their children's career uptake underscore the significance this cohort of migrants' place on merging the values of the heritage and host societies. The choice of parenting style has major implications for child-parent relationships and may consequently affect children's self-esteem, academic achievement, cognitive development, and overall health and wellbeing.

A third theory, 'Restrictive Reciprocal Obligations', was developed to encapsulate SSA migrant youths' perceptions of their parents in their career trajectories. All the youths in this study acclaimed their parents as their sources of support and encouragement during their career development and this recognition enkindled in the youths their obligation to reciprocate the generosity of their parents by fulfilling familial and societal expectations. Under this theory, the SSA migrant youths came under three categories. The Obedient group mostly came from professional migrant backgrounds with high SES, the Personal Interest group mostly came from humanitarian backgrounds with low SES, whilst the Negotiating group came from a combination of professional and

humanitarian backgrounds. The SSA migrant youths were identified into these three groups based on their parents' characteristics (entry status, SES, and gender) which invariably determined their career trajectories.

Taking together the abovementioned findings, this study makes a meaningful contribution towards understanding the adaptation strategies of SSA migrant families and the career choices of SSA migrant youths in Australia. The importance of SSA migrant family dynamics in the evaluation of cross-cultural adaptation processes is emphasised. The new acculturation model underpins all facets of the SSA migrant families' lives such as their strategy for integration, the parenting styles they adopt and the children's sense of reciprocal obligations toward their family and society. All the outcomes from this study highlight the migration goal of the SSA migrants to create a better family life and to become productive and participating members of the host community.

7.3 Recommendations

In collectivist societies, youths usually do not make decisions unilaterally about their future career pathways; they rely on their parents/family who normally will have the final say regarding which career path they follow (Krauss et al., 2020; Wambu et al., 2017; Howard & Walsh, 2011). This is different in individualistic societies where the legal framework permits youths to select their own careers based on their personal interests, occasionally overriding their parents' preferences. When SSA families migrate to Australia, parents' roles and responsibilities regarding their children's career development undergoes modifications. This calls for teamwork involving all stakeholders in the SSA migrant youths academic and career journeys.

7.3.1 Parents, other family members and significant adults

In the family set-up of SSA migrants, parents are the "go-to" people for important life decisions because of their responsibility to provide physical, social, emotional,

spiritual, and psychological support, however not all parents have the required capability to assist their children in the same way as professional career practitioners. On the one hand, SSA migrant parents support their children and know their strengths and weaknesses. On the other hand, some parents lack professional acumen, and they may not have an objective view of the career pathways of their children and may have limited knowledge of the labour market (Ulrich et al., 2018). For instance, their knowledge of career options and the job market could be outdated, influenced by the media, or contrary to the employment prospects available. Additionally, the personal judgments of their children's abilities may not always be consistent with the assessment of a professional career counsellor. Such views of parents do not help youths to position themselves to compete in the labour market.

Less-educated parents are likely to derive minimal benefits from community interactions mostly due to their limited social capital and lack of confidence. Professional guidance and support would greatly assist these parents. The expertise and the knowledge careers counsellors provide can empower parents by increasing their knowledge base on the educational and career options available in the host country. Hence, this study recommends that SSA migrant parents interact with educators and career practitioners, especially through face-to-face communication. Attaining this support and guidance at an early stage of their children's career trajectories will strengthen their role in guiding their children and place them in a better position to provide informed guidance in the new society.

7.3.2 Educators, Service Providers and Career Practitioners

SSA migrant youths, like other youths from most collectivist societies, are confronted with a wealth of expectations from their parents, friends, and society. At times, these expectations are a potential source of anxiety to the youths. Getting a degree and

pursuing a prestigious profession is almost, always what SSA parents demand from their children. Due to the apparent culturally non-negotiable nature of SSA migrant children's reciprocal obligations, it is incumbent on educators and career counsellors to allay the children's fears of potentially disappointing their parents through perceived poor performance or academic failure because they chose to pursue careers based on their personal interests. The study recommended that schools involve parents in their career development activities where they will be educated to soften their non-negotiable stance requiring their children to pursue a degree at all costs. Educators and career counsellors can reinforce to SSA migrant parents that in the western world most jobs can offer a decent living, unlike in their heritage countries where high remuneration is limited to careers in designated prestigious professions.

The services of educators and career counsellors are mostly packaged towards supporting the youths in their career pursuits. In doing so, they tend to leave out the parents therefore the parents miss out on the much-needed career guidance they require to be able to operate within the legal and cultural frameworks of the host country regarding their children's education and career pathways. As the parents of SSA migrant youths play a central role in their children's academic and occupational journeys, any career guidance the youths receive without incorporating the parents may lack the implementation support of the parents.

SSA migrant youths, especially those from humanitarian backgrounds, could face difficulties developing their self-identity and future goals due to the apparent limiting effects of their family's low SES. Evidence in this study indicates that some SSA migrant youths from humanitarian backgrounds consulted educators and peers for their career guidance instead of relying solely on their parents. Appreciating the roles and responsibilities of families, and engaging families in decision-making processes, are

significant for the career guidance of SSA migrant youths. Hence, this study recommends that career guidance for these youths should involve parent/families, significant adults, community organisations, mentors, and role models. Furthermore, coordinated services provided by educators and counsellors for SSA parents could improve the starting conditions of these migrant families. Career guidance needs to incorporate the parents as well as the youths to extend their knowledge of career options and processes, in terms of what career pathways are available that can achieve their family's migration goals. Hence, there is a great need for personal information and counselling services for SSA migrant parents so that they are better resourced and well-disposed to provide informed career advice to their children.

7.3.3 Policymakers

All SSA migrant parents and children in this study placed a high value on education because it helps them to attain a sense of belonging in the host country. However, for some families, the career education of the children occasionally generated divergent views between parents and children whereby the youths disagreed with the career preferences of their parents. The parents push their children towards attaining prestigious professions for the financial stability of the family. However, if the youths are not allowed to follow careers based on their personal interests their level of career satisfaction can be undermined. Long term rippling effects can include harming their psychological wellbeing and reducing their productivity rate which in turn can cause relational damages with their family as well as potentially triggering job insecurity. To mitigate the effects of the divergent views between the SSA migrant parents and children, this study recommends the development of more culturally appropriate policies and support programs that enhance the lived experiences of migrant groups who have strong orientation towards extended family systems. Additionally, this study recommends that

public employment agencies and business owners provide information on the prevailing job market conditions such as training requirements, job positions, promotion opportunities and job accessibility to educators and career practitioners so that they can pass this information on to the SSA migrant parents.

Most tertiary students require scholarships and loans such as the Higher Education Contribution Scheme (HECS) to enable them to attain their university degrees. This study recommends that policymakers improve the flexibility of these funding mechanisms so that more tertiary students can be supported, especially those from low SES backgrounds. Doing so offers opportunities for more disadvantaged youths to complete the required education and training to join the workforce, support their family as well as reduce the risk of them remaining a burden on the government's purse.

In addition to educators and career counsellors, other non-governmental agencies like religious organisations and multi-cultural groups can provide vital support to SSA migrant families. The migration experience is often characterised by feelings of separation and loss leading to anxiety thereby augmenting the challenges of settling in a new country. Religious organisations and multi-cultural groups offer SSA migrants a common ground to socialise and restore their well-being and sense of belonging. This study recommends that religious organisations and multi-cultural groups become actively involved in migrant resettlement programs. Programs by policymakers, building on the SSA cultural traditions could provide these migrant families with the required resources to assist their children to become economically productive adults in the host country.

Overall, SSA migrant families believe that supporting and encouraging children on the right approach to a career is a matter that concerns both the family and the host country. Families want to see their children satisfied and remunerated when they begin

working. Therefore, collaborative career guidance between parents and educators/career counsellors can help overcome barriers faced by SSA migrant youth experiencing disadvantages. The differing circumstances of migrant youths needs to be an important concern of career and guidance counsellors. Essential elements of career guidance that support young people experiencing disadvantage include community and family involvement and support as well as networks with service providers and the available resources. The use of role models and mentors for SSA migrant youths must be supported, especially for those with low a SES background, to deepen their relatable career aspirations and help them develop confidence in their future work life. Implementing the recommendations made in this thesis will ensure that the next generation of SSA migrant workers will be in professions where they will experience a fulfilling and satisfying work-life.

7.4 Directions for Future Research

The outcomes of this study open avenues for future research to be conducted. An important aspect recommended for further consideration relates to extending the new knowledge uncovered in this thesis by exploring the nature of future career satisfaction of the SSA migrant youths who followed their parents' career preferences, because of indebtedness to parents or from fear of failure. Tracking a wider sample of SSA migrant youths with passage of time and examining their potential future career satisfaction through GT method could provide a much deeper understanding of the unfolding nature of SSA migrant youth's career outlooks after transitioning to a different society. Such longitudinal studies would also offer insight into how the SSA migrant youths will approach the career pathways of their own offspring.

This study generated a GT (Prioritising Family Needs Model) regarding the acculturation strategy of SSA migrant parents and their children into the Australian

society. It would be beneficial to conduct similar qualitative studies with family-oriented migrants (ethnic groups) with varying migration and career pathway choice experiences. In addition, future research is imperative to explore the career satisfaction of the SSA migrant youths who insisted on following their personal career interests by applying both qualitative and quantitative research methods. Examining the level of familial and societal commitment of the SSA migrant youths who consulted other significant adults (e.g., educators and peers) for career advice could help ascertain how the youths maintained their reciprocal obligations to family and society. The proposed future research would also be a test for the longevity of the theory of "Prioritising Family Needs". The way forward to facilitate SSA migrant youths becoming productive citizens in the host country is for parents, career practitioners, educators, and policymakers to make the felt needs, not only of the youths but of the entire SSA migrant family, the centre of any educational policy decisions and other societal influences that will continue to impact on the career pathways of this cohort of migrant youths.

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Appendices

Appendix A – Ethics Approval

A.1 HREC Approval H7006

This administrative form
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A.2 HREC Approval H7374

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Appendix B – Letter of Support

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Appendix C – Participant Details

Participant's Background Information

Date of interview

Place of interview

Name/Code N0:

Country of origin

Gender:

M

F

Number of Children

Length of residence in Australia

Level of Education

Occupation

Name of the interviewer

Time of Interview:

Starting

Ending

Duration

Participants' contact details:

.....

Candidates' Signature

Appendix D – Interview Questions

Questions for Parents:

- Did you come to Australia as a Professional migrant or on Humanitarian grounds?
- Describe your experience as a migrant
- What is it like to live in Australia/Townsville?
- Do you feel a strong sense of responsibility about your children's career choices?
- To what extent are you involved in your children's career choices?
- What is the most difficult adjustment/situation/problem you have encountered since coming to Australia?
- How did you cope with the problem?
- How have your parental roles changed since you relocated to a new culture?
- How do your children react to your interventions regarding their career choices?
- How did you cope with any career decision-making problems with your children?
- How did your authority as a parent influence your children's career choices in a new culture?

Questions for Youths:

- Why did you choose your present career path?
- Is your current career choice based on your parents' preference or on your personal interests?
- What is it like to pursue your tertiary education in Australia?
- Please describe the most challenging experience/s in your career decision-making
- Describe the experience you went through in making your career decision.
- What coping strategies have helped you deal with your challenging experiences?
- How did you negotiate around competing cultural values?
- What are your feelings about any divergent views your parents have regarding your career pathway?
- How did your career choice affect your relationship with your parents and other family members?
- In what ways can your parents and other family members provide better support for your career development?

Appendix E – Information Sheet

PROJECT TITLE: *“The influence of African migrant parents on their children’s career choices in a new culture.”*

Dear Parent/Student,

You are invited to participate in the above-named research project. This study is being conducted by a Masters Research student (**Peter Akosah-Twumasi**) at the College of Medicine and Dentistry JCU, who is the principal investigator of the study.

Background and purpose of the project

Migrant parents arriving from collectivist societies usually exert strong influences on their children’s career choices. It is presumed that acculturating into an individualistic culture such as Australia may create tensions between migrant African parents and their children during career decision-making process. Therefore, this project aims to explore the roles and influences of African migrant parents on their adolescents’ career choices. It is hoped that the study’s outcomes will provide a better understanding of any cultural tensions around career decision-making. It will also aid migrant support groups and educational counsellors to develop policies and practices that would positively support migrant families during career decision-making processes.

Participating in this project

You have been identified as either:

A parent of African descent and have adolescent children in either senior high school or tertiary institutions in Australia.

OR

An adolescent/ student of African descent, attending high school or tertiary institution and living with parents

Procedures

We would like to invite you to participate in either an individual interview or a focus group discussion, based on your preference. During this session you will be asked to comment on your experiences of career decision-making in your family (either as a parent or as a child), what has been your most challenging experience/s concerning career decision-making, and how you might have been able to overcome these challenges.

The interview/focus group discussion, with your consent, will be audio-taped, and should only take approximately 1 hour of your time.

The interview/focus group will be conducted at your convenient time, and the venue of your choice. The interview/focus group discussion will be conducted by the principal investigator of this project.

If you wish to part take in this study, please click on this link to answer the survey questions.

Benefits

It is hoped that the outcomes of this project will guide policy makers in considering the career needs of migrant adolescent students. It will also enable the migrant/refugees support service providers to offer better support to migrant parents and their children during crucial career decision making processes.

Possible Risks

There are no specific risks anticipated with participation in this study. However, if you have any personal concerns related to the study, you may choose to discuss these concerns confidentially with a University Student Counsellor free of charge for JCU Students – JCU Townsville (07 4781 4711). Other participants will be directed to contact Lifeline on 131114, the Townsville Multicultural Support Group and Queensland

Program of Assistance to Survivors of Torture and Trauma; QPASTT (07- 47751588 and 07 33916677).

These professional counselling units work with traumatised people from migrant backgrounds. QPASTT counsellors work face-to-face and in groups with survivors of migrant/refugee related torture, who have had traumatic experiences, using a multicultural, flexible, client-centred approach and a wide range of interventions and therapies. Their counselling approach which is based on a trauma recovery framework provides culturally relevant, early intervention, family relationship counselling and support to address a range of psychological and social needs.

Anonymity

All data emanating from this research project will be coded as a means of protecting your anonymity and confidentiality. All responses will be treated as confidential and they will be de-identified for data analysis and subsequent presentation of findings.

Confidentiality

While confidentiality cannot be guaranteed between participants in focus groups discussion, the researcher will ensure that all information will be treated in a confidential manner, and your name will not be used in any publication arising out of the research. All data collected during this research project will be accessed only by the principal investigator and stored on JCU secure server for the duration of the project and for a period of five years after the publication of results. After this period, all the research data will be securely destroyed.

What if I change my mind about being involved?

It is crucial to understand that your involvement in this study is voluntary. While we would be pleased to have you participate, we respect your right to decline. There will

be no consequences to you if you decide not to participate. Should you wish to, you may withdraw at any time without explanation. You may also request that any data you have supplied to date be removed from the written records. However, participants who change their minds cannot necessarily withdraw comments they made during focus group discussions.

Has this research project been approved by the University?

This research project has been approved by the Human Research Ethics Committee (Project number: ...).

Whom can I contact if I have questions about the research project?

If you wish to find out more information about this research project, please contact the Principal Investigator: Peter Akosah-Twumasi (). If you have complaints about the conduct of this study, you should contact the Human Ethics Research Office, James Cook University, Townsville, QLD 4811. Phone: (07) 4781 5011 (ethics@jcu.edu.au)

Who do I inform of my willingness to participate?

You give your consent to participate in this research project by reading, signing and returning the attached consent form to the Principal investigator:

Principal Investigator: Peter Akosah-Twumasi, College of Medicine and Dentistry, James Cook University, Phone: , Email: peter.akosahtwumasi@jcu.edu.au

Primary Supervisor: A/Prof Bunmi Malau-Aduli, College of Medicine & Dentistry, James Cook University, Phone: , Email: bunmi.malauaduli@jcu.edu.au

Thank you for taking time to read this information sheet. We look forward to your response to this request.

Appendix F – Informed Consent Form

This administrative form
has been removed