Using Narratives to Understand the Experience of Career Success amongst Self-initiated Expatriates in South Africa

Tinashe Harry
https://orcid.org/0000-0001-6174-6883
University of Fort Hare
harrytinashe@live.com

Nicole Dodd
https://orcid.org/0000-0001-6863-8535
Stellenbosch University
nicoled@ma2.sun.ac.za

Willie Tafadzwa Chinyamurindi
https://orcid.org/0000-0002-4139-4224
University of Fort Hare
chinyaz@gmail.com

Abstract

Calls have been made within the careers literature for studies focusing on the career experiences of sample groups often neglected in theorising. One could regard self-initiated expatriates (SIEs) as one of these sample groups, especially within the context of a developing country. An interpretivist paradigm, relying on interviews, was adopted for this study using a sample of 25 expatriates working at a South African university. Based on data generated, career success was framed through: 1) quest for career progression; 2) material possessions; and 3) research publication output. Participants deemed factors within the organisation as key to this framing of career success, particularly: 1) the value placed on social networks; 2) the quest for fair remuneration; and finally 3) the availability of opportunities within the organisation. In their endeavours to retain and attract foreign academics, human resources (HR) practitioners can use the findings of this study to inform strategies that assist in developing their staff.

Keywords: career success; self-initiated expatriates; academic expatriates; narratives; global careers

Introduction

Globalisation has been instrumental in shaping the world of work (Chinyamurindi 2016a; Suutari et al. 2018). One sample group affected by this global trend, includes

self-initiated expatriates (SIEs) (Lauring and Selmer 2018), defined as those individuals who pursue an international career without the backing of an employer (Jonasson, Lauring, and Guttormsen 2018) for the purpose of career development (Chen 2012). This quest for career development allows SIEs to move across geographic boundaries (Jonasson et al. 2018; Rodriguez and Scurry 2014), despite the challenges that can be encountered (Harry, Dodd, and Chinyamurindi 2017). Another reason for the movement of SIEs could be due to unfavourable conditions in their home country (Kim et al. 2018). Researchers argue for the need to continually investigate SIE experiences, especially within host countries, and the impact of this not only on individual career development but also on the lived experience (e.g. Dorsch, Suutari, and Brewster 2013; Makkonen 2015; Myers 2016; Shortland 2018; Suutari et al. 2018). Within an international and South African context, there has been scant empirical focus on the career development processes of SIEs (Harry et al. 2017; Peltokorpi and Froese 2013).

SIEs face several challenges as part of their lived experience and these eventually impact not only their career development (Chen 2012; Hussain and Deery 2018) but also their experiences in the host country (Harry et al. 2017). Challenges within the host country may even result in SIEs deciding to terminate their international assignments (Sarna 2015), which increases the labour turnover (Kim et al. 2018). Empirical efforts are needed that seek to understand how SIEs can be assisted to settle in the host countries, not just for their benefit but also that of their organisations (Andersen, Al Ariss, and Walther 2013; Dickmann and Baruch 2011). One such focus should be on understanding the quest for career success within the expatriation experience (Doherty, Dickmann, and Mills 2011). In developing countries like South Africa, Chinyamurindi (2016a) argues for more empirical investigation on career success as a concept, in organisations, as a precursor to interventions that assist employees in adjusting. Notably, there is little discussion on the career success issues faced by SIEs despite the growing interest in this sample group internationally (e.g. Andersen et al. 2013; Cao, Hirschi, and Deller 2013; Joshua-Gojer 2016; McNulty and Selmer 2017; Sarna 2015). This heightens the need for such an exploratory study amongst SIEs.

Theoretical Framework

Our theoretical position is based on boundaryless career theory (Arthur and Rousseau 1996) and human capital theory (Becker 1964). In the past, career development and success have been investigated using the lens of traditional career models. Traditionally, it has been argued that careers were perceived as full-time, long-term and continuous employment within a limited number of organisations (Valcour and Tolbert 2003) and were perceived as relatively predictable careers. However, research evidence suggests that careers are more boundaryless and individuals are more responsible for their career development (Arthur and Rousseau 1996; Gerli, Bonesso, and Pizzi 2015; Hall 1996). A growing and large body of literature has suggested that careers are increasingly discontinuous and fragmented because of frequent career transitions (Arthur and Rousseau 1996). There is consensus among researchers that human mobility continues

to shape and reshape geographical, familial, cultural, economic and social landscapes (Favell 2015).

Human mobility has been promoted by several factors such as favourable economic conditions in the host area and geographic discrepancies (Feldman and Ng 2007). Gubler, Arnold, and Combs (2014, 23) therefore suggest that in the contemporary labour market "individuals are, or should be, increasingly mobile and self-directed in their career." As a result, in order to understand modern career paths, the concept of a boundaryless career has become important (Baruch and Reis 2016; Briscoe and Hall 2006). It is believed that boundaryless careers can offer better prospects of career success (Eby, Butts, and Lockwood 2003). Boundaryless career theory is made up of two concepts, namely physical and psychological mobility. Physical mobility is the visible act of crossing boundaries, while psychological mobility is described as an individual's attitudes towards this act (Gerli et al. 2015). Segers et al. (2008) suggest that individuals oriented towards physical mobility are more driven by promotion, status, job security, interest and money, whereas the psychological mobility orientated are driven by affiliation, novelty, variety and autonomy. Career success under physical mobility orientation is more associated with objective career success, and that of psychological mobility is more inclined to subjective career success.

Boundaryless career literature has resulted in the description of competencies which are required by individuals to enjoy positive career transitions or success. The competencies are: 1) "knowing why," which is associated with exploring possibilities, adapting to ever-changing work contexts and understanding oneself; 2) "knowing whom," which relates to an individual's contacts both inside and outside an organisation, career-related networks and mentoring; and 3) "knowing how," which relates to job-related knowledge and career identity (DeFillippi and Arthur 1994; Eby et al. 2003). Together, these career competencies are believed to result in successful boundaryless careers.

On the other hand, previous studies have argued that modern career models are resulting in the loss of psychological benefits such as income and job security, job status and advancement potential (Rodrigues and Guest 2010). It is thus important that career actors develop psychological capital to continue being adaptable and resilient to cope with uncertainty surrounding modern careers (Bimrose and Hearne 2012; Luthans, Vogelgesang, and Lester 2006). Previous studies have suggested that career resilience is associated with career change behaviours and career self-management (Carless and Bernath 2007; Lyons, Schweitzer, and Ng 2015). Career resilient workers are believed to focus on adapting to change, continuous learning and career self-management, and are a source of competitive advantage for organisations in the global economy (Waterman, Waterman, and Collard 1994). Boundaryless career theory was employed in this study, as it allowed the researchers to take a wider and more embracing view of what constitutes career success among SIEs.

In terms of the human capital theory, human capital is defined as the skills and knowledge acquired by individuals that enhance productivity and career success (Becker 1964). Self-initiated expatriates are widely viewed as individuals who enhance their employability and future career advancement opportunities and are anticipated to benefit from appropriate career development through mobility (Vance 2005). Such career progression may take place in different organisations or institutions. Gibbons and Waldman (2004) argue that self-initiated careerists positively exploit global opportunities through developing generic and specific human capital. Becker (1964) argues that the major principle of human capital is the attainment of human capital (e.g. work experience and knowledge), which promotes career success. Human capital has been regarded as leading to outcomes such as higher salaries, promotional and developmental opportunities and job offers (Ng and Feldman 2010). Ng et al. (2005) suggest that human capital can be used to predict career success. This study offers some important insights into the role of human capital theory in determining the career success of self-initiated expatriates.

Empirical Literature Review

A career is an unfolding sequence of a person's work experiences over time (Suutari et al. 2018) and an important feature of the lived experience (Inkson, Dries, and Arnold 2015). One outcome of the work experience is career success (Chinyamurindi 2016a), consisting of a self-evaluation of those factors deemed important as part of the work experience. Others (e.g. Arthur, Khapova, and Wilderom 2005, 179) define career success as the "accomplishment of desirable work-related outcomes at any point in a person's work experiences over time." The grouping of career success has been on two continuums. Firstly, career success as a subjective experience, which is associated with psychological success and an emphasis on career satisfaction (Shaffer et al. 2012; Shortland 2018) and job satisfaction (Hussain and Deery 2018). Secondly, career success can also be framed as an objective reality, with the emphasis more on measurable outcomes such as job security, promotions and salary (Egner 2013; Lee 2005; Zikic 2014). There is agreement regarding how these two evaluations of career outcomes are interdependent but theoretically distinct (Dickmann et al. 2016; Suutari, et al. 2018), with each evaluation deserving empirical attention.

Contemporary careers are believed to be boundaryless and with a renewed emphasis on understanding subjective experiences and how they affect the lived experience (Doherty et al. 2011; Gerli et al. 2015; Suutari et al. 2018). This study focused on skilled SIEs from developing countries, whose movements resemble the quests described in the literature as fitting within the concept of boundaryless careers (Doherty, Richardson, and Thorn 2013; Baruch and Reis 2016). Emphasis is on individual responsibility (Inkson et al. 2012; Makkonen 2015), placing cadence to the value of mobility as aiding career development (Jonasson et al. 2018). Within this context, SIEs are those individuals believed to have strong goals and who exhibit intrinsic career motivations (Hussain and Deery 2018). Hall (2004) argues that personal growth and personal

learning are the most important features and critical success factors in contemporary careers. More research is needed to aid in the understanding of these subjective evaluations of work and their role on the lived experience (Cao, Hirschi, and Deller 2013), especially using SIEs as a sample group (Suutari et al. 2018). Such investigations may also need to explore the links between individual, societal and organisational variables, how they affect the lived experiences of SIEs and how this links to individual career development experiences (Al Ariss and Crowley-Henry 2013; Cao et al. 2013; Dorsch et al. 2013).

Empirical work appears to be divided on the relevance of SIEs. Some views highlight SIEs to be globetrotters who move from country to country in search of individual pursuits (Rodriguez and Scurry 2014). In this view, host country organisations can be thought of as being in the right place at the right time to benefit from this global labour movement (Chen 2012). Another viewpoint notes SIEs to be key in human capital development, even at the expense of their leaving their home countries (Andersen et al. 2013; Chen 2012). In this view, the movement of labour is seen to be inevitable and part of a global phenomenon (Inkson et al. 2012). Organisations should strive to assist employees in self-managing individual careers (Makkonen 2015), especially given the current skills shortage affecting most countries (Hussain and Deery 2018). One key to how this can be achieved is through an understanding of career success not just as career development, but as life experience (Chinyamurindi 2016a). Interventions for purposes of career counselling can be made based upon this.

Individuals place different emphases on career success. To some, this can consist of those opportunities for career development (e.g. Arthur et al. 2005; Peltokorpi and Froese 2013; Shortland 2018). SIEs can be assisted to craft career plans that support their career development and subsequently deliver the experience of career success. To others (e.g. Cao et al. 2014; Makkonen 2015; Suutari et al. 2018), career success may mean opportunities that enhance employees' employability and represent an upward trajectory career-wise. Career success can also be framed according to the social networks the SIEs may belong to, and how these communicate a view of success (Hussain and Deery 2018; Suutari et al. 2018). The stronger the networks, the more they emphasise organisational commitment and self-directed behaviours. In this research we also look at psychological availability, which refers to the "sense of having the physical, cognitive, emotional, or psychological resources to personally engage at a particular moment" (Kahn 1990, 714). May, Gilson, and Harter (2004) suggest that psychological availability is a psychological condition that assists individuals in determining how to engage with their colleagues and roles. It is, therefore, important for SIEs and local employees to understand the concept of being psychologically available for their counterparts and have the mental capacity to give attention to their colleagues, as this plays a role in individual career success.

Organisations may thus tailor-make packages for their employees by understanding those factors that influence the meaning and experience of career success. Human

capital availability has become a major concern for countries and regions, as well as small and large firms and institutions (Czaika 2018). As a result, it has become imperative to understand and govern the mobility of highly skilled human capital. Most studies on SIEs have mainly focused on participants from Western countries whose movement is not much restricted (Jonasson et al. 2018; Lauring and Selmer 2018; Suutari et al. 2018) and of those from Africa to Western countries (which has been termed brain drain). There have been a few publications that have provided guidance on the issue of SIEs in South Africa (e.g. Altbach 2004; Kotecha, Wilson-Strydom, and Fongwas 2012; Harry et al. 2017; Maharaj 2011; 2014). This research is, therefore, aimed at understanding the experiences of career success amongst a sample of SIEs from African countries, working within the higher education context in South Africa. The following research question was set: *What factors influence the experience of career success amongst a sample of SIEs working within a higher education context in South Africa?*

Research Design

A qualitative exploratory research approach was adopted to understand the experience of career success amongst SIEs. The main purpose of this study was to: a) understand the factors that influenced career success; and b) to determine what was perceived as a successful career among SIEs. This was done by gathering situational data and determining the connotations as well as resolutions that individuals accredit to their actions and decisions (Chinyamurindi 2018; Levitt et al. 2018). Participants were able to express their views freely. This approach allowed for the capturing of in-depth meaning of success in participants' words (Marshall and Rossman 2011). A qualitative approach was employed to understand how the participants made sense of their experiences and to understand how their behaviours were influenced by the experiences.

The data were collected through unstructured interviews. This was a notable deviation from a previous South African study on career success that used semi-structured interviews (Chinyamurindi 2012; 2016a). Unstructured interviews were used in order to explore the participants' narratives in detail. Unstructured interviews were utilised given the scarcity of empirical literature in South Africa on the career success of SIEs. This strategy allowed for the research team to understand the participants' experience of career success under less pre-imposed structured conditions (Kvale and Brinkmann 2009). Participants were briefed before the commencement of all interviews, which took place in the participants' offices. To start all the interviews, the question *"Tell me about yourself"* was used to put the participants at ease.

The data collection was conducted by the principal investigator. The principal investigator acted as a participant in the data collection process through conversational (unstructured) interviews. Collaboration between the interviewer and interviewee assisted with the construction of narratives and their meanings. The aim was to have an in-depth understanding of the participants' experiences; hence there was limited interjection from the principal investigator during the interviews. However, during the

interviews, the principal investigator made notes for follow-ups later in the interview to avoid interrupting the flow of the narratives. With permission from the participants all the interviews were recorded. The length of the interviews varied from 50 minutes to 2 hours.

Sampling and Participants

The participants were selected using a combination of purposive and convenience sampling (Joshua-Gojer 2016). Participants had to be from other African countries to partake in the study. Also, the participants had to be people who had financed their own mobility to participate in the study. A total of 25 participants were selected to be part of the study. Participants had to be SIEs and a directory of names was obtained from the HR department of the participating university. A total of 103 names were generated. A general e-mail was sent to this group, requesting participation in the research study. A total of 35 participants indicated their availability. However, due to attrition and issues surrounding the academics' hectic schedules, a total of 26 participants were used. The study was conducted at a university in the Eastern Cape province of South Africa. Ethics approval was obtained from the same institution (Certificate reference number DOD61SHAR01). Participants were also required to sign a written informed consent form before taking part in the study. Table 1 details their biographical characteristics.

Table 1: Demographic characteristics of participants

Pseudonym	Gender	Marital status	Nationality	Age	Position	Previous Job Title	Years in SA
Collin	Male	Married	Zimbabwe	30–39	Senior Lecturer	Student	9
Steve	Male	Single	Zimbabwe	20–29	Junior Lecturer	Student	6
Jim	Male	Married	Eritrea	30–39	Lecturer	Student	13
Uche	Male	Married	Nigeria	40–49	Professor	Lecturer	11
Kelly	Female	Widow	Zambia	30–39	Lecturer	Teacher	7
Teshi	Female	Single	Zimbabwe	20–29	Jnr Lecturer	Student	9
Sue	Female	Married	Zimbabwe	40–49	Senior Lecturer	Chief Economist	9
Sean	Male	Married	Cameroon	40–49	Senior Lecturer	Self-employed	17
Mark	Male	Married	Kenya	40–49	Associate Professor	NGO	5
Paul	Male	Married	Cameroun	30–39	Lecturer	Student	6
Mercy	Female	Married	Zimbabwe	40–49	Senior Lecturer	Student	9
Peter	Male	Married	Zimbabwe	40–49	Professor	Extension advisor	2
John	Male	Single	Zimbabwe	20–29	Junior Lecturer	Student	19
David	Male	Married	Tanzania	60–69	Lecturer	Lecturer	7
Conrad	Male	Married	Ethiopia	40–49	Senior Lecturer	Student	8
Azo	Male	Married	Nigeria	50–59	Visiting Professor	Student	2
Bill	Male	Married	DRC	30–39	Lecturer	Student	7
Lily	Female	Married	Uganda	60–69	Lecturer	Teacher	26
Robin	Female	Single parent	Botswana	30–39	Lecturer	Student	11
Ted	Male	Married	Zimbabwe	40–49	Associate Professor	Teacher	16
Eve	Female	Married	Zimbabwe	30–39	Lecturer	Student	
Angie	Female	Single	Zimbabwe	30–39	Lecturer	Student	12
Sam	Female	Married	Nigeria	30–39	Senior Lecturer	Student	10
Wayne	Male	Married	Kenya	60–69	Professor	Student	5
Emily	Female	Single parent	Nigeria	30–39	Lecturer	Student	7

Data Analysis

An interpretivist approach was adopted for data analysis in this study. A qualitative narrative analysis approach was used (three levels of meaning-making), as adopted in previous studies (e.g. Chinyamurindi 2012; 2016a; 2016b; Harry et al. 2017). The interviews were transcribed soon after each interview. The transcripts were then entered into the QSR NVivo 9 data analysis and management software (Reuben and Bobat 2014). The software was used to code each of the transcripts' paragraphs into themes and sub-themes. The coding was done using the participants' own words wherever possible. However, the researchers did not only rely on the software to develop the themes but it was used as a complementary method to develop themes. The initial codes that resulted in the development of themes are shown in Table 2.

Table 2: Development of themes: Resultant themes from initial codes

Initial codes	Resultant themes
	Meaning of career success
a) childhood dream; b) title; c) always wanted to be; d) social mobility	Personal goals
a) salary; b) remuneration; c) provide for family; d) making a living	Remuneration
a) attracted to academia; b) share with the world; c) excellent student evaluation; d) enjoying what you do	Job satisfaction
	Factors contributing to career success
a) free country; b) freedom of speech; c) career development; d) good facilities; e) good work environment; f) career promotion	Availability of opportunities
a) friends; b) family; c) management; d) staff; e) fitting in with the locals	Social networks
a) pay disparity; b) more money; c) thank us more; d) different salaries; e) more funding; f) unhappy with the compensation	Competitive remuneration

Using the three-levels of meaning-making, the transcripts were read several times and the audio recordings were listened to repeatedly by the researchers to understand the experiences of career success from each of the narratives. This allowed for the identification of "markers" that were in the narratives (McCormack 2000). Moreover, this first level answered the question "what kind of story is this?" for each of the narratives (Thornhill, Clare, and May 2004, 188).

The narratives of the participants were then classified into meaningful categories. The process allowed the researchers to be able to understand the similarities between the different narratives. Researchers reflected on the data by making notes and comparing the interviews. The researchers continuously went back and forth from one interview to

another, attempting to match the reality and theory. Lastly, the researchers identified the themes from the narratives through analysing the content of the narratives. The themes were explained and described through the use of direct quotes from the participants' accounts (Levitt et al. 2018).

Strategies to Ensure Data Quality and Reporting

Data quality was ensured by referring to literature suggestions (Gramer 2017; Korstjens and Moser 2018; Levitt et al. 2018) and South African studies also helped in framing the study (Chinyamurindi 2016a; 2016b). It was easy to build trust between the researcher and the participants, as the principal investigator is also an SIE. Furthermore, the researchers were engaged with the university and had become familiar with the context and setting, which avoided misinformation. Moreover, through persistent observation, the researchers were able to understand further about career success. In addition, two researchers were involved in creating the codes, data analysis and interpretation to avoid the bias of using one researcher. The interview transcripts were also sent to the participants for them to correct any perceived misinterpretation. Likewise, to ensure honesty from the participants, only those who had indicated their willingness to participate in the study were included as the sample of the study. Iterative questioning was also applied during the interviews to have a better understanding of the issues that were being raised by the participants.

Furthermore, direct quotations were used to improve the study's credibility. No change or meaning was ascribed to this data through the quotes to represent participants' true accounts. The data were also collected over a six-months period to avoid researcher fatigue. The researchers collected data until data saturation was achieved. As the interviews were audio recorded, the researchers were able to revisit the data and remain true to the participants' narratives. The researchers discussed on a constant basis their personal beliefs and past training and how these may have influenced the research findings. These discussions between the researchers allowed for the acknowledgement and reduction of researcher bias during data collection and analysis. The researchers discussed the themes in depth. Such discussions allowed the challenging of assumptions to reduce bias and reach a consensus.

Research Results and Findings

From the data analysis, two main narratives are framed: first, efforts towards the meaning of career success; and second, those factors that influence this meaning of career success.

Meaning of Career Success

Participants highlighted the three main meanings of career success. Table 3 presents how career success was conceptualised.

Table 3: Meaning of career success

Career Drive/Motivator	Meaning	Illustrating quotes
Personal goals	The desire to achieve set personal goals. Achievement of such goals leads to career success.	I have always wanted to become a teacher and by becoming a full professor I will have achieved my childhood dream (Ted, Male, Zimbabwe). I have always been into academics from the time I was in primary level. It's something that I had already planned, something that I have always wanted to be. I have always wanted to have a title behind my name besides Mr (Steve, Male, Zimbabwe). Well, first of all I'm an ambitious person so I felt that in NGOs there wasn't so much for to develop, I felt that maybe I wasn't moving in the social radar and academia was a good opportunity because you could see yourself moving (Mark, Male, Kenya). I was very much interested in doing research, I wanted to be a scientist, and I wanted to be involved in research, so academia gave me that opportunity, because I'm doing research, I have postgraduate students that I'm supervising and stuff like that (Robin, Female, Botswana). In academia you can be whatever you like. If you are self-motivated you can go to the top. I like to be with students, students push you to know more but if I'm to go to the industry I will be doing routine work. You don't improve your knowledge, because knowledge is dynamic. If you are a lecturer, you will be in that stream (Mercy, Zimbabwe, Female). I have always wanted to be an academic; that is why I have never worked in any other industry (Collin, Zimbabwe, Male). When I completed my PhD I started working in a research project with Rhodes, you know I have always wanted to join the academia so when this opportunity came at Fort Hare I took it. Though it took me a lot of time than what I wanted. (Lily, Female, Uganda)

Career Drive/Motivator	Meaning	Illustrating quotes
Remuneration	The value of the remuneration that they were receiving acted as a definition of how successful they were in their careers.	The salary attracted me to academics. The remuneration I am getting is satisfying me (Sue, Female, Zimbabwe). Growing up I was unable to attend decent schools and I struggled to complete my studies but now can provide all those things to my children through the salary am earning as a lecturer. From that I can say my career has been successful as I am able to do what I want (Sean, Male, Cameroon). It's very attractive because why I chose this one, it was a comparative analysis and I saw this one is more attractive. Sometimes it's not the remuneration alone but also cost of living, because at times a salary, you might find that you are receiving the same amount of salary but the cost of living there is very high now so sometimes the standards of living are compromised because of that (Sam, Female, Nigeria) It was just the remuneration, nothing else, because I was comparing it. You know I compared what I was receiving there. So it was the package, relatively attractive package when you relate it to where I was (Peter, Male, Zimbabwe)
Job satisfaction	Enjoying one's role and duties as an academic.	Personally I get attracted to academia more when I see those badges of being the best researcher. There are opportunities for you to share what you will be doing with other people in the world. When I look at the students' evaluation about me they were giving me excellent, excellent you feel so nice (Mark, Male, Kenya). It's just that you need to enjoy what you will be doing, once you enjoy what you do, you start getting balance (Sean, Male, Cameroon). We almost live like slaves we academics but some of us are happy slaves because it's not that you cannot choose to be out of the office but you feel you are attracted, you will be enjoying what you will be doing, especially research (Emily, Female, Nigeria).

Career Drive/Motivator	Meaning	Illustrating quotes
		The current setting I'm doing well for myself, I am recognised as a scholar. I feel like I'm so well, I'm happy when so many people want to consult you feel happy and you feel you are doing your job well (Angie, Female, Zimbabwe).

Most of the participants were in consensus that the achievement of personal goals was the primary determinant of career success. Before embarking on their respective journeys, participants had set out goals that they desired to achieve. However, due to unforeseen circumstances, such as poor economic and political conditions, participants had to expatriate to South Africa. Lily, a participant from Uganda, shared: "When I started working my country was undergoing civil unrest. It was during the amnesty time, and those were terrible times economically and socially in Uganda." Thus, South Africa offered participants like Lily an opportunity to work towards individual goals. For most of the participants, their primary aim was to be able to support their families. For example, Sean was not able to have a good life when he was young but vowed that he would give his family a better life. For Sean, having a career that is fulfilling, was a form of career success for him. He said:

> I couldn't go to a decent school, and I couldn't put on a nice shirt during my entire life, but now at least I'm giving that to my kids and it's making me feel that somehow I'm fulfilled. Hence I feel fortunate in my career choice, in as much as though I might not be giving them the physical attention, I'm supporting them.

Both young and senior academics regarded this as an important factor that determined their career success as they wanted to provide for their families.

Although the opportunity to achieve personal goals was the main reason for career success, most of the participants noted good remuneration as a way to determine career success. Therefore, an association between remuneration and career success was developed, as illustrated by one of the participants: "The salary attracted me to academia. The remuneration I am getting is satisfying me" (Sue).

However, some participants were not concerned with the remuneration they were receiving. Rather, career satisfaction and job satisfaction took precedence, for instance, Mark, who had experience in other fields, mentioned that although the remuneration is poor, he feels satisfied with the job that he is doing. Thus, job satisfaction and career development opportunities were regarded as being of greater importance than remuneration. In Mark's own words:

> Personally, I am attracted to academia more when I see those badges for being the best researcher. There are opportunities for you to actually share what you are doing with

other people in the world. When I look at the student's evaluation about me, they were giving me ratings of excellent, or good, which makes me feel so nice.

To further understand the meaning of success, the study also looked at the factors that contributed to this success. Table 4 presents participants' narratives on the factors that contributed to their career success.

Table 4: Contributing factors of career success

Factors contributing to career success	Meaning	Illustrating quotes
Availability of opportunities	Career development and employment opportunities	Well, it's a free country and I'm in political science which is a very sensitive area as far as writing is concerned because there are always these tensions between, in most African countries, the academia and government as far as criticisms are concerned. In South Africa you have the luxury of expressing yourself by saying whatever you want about the government or any other government without fear of prosecution (Paul, Male, Cameroon). There have been a lot of positive development in my career life, so despite all that, I was able to look beyond all the challenges just to see where I want to go, and this place has provided opportunities for me to fulfil some of my goals (Robin, Female, Botswana). I was following where I can get a job to further my career. I'm an ambitious person so I felt that in NGOs there wasn't so much for to develop, I felt that maybe I wasn't moving in the social radar and academia was a good opportunity because you could see yourself moving (Mark, Male, Kenya). Language, you learn the way they do things, you learn their culture. Voice takes a lot of time to be heard. At the end of the day some of the things that you do, you end up doing them because I just want to promote my career (Kelly, Female, Zambia). South African universities' facilities are up to standard and also the work environment to do your research is better, freedom of academic environment is there. This allows me to do my job well unlike in other countries (Conrad, Male, Ethiopia).

Factors contributing to career success	Meaning	Illustrating quotes
		I still want to remain an expatriate because my academic career started here and I still see a lot of opportunities for me to grow, I want to develop my career (Teshi, Female, Zimbabwe). I came to South Africa because I just wanted to be here for personal reasons and the opportunity arose for appointment into a higher level than where I was before and I decided to accept it (Uche, Male, Nigeria). First of all I'm an ambitious person so I felt that in NGOs there wasn't so much for to develop, I felt that maybe I wasn't moving in the social radar and academia was a good opportunity because you could see yourself moving (Sue, Female, Zimbabwe).
Social networks	Support from various people in their lives was one of the main aspects that contributed to career success.	Here in South Africa I have made friends and we support each other, and my husband also supports me, although I do most of the work, but he plays a part (Eve, Female, Zimbabwe). Because what I do mostly is, when I get into a country I learn the language and quickly fit in, I think I'm very good at fitting in. Here in South Africa I have made friends and we support each other, other Zimbabweans (Steve, Male, Zimbabwe). I have enjoyed immense support from the management and staff of the university that has contributed immensely to the success of my department over the years and to my career development. Supportive nature of the management (Uche, Male, Nigeria). A welcome party that was held for me when I arrived in the department gave me a sense of belonging (Mercy, Female, Zimbabwe). My family has been supporting me, by understanding me that I can sometimes get busy at awkward hours, sometimes I might allocate my time in some hours in which they would not understand why she is doing that. They have stood by me through all those long hours (David, Male, Tanzania).

Factors contributing to career success	Meaning	Illustrating quotes
		You know, the university is not offering us support but they expect us to do our best. How can we do our best when they are not supporting us? All we want is enough support so that we can do our best (Wayne, Male, Kenya).

I believe you just have to make home wherever you find yourself. You have to surround yourself with good people and good friends and your family. My family and friends are always supporting, all the career decisions that have made thus far they have always been there for me (Paul, Male, Cameroon). |
| Competitive remuneration | Competitive remuneration acted as a motivator for participants to effectively perform their duties leading to career success. | Pay ratio, expatriates need to be professionally remunerated (Mark, Male, Kenya).

The university should really consider thanking us more, giving us more money because that is what we want, we want money (Steve, Male, Zimbabwe).

The standard rates they are giving us right now are not the same as South Africans', it's just that salaries are confidential but you will be surprised that the salaries that they are giving us, the same person who is sitting in my position with same experience or sometimes I even have more experience than that person, but they are getting a higher salary than me (Angie, Female, Zimbabwe).

We need funding and more incentives. If an employee doesn't feel that they are getting adequately compensated for the time that they invest in their job, I wouldn't mind spending that time doing my leisure, but because of my job requirements I have to sit here very extended hours and I'm not particularly happy with the compensation (Robin, Female, Botswana).

Just give me more money and I will publish more and I will be very happy (Conrad, Male, Ethiopia). |

Factors contributing to career success	Meaning	Illustrating quotes
		The university should really consider thanking us more, giving us more money because that is what we want, we want money. Because we are productive, we are publishing and students are graduating, so why not thank us in a proper way rather than giving us just a little (Eve, Female, Zimbabwe). The challenge might be that you might not get big funds because you must have a long contract. Because if the institution is poor you can't do research to your full potential (Jim, Male, Eritrea). The work-load is just too much, the university should do something. Also, the remuneration that we are getting is not enough. Comparing it to the work-load, my experience, my qualifications, and also what other professors and even lecturers are getting it's not fair at all. They don't consider the time I have invested in working here (Bill, Male, DRC).

Most participants highlighted that they had moved to South Africa because of the availability of opportunities for career development. Consequently, participants actively opted to develop their careers in South Africa. Participant Mark stated: "Since I left Kenya there has been an economic collapse there and South Africa is much better for my development." Also, most of the participants had studied in South Africa. Hence, they had decided to develop their careers in a country where they had studied primarily because of the availability of opportunities. Paul mentioned, "I had studied here, so I thought this would be a good starting point career-wise, because of the possibilities that I came across while I was still a student."

Furthermore, South Africa is seen as a country that is providing a platform for career development through the National Research Foundation. With such funding opportunities, participants decided to develop their careers in South Africa. Funding opportunities act as a determinant of career success. This was concisely expressed by Collin: "Although I have travelled to a lot of countries, I think I would like to develop my career more here because of the opportunities such as research funding."

Despite the availability of opportunities for career development, participants also required social networks. Participants needed support from both the institution as well as social support from family and friends. Participants narrated this to be a crucial factor in their career success, especially for women. Participant Kelly shared:

> As with most women, we only start having that career development when our kids grow up. The family support system is critical if you are going to make it as a worker and a student, especially if you are based in a foreign land like me. The university has so many support structures that if you are someone who is clever and use them, you can realise your career development.

In addition to support, participants required competitive remuneration in order to develop their careers. The remuneration acted as a motivation for the participants to be effective in their jobs. Some of the participants noted that they had joined academia because of the remuneration it offered, as compared to the participants' home countries, South Africa is paying competitive salaries. Although the salaries are competitive, they are not sufficient for the participants. Emily mentioned: "The salaries are very low, the only reason I am staying is that it offers me the opportunity to develop my career."

Discussion

Outline of the Findings

The primary focus of this study was to understand the experience of career success amongst SIEs within a South African higher education context. Success meant various accomplishments for the participants. The meaning of success was noted as the quest for career progression, material possessions and a recognisable publication record. Further, the factors that contributed to such success were noted as social networks, availability of opportunities and fair remuneration. The findings are discussed in line with the themes that were developed during data analysis.

Relating Main Findings to Literature

This study's findings are in support of existing research on the meaning of and factors contributing to career success. Social networks were noted by many participants to be of the utmost importance, especially for women. This is in support of previous studies, which pointed out that social networks determine the career success of expatriates (Arthur et al. 2005; Hussain and Deery 2018; Peltokorpi and Froese 2013; Suutari et al. 2018). Further to that, organisational support simplifies the expatriates' adjustment (Cao et al. 2014; Joshua-Gojer 2016). Knowing what competencies are necessary is integral to the SIEs' professional development (Al Ariss and Crowley-Henry 2013; Cao et al. 2013) and therefore places importance on the development of such. It is, therefore, important that SIEs have the necessary social support structure to achieve their career objectives.

The current study found that SIEs defined their career success through the achievement of personal goals. Previous studies have noted that SIEs are self-driven and strive for personal values, which are regarded as a protean career attitude (Cao et al. 2014; Hall 1996; Briscoe and Hall 2006). Many of the study participants had set personal goals and believed in their abilities to achieve them. This is in support of previous studies that noted expatriates with high self-efficacy are capable of performing effectively

(Dickmann et al. 2016; Hussain and Deery 2018). Furthermore, the finding is in support of the boundaryless career, which is linked to an individual's motivation to pursue a career (Suutari et al. 2018). Previous research noted that personal motives led to success (Chen 2012). A protean career attitude can thus potentially lead to subjective career success.

Participants perceived expatriation as a way to make the most of the employment opportunities in the host country, but which are absent in their country of origin. This supports previous studies which have shown that people self-expatriate for employment opportunities and career development (Al Ariss and Crowley-Henry 2013; Cao et al. 2013; Chen 2012; Hussain and Deery 2018). Hence, SIEs characterise the concept of boundaryless professionals (Gerli et al. 2015; Rodriguez and Scurry 2014). Other previous studies have noted that SIEs are associated with intangible motivators and non-financial rewards (Jonasson et al. 2018; Kim et al. 2018). However, participants of this study perceived remuneration as a form of motivation. Remuneration was a determinant of the participants' success. This is perhaps a result of the sample being representative of SIEs from developing countries, where such quests are noted as key (Harry et al. 2017). Despite remuneration being a motivator for SIEs, most of the participants perceived that they had low salaries as compared to locals (Andersen et al. 2013; Chen 2012). This finding is in contradiction to Egner's (2013) findings that SIEs receive compensation comparable to the locals. This contradictory finding may be due to the context in which the studies were conducted.

Furthermore, the findings of this study support other studies (Kim et al. 2018; Cao et al. 2014) of the view that expatriates' sacrifices should be recognised and rewarded to enhance job performance and organisational commitment. Most participants in this study were of the opinion that the institution was not accepting the sacrifices they were making and they felt undervalued (Shortland 2018; Suutari et al. 2018). The findings link to previous studies, which opined that SIEs had fewer professional opportunities and less gratification when compared to locals (Andersen et al. 2013; Chen 2012). The participants felt that they were in possession of sufficient professional-related knowledge (know-how) to work effectively and easily and to pursue career goals (Kim et al. 2018; Zikic 2014). Nonetheless, their professional knowledge was undervalued.

Moreover, the findings of this study echo previous studies which noted that job insecurity led to career and job dissatisfaction (Chen 2012; Lee 2005). Participants of this study indicated that they felt insecure about their jobs which, as a result, led to job dissatisfaction. Job satisfaction is linked to subjective career success. Thus, when SIEs are satisfied with their jobs, it will lead to career success. Career development was the main driving force behind the SIEs' success. Most expatriates claimed that they took up the assignment for career development motives (Dorsch et al. 2013). Although objective career success was noted to be significant, subjective career success was reckoned to be more important by the participants (Doherty et al. 2011). SIEs' success is determined by the achievement of personal goals and personal development. Organisations have to

work in collaboration with SIEs to motivate them in the achievement of organisational and personal goals.

The current study found that, given the difficult economic conditions in the home countries of the SIEs, they were able to enjoy objective and subjective career success in the host country through boundaryless careers. The findings of this study further indicate that SIEs were able to enjoy career success through their skills and knowledge (as highlighted in the human capital theory). It is interesting to note that although the SIEs lost psychological benefits such as job security, they remained resilient in their quest for career success and development. Such career resilience allowed the SIEs to survive amid uncertainty. A possible explanation of this finding may be the drive to achieve personal growth and personal learning.

One of the interesting findings was that, despite a significant age difference among the participants, the main objectives of all the participants were psychological benefits such as job status, career development and advancement as well as benefits such as remuneration. Our findings suggest that SIEs are more resilient and satisfied with their career progression towards their personal and career goals. The findings also indicated that career self-directed people (SIEs) are more resilient and enjoy career satisfaction. As such, individuals can be further assisted in achieving resilience through human resource and career development programmes. Furthermore, findings of this study suggest that psychological availability, through support from various role players, can lead to career resilience and career success.

Practical Implications

Global mobility has increased due to various issues, such as economic and political conditions and talent shortages. Hence, SIEs have to be perceived as valuable human resources in the achievement of organisational goals. Organisations must develop strategies, practices and policies that recognise SIEs' needs and expectations. Self-initiated expatriation brings about deep learning and growth opportunities for people to enrich their career development in the long term. Although SIEs are self-driven and independent, direct and indirect support from the organisation is of utmost importance for the achievement of organisational and individual goals. Also, policies such as remuneration and career management policies of local employees should not be very different from the SIEs' policies. Equal opportunities should be provided to all employees. HR management departments should train SIEs to make them valuable to the institution. This group of SIEs, in line with the findings, are enacting global careers while they are increasing their career competencies (knowing how, knowing why, and knowing whom) and allowing them to develop their career capital.

Limitations of the Study and Future Research Areas

The findings may not be applicable to other countries, as the study focused on SIEs in South Africa. Furthermore, one institution was used for the sample selection, and the

incorporation of other institutions might have provided a variation in the findings. Thus, generalisability is limited. However, study findings reveal how SIEs can be successful in their careers. Moreover, the sample was made up of one industry- academic field, thus the findings cannot be generalised to self-initiated expatriates in other industries. Future studies should look at self-initiated expatriates in other industries. Several quantitative studies have been conducted on SIEs. However, for more in-depth information about SIEs who move between developing countries, qualitative studies are suggested. Further studies are needed on the repatriation of SIEs after successfully working in foreign countries.

Conclusion

Institutions and organisations will continue being influenced by globalisation. The need for talented foreign professionals will persist. However, traditional expatriates will be unwilling to take up international assignments for personal reasons. Thus, skilled professionals who relocate on their own will be easily accessible. Organisations need to understand the meaning and factors that contribute to the success of SIEs to attract and retain them. It is critical that organisations/institutions support and assist SIEs to overcome barriers in their career development. SIEs' career success is a dual effort between the organisation and the individual.

Conflicts of Interest

The authors have no conflicts of interest to declare.

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