



**The difference between youth that are, and are not, in
education, employment, or training:**
*The role of the combination(s) of personal skills, peer influences and risk behavior on
YEET and NEET youth in Doornkop, Soweto*



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"Youth are the valued possession of the nation. Without them there can be no future. Their needs are immense and urgent. They are the centre of reconstruction and development."

Nelson Mandela (National youth Commission, 1997, p. 5)

Abstract

There is a large share of young people in South Africa that is not enrolled in education, employment and training. This study focuses on finding out the difference between youth in, and out, of education employment and training. This has been done by analyzing the combination(s) of variables that lead(s) to youngsters that are in education, and/or employment and/or training (YEET youth), and analyzing the same combination(s) of variables that lead(s) to youth that are not in education, employment and training (NEET youth). But why study youth in South Africa?

The context and background of youth in South Africa is of high relevance. The apartheid legacy nowadays still results in inequality of youth concerning education and employment. Next to this, youth is very important for the (economic) development of South Africa, since a large group of the population is young. By stimulating and helping youth to be well educated, healthy and ready for employment, South Africa is able to take advantage of the so-called 'demographic dividend'. This would, in contrast to the current situation, result in a large share of economically active youngsters.

A lot of previous research in South Africa focuses on negative factors that contribute to youth not being in education, employment or training. Therefore, this study aims to find out, if the presence or absence of both positive- and negative factors, leads to youth being in, or out, of education, employment or training. Because of the high relevance of youth in South Africa, a sequential explorative study has been executed to find out which combination(s) of factors lead(s) to YEET or NEET youth. A sequential exploratory design entails that a qualitative method has been used, followed by a quantitative method.

The factors that were included in this study are personal skills, such as problem solving skills and self-esteem. Peer influences, such as role modelling and support. And risk behavior, such as criminal behavior, substance use and risky sexual behavior. These factors were included, because it was expected that the presence of personal skills, self-esteem, support from peers, positive peer role models, and the absence of risky behavior, result in a higher chance of youth being in education, employment or training.

The sample of this study consisted of young men and women that are, or are not, in education, employment or training. The research area of this study is Doornkop, which is one of the poorest areas in Johannesburg. The reason for the decision to study youth in Doornkop is because a large share of the population in Doornkop is young. Next to this, living in impoverished areas, and its circumstances, increases the chance of youth being not in education, employment or training. Therefore, it is even more interesting to find out which combination(s) of personal skills, peer influences and risk behavior, separates YEET from NEET youth.

This study was carried out into two parts, namely a qualitative and a quantitative part. The first part consisted of conducting interviews with youth. In total, interviews have been conducted with 15

youngsters that live in Doornkop. These youngsters were 18 until 25 years old.

The second part consisted of a quantitative analysis, namely the fuzzy set analysis (FSA). The FSA is an analysis which is, instead of focusing on the influence of a single variable, focused on discovering which causal combination(s) of factors lead(s) to a certain outcome. Also, the FSA makes it possible to, instead of dichotomization, divide participants into two or more scales per variable. This is important to apply in this study, because participants can be more than fully out (0), or fully in (1), a variable. Youth can, for example, have self-esteem above average, while they do not have very high self-esteem; they fall somewhere in between. Therefore, four scales have been used in this study, namely; fully out (0), more out than in (0,33), more in than out (0,67), and fully in (1). The open-ended answers of the participants during the interviews have been translated into these four scales.

The main findings of the FSA are that, with the collected data, it is not possible to determine which combination(s) of personal skills, peer influences, and risk behavior, explain the difference between YEET and NEET youth. Interviews, however, have been used in order to link results to literature. These interviews provided insight into the presence or absence of variables in this study.

The overall findings, which were derived from the interviews, are that there are no differences between YEET and NEET youth on the variables 'problem solving skills', 'self-esteem', 'role modelling' and 'risk behavior'. On the other side, interviews do point out that the variable 'support' might play a role in youth being in, or out, of education, employment or training.

The question as to why the FSA output does not show an explicit relationship between the combination(s) of variables in this study, and why there are few differences in the absence or presence of variables between YEET and NEET youth, is answered by hypothesizing that other variables might play a (larger) role. Because interviews show that family (members) play a role in decisions youth make, one might think that adding family as a variable, makes it possible to obtain more insight into the differences between YEET and NEET youth. Therefore, it is important that further research, next to other variables, also takes the role of the family into account.

Since both YEET and NEET youth engage in risk behavior, further research is also necessary to provide insight into the relationship between risk behavior, and its consequences concerning education and employment for youth. However, implications for further research do not undermine the valuable knowledge gained in this study.

Content

Abstract	3
List of figures and tables	7
Acknowledgements	8
List of abbreviations and synonyms	9
1. Introduction	10
1.1 A broader context: Apartheid legacy	11
1.2 A broader context: The relevance of YEET youth in South Africa	11
1.3 Youth and transition in Doornkop, Soweto	12
1.4 Significance of the study	13
1.5 Outline master thesis	14
2. Theoretical framework	15
2.1 Social learning theory	15
2.2 Personal skills	16
2.2.1 Problem solving skills	16
2.2.2 Self-esteem	17
2.3 Peer influences	17
2.3.1 Role modelling	18
2.3.2 Support	18
2.4 Risk behavior	19
2.4.1 Criminal behavior	20
2.4.2 Substance use	21
2.4.3 Risky sexual behavior	21
2.5 Research question	21
3. Methodology	23
3.1 Key concepts	22
3.1.1 Key concepts ‘youth’ and ‘peers’	23
3.1.2 Conceptualization and operationalization of the independent variables	33
3.1.3 Conceptualization and operationalization of the dependent variables	33
3.2 Sample	32
3.3 Research analysis	34
3.4 Quality of the study	35
3.5 Ethical considerations	35
4. Results	36
4.1 The influence of personal skills, peer influences and risk behavior on YEET/NEET	36
4.1.1 Output fuzzy set analysis	36
4.1.2 Link between output fuzzy set analysis and the research question	37
4.1.3 Results in relation to literature and problem situation	38

5.	Conclusion and discussion	43
5.1	Conclusion.....	43
5.2	Methodological and ethical reflection	44
5.3	Further research recommendations.....	45
Literature	47
Appendix A:	Topic list	51
Appendix B:	Informed consent form.....	57
Appendix C:	Characteristics participants.....	58
Appendix D:	Code tree Nvivo.....	59
Appendix E:	Numerical values and scales.....	61
Appendix F:	Overview scales	64

List of figures and tables

Figure 1:	Causal scheme	23
Table 1:	Assigning numerical values to the variable ‘problem solving’	24
Table 2:	Scales of the variable ‘problem solving’	25
Table 3:	Assigning numerical values to the variable ‘self-esteem’	26
Table 4:	Scales of the variable ‘self-esteem’	27
Table 5:	Scales of the variable ‘role modelling’	28
Table 6:	Assigning numerical values to the variable ‘support’	29
Table 7:	Scales of the variable ‘support’	30
Table 8:	Scales of the variables belonging to ‘risk behavior’	31
Table 9:	Scales of the variable YEET/NEET youth	32
Table 10:	Analysis of sufficient and necessary conditions for ‘YEET’ outcome 1 and for the negated ‘~YEET’ outcome 2– intermediate solution.	36

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List of abbreviations and synonyms

CSDA	Centre for Social Development in Africa
YEET	Yes in employment, and/or education, and/or training
NEET	Not in employment, education or training
EET	Education, employment and training
RB	Risk behavior
CCSA	Comparative case study analysis
FSA	Fuzzy set analysis
FS/QCA	Fuzzy set/qualitative case study analysis
UJ	University of Johannesburg
Youth	Youngsters; young people; adolescents; youths
Configuration	Combination of; path

1

Introduction

A large share of the South African population (37%) is aged between 15 and 34 years (Stats SA, 2013a). According to Stats SA (2013a), it is estimated that 3,3 million out of 10,4 million (31,7%) youngsters from 15 to 34 years are not employed, not in education and not in training (NEET). Youth that, however, are in education, and/or employment and/or training, are referred to as YEET youth. With 31,1%, the Gauteng province follows the national trend of a high percentage of NEET youth (Stats SA, 2013b).

Because youth unemployment and the lower educational attainment of youth in South Africa are a major problem, it is important to find out which factors lead to youth being YEET or NEET. Most South African research about youth is aimed mainly at negative factors, such as HIV/AIDS. The focus of this study, however, is also on discovering positive factors, such as personal skills, that contribute to youth being YEET or NEET. Therefore, this study has an explorative nature to obtain insight into which combination(s) of personal skills, peer influences and risk behavior lead(s) to youth being YEET or NEET. In-depth interviews were conducted with participants and the answers of the open-ended questions have been translated into quantitative data.

Personal skills, such as problem solving behavior and self-esteem, are an important indicator of how youngsters cope with problems and/or risks in their lives (Graham, 2012). Personal skills to cope with problems may have an impact on YEET and NEET youth. If youngsters are able to resolve problems and cope in difficult situations, they are likely to overcome challenges they face in life and (continue to) be in education or employment.

Because peers become increasingly influential when young people enter adolescence, peer influence is the second factor of interest in this study (Tarantino et al., 2013). If youngsters for example have positive role models (Montoya, 2005) and/or support from peers (Li et al., 2011), they are more likely to be YEET youth. Having negative role models or no support from peers, however, increases the chance of youth being NEET. In this study, peers are people that are met with on a regular basis, are aged between 18 until 27 years old, and can be portrayed as a friend, relative or spouse.

Next to the personal skills and peer influence, risk behavior of youth is also of high relevance for youths educational- and employment status. In this study, risk behavior refers to risky sexual behavior, criminality and substance use. These types of behavior are included in this study because youth has a higher chance of engaging in these types of behavior. Moreover, engaging in one or more types of risk behavior has implications for the educational status (Patel et al., 2004), and employment status (Montoya, 2005) of youngsters.

1.1 A broader context: Apartheid legacy

Citizenship in South Africa must be seen in a broader context because of the presence of inequality, which is due to the apartheid legacy. Before democracy and full citizenship rights have been introduced in 1994, white people, 12 % of the population, had privileged access to education and employment. Africans, colored and Indians were denied equal rights. They were not in control over their own lives, by for example having no access to good education (Fiske & Ladd, 2004).

After apartheid, the government had a new function; changing the system into one that suits the conditions of democracy and did not make a distinction based on race (Fiske & Ladd, 2004). Since 1996, the new constitution, stated: *"Everyone is equal before the law and has the right to equal protection and benefit of the law"*, and *"the full and equal enjoyment of all right and freedoms"* (Fiske & Ladd, 2004, p. 7). The right of basic education is included in these rights (Fiske & Ladd, 2004).

However, if different race groups don't start equally, 'being equal' by law in the present might not be enough. Racial prejudice is still visible in education, provisions and social services (Bhorat, 2004). Thus, even though changes in laws concerning rights in education have occurred since 1994, citizenship in South Africa is still influenced by apartheid (Enslin, 2003).

Especially youth are influenced by apartheid, since they are more vulnerable to unequal treatment than other groups (Fiske & Ladd, 2004). The area or circumstances under which young people live and grow up, like for example living in poverty, might affect their chances of getting an equal treatment. This, for example, results in a high amount of youngsters that drop out of school at an early age.

Youth having more vulnerability of inequality, has implications for the - future - opportunities of youth. Mlatsheni & Rospabe (2002), for instance, argue that the inequality does not enable black youth to achieve the same educational status as white youth. Moreover, a lower educational status results in less job opportunities. These differences between races are due to the fact that a lower educational status decreases the chance of youth finding, or getting, a job (Mlatsheni & Rospabe, 2002). Apartheid, thus, plays a role in inequality of youth in both education and employment. According to Mlatsheni & Rospabe (2002), this inequality is also carried out by the demand side of the labor market; employers do not recognize the capabilities of black youth.

1.2 A broader context: The relevance of YEET youth in South Africa

According to Cunningham et al. (2008), youth is of great relevance for a country's development. This counts especially for South Africa, because a large group of the population is young (Altman, 2008). *"This should offer what is known as a 'demographic dividend', where a large proportion of the population in economically active, thereby reducing dependency ratios and poverty rates, and promoting growth."* (Altman, 2007, p. 8).

Taking advantage of the 'demographic dividend' entails that South Africa should invest in

youth by stimulating and helping them to be well educated, healthy and ready for employment. This investment should lead to more youngsters in employment (Graham, 2012), contributing to a growing economy. The investment perspective, the idea behind the demographic dividend, is future orientated, believes in human capital, puts 'preparing' above 'repairing' and has the focus on activation of people; activating them to be employed (Morel et al., 2012). However, Graham (2012), states that it is also important that an investment is also aimed at youth right now, and that youth should not only be seen as a phase in which young people need to help with not making risky decisions. This approach, the youth development approach, is an approach that entails that the development of youth should be promoted (Lerner, 2005). This approach focuses on youth today, and not only on youth in the future like the investment approach does. It is, therefore, important for the government to see and acknowledge the competences of youth and helping them to lead positive and fulfilling lives in the present (Graham, 2012).

An investment in youth by helping them with education and getting them ready for employment is especially important because of the impacts of accumulating job experience. According to Levinsohn et al. (2014), the average age of gaining first job experience is approximately between 20 and 24 years old. Finding, and being in, employment as a youngster while being in this age group is crucial for the future labor market trajectory of youth (Levinsohn et al., 2014). If youth do not have job experience while being in the crucial age group, namely being between the age of 20 and 24 years, the chance of becoming employed decreases rapidly. Getting young people into their first job is therefore crucial (Levinsohn et al., 2014).

1.3 Youth and transition in Doornkop, Soweto

The target group of this study lives in Doornkop, an area situated in Soweto, Johannesburg. Doornkop has a population of 25.000 people (Patel & Hochfeld, 2012), and is divided into twelve blocks, in which people live. Some people live in shacks, others in formal brick houses (Patel et al., 2004). Most of the housings have an informal backyard which people rent out to other people to generate (extra) income (Patel & Hochfeld, 2012). Next to this, the streets in Doornkop are tarred and basic, and social services, such as sanitation and primary health clinics are present (Moodley, 2012). Also, many people living in Doornkop are unemployed and unable to generate a regular income (N, social worker). A youth development organization, Humana, is located in Doornkop. Humana is a Non-governmental organization (NGO) and offers development assistance with, and for, people living in Doornkop.

The research area Doornkop has been chosen because Doornkop is one of the poorest areas in Soweto, Johannesburg, and also because a large share of the population is young (Patel, 2012). Also, there are several reasons why youngsters in Doornkop are struggling with the transition from school to (higher) education and/or employment.

Firstly, poverty has an increasing effect on young people in South Africa (Swartz et al., 2012).

Living in an impoverished area might indicate that young people might be less likely to have the developed personal skills, such as problem-solving skills and self-esteem, to navigate pathways into education, employment or training (EET). Also, living in poverty, and because of that, having reduced access to education and employment, can lead to passivity and negative feelings of youth about themselves. These feelings make it harder for youth to seek for opportunities in education or employment (Patel et al., 2004).

In addition, as has been described earlier, the educational system during apartheid led to less quality in education for black people (Enslin, 2003). These patterns are likely to persist because schools in black areas, such as Doornkop, have been under resourced for so long. Moreover, youth in Doornkop are at risk of becoming unemployed because of limited job opportunities and possibilities to develop themselves through education and training (Patel et al., 2004). Given these challenges to accessing EET, it would be useful to try and find out what the influence of personal skills, peer influences or risk behavior is on YEET and NEET youth. This is especially of high relevance to compare two groups: youth that overcomes problems and find their way into education or work, and youth that does not overcome these problems and, thus, are not in education or employment. Therefore, a comparison between YEET and NEET youth is even more interesting.

Thirdly, young people in townships are often not accompanied by adults (Graham, 2012). As a result, less rules and supervision is present. This is a problem because young people might be more exposed to, and more vulnerable to, risky behavior (Swartz, 2009, as written in Graham, 2012). This is the case because - in the absence of adult supervision – peers of young people exert a large influence on the behavior of youth. The reason for this is because youth are more likely to spend time with their peers (Lam et al., 2013). This influence can happen in both a positive or negative manner. The lack of adult supervision might, therefore, not actually be a problem if peer influence occurs in a positive way (Tarantino et al., 2013), and/or if youth have well-developed personal skills.

1.4 Significance of the study

The significance of this study is multifold. There is a research gap concerning the perceptions, behaviors and decisions of young people, living in South Africa (Graham, 2012). Moreover, research executed in South Africa about young people is mainly focused on negative influences, but less research is aimed at discovering positive influences, such as personal skills, that contribute to youth being YEET.

This study is important because of the scientific, interdisciplinary and social relevance. Scientifically, this study contributes because peer influences concerning risks, such as education, employment and training, are being studied. Moreover, research on positive influences that contribute to YEET youths in impoverished areas is even less executed.

Also, this study uses an interdisciplinary approach. This study includes cultural norms and values of peers, and a psychological view of the perceptions of youth are used by applying the social

learning theory of Bandura (1971). Because of the high unemployment rate of youth, and because education and training might be a condition to reduce the unemployment rate (Rospabe & Mlatsheni, 2002), it is also socially relevant to do an explorative study to find out which personal skills, peer influences and risk behavior might lead to YEET youth and NEET youth.

In addition, hindrances of youth that increase youth's chance of not being in EET leads to high costs for South Africa. Investing in well focused policies concerning the combination of EET is therefore both desirable as well as cost effective (Cunningham, 2008). This reason for this is because social policies can focus on the positive and/or negative contribution of personal skills, peer influences and risk behavior to employment and education. Insight into which combination(s) lead(s) to YEET and NEET youth, can contribute to peer education programs and youth development organizations, such as Humana. Because other studies in South Africa are mainly focused on negative contributors, to the educational and employment status of youth, less information is known about those positive influences. Insight into these positive influences might be an eye-opener for peer education programs and youth developmental organizations.

1.5 Outline master thesis

This master thesis starts with the theoretical framework regarding personal skills, peer influences and risk behavior, together with the central question of the study, in chapter two. This is followed by definitions and the operationalization of key concepts, the discussion of research methods, a description of the sample, the quality of the study and ethical considerations in chapter three. Thereafter, in chapter four, the results of this study are discussed. A conclusion and discussion follows in chapter five.

2

Theoretical framework

This chapter addresses the theories that are the foundation of this study and starts with a description of the social learning theory (Bandura, 1971). Thereafter, the independent and dependent variables, personal skills, peer influences, risk behavior, and YEET/NEET youth, are described.

2.1 Social learning theory

There are different theories of behavior in psychology. Behaviorist scholars like Bandura (1971), argue that both individual and environmental factors need to be taken into account to explain how and why people behave like they do. Like Bandura (1971) states, the way in which people learn can be seen in the following way: *“Men is neither driven by inner forces nor buffeted helplessly by environmental influences. Rather, psychological functioning is best understood in terms of a continuous reciprocal interaction between behavior and its controlling conditions”* (p. 2). In line with that approach, this study focuses on personal skills as well as - peer - influences. Also, because the focus of this study is on trying to understand how and why youth in Doornkop behave in a certain way and make certain decisions, the social learning theory is applicable for explaining which factors lead to YEET and NEET youth.

Bandura (1971) argues that there are two ways in which people can learn, namely learning from direct experience or learning through modeling. Whereas the first ‘way of learning’ means that people learn from being in certain situations, the latter means that people learn by observing the behavior of others. Learning by direct experience entails that people have the option to make decisions in certain situations; whether the choice is good or bad, the decision has to be made. These choices are selectively strengthened or disconfirmed based upon the consequences of the decision. In contrast to learning by direct experience, learning through modeling is a way in which people can learn from others. Bandura (1971) stresses that for this to happen an example is needed, and that observers should have the motivation to act upon what they have observed. Furthermore, people learn by incorporating what they have observed in new situations.

Learning from direct experience, and learning from others by observation and modeling, can occur in both a positive and a negative manner. Peers can develop personal skills and learn from each other and by observing each other’s behavior and attitudes and by incorporating what they have seen, and have experienced, into their own lives. If youth for example are surrounded by other peers that are in education or employment, peers will observe each other and the positive behavior of other peers might function as role model (Montoya, 2005). If youth are surrounded by peers that are not in

education or employment, youngsters will observe and incorporate the behavior(s) of these peers. Therefore, the social learning theory is helpful in answering the central question of this study.

2.2 Personal skills

According to Cunningham et al. (2008), youth have different abilities in decision-making and problem solving. Youngsters make different choices, and their way of thinking and acting is what separates them from adults.

In this study, two variables belong to the category ‘personal skills’, namely ‘problem solving skills’ and ‘self-esteem’. The reason for this is because these variables are expected to have an effect on YEET and NEET youth. If the personal skills of youth are higher, the chance of youth being YEET is higher than youth being NEET (Waddel, 2005).

2.2.1 Problem solving skills

Lai et al. (2013) argue that youngsters are less likely to have fully developed skills to solve problems. In addition, not being able to negotiate with people about difficult subjects or issues can result in a hindrance for youth (Graham, 2012). This is in line with the social learning theory of Bandura (1971), because he argues that peers learn from negotiating.

According to Pittman et al. (2003), youth can be divided into two groups, namely a group of youth that are volatile, and a group of youth that are not. This volatility of youth refers to youngsters that have a certain set of strengths (skills) which they use to cope with challenges in life and develop relationships with people. Pittman et al. (2003) argue that youth, next to having cognitive skills and a feeling of independency and future, have good social and problem solving skills. Youth can make usage of these skills by facing challenges in the right way and by trying to soften the impact or consequences of (possible) challenges. These strengths of skills are important for them to gain a higher chance of being/staying in education, and getting/staying employed. On the other side, youth without developed problem solving skills, are for example less likely to cope with pressure and tensions in school. This might lead to a lower chance of future educational or employment opportunities. Also, it is harder to concentrate on school or employment if youngsters, for example, are not able to solve challenges they face with their family.

The community and the people youngsters are surrounded with are influential on the perceptions and decisions of youths (Graham, 2012). Because living in impoverished areas decreases the chance of youth being YEET (Graham, 2012), it is likely that the people that youngsters are surrounded with, influence them. Therefore, it is likely that youth living in poverty, do not have fully developed skills to resolve problems and/or conflicts. This can contribute to fewer educational and employment opportunities of youngsters because youth are less able to negotiate with the people they come across (Graham, 2012). Having well-developed problem solving skills on the other hand, increases the chance of youth being YEET.

2.2.2 Self-esteem

Self-esteem of youth is a vital attribute for adolescents (Thorne, & Michaelieu, 1996), because the higher the self-esteem of adolescents the less vulnerable they are for wanting to receive approval from other peers (Harter et al., as written in Thorne, & Michalieu, 1996). This makes young people also more vulnerable to peer-pressure, because they are for example too scared to do something that differs from the actions of peers.

More importantly, Waddel (2005) points out that self-esteem is correlated to future education and employment opportunities. A higher self-esteem is more likely to lead to YEET youth than NEET youth. Youth with higher self-esteem, for example, believe more in themselves and are able to motivate themselves to seek for, or stay, in education and/or employment.

Next to self-esteem being related to more vulnerability for peer pressure, self-esteem of youth differs between men and women. High self-esteem of men is for example linked with outdoing others, whereas high self-esteem of women is related to the concern of being connected with others. The differences in self-esteem between men and women are likely related to their experiences while being young (Block, 1983, as described in Thorne & Michalieu, 1996). These experiences differ because of different interactions, like boys being ‘competitive’ and girls being ‘nurturing’.

Because a higher self-esteem is linked to less vulnerability of young people, it is essential to research if self-esteem plays a role in the lives of young people living in Doornkop. Next to youth with better problem solving skills having a higher chance of being YEET, (Li et al., 2013), a higher self-esteem might also contribute to more likelihood of youth being YEET.

2.3 Peer influences

The age and knowledge of peers can exert a larger influence on other peers than that of adults (Wills, 2012-2013), for example by learning what are ‘good’ and ‘bad’ things to do. Peers play an influential role and youngsters learn more easily from other peers than from adults (Damon, 1984; Bandura, 1971).

Next to this, in a lot of communities in South Africa young people don't have the opportunity to find belonging and interact with people other than peers. In townships there are less positive role models or supportive peers that can be a good example for youth, because it is more likely that there are less people with norms and values concerned with other people in impoverished areas (Ramphela, 2002, as written in Graham, 2012).

In this study, two variables belong to the category ‘peer influences’, namely ‘support’ and ‘role modelling’. The presence or absence of support or a role model is expected to have a positive or negative effect on being YEET or NEET youth. Next to this, having peers as positive role models and/or receiving support from peers can increase the well-being of youth (Wentzel et al., 2004). Therefore, support and positive role modelling are likely to increase the chance of becoming a YEET youth. At the same time, negative support and negative role modelling is likely to increase the chance of becoming a

NEET youth. The variables ‘role modelling’ and ‘support’ are illustrated and elaborated on in the following sections.

2.3.1 Role modeling

According to Bandura (1971), peers learn from each other by observing other peers. The basis of learning for young people is modeling (Bandura, 1971). This, however, occurs both in observing positive and negative behavior of peers. Positive role models can help peers with making choices in their lives, inspire them in their attempts to get an education and help peers with developing skills and values (Wills, 2012-2013). On the other side, negative role models are expected to have the opposite effect.

Montoya (2005) found that employment of peers can have a positive outcome on the employment behavior of other youngsters. The more peers of a youngster are in employment, the higher the chance of employment of the youngster. Next to peers being in employment, having peers that are students also has a positive influence on youngsters (Cutrona et al. (2008). This is related to the social learning theory of Bandura (1971), because peers learn from each other. Therefore, it can be assumed that having good role models as a peer leads to a higher chance of enrollment in education and employment. Role modelling should, however, not only be seen as positive. Youth can also have negative role models that peers don’t look up to concerning EET.

Thus, a role model, whether it is positive or negative, exerts an influence on the behavior of youth (Gardner & Steinberg, 2005). This indicates that having positive role models increases the chance of being YEET youth. Therefore, it is essential to study what the influence of role models is on YEET and NEET youngsters in Doornkop.

2.3.2 Support

Research shows that positive peer influence and support, on the contrary to having peers that engage in risk behavior, have a positive outcome on attending school and school motivation (Li et al., 2011). When youth enter the age of making more decisions, such as decisions about enrollment in education, peers become a more important influence (Ryan, 2001).

The peer group of youngsters often contains out of youngsters with approximately the same educational achievement level(s) and support from these peers result in a higher educational achievement of youth. However, research findings suggest that this is also the case when peers of the peer group of youth do not have the same achievement level (Ryan, 2001). This might implicate that peers can exert a positive influence on youth, and that they can for example, prevent youth from dropping out of school because of low grades.

There is also an effect of peer groups on the motivational support of peers on youth (Ryan, 2001). If youths know peers that have motivation to go to schooling and ‘like/enjoy’ going to school, this has a positive outcome on youth. In contrast, having peers that do not have motivation to go to

school or do not enjoy going to school, have a negative outcome on youth. Because this influence is apparent with education, and peers exert a big influence, this motivational support might also count for employment. However, when it comes to the usefulness of school, peers appeared not to play an important role in influencing youth. Perhaps this is due to the fact that family and/or teachers play a larger role.

Next to the influence of peer support on youth's education, peers can also influence youth regarding employment. Scholars agree that peers influence each other's behavior. Economists however focus mainly on employment and argue that peers choose other peers that have similar visions concerning employment or have similar employment patterns. The support of a friend or spouse by searching for a job has a significant positive effect on the search for jobs (Montoya, 2013). In addition, Levinsohn et al. (2014) argue that youth have more chance of being employed if family members are employed. The reason for this is that more information about the content of jobs and finding a job can be provided, and they can also act as references for potential employers. Employed peers may also play this role. Because this influence is apparent with employment, and peers exert a big influence, this motivational support might also count for education.

Motivational support and/or support by guidance or help from peers might, thus, have a more positive outcome on education and/or employment of YEET youth in Doornkop. On the other hand, having low(er) or no motivational support and/or support by guidance from peers, might lead to a negative outcome of education and/or employment, which makes it more likely for these youngsters to be NEET youth.

2.4 Risk behavior

Risk behavior is relevant for youngsters especially, because youth have a higher chance of engaging in risk behavior, such as engaging in risky sexual behavior (Swartz et al., 2012), engaging in crime (Knecht et al., 2010), and using substances (Station-Tindell et al., 2014). Engaging in one or more types of risk behavior decreases the chance of youngsters being employed (Montoya, 2005) or in education (Patel et al., 2004) and, thus, decreases the chance of youth being YEET.

Living in an impoverished area, may lead to a higher chance of youth engaging in risk behavior. This can be due to the lack of supervision by adults in townships (Graham, 2012), which might indicate that youth is more exposed to, and more vulnerable to, risk behaviors (Swartz, 2009, as written in Graham, 2012). This higher chance of exposure to risk behavior, increases the chance of youth being NEET.

An interesting finding concerning youth and risk behavior, is that peer influences differ between genders (Gifford-Smith, et al., 2005). Previous research has revealed that men are more vulnerable and show more risk behavior than women, because of being more likely to succumb to negative peer pressure (Cutrona et al., 2008). This however does not count for the risk of getting pregnant at a (too) young age. Men are therefore more likely to be NEET youth.

Because of the above described arguments, it can be assumed that YEET youngsters living in Doornkop have a higher chance of not engaging in risky behavior, and NEET youth are more likely to engage in risky behavior.

There are three types of risk behavior that belong to the category 'risk behavior', namely, criminal behavior, substance use and risky sexual behavior. These types of risk behavior are discussed in the following sections.

2.4.1 Criminal behavior

The first type of risky behavior in this study is criminal behavior of youth. There are different factors that contribute to the criminality of youth. According to Knecht et al. (2010), the selection of peers, as well as peer influence, has an effect on criminality of youth. Youth tend to be friends with peers that have the same criminality level.

In addition, criminal behavior is likely to persist because of a higher chance of externalizing behavior and aggressive attitudes of youth. This leads to youth being unemployed for a long period, having hardly any experience on the labor market (Baron & Hartnagel, 1997).

Also, young people that live in poverty are more vulnerable to certain types of criminal activities (Louw & Shaw, 1997). Poverty of young people can, thus, be a strong indicator for higher criminal risk behavior among youngsters and peers. This is possibly the case because young people try to find a way to earn money and are more likely to engage in criminal behavior instead of focusing on education and legal employment. Therefore, youth that do not engage in criminal behavior are more likely to be YEET youth. This might be related to the fact that YEET youth have a higher chance of being surrounded by (more) people that are working, in education or in training. Next to this, if youngsters are in paid employment, they have less need to engage in crime.

2.4.2 Substance use

Portraying drug use as normal in a peer group makes the 'gateway' open for peers to drug use (Lai et al., 2013). Drug use among youth may be stimulated by peers that engage or promote criminal activities such as drug dealing. This makes it on the one hand, harder for youth to refuse substance use, or to stop with drug use given the fact that they are more likely to be highly influenced by for example peer pressure (Staton-Tindell et al., 2008). Substance use among youth is therefore especially important to study, because peers exert a large influence on youngsters (Gardner & Steinberg, 2005).

The following substances are commonly used in South Africa: alcohol, tobacco, cannabis, volatile solvents & Khat. Volatile solvents are drugs such as lime, shoe polish and petrol (Odejide, 2006).

Studies have shown that the use of substances have a negative effect on the (further) educational status of youth (Townsend et al., 2007; Patel et al., 2004). Dropping-out of school is a common effect

and decreases the chance of youth being enrolled in (further) education. Because of early dropping-out, this also results in greater likelihood of unemployment. According to Montoya (2005), substance use has an effect on employment and working hours. Drug abuse also decreases the chance of successful employment (Austin et al., 1992, as written in Staton-Tindell et al., 2008). Youth is, therefore, more likely to be YEET if they do not use substances, and more likely to be NEET youth if they do use substances.

2.4.3 *Risky sexual behavior*

Next to substance use, risky sexual behavior also is likely to have an effect on youth being YEET or NEET. If peers of the same peer group engage in risky sexually behavior, the chance of other peers copying this risky behavior increases. Copying other peers occurs by peers modeling each other (Bandura, 1971). According to Bachanas et al. (2002), peer norms and substance use are influential in the sense that they are predictors of risky sexual behaviors of young people. If a youngster engages in risky sexual behavior, this increases the chance of a youngster also engaging in other risk behavior (Lam et al., 2013).

In addition, under the influence of substances, the chance of young people not using protection during sexual activities increases (Millstein & Mosicki, 1995). Moreover, a lot of young women drop out of school because of pregnancy and becoming a parent and the accompanying care responsibilities (Swartz et al., 2012). This hinders women more than men, because they are more often primary caregivers of children.

The burden of taking care of family reduces the chance of youngsters to apply for education or applying for jobs, because there is simply less time to spend on education or employment. Next to this, women that have children have less chance of finding a job or being self-employed. This is due to the fact that youth with more care responsibilities are not as flexible as youth without these responsibilities (Mlatsheni & Rospabé, 2002). The reduced flexibility in time also likely plays a role in youth being in, or starting with, education. Because the educational level influences the chances of being employed (Patel et al., 2004), risky sexual behavior is a risk for youth, and engaging in this type of behavior, is likely to reduce the chance of a youngster – mainly women - in education and/or employment.

2.5 Research question

The approach of the research questions of this study finds its roots in the Comparative Case Study Analysis (CCSA) (Ragin, 1987). The research question is based upon the theoretical framework of this study.

The aim of this study is to explore which combination(s) of, also referred to configuration(s) of, causal variables lead(s) to YEET and NEET youth. It is, thus, expected that the outcome is not caused by one or more single factor(s), but by a configuration of causal factors. The research question is,

therefore, the following: *“Which combination(s) of personal skills, peer influences and risk behavior explain the difference between NEET youth and YEET youth in Doornkop, Soweto?”*

3

Methodology

This study has a sequential exploratory nature, which entails that a qualitative method has been used, followed by a quantitative method (Boeije, 2010). This study is explorative, because the perceptions of youth, and the combination of positive and negative factors, were not yet studied in South Africa. This study aims to give insight into which combination(s) of the factors personal skills, peer influences and risk behavior, lead(s) to YEET or NEET youth. In order to study this, qualitative data have been translated into quantitative data.

This chapter discusses and explains relevant concepts and the operationalization of independent and dependent variables. Thereafter follows a description of the methods used and how data has been gathered. Tables that are relevant to explain the methodology are illustrated in this chapter. Lastly, the sample of the study, the research analysis, the quality of the study and ethical considerations are described and discussed.

3.1 Key concepts

The key concepts ‘youth’ and ‘peers’, followed by the key concepts and operationalization of the independent and dependent variable(s), are described and discussed in the following sections.

3.1.1 Key concepts ‘youth’ and ‘peers’

A Youth

The definition of ‘youth’ in this study is from 18 years up until 25 years. This range is based on the importance of the phases of youth. The age of 20 to 29 years is considered to be of high relevance for youth and their employment (Levinsohn et al., 2014). The age group of 20 to 24 years is crucial for the education trajectory as well as the transition to higher education and/or the labor market.

B Peers

A young person is a peer of the interviewee when:

- Is aged between 17 and 27; and
- Meets with the participant on a regular basis (at least once per week because they both choose to make an appointment for it); and
- Is a (boy/girl)friend; or
- Is not a friend, but still meets on a regular basis (an acquaintance); or
- Is a relative (niece, nephew, sister, brother).

3.1.2 Conceptualization and operationalization of the independent variables

In this study, three categories of variables have been set, namely 'personal skills', 'peer influences' and 'risk behavior'. This section discusses the conceptualization and operationalization of these categories of variables. For the causal scheme of the independent and outcome variables, see figure 1.

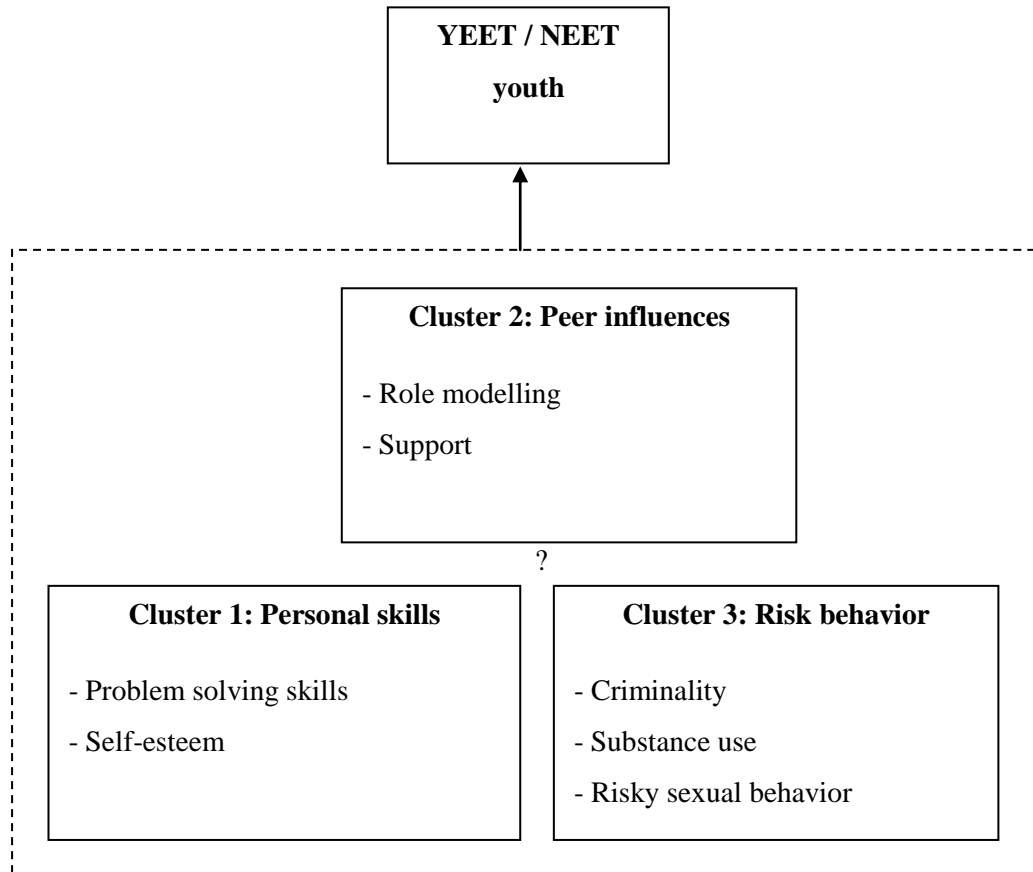


Figure 1. Causal scheme.

C Problem solving skills

The capability to handle risks of youth is very important for how youth negotiate problems and/or risks in their lives (Graham, 2012). In this study, problem solving skills refer to skills to solve problems in the lives of youth. Next to this, it also refers to how youth stays away from risky behavior. This because problem solving skills, and the way in which youth deal with risk behavior of peers, are likely to have an impact on youth (Lai, et al., 2013). The capability to handle problems, such as risks, is very important for how youth negotiate risk in their lives (Graham, 2012).

Because youth in Doornkop come across problem situations, such as peers engaging in risk behavior, it is important to know if they have the problem solving skills to stay away from this type of behavior(s). Thus, the subject risk behavior is, next to solving problems in general, also used as a measurement to determine whether youth have high(er) or low(er) problem solving skills. Because youths might say that they can stay away from risk behavior, while they do engage in risk behavior, this

is also taken into account. However, this study also includes the category ‘risk behavior’, in which engagement in one, or more, types of risk behavior is determined. Important to address is that the difference between this variable (problem solving skills), and the category ‘risk behavior’, is that the variable ‘problem solving skills’ tries to measure whether youth are able to solve problems.

The qualitative answers to questions concerning problem solving skills are quantified in this study. This has been done by asking participants questions about two components. The first component is the perceptions of youth about being able to solve problems in general. The second component entails if youth are able to stay away from, and what they do when they come across, people that engage in risk behavior. To translate the qualitative answers into quantitative data, numerical values have been added to these two components of this variable. These numerical values were assigned based upon the researcher’s interpretation of the answers to the open-ended questions. For an overview of the totals of the numerical values and scales that were, for all variables, assigned to the participants, see appendix C.

The researcher’s interpretation is based on the answers of the participants. By looking at words and phrases, the numerical values have been assigned. Nvivo has been used to identify words and phrases from participants in an interview. These words have been chosen by the option ‘word count’ in Nvivo. If columns do not include words and/or phrases, this means that none of the participant had this score assigned to him or her. For an overview of the assignment of the numerical values by the interpretation of the researcher, see table 1.

Table 1. *Assigning numerical values to the variable ‘problem solving’*

Numerical value (score)	Problem solving in general	Staying away from risk behavior
1	Is not able to describe the problem(s), and says he/she is not able to solve problems/that he/she does not solve problems.	Describes that he/she does not stay away from risk behavior and does engage in risk behavior. Uses words, such as; ‘Why stay away’, ‘they don’t tell me what to do’, ‘I choose my own life(path)’.
2	Participant is able to describe the problem(s), and uses words such as: ‘challenge/problems I face’, but does not do anything about it/solve it. Uses words such as ‘I am not able to’, ‘I can’t’, ‘it’s hard/difficult’.	Describes that he/she stays away from risk behavior, but <u>does</u> engage in risk behavior. Uses words such as; ‘I stay away’, ‘but’, ‘Hang out with friends’.
3	Participant is able to describe the problem(s), describes at least one way of resolving a problem. Uses words such as; ‘I solved’, ‘what I do is..’, ‘I go away’, ‘I choose to..’	Describes that he/she stays away from risk behavior, and <u>does not</u> engage in risk behavior, but according to the content of the scales, does engage in risk behavior.

Numerical value (score)	Problem solving in general	Staying away from risk behavior
4	Participant is able to do things to describe and overcome challenges and/or problems (more examples plus ways to resolve problems). Used words such as: 'I solved', 'the reason why', 'I solved' or 'do this', 'What I do is..'	Participant describes that he/she stays away from risk behavior, how he/she stays away from risk behavior and does not engage in risk behavior. Uses words, such as; 'don't hang out with certain people', 'choosing own friends', 'choosing friends in EET'.

After the open-ended questions have been interpreted, the scores of the two components have been added up. Because the answers to the open ended questions were assigned to a value of 1 to 4, the maximum score a participant could get is 8. The last step in defining to which scale a participant belongs to, is to divide the maximum score into the four scales for the fuzzy set analysis (FSA). The scales and their content are described below and are based upon whether the participant has the perception that he or she is able to solve problems and if the participant has the perception of being able to head off risk behavior. For the content of these scales, see table 2.

Table 2. Scales of the variable 'problem solving'.

Scale	Content and points
(0)	Participant is not good in solving problems and heading off risk behavior; participant has a total score of 1-2. (-)
(0,33)	Participant is below average in solving problems and heading off risk behavior; participant has a total score of 3-4. (-/+)
(0,67)	Participant is above average in solving problems and heading off risk behavior; participant has a total score of 5-6. (+/-)
(1)	Participant is very good in solving problems and heading off risk behavior; participant has a total score of 7-8. (+)

D Self-esteem

In this study, the individual self-esteem has been measured by using the self-esteem concepts of the self-esteem scale of Rosenberg (1965) as an example (Yorku, 2013). Self-esteem in this study refers to four components: feelings about own qualities, feelings about if others are better in things than others, helping others and feelings of satisfaction, and respect for themselves. The focus is on these four components based on the researcher's interpretation of the Rosenberg scale. To translate the qualitative answers into quantitative data, numerical values have been added to each of these four components of the Rosenberg scale. This has been done by giving participants a score between 1 and 4 for each of the

four components. These scores were assigned based upon the researcher’s interpretation of the answers to the open-ended questions.

Nvivo has been used as a tool to get insight into commonly used words. For an overview of the words and/or phrases the researcher used to decide how much points a participant scored, see table 3. If words and/or phrases for scores for a component are missing in the table, this entails that none of the participants has scored that amount of points for a component.

Table 3. *Assigning numerical values to the variable ‘self-esteem’*

Numerical value (score)	Satisfaction (based upon own validation participants)	Helping others	Being good at things/compliments	Self-respect
1	Participant says he/she is not satisfied.	Participant doesn’t help people/don’t wants to help people. Uses words such as; ‘I don’t help’, ‘People don’t help me, so why should I?’.	Participant says he/she does not get compliments <u>and</u> that he/she is not good at things. Uses words, such as; ‘I don’t know’, ‘I’m not good at..’.	Participant says he/she has no self-respect/ does not take care of his/(her)self.
2	Participant says he/she is a little bit satisfied.	Participant wants to help people/ Participant can’t help people. Uses words, such as; ‘I want to’, ‘I can’t’, ‘I am not able to’, ‘it’s hard’.	Participant says he/she doesn’t get compliments <u>or</u> he/she is not good at things. Uses words, such as; ‘not good’, ‘no compliments’.	Participant says his/her self-respect is low. Uses words, such as; ‘I am shy’, ‘I wish I could change’, ‘I am too quiet’.
3	Participant says that he/she is satisfied.	Participant says that he/she sometimes helps people. Uses words, such as; ‘sometimes’, ‘I try to help’.	Participant describes he/she is good at x <u>and</u> that he/she gets compliments. Uses words such as; ‘I am good at..’, ‘They tell me I am good at’.	Participant says he/she has self-respect. Uses words such as; ‘I take care of me’, ‘bathing’, ‘I am clean’.

Numerical value (score)	Satisfaction (based upon own validation participants)	Helping others	Being good at things/compliments	Self-respect
4	Participant says that he/she is very satisfied.	Participant says that he/she always helps whenever he/she can. Uses words, such as; 'I always', 'If I can', 'I help with different things', 'they don't have to ask'.	Participant described he/she is good at more than one thing (x) and I get compliments about more than one thing. Uses words, such as; 'I am good at', 'They tell me I am good at', 'I am good at more things'.	Participant says he/she has a lot of self-respect. Uses words such as; 'bathing', 'taking care of me', 'going to school', 'doing things for my future'.

After the open-ended question had been interpreted, the scores of the four components have been summed up. Because the answers to the open ended questions were assigned to a value of 1 to 4, the maximum score a participant could get is 16. Therefore, the last step in defining to which scale a participant belongs to, is to divide the maximum score into these four scales. See table 4 for the content of these scales.

Table 4. Scales of the variable 'self-esteem'

Scale	Content and points
(0)	Low self-esteem; participant scores 1-4 points on the four components. (-)
(0,33)	Below average self-esteem; participant scores 5-8 points on the four components. (-/+)
(0,67)	Above average self-esteem; participant scores 9-12 points on the four components. (+/-)
(1)	High self-esteem; participant scores 13-16 points on the four components. (+)

E Role modeling

A role model is someone that is an example to youth; someone a youngster would want to imitate (Yancey, 1998). In this study, a role model is a peer that is aged between 17 and 27 years, and that is an example for youth concerning EET. A role model is defined as a peer that is in education and/or employment, and can be seen as a positive role model. An example might be someone youth looks up to and, by that, stimulates youth to work (harder), and search for education and/or employment and/or training. On the other hand, having no role model(s) entails that the participant has no one he or she looks up, would like to imitate and motivates him or her, to work harder and search for EET.

This variable 'role modelling' is measured by counting the amount of positive role models that participants had at the time of the interview. If no positive role models are present, the participant

belongs to scale (0), meaning that negative role models also fall into this category. Scales were assigned by adding up the total number of role models of all participants (22), and by dividing that number by the total number of participants (15). This makes the average score of the total of role models 1,46 ($22/15 = 1,46$). For the division and content of the scales, see table 5.

Table 5. Scales of the variable 'role modelling'

Scale	Content and points
(0)	Participant had no peer that is a good role model concerning EET from January the 1 st up until the date of the interview. (-)
(0,33)	Participant had at least one peer that, in the perception of the participant, is a good role model for him/her concerning EET from January the 1 st up until the date of the interview. (-/+)
(0,67)	Participant had two peers that, in the perception of the participant, are good role models concerning EET for him/her from January the 1 st up until the date of the interview. (+/-)
(1)	Participant had three or more peers that, in the perception of the participant, are good role models concerning EET for him/her from January the 1 st up until the date of the interview. (+)

F Support

Li et al. (2011) measure support of peers by asking participants questions about their peers; are they good peers, if they trust them and if they are there when they need them. In this study, support of friends is directly linked to EET.

A participant is considered to receive support from peers if peers guide and help the participant with:

- a) Seeking for employment and/or seeking for education and help with employment (for example; guidance with applying) and/or help with education (for example; guidance with applying) and/or;
- b) Motivational support concerning applying for, or staying in, education and/or employment.

Numerical values have been assigned to the answers of the participants to the open ended questions. This has been done by looking at words and phrases that were used by participants. Nvivo has been used to find the words that were used the most. For an overview of the interpretation(s) of the words and phrases the researcher has analyzed in order to assign numerical values, see table 6, on page 29. If words and/or phrases for scores for a component are missing in the table, this entails that none of the participants has scored that amount of points for a component.

Table 6. Assigning numerical values to the variable 'support'

Numerical value (score)	Help with seeking/enrollment in	Motivation
1	Participant receives no support from peers with seeking for, <u>and</u> no support from peers with (being in) education and employment. Uses words such as; 'they don't help', 'I do it on my own', 'It's my life'.	Participant receives no motivational support from peers concerning education <u>or</u> employment. Used words such as; 'they don't say', 'they don't motivate', 'they don't stimulate', 'no example'.
2	Participant receives peer support with seeking for education/employment, <u>or</u> , receives support from peers with (being in) education or employment. Not more than once in six months. Uses words such as; 'sometimes', 'maybe once a year', 'a little bit of help'.	Participant receives emotional support from peers concerning education <u>or</u> employment. Not more than once in six months. Uses words such as; 'sometimes', 'they told me to go to school/find a job'.
3	Participant receives peer support with seeking for education/employment, <u>or</u> , receives support from peers with (being in) education or employment. The participant receives this support approximately at least once every month.	Participant receives emotional support from peers concerning education <u>or</u> employment. Receives this approximately at least once every month. Uses words such as; 'sometimes', 'they told me to go to school/find a job'.
4	Participant receives support from peers with seeking for, and being in education and/or employment. The participant receives this support when needed. Uses words such as; 'they help me', 'is an example', 'friend from my study'.	Participant receives emotional support from peers concerning education and/or employment. Participant receives this support when needed. Uses words such as; 'they help me', 'they give info about where to apply', 'they bring around my CV', 'they tell me to go', 'they say it is important'.

In contrast to having support from peers, no support from peers entails that help of peers with seeking for/guidance in/enrollment in EET is absent. The participants have been assigned into four scales and the translation from qualitative data to quantitative data has been made by assigning numerical values to the three components, namely: seeking, guidance and help for/with employment and education. A participant can score 1 to 4 points on each component, which makes 8 the total points a participant could get. For the division and context of these scales, see table 7 on page 30.

Table 7. Scales of the variable 'support'

Scale	Content and points
(0)	Participant received low support concerning EET from peer(s) concerning EET from January the 1 st up until the date of the interview and scores 1-2 points. (-)
(0,33)	Participant received below average support concerning EET from peer(s) from January the 1 st up until the date of the interview and scores 3-4 points. (-/+)
(0,67)	Participant received above average support concerning EET from peer(s) from January the 1 st up until the date of the interview and scores 5-6 points. (+/-)
(1)	Participant received high support concerning EET from peer(s) from January the 1 st up until the date of the interview and scores 7-8 points. (+)

G Risk behavior

In order to determine if a participant engages in risk behaviour, it is necessary to ask the participants questions about their behaviour. If a participant engages in at least one type of risk behaviour, he or she is considered to engage in risk behaviour.

First, the content of the three types of risk behaviour are described. Also, the assignment for the three types of risk behaviour in this study has been set, and the content and assignment of the scales is visible in table 9.

G1 Criminality

Criminality refers to criminal (illegal) activities of youth. This involves the following criminal activities (Stats SA, 2010-2011, p. x-xi): assault, housebreaking, fraud, burglary, robbery, property damage/crime, theft, wearing illegal weapons, vandalism, violent crimes & rape.

G2 Substance use

In this study young people are considered to engage in risky behavior when they use one or more of the following substances: alcohol, tobacco, cannabis, khat, cocaine, heroin and volatile solvents (lime, shoe polish, petrol). These substances are chosen because these types of drugs are common in South Africa (Odejide, 2006). Moreover, the less expensive types of drugs are more likely to be used in Doornkop because of the higher poverty rate.

G3 Risky sexual behavior

Whether someone engages in risky sexual behavior is based upon four criteria. Youth engages in risky sexual behavior if he or she meets one or more out of the four criteria described below:

- The age of having sex for the first time. When a participant has had sex for the first time before turning 16, this is seen as risky sexual behavior. This because the legal age of having sex is 16 in South Africa (Strode et al., 2010).
- Having multiple sexual partners.

- Not using protection (condoms) during sex.
- If someone is, or has ever been, infected with a transmittable disease because of unprotected sex.

Thus, to determine whether a participant engages in risk behavior, scales have been assigned to each type of risk behavior. A combined scale for engaging in risk behavior is also determined. For the overview of both assignment scores, see table 8.

Table 8. Scales of the variables belonging to 'risk behavior'

Criminality	Scale	Content and points
	(0)	Participant engaged in criminal activities from the 1 st of January, 2013, up until the date of the interview. (-)
	(1)	Participant never engaged in criminal activities from the 1 st of January, 2013, up until the date of the interview. (+)
Substance use	Scale	Content and points
	(0)	Participant used one, or more types of substances, from the 1 st of January, 2013, up until the date of the interview. (-)
	(1)	Participant used no type of substances from January the 1 st , 2013, up until the date of interview. (+)
Risky sexual behavior (RSB)	Scale	Content and points
	(0)	Participant engaged in RSB at least once or more times per two weeks from the 1 st of January 2013, up until the date of the interview. (-)
	(1)	Participant never engaged in RSB from the 1 st of January 2013, up until the date of the interview. (+)
Risk behavior (all types together)	Scale	Content and points
	(0)	Participant engaged in none of the three types of risk behavior from the 1 st of January 2013, up until the date of the interview. (-)
	(0.33)	Participant engaged in one type of risk behavior from the 1 st of January 2013, up until the date of the interview. (-/+)
	(0.67)	Participant engaged in two types of risk behavior from the 1 st of January 2013, up until the date of the interview. (+/-)
	(1)	Participant engaged in three types of risk behavior from the 1 st of January 2013, up until the date of the interview. (+)

3.1.3 Conceptualization and operationalization of the dependent variables

The dependent variables in this study are YEET and NEET youth. An analysis has been executed to discover which combination(s) of personal skills, peer influences and risk behavior lead to YEET youth, and to discover which of these variables lead to NEET youth. The following sections elaborate on the conditions for deciding if a youngster is YEET or NEET youth.

YEET/NEET youth

If a participant is or in education, and/or in employment, and/or in training, he or she is YEET youth. Participants belong to NEET youth when they are neither in employment, education or training. Employment refers to formal and informal employment. In addition, not being in education means that a youngster is not in any type of schooling; any type of subscription. (Not) being in training is also taken in the broadest sense of the meaning, like for example following a computer course or sewing classes in the community centre of Humana (Geerars, 2013). The name YEET or NEET does not put a stigma on young people; it is just a name of a category. For the content of the scales that were assigned to YEET and NEET youths, see table 8.

Table 9. Scales of the variable YEET/NEET youth

Scale	Content and points
(0)	NEET youth: participant is at the time of the interview not in any type of schooling, training or in formal/informal employment. (-)
(1)	YEET youth: participants is at the time of the interview, in any type of schooling, and/or training, and/or in formal/informal employment. (+)

3.2 Sample

The target group in this study has been chosen to find out if personal skills, peer influences play a role in youngsters being YEET or NEET youth. Interviews were conducted with 15 youngsters. All of these youngsters lived in Doornkop at the time of the interview. The age category of the sample is 18 years up until 25 years old, and the average age of the participant is 22 years.

In order to find participants that matched the criteria for the sample, social workers from Humana have been asked for help. Different social workers helped by either going into the field with the researcher, or without the researcher. Also, participants were selected by the researcher or a social worker on the terrain of Humana. In addition, before conducting an interview, the researcher spoke to each participant about the research and thereafter made appointments with the participants for an interview. The reason for this is that it was found necessary that the participants would feel as comfortable as possible. By introducing a 'getting-to-know-each-other' chat, the researcher tried to achieve that goal. The more comfortable the participants feel, the more likely they feel free to speak their mind and talk (honestly) about sensitive subjects.

In contrast to finding participants, making sure that they came to the appointment for an interview, was a harder goal to achieve. This is visible in the total number of 'potential' participants that did not show up at the interview appointment. In total, 32 youngsters were asked to participate in this study. Of these 32 youngsters, 4 youngsters declined to participate before making an appointment for an interview. Of the youngsters that the researcher has made an appointment with, 13 youngsters did not want to, or could not come to the appointment that was made with them. The remaining 15 youngsters that were approached came to their appointment for an interview and are, thus, the sample of this study. All 15 interviews were conducted at Humana. 7 out of these 15 youngsters were YEET youth, and 8 youths were NEET youth. Next to this, out of the 15 youngsters, 8 were men, and 7 were women to get insight into YEET and NEET youth living in Doornkop. An overview of the characteristics of the participants, see appendix D.

3.3 Research analysis

As has been described earlier, this study is sequential explorative because more insight was needed for discovering certain topics. This has been done by conducting in-depth interviews. For an overview of the topic list, see appendix A.

The software program Nvivo has been used to analyze the data derived from these interviews. Nvivo makes it possible to distinguish sentences that belong to the same subject. In Nvivo, axial coding is used, which entails that before the interviews categories were already set before interviews were executed. With axial coding it's possible to find connections between different categories and the main focus is trying to find the most important findings (Boeije, 2010).

The next step in the sequential explorative design was using a quantitative method, namely the Comparative Case Study Analysis (CCSA). A version of the CCSA, the FSA, is used in this study. The FSA makes it possible to find relationships between variables. By using the FSA, instead of the dichotomization of independent and dependent variables, variables can be divided into a range from three or more scales (Ragin, 2000). Thus, instead of a participant being 'fully in' (1) or 'fully out' (0) of a variable, the participant can also be 'more out than in' (0.33), or 'more in than out' (0.67) of a variable. For an overview of the assigned scales for each participant, for each variable, see appendix C.

"By combining qualitative and quantitative assessment in a single instrument, fuzzy sets make it possible for researchers to address varied interpretations of social scientific concepts in an explicit manner" (Ragin, 2000, p. 9). Using the FSA, thus, allows combining qualitative and quantitative methods. A low number of cases and collecting data from in-depth interviews, which are a characteristic of qualitative research, are combined with a quantitative analysis. Using the FSA makes it possible to find out which combination(s) of different causal variables, instead of the influence of one variable, lead(s) to a certain outcome (Ragin, 2000).

In order to conduct the FSA, quantitatively compared analysis (FS/QCA) software has been used. Using the FSA is important for this study, because the FSA makes it possible to find out which

combination(s) of variables result in YEET and NEET youth. Also, youth have a lot of variety and many different factors may result in different outcomes. The lines between youth on the independent variables were expected to be thin, and the interpretation of variables was expected not to be 'black or white'.

3.4 Quality of the study

Essential in any research is to address the quality of methods by looking at the reliability and validity of the study. Reliability refers to control that there are no unsystematic mistakes. When repeating the same study, this should lead to the same outcome (Neuman, 2009). To increase reliability, a 'getting-to-know-each-other' chat was held with every participant to make him or her feel as comfortable as possible. This conversation either took place at Humana or at their homes. This chat entailed a talk for around 30 minutes to explain who the researcher is, what the main goals are while being in South Africa and what is, thus, the purpose of this study.

After a 'getting-to-know-each-other' chat, appointments were made in April and May to conduct interviews at Humana. The interviews were conducted at Humana to increase the reliability of the study; it increases the chance of youngsters being comfortable with their surroundings so they feel freer to speak about (sensitive) subjects. Next to this, transcribing and axial coding in Nvivo has improved reliability because subjects were established before the interviews, which made it easier to code fragments. However, because of sensitive subjects, desirable answers could have been given. Also, the language that participants may speak might form a barrier and is important to be acknowledged. Although all participants could communicate well in English, this was not always their first language.

Internal validity concerns whether the thing that wanted to be measured is measured. When this is not the case, internal validity is also called a systematic mistake (Boeije, 2010). To minimize this type of mistake, other people have checked the questions that were asked. They are also theoretically supported.

A possible systematic mistake could have occurred when youngsters did not want to talk about sensitive subjects, or if they misunderstood any questions. The researcher had a strong impression, while conducting interviews, that respondents did understand what she was asking them, even though it was a concern that they might not be able to understand the researcher.

3.5 Ethical considerations

Interviews in this study were conducted in Doornkop, Soweto. Informed consent of the participants themselves is necessary to conduct ethical research (Boeije, 2010). Therefore, information about the content and goals of this study was explained and an informed consent form has been signed. In order to achieve informed consent, the above described ethical considerations were written in a paper form and this 'informed consent' was handed to the participants for them to sign it if they still agreed to participate. For the content of the informed consent form, see appendix B.

Next to the informed consent, there are several other ethical considerations. First, participants had the opportunity to be interviewed in a language that they can understand and speak. Secondly, participants had the right and the opportunity not to give informed consent at any time, also during the interview. Also, it was necessary to disclose in the informed consent that the data that would be gathered and would be handled privately (Boeije, 2010), which means that gathered information about the participant would not be disclosed to other people. Lastly, anonymity must be guaranteed (Boeije, 2010). This has been done by using substitutive names. Notes, records and digital recordings have only been used for research purposes.

4

Results

The FSA has been used for trying to find out which causal configuration(s) of personal skills, peer influences and risk behavior, lead(s) to YEET or NEET youth. These results, their link to the problem situation, research question, and whether they correspond with literature findings, are discussed in the following sections.

4.1 The influence of personal skills, peer influences and risk behavior on YEET and NEET youth

Table 10. Analysis of sufficient and necessary conditions for 'YEET' outcome 1 and for the negated '~YEET' outcome 2 – intermediate solution.¹

1) YEET		Raw coverage	Unique coverage	Consistency
Solution	rb*~supp*self-e *~probsolv*rolem	0.190000	0.190000	0.668342
Solution coverage:		0.190000		
Solution consistency:		0.668342		
2) ~YEET (=NEET)		Raw coverage	Unique coverage	Consistency
Solution	~rb*~supp*self-e*probsolv*~rolem	0.415000	0.415000	0.666667
Solution coverage:		0.415000		
Solution consistency:		0.666667		

4.1.1 Output fuzzy set analysis

Table 10 shows the paths of personal skills, peer influences and risk behavior that lead to YEET and NEET youth. Before elaboration on what these results implicate, it is important to explain the output that is visible in the table.

¹ Rb = risk behavior, supp = support, self-e = self-esteem, probsolv = problem solving skills, rolem = role model. Absence of a variable = '~', YEET = YEET youth, ~ YEET = NEET youth.

Solution refers to one, or more, paths of variables that lead to a certain outcome. Consistency measures what proportion of the variables is consistent with the paths and refers to the degree to which membership is a subset of the outcome. Coverage measures the importance of the paths that lead to a certain outcome. The higher the coverage ratio, the more the combination of variables explains the outcome (Ragin, 2006).

Also, table 10 shows that there are variables present or absent in the path to an outcome. If variables are absent, it means that they have a membership of $< 0,5$, such as ‘~support’. On the other side, if variables are present, it entails that they have a membership of $> 0,5$, such as ‘self-e’ (Ragin, 2006), meaning that the variable has at least 0,5 (50%) membership in the set of the outcome ‘YEET’ or ‘~YEET’.

In total, there are two paths shown in table 10. The first path leads to ‘YEET’ and shows the combination of the presence of risk behavior, plus the absence of support, the presence of positive role models, the presence of self-esteem and the absence of problem solving skills. The second path is one that leads to ‘~YEET’ (=NEET), and is the combination of the absence of risk behavior, the absence of support, the absence of positive role models, the presence of self-esteem and the presence of problem solving skills.

The paths that are visible in table 10 are the paths with the highest consistency scores. There are two types of consistency and coverage ratios visible in the table. Table 10 shows consistency scores of 0.67 for ‘YEET’ and 0.67 for ‘~YEET’. The table also shows coverage scores of 0.19 for ‘YEET’, and 0.42 for ‘~YEET’. An acceptable consistency score is 0,8, and the closer the consistency score comes to 1.0, the more satisfactory it is (Da Roit & Weicht, 2013). However, the consistency scores of both solutions are unacceptably low. This implicates that no explicit relationship between the combination of variables in this study can be seen as a subset to the outcome ‘YEET’ and ‘~YEET’ (Ragin, 2006). Next to low consistency scores, the coverage scores are also low for both outcomes, which entails that the path accounts for a small number of cases.

The FSA also allows, next to analyzing combined variables, for analyses on singular variables for a specific outcome. A condition is necessary when it’s present in one or more configurations of variables that lead to YEET or NEET, and has a score of > 0.9 on necessity. A condition is sufficient when its presence or absence is not needed to lead to YEET or NEET youth (Da Roit & Weicht, 2013).

The output of the analysis on necessary and sufficient conditions shows that there are no variables that are necessary for the outcome YEET or NEET youth. None of the variables have a score of >0.9 on necessity. This means that the presence of none of the independent variables is necessary to lead to YEET or NEET youth.

4.1.2 *Link between output fuzzy set analysis and the research question*

Because both paths have such low consistency, the main conclusion is that this study cannot explain

which combination(s) of personal skills, peer influences and risk behavior, explain the difference between YEET and NEET youth. A possible explanation for this is that non-included variables might play a (larger) role in explaining the difference between YEET and NEET youth.

Support for the main conclusion is found by looking at the variables that are part, or not part, of the paths to 'YEET and '~YEET'. Because of the low consistency scores of both paths, interview findings have been used to gain knowledge about the variables that were concluded in this study.

The results are described and discussed in the next section. Important to point out is that the output of the fuzzy set has been used as a handle for describing the results. Interview findings, however, play a larger role in trying to explain if the absence, or presence, of variables plays a role in being YEET or NEET youth. Interview data has, thus, been used to try to explain why the absence, or presence, of variables is, or is not, in line with the literature. It is, however, important to acknowledge that the discussion of individual variables is limited when it comes to explaining combination(s) of variables that lead(s) to a certain outcome. Whilst this does not mean that the presence or absence of variables cannot be discussed, it does implicate that it is important to acknowledge for the conclusion of the FSA.

4.1.3 Results in relation to literature and problem situation

Table 10 shows that the presence of risk behavior, together with the other independent variables, leads to youth being YEET. Interviews point out that none of the participants engage in more than two types of risk behavior. Also, that the absence of risk behavior, combined with other variables, leads to '~YEET'. This is in contrast to findings of previous studies that show that engaging in risk behavior decreases the chance of youth being in employment (Montoya, 2005), or in education (Patel et al., 2004).

The interviews also point out that the same amount of YEET and NEET youth engage in risk behavior. The majority of these youths are men. The interviews show that youngsters agree on the idea that engaging in risk behavior can have a negative effect on the educational and/or employment status of youth:

“Yes, for some of them it is hard to go to school or get a job while doing drugs. Why? Because if you go to school with drugs and alcohol, you are not going to concentrate. For a job: some of them don't want someone to smoke. So if he is doing drugs, he will not get a job”. (Susara, F, 21, NEET).

“Doing illegal things decreases chances of getting employment. Why? You can't hire someone you cannot trust and you cannot trust someone or invite him in your school that can do bad things to other kids”. (Mary, F, 19, YEET).

The above described fragments illustrate that it is likely that youngsters know that certain behavior might be a risk for their current or future lives. They agree that when you engage in one or more types

of risk behavior, it decreases the chance of enrollment in education and/or employment.

In addition, interviews point out that most of the youngsters that engage in risk behavior, engage in risky sexual behavior. They do this by not using protection against pregnancy or sexual transmitted diseases. There is no difference between the amount of YEET and NEET youths that engage in risky sexual behavior, and all of these youngsters are men. Risky sexual behavior is, by youth, also seen as an (possible) influence on education and employment:

"So my girlfriend and I almost never use protection. You know why? She wants a baby. If she gets pregnant now I'll put something in her drink so she does not get the baby. I don't want a child. No, I will not tell her. Because it's better for me, for my future. If I have a child I might have to stop with school and then I can't start my business and work". (Papelo, M, 22, YEET).

In this study, support refers to being motivated by peers, support from peers by helping or giving guidance to youngsters. Also, the support in this study refers to searching for, being in, or staying in education and/or employment. The output of the FSA shows that the presence of support is visible in the paths to both outcomes. This would implicate that support from peers concerning EET, combined with other variables, does not lead to a higher chance of youth being YEET. The interviews show that most of the youth received support in either education or employment.

In contrast to the FSA output, interviews show that there is a difference in received support between YEET and NEET youth. More YEET than NEET youths received support in both education and employment, and more NEET youths received no support at all:

"I don't have a friend that helps me with school. I search for a job by myself." (Susara, 21, F, NEET).

"My friends don't support me. Okay, this is not nice to say madam, but my friends are stupid enough. Most of the guys haven't done education. They think they can't get a job. Most of them do drugs and are gangsters. That's why I don't chill with them too much. Some of them are not doing that criminal stuff, but they are not looking for any job. I don't like to be with them too much. There's no sense." (Christo, 22, M, NEET).

Doornkop is one of the poorest areas in Johannesburg (Patel, 2012). Living in poverty, and therefore having reduced access to education and employment, can lead to passivity and negative feelings of youth about themselves (Patel et al., 2004). One might think that a higher self-esteem leads to a smaller chance of youth having negative feelings about themselves. However, table 10 shows that the absence of self-esteem, combined with other variables, leads to both 'YEET' and '~YEET'. This is sported by the interviews. YEET youth averagely, do not have a higher self-esteem than NEET youth. In addition, more YEET youths than NEET youths have below average self-esteem. This implicates that, in contrast

to what the literature points out (Waddel, 2005), a higher self-esteem does not necessarily result in a higher chance of youth being YEET. Thus, one might think that living in poverty does not necessarily lead to a negative feeling of youth about themselves, and that they, therefore, become passive in looking for/being in education and/or employment.

Another result of the FSA output is that, in combination with other variables, the presence of problem solving skills leads to ‘~YEET’, and that the absence of problem solving skills leads to ‘YEET’. However, interviews show that most YEET youths, in contrast to half of the NEET youths, score above average or higher on the variable ‘problem solving skills’. These results are in line with the theory of Pittman (2003). He argues that the problem solving skills of youth help them to face challenges in the right way and soften consequences or impact of the challenges they face. Pittman (2003) argues that this might increase the chance of youth being YEET. However, the interviews also point out that NEET youth, averagely, do not score lower on problem solving skills. A possible explanation for this might be that youth in impoverished areas are more likely to come across problem situations (Graham, 2012). One might think that having a lot of challenges result in becoming more capable to solve problems. Youths might for example learn from previous decisions, whether they were right or wrong. What youth learns from situations does not necessarily mean that youth always learn the ‘right’ thing. This idea is supported by the theory of Bandura (1971). He argues that people can learn from direct experience by making decisions in (problem) situations.

In the following fragment a NEET youngster explains that he positively learned from an experience:

“I have been in fights and stabbings you see. Yes, we have different opinions. If I am in an argument with someone, I just leave him. When you get in arguments, you just walk away. Someone just wants to fight with you. When you are busy with an argument, they will start a fight. It is sometimes hard, yeah, to let go. But you have to avoid. If you keep on talking then you start fighting. I don’t want that anymore. It’s dangerous.” (Christo, M, 22, NEET).

In the following fragment, a YEET youngster also describes that she positively learned from a decision that she made:

“I almost got arrested. We stole earrings. In a shop. They called the police. Then we had to go to the police station. I regret doing it every day. My mother knows. She was so confused that I stole earrings when I have earrings. I ask myself why I did it. I don’t really know. I think it was the role of devil (joke). Even if it is for sweet I won’t do it. I would rather ask anyone, my mother, brother, boyfriend. I learned my lesson.” (Thisbisa, F, 23, YEET).

Bandura (1971) stresses that youngsters can, next to learning through direct experience, also learn from role modeling. People learn from observing others and incorporating this into their own lives. Interviews

point out that most of the YEET and NEET youths agree that peers (can) influence them, for example having positive or negative role models. This is illustrated in the following fragments:

“I don’t think that people can always choose friends. That’s why I am saying it is up to friends that you are going with. If you choose the one who is always drinking alcohol, you will also do that. So I have chosen two friends that do not do that, but that are in school”. (Nkela, F, 23, NEET).

“I am surrounded with people that are educated and studying right now. My boyfriend right now is self-employed. He’s getting an accountant degree. I got pressure all round me. Even if I was a lazy person; I would feel pressure to go to study. I feel like right now I am studying because I want to study and not because people tell me to. It is pretty much the people you are surrounded with that bring whatever it is positivity or negativity in your life to start education or employment”. (Siphiwe, F, 21, YEET).

Another result is that table 10 shows that, combined with other variables, the presence of role models leads to ‘YEET’, and the absence of role models lead to ‘~YEET’. This corresponds with the findings of Wills (2012-2013), that the presence of role models is expected to result in a higher chance of youth being YEET. However, interviews point out that most of the YEET and NEET youth have positive role models concerning EET. This is in line with their opinions that they can be influenced by peers.

A possible explanation for the fact that both NEET and YEET youth have positive role models, is that a certain group of role models, namely family members, was not included in this study. Interviews show that this group of family members, who are older than 27 years old, can for example be older brothers, sisters or parents:

“With my life, going to school, mostly I was driven by my brother. He is educated so he wanted to have someone who follows in his footsteps. He wants his little brother to help him. He is 35. He works.” (Mpilo, 25, M, YEET).

The reason why the exclusion of family members that do not belong to the category ‘peers’ might offer an explanation, is because YEET and NEET youth possibly receive more support from family (members) than from peers. Also, one might think that YEET youth receives more support from family regarding EET, than NEET youth because of the - often mentioned -family background. Including support from family might result in higher received support for YEET youth than for NEET youth. Another explanation might be that interviews show that role model(s) can have the opposite effect of what the literature states. Montoya (2005) argues that having positive role models concerning EET, has a positive effect on enrollment of youth in EET. Interviews, however, point out that a negative role model can have a positive influence on youth. Therefore, having more positive role models does not necessarily mean that youths have a higher chance of being YEET. The presence of negative role

models might (also) lead to youth being or becoming YEET. This is illustrated in the following fragment:

“The difference between me and the other friends is my family. My mother is strict, she gets to me. I want her to be proud, not let her feel any pain. My brothers sometimes came home from fights, it was terrible; my mother was crying all the time. They are using drugs all the time (Nyaope) and they don’t work. No they are not in college. How I stay away? I try to think of what I want to do in life, in the future. I want to have a better life than my brothers, you know. I keep that in mind and it helps me.” (Mary, 21, F, YEET).

5

Conclusion and discussion

This study aimed to find out which combination(s) of personal skills, peer influences and risk behavior, differentiate YEET from NEET youth. Using both qualitative and quantitative methods made it possible to use a small number of cases, to conduct in-depth interviews, and to quantitatively analyze the data derived from the interviews.

This chapter starts with a conclusion of the results in relation to the literature and the research question of this study. Thereafter, follows a methodological and ethical reflection. After that, further research recommendations are discussed.

5.1 Conclusion

The main finding is that the output of the FSA shows that the paths to YEET and NEET are not consistent with the outcomes, meaning that it is not possible to determine which combination(s) of personal skills, peer influences and risk behavior lead(s) to YEET or NEET youth. In addition, the presence of none of the independent variables is necessary to lead to YEET or NEET youth.

The hypothesis that arises from the main finding is that other variables might play a (larger) role in explaining which variables lead to YEET and NEET youth. By looking at the variables that are part, or not part, of the paths that lead to YEET or NEET, and by looking at interview findings, support for these findings was found. However, because of their low consistency, the paths were only used as a handle for interpreting the results.

Interviews show that the presence of risk behavior does not result in a higher chance of youth being NEET. This is not in accordance with previous studies. Youth agree that engaging in risk behavior can have an effect on youth being YEET or NEET. Youngsters, thus, are aware of (possible) effects of engaging in risk behavior.

Both the majority of YEET and NEET youth received either support in education or in employment. In addition, more NEET than YEET youngsters received no support at all. Therefore, one might think that the more support a youngster receives, the higher the chance of youth being YEET. Help for, and information about, enrollment in education and employment is even more relevant for youths without peer support.

The output of the FSA shows that the absence of self-esteem, combined with other variables, lead(s) to YEET and NEET youth. However, interviews point out that YEET youth, averagely, do not have a higher self-esteem than NEET youth.

Looking at the problem solving skills of youth, there is no difference in these skills between YEET and NEET youth. A possible explanation might be that living in impoverished areas, and coming across a lot of problem situations in which decision need to be made, makes it possible for both YEET and NEET youth to learn from direct experiences. This type of learning might increase their personal skills.

Next to individual factors, such as learning from problem situations, youth can also learn from peers. The majority of youth agree with this and both YEET and NEET youth have positive role models. This is not in line with the theory that states that having positive role models result in a higher chance of youth being YEET. There are two possible explanations for this difference between the literature and the findings of this study. Firstly, family members that were, in this study, not included in the category 'peers', might play a role in youth being YEET or NEET. Secondly, in contrast to previous studies, the presence of negative role models as peers might have a positive outcome on youth being YEET. An example might be that if youth sees peers that are not enrolled in education or employment, this might be a trigger for them to be the one that becomes, and stays, a YEET youngster.

Because it is possible that other variables might play a (larger) role in explaining the differences between YEET and NEET youth, one might think that the influence of 'family' might offer an explanation for the difference between YEET and NEET youth. Interviews point out that family (members) support(s) them and function as a role model. Possibly, family members also influence youth in being YEET in ways that did not come up during the interviews.

5.2 Methodological and ethical reflection

The researcher has tried to minimize the limitations of the study. However, like every other study, this study also has limitations that are important to address.

Firstly, there are some noticeable constraints concerning the sample. The sample of this study has not been randomly assigned, which entails that not every youngster in Doornkop had the same chance to be part of the study. Next to this, (possible) participants were selected by social workers from Humana. It cannot be determined whether the selection of these social workers was based upon pure coincidence or on other possible motives, like for example choosing youth of whom social workers were convinced that they would come to interview appointments. The selection by social workers can, thus, have resulted in more motivated participants. However, this is questionable because of the fact that almost half of the participants did not, or could not, come to their interview appointment.

It is possible that the fact that 13 possible participants did not come to interview appointments has implications. Possible motives of youth not to follow through with an appointment for an interview might play a role. Their motives can for example be related to a low(er) motivation concerning EET, or for example be related to the fact that youngsters engage in risk behavior, such as crime. The researcher has tried to minimize this constraint by having a 'getting-to-know-each-other' chat with each of the participants before conducting the interviews.

In addition, there can be a bias in the social desirability to answer questions in a way that youngsters feel like they should. An example might be that they say they tested for HIV while they didn't, or that they say they help other people while they don't. In addition, self-respect is scored rather highly by the majority of the participants. This might be related to the fact that they feel like it is more 'normal' to say that they have a lot of self-respect. However, the researcher has also tried to minimize social desirability, by having a 'getting-to-know-each-other' chat.

Another point is that two participants only wanted to talk about certain subjects during the interview if the voice recorder was turned off. Both participants agreed and argued that they wanted to turn the voice recorder off, only because they wanted no one to be able to trace back the voice recordings. However, the agreement of one of these participants to use the information in this study was not on the voice recording itself. Because of ethical considerations, the information that was not recorded of that interview has not been transcribed and used in this study.

The fourth methodological reflection concerns translating qualitative data into quantitative data. A limitation is that this translation is subjective; the researcher decides which participant belongs to which scale and why this is the case. However, this translation is not entirely subjective; the scales were merely based upon theories and certain words and/or phrases were used to assign points and scales to participants. Also, by assigning numerical values, average scores could be calculated, which was used to assign scales to participants.

5.3 Further research recommendations

As has been described earlier in this chapter, there is a possibility that family members, such as parents or siblings, play a role in explaining which variables lead to YEET and NEET youth. The interviews show that mothers, brothers and sisters support and stimulate youth in applying for, or being in, education and/or employment. This might also count for other family members, such as uncles, aunts, nephews or cousins. Further research is necessary to gain knowledge about if, and which, family members help or hinder youth in enrollment in education and employment. In addition, next to peers and family members, social workers from youth development organizations, such as Humana, could also offer support regarding EET. Moreover, whilst in this study the variables 'support' and 'role modeling' are included as ways in which youngsters can be influenced, it is also relevant to look at other contributors or hinders, such as of family members and youth development organizations.

In addition, the research findings suggest that YEET youth are not less likely to engage in risk behavior than NEET youth. This study did not reveal what neither the impact, nor, the relationship between risk behavior and youth is. Therefore, more research is necessary to provide insight into the relationship between risk behavior, and its consequences for youngsters and their EET.

Both of the above further research suggestions are of high relevance, because insight into the variables that hinder or help youth being in education, employment or training, can help South Africa to

increase the young labor force. It could take them one step further to taking advantage of the demographic dividend.

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Appendix A: Topic list

1. Describing the study and handing out the informed consent form

[During this interview I will be taking some notes. You can see what I will be writing down. First I will ask questions about what your life looks like. Thereafter, I will ask you questions about peers that you hang out with on a regular basis. A peer in this study is someone you meet with at least every week and is between 17 and 26 years old. It can be a man or a woman and a friend or family like a niece, brother, sister or nephew that you meet up with at least once a week because you both choose to do that. After that, I want to ask you about the things you do with your peers and about the things you share with them. After that, I want to talk about how you see your future, what you would like to do, how you see yourself and your peers in the future].

2. Information about their perceptions of their lives

- 2.1 Can you tell me something about where you live?
 - 2.1.1 With whom do you live in your home? (Parents/brothers/sisters/other family members)?
 - 2.1.2 What does your average day look like? You wake up in the morning, and then..?

3. Informative questions concerning education, employment and training

- 3.1 Are you in education now?
 - 3.1.1 Can you tell me something about your years at school?
 - 3.1.2 What kind of education are you in? (secondary, college, university)?
 - 3.1.3 What was the last year of school you finished? (Which grade)?
- 3.2 Are you in training?
 - If no:** 3.2.1 Why are you not in training?
 - If yes:** 3.2.2 What kind of training? (For example a computer course)
 - 3.2.3 How did you know that there was a training?/ how did you find out about this training?
 - 3.2.4 Can you tell me the reason you chose for this training?
 - 3.2.5 Where is the training?
 - 3.2.6 Does the training cost money?
- 3.3 Do you have a job right now?
 - If yes:** 3.3.1 What kind of work do you do?
 - 3.3.2 Tell me what a working day for you looks like?
 - 3.3.3 How many hours do you work?

3.3.4 How did you find this job?

If no: 3.3.5 How do you get money/pay for things that you want or need?

3.3.6 Can you tell me what things/problems make it hard for you to find employment / to be employed?

4. Peers

4.1 Do you know peers of the same age?

4.1.1 How did you meet?

4.1.2 How many times do you meet them?

4.1.3 Can you tell me why you are peers? (Live nearby, good friend, just family)?

4.2 Do you know what peers and peers are?

4.2.1 Yes? Could you explain to me what it is?

4.2.2 No/other definition? Explain to interviewee again what peers are.

4.2.3 Do you have more peers than one/ a group of peers?

If yes: Ask the following questions about the group of peers;

If no: Ask the following questions about a peer;

4.2.4 What do you like most about your (group of) peers?

4.2.5 Can you describe your 'perfect' idea of a (group of) peers?

4.2.6 Are your (group of) peers in line with this description? Why?

If no: 4.2.7.1 Why do you think this is not the case?

4.2.7.2 Do you think that there is anything that you could do about it? What?

5. Personal skills

5A1. Problem solving

A.1 Have you ever found yourself with a challenge with for example employment, education or training? For example with finding a job? Can you tell me something about that?

A.1.1 Have you ever been in a situation (with EET) in which you wanted to resolve a problem, but found it hard to do so? Can you give me an example?

If yes: A.1.1.1 What have you done to try to resolve this problem?

A.1.1.2 What would you do different if it would happen again?

If no: A.1.1.3 Why do you think this is not the case? (having a problem situation with EET)

A.1.2 How many times do you think that you are able to resolve problems?

5A2. Conflict resolving

- A.2 What are your thoughts about peers having different norms and values?
 - A.2.1 How do you feel when peers don't agree with you on certain subjects? Can you give me an example?
 - A.3.1 Do you think you are able to stay away from risk behavior?
 - A.3.1.3.1 How do you stay away from risk behavior?
 - A.3.1.3.2 What do you think is the difference between you (YRB or NRB) and other youth when it comes to risk behavior?
 - A.3.1.3.2 How many times do you think you are able to stay away from risk behavior?

4A3. Self-esteem

- A.3. What do you think about getting compliments? Like for example that you are a good student? (looks/intelligence/work/education/care)?
 - A.3.1. Can you tell me what you are really good at?(and why)?
 - A.3.1.1 What do you do to be good in it?/to stay good at it?
 - A.3.2. Are there things you are less good at?
 - A.3.3. Would you like to do something about it to get better at it? Why/why not?
- A.4. Can you give me, on a scale of one to four, tell me how satisfied you are with your life? I am not satisfied, 2 is a little bit, 3 is satisfied, 4 is very satisfied.
 - A.4.1 What do you think is the reason that (1/2/3/4) is the case?
- A.5. Have you ever felt like you wanted to help out others, but that you did not do it?
 - A.5.1. Can you give me an example of not doing it/doing it?
 - A.5.2. How often do you feel like you can help others?
- A.6. What are your thoughts about self-respect of people?
 - A.6.1 Does it match with your own self-respect? Why?
 - A.6.2 Have you ever wished you had more self-respect? Why?
 - A.6.3 Do you feel that you have self-respect? Why?

6. Peer influences

B. A peer as a role model

- B1. Do you have peers that are in employment or education?
 - B.1.1 Do you have a peer that you think of as a good example concerning EE?
 - B.1.1.1 In what way and why?
- B2. Do your peers challenge you to do well in education and employment?
 - B.2.1 How does that make you feel?
 - B.2.1.1 Do you feel like you have to do well in education if your peers do?

B3. Have you ever dreamed about looking a bit like another peer, when you think about education or employment? Why?

C. Peer support

C1. Do peers help you in your everyday life? What do they do?

C.1.1 What would you do when you want work and find it very hard to find it?

C.1.2 Have your peers ever helped you when you've been looking for a job or somewhere to study?

C.1.3 How do you think support from peers will help you with EET in your life?

C.1.3.1 Did you ever want to ask help from peers, but did not or could not do it?

C.1.4 So, how many times do you get support from friends with EET?

[Next, I want to speak about less positive peer influences and their relationship with education, employment and training. I want you to know that there is no right or wrong answers and that you can speak as openly as you want to. Everything that you say will be anonymous: no one will get to know what we talked about and what your answers to these questions are].

7. Peer influences

A. Criminality

A.1 What do you think about when you think of criminal activities?

A.1.1 How would you describe a criminal activity?

A.2 Do you think it's easier to engage in such an activity when your peers also do it/don't do it? Why/why not?

A.3 Do you do criminal activities?

A.4 When do you think that engaging in criminal activities can affect you when you're looking for a job or trying to access education?

A.4.1 Can you explain to me why?

B. Substance use

B.1. What are your thoughts about what substance use is?

B.1.1. Does the interviewee has another definition? Explain: (drinking alcohol+ drug use, like for example Cannabis, glue sniffing, or cocaine)

B.2. What are your thoughts about substance use?

B.2.1. Have you ever used drugs/drank alcohol?

If yes: B.2.1.1 What was the reason that did you do it?

B.2.1.2 Would you describe yourself as someone that is a non-substance user, someone that is a very occasional substance user, someone that uses substances on special occasions, or a regular substance user? (How many times per week/month?)

If no: B.2.1.5 Have you ever been present while peers used alcohol/drugs ?

B.2.1.6 Did you want to use it?

B.2.1.7 What is the reason why you did not use it?

B.3. Do/when do you think that substance use can affect you when you're looking for a job or trying to access education? Why/why not?

C. *Risky sexual behavior*

C.1. Do you/did you ever talk with peers about sexual experiences?

If yes: C.1.1 Why? What was it about?

If no: C.1.2 Why not?

C.2. May I ask how old you were when you had sex for the first time?

C.3 Do you have a partner?

If yes: C.3.1 How did you meet?

C.3.2 What do you like best about him/her?

C.3.3 Do you (only) have sexual contact with your partner?

If no: C.3.6 Are you currently sexually active?/ Do you have sex with someone?

C.3.6.1 Do you have sex with one, or with more people in the same period?

C.4. What are your thoughts about using protection with sex?

C.4.1 Do u use anything to protect you from diseases or pregnancy during sex?

C.4.2 Are there times that you would want to use a condom, but was not able to/could not use it, and still had sex?

C.5. What are your thoughts about testing for STD's?

C.5.1. Have you ever tested for STD'S?

C.5.2. Do you have, or have ever had, a disease, because of unprotected sex? (Aids, Sexual transmittable disease?)

C.6. Do/when do you think that engaging in risky sexual behavior is or can be a problem for getting/ being in employment or education? Why/why not?

7. Other influences

7.1 What do you think about other peer influences that we haven't talked about yet?

7.1.1 What are your thoughts about other personal or peer influences peers that play a role in your life?

7.1.1.1 Do you think that there are other influences when you think about

EET?

8. Dreams

- 8.1 Can you tell me how you think your life will look like in the next five years?
 - 8.1.1 Will you be working?
 - 8.1.2 What kind of work will you be doing?
 - 8.1.3 Will you be studying or enrolled in a training programme?
 - 8.1.3.1 What kind of study/training programme?
 - 8.1.4 What are your thoughts about having (more) children?
 - 8.1.5 Where will you live in five years and with who?
- 8.2 Do you think they the peers you have now will still be your peers in ten years?
 - 7.2.4.1 Why do you think that?

[Is there anything else you want me to know about your experiences (with peers) concerning EET?]

[Thank you for your time and your answers/input during this interview, you have helped me a lot. I hope you will be able to reach your future dreams]

Appendix B: Informed consent form

Name:	Age:	Fist language:	Block:	F / M:	Children:	Marital status:	Nationality:

Introduction

Hello, I am Brenda van As, a student from the Utrecht University in the Netherlands. I am 23 years old and studying at UJ for my research. I will be staying in Joburg until the end of May for my research.

What is my research about? I am doing research about young people in Doornkop. I want to research what the relationship between peers is. I do this by talking about the things you do with your peers and about the things you share with them. With this interview, I want to understand how peers live in Doornkop and if, and how, peers (can) help or not help other peers with employment, education and training.

Some information about this interview and my research:

- You can decide yourself if you want to participate in my research and it is thus voluntary. If you would rather not want me to interview you, please tell me.
- If you feel uncomfortable before, during or after the interview, feel free to tell me. It is possible to stop the interview at any time if you want to. Of course, I will try to ensure that I don't make you feel uncomfortable.
- Rewards or payments are not given for this interview. The advantage of this interview for you is that your voice is heard.
- You can speak in English or in Zulu if you want to. You can choose where you are most comfortable with.
- There can be interpreter with me at the interview, her role is to help us understand each other better and the things being said during the interview remain confident.
- If you want to, your name will be anonymous. You can also write a different name down on this form is you would like to.
- To do good research, I want to record our conversations. I want to do this so I can hear back everything that we have spoken about so I don't forget anything. Everything that you tell me will be used only for research purposes and it will be anonymous.
- My research will be published on the website of the Utrecht University in the Netherlands and given to Humana, but as I described, it will be anonymous and your name will not appear anywhere in the report.

I want you to know that if you have any questions you can ask me, also during the interview.

If you are still happy to participate, I want to ask you to sign this form. I ask you this because then if anyone wants to know, we can prove that I told you about my research, the process and the risks, and that you still agreed to participate.

Signature:

Date:

Appendix C: Characteristics of participants³

Case	Gender	Age	First language	Children	ED/EMPL /TR	Matric	RB:
1. Slash YEET	M	21	Zoeloe	0	EDU: FET	Grade 11	RSB
2. Papelo YEET	M	22	Zoeloe	0	EDU: FET	Matric	RSB CB
3. Mary YEET	F	19	Zoeloe	0	TRAI	Matric	-
4. Siphwiwe YEET	F	21	Zoeloe	1	ED: FET	Matric	-
5. Nbushe NEET	F	20	Zoeloe	0	-	Matric	-
6. Mafuane NEET	F	25	Sotho	1	-	Grade 11	-
7. Thembin NEET	M	22	Sepidi	1	-	Matric	RSB
8. Ruan NEET	M	24	Setswana	1		Matric	SUB
9. Khulekani YEET	M	25	Zulu	1	EMPL	Grade 11	CRIM RSB
10. Sfiso NEET	M	24	Zulu	2	-	Matric	CR RSB
11. Thisbisa YEET	F	23	Sethswan a	0	EDUC	Matric	CR
12. Susara NEET	F	21	Sotho	0	-	Grade 9	-
13. Christo NEET	M	22	Xhosa	0	-	Grade 11	CR RSB
14. Mpilo YEET	M	25	Zulu	0	EMPL	Matric	-
15. Nkela NEET	F	23	Zulu	1	-	Grade 11	-

³ ED = education, EMPL = employed, TR = training, RB = risk behavior, RSB = risky sexual sexual behavior, CR = criminal behavior, SUB = substance use.

Appendix D: Code tree Nvivo

Name	Sources	References	Created On	Modified On
1. Demographics	1	1	28-4-2014 10:07	1-7-2014 12:29
1.1 Living situation	15	22	6-5-2014 14:20	24-5-2014 23:55
2. EET	0	0	28-4-2014 10:09	1-7-2014 12:28
2.1 Education	15	21	28-4-2014 10:09	24-5-2014 23:23
2.2. Employment	15	19	28-4-2014 10:09	24-5-2014 23:23
2.2.1 Experience	2	2	29-4-2014 19:08	24-5-2014 23:56
2.2.2 Grade	2	2	28-4-2014 10:27	24-5-2014 23:56
2.2.3 Transport	3	5	28-4-2014 10:27	24-5-2014 23:56
2.3 Training	15	17	28-4-2014 10:10	24-5-2014 23:23
3. Peers	15	21	28-4-2014 10:09	1-7-2014 12:29
3.1 Definition good peer	15	16	28-4-2014 10:37	25-5-2014 0:05
4. Category 1; Personal skills	0	0	28-4-2014 10:00	1-7-2014 12:28
4.1 Problem solving	15	50	28-4-2014 10:01	24-5-2014 23:30
4.1.1 Difference in youth with staying out of trouble	15	26	28-4-2014 10:31	24-5-2014 23:30
4.2 Self-esteem	2	2	28-4-2014 10:01	24-5-2014 23:30
4.2.1 Compliments or being good at things	15	30	6-5-2014 14:33	24-5-2014 23:57
4.2.2 Helping others	15	18	6-5-2014 14:32	24-5-2014 23:58
4.2.3 Satisfaction	15	16	6-5-2014 14:32	24-5-2014 23:58
4.2.4 Self-respect	15	16	6-5-2014 14:33	24-5-2014 23:58
5. Category 2; peer influences	0	0	28-4-2014 10:02	1-7-2014 12:28
5.1 Role modeling	15	36	28-4-2014 10:05	24-5-2014 23:24
5.2 Support	15	33	28-4-2014 10:05	24-5-2014 23:30
6. Risk behavior	0	0	28-4-2014 10:06	1-7-2014 12:30
6.1 Criminality	15	27	28-4-2014 10:06	24-5-2014 23:24
6.2 Substance use	15	19	28-4-2014 10:06	24-5-2014 23:24

Name	Sources	References	Created On	Modified On
6.3 Risky sexual behavior	2	5	28-4-2014 10:06	24-5-2014 23:25
6.3.1 Multiple partners	15	20	6-5-2014 18:49	1-7-2014 12:19
6.3.2 Age (first time having sex)	14	15	6-5-2014 18:49	1-7-2014 12:19
6.3.3 Use protection	10	11	6-5-2014 18:49	1-7-2014 12:19
6.3.4 STD;AIDS	13	14	6-5-2014 18:49	1-7-2014 12:19
6.4 RB and EET	11	18	30-4-2014 11:59	24-5-2014 23:28
7. Other influences	4	7	28-4-2014 10:10	1-7-2014 12:29
7.1 Family	5	7	29-4-2014 19:08	24-5-2014 23:28
7.2 Religion	3	3	16-5-2014 20:04	24-5-2014 23:28
8. Dreams	15	29	28-4-2014 10:10	1-7-2014 12:29

Appendix E: Numerical values and scales

C1: Problem solving and heading off risk behavior

Case	Problem solving	Head off RB	Total	Scale
1	3	2	5	0,67
2	2	2	4	0,33
3	2	4	6	0,67
4	3	3	6	0,67
5	2	4	6	0,67
6	3	4	7	1
7	2	2	4	0,33
8	3	2	5	0,67
9	4	2	6	0,67
10	2	2	4	0,33
11	4	2	6	0,67
12	2	4	6	0,67
13	2	2	4	0,33
14	4	4	8	1
15	2	4	6	0,67

C2: Self-esteem

Case	Satisfaction	Qualities	Self-respect	Help others	Total	Scale
1	3	2	2	2	9	0,67
2	4	4	3	2	13	1
3	2	1	3	2	8	0,33
4	3	2	3	2	10	0,67
5	1	1	4	2	8	0,33
6	2	2	4	2	10	0,67
7	1	4	4	3	12	0,67
8	2	2	3	2	9	0,67
9	2	4	3	3	12	0,67
10	2	3	3	3	11	0,67
11	3	3	4	1	11	0,67
12	0	2	2	4	8	0,33
13	2	3	3	1	9	0,67

Continuation of C2: Self-esteem

Case	Satisfaction	Qualities	Self-respect	Help others	Total	Scale
14	3	2	3	4	12	0,67
15	1	2	4	2	9	0,67

C3: Role modelling

Case	Amount of role models	Scale
1	1	0,33
2	2	0,67
3	4	1
4	5	1
5	1	0,33
6	2	0,67
7	2	0,67
8	1	0,33
9	0	0
10	0	0
11	1	0,33
12	0	0
13	0	0
14	2	0,67
15	1	0,33
Total:	22	

C3: Support

Case	Help with seeking/enrollment in	Motivation	Total	Scale
1	2	3	5	0,67
2	2	2	4	0,33
3	2	3	5	0,67
4	2	4	6	0,67
5	2	4	6	0,67
6	2	1	3	0,33
7	2	1	3	0,33
8	2	1	3	0,33

Continuation of C3: Support

Case	Help with seeking/enrollment in	Motivation	Total	Scale
9	2	2	4	0,33
10	1	1	2	0
11	2	1	3	0,33
12	1	1	2	0
13	1	1	2	0
14	4	4	8	1
15	2	3	5	0,67

Appendix F: Overview scales

	M/ F	Personal skills		Peer influences		Risk behavior (a)			Risk behavior (b)	YEET / NEET
		Problem solving	Self-esteem	Role modelling	Support	Criminal behavior	Substance use	Risky sexual behavior	Risk Behavior	
Case 1	1	0,67	0,67	0,33	0,67	0	0	1	0.33	1
Case 2	1	0,33	1	0,67	0,33	1	0	1	0.67	1
Case 3	0	0,67	0,33	1	0,67	0	0	0	0	1
Case 4	0	0,67	0,67	1	0,67	0	0	0	0	1
Case 5	0	0,67	0,33	0,33	0,67	0	0	0	0	0
Case 6	0	1	0,67	0,67	0,33	0	0	0	0	0
Case 7	1	0,33	0,67	0,67	0,33	0	0	1	0.33	0
Case 8	1	0,67	0,67	0,33	0,33	0	1	0	0.33	0
Case 9	1	0,67	0,67	0	0,33	1	0	1	0.67	1
Case 10	1	0,33	0,67	0	0	1	0	1	0.67	0
Case 11	0	0,67	0,67	0,33	0,33	1	0	0	0.33	1
Case 12	0	0,67	0,33	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Case 13	1	0,33	0,67	0	0	1	0	1	0.67	0
Case 14	1	1	0,67	0,67	1	0	0	0	0	1
Case 15	0	0,67	0,67	0,33	0,67	0	0	0	0	0