



UNEMPLOYMENT IN TRANSITION TO ADULTHOOD

How youth in South Africa experience (un)employment in
their transition to adulthood

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Abstract

This research focuses on the question how (un)employment influences trajectories towards adulthood among young people in South Africa, Gauteng. Using the capability approach of Amartya Sen (2004), different means, capabilities and conversion factors are investigated, with 'being an adult' as the main functioning to be achieved. Adulthood is thereby considered as a subjective notion, which contains both individual as relational notions (Thomson et al., 2004). Social bonding and bridging capital are investigated as main social conversion factors in the search for employment and adulthood. Secondary data is used from three researches about youth unemployment done by the CSDA. Furthermore primary data is gathered using open ended, one-to-one interviews with young people in the age of 23-30 years old in the area of Gauteng. A main finding is that young people in South Africa see adulthood mainly as being independent, being responsible towards oneself and others, and being embedded in different relations, namely with their family, partner, and friends. To achieve this, employment is confirmed as being a necessary capability. Thereby different conversion factors, such as mindset and locality, makes it difficult to put necessary means into the opportunity of employment. Furthermore as well bonding as bridging social capital are important in the search for employment. Young people who cannot find a job due to constraining opportunities, are likely to search for adulthood in other fields, namely the domestic field. The trajectory towards adulthood for young people in South Africa is therefore diffused and characterized by different forms of interdependency rather than increasing independency.

Key concepts: *(un)employment, transitions to adulthood, capability approach, bonding and bridging social capital, interdependency.*

1. Introduction

In South Africa the National Youth Act of 1996 describes youth as persons in the age group 14 to 34 years. Of this age group 38,2% were unemployed in the first quarter of 2018 (Statistics South Africa, 2018). Especially vulnerable is a group referred as NEET: Not in Employment, Education or Training (Graham et al., 2016). In 2018, 32,4% of youth aged between 15 to 24 years old were in this group. Because they are neither improving their future employability through investment in skills nor gaining experience through employment, the chance on chronic unemployment is high (Graham et al., 2016.).

The high rates of youth unemployment are a problem because work is essential to obtain freedom. Sen (2004) describes freedom as the opportunity to be you want to be and to do what you want to do without any constraints. Having a certain freedom, independency and autonomy is an important part of adulthood (Thomson et al., 2004). When young people don't have the opportunity to find self-esteem and adulthood in one part of life, such as work, they will search for it in other things such as leisure time, domestic tasks, or even in violence, criminality and prostitution. According to Nussbaum (2003) these other things can harm an individual's autonomy and safety and dependency on family, friends and the state will remain.

De Lannoy et al. (2018) state that employment in South Africa is mainly found through informal networks of friends and family who are aware of job openings or who put people in touch with employers. Having a weak social network is therefore one of the main causes of unemployment among youth (De Lannoy et al., 2018; Graham et al., 2016). Therefore my research problem focuses on how young people in South Africa experience (un)employment in their transition to adulthood and how this transition and situation of unemployment is influenced by their social network.

Mahaffy (2003) and Thomson et al. (2004) argue that transitions to adulthood are constructed by youth in many different ways. Therefore this research is focused on youth's subjective understandings and experiences of transitions to adulthood. Mahaffy (2003), Schwab and Syed (2015) and Thomson et al. (2004) argue furthermore that transitions to adulthood is a new, urgent theme in the social sciences because different transitions to adulthood reflect patterns and changes in society and family life. The results of this research can also help to further improve interventions focused on employability of youth.

Theoretical framework

According to Amartya Sen freedom is the ultimate goal of development (Robeyns, 2005; Sen, 2004). Freedom is a general all-purpose social good, and capabilities are instances of this more general good of human freedom. The term gives insight in the ways and extent that people are actually able to reach their goals in life whatever these may be (ibid.). In contrast to Sen, Nussbaum (2003) developed an open-ended list of ten basic capabilities that all people need in order to obtain freedom. Part of the capability to have control over one's environment is work. Material control means: "Being able to hold property, and having property rights on an equal basis with others; having the right to seek employment on an equal basis with others; having the freedom from unwarranted search and seizure. In work, being able to work as a human being, exercising practical reason, and entering into meaningful relationships of mutual recognition with other workers." (ibid., p. 42). South Africa's failure to guarantee this capability for all can be seen as a form of social injustice (Nussbaum, 2003).

Transitions to adulthood

The capability approach fits well with definitions of transitions into adulthood. Heinz and Levy (as cited in Knijn, 2012) define transitions into adulthood by different passages, namely leaving the parental home, entry into the labour market, earning an independent income, entering partnership and having children. The possibility to enter these passages are highly influenced by possibilities of employment and trends in the labour market (Knijn, 2012). If young people are not able to find permanent jobs, other passages such as marriage and parenthood take longer as well. Due to this longer duration of transitions into adulthood a broader age category of 18-34 for young adulthood is needed to understand the constraints in the process (ibid.).

Definitions of transition into adulthood based on singular outcomes do not fit well with reality (Mahaffy, 2003). Longer duration of transitions into adulthood increasingly reflect heterogenous and discontinuous life courses (Knijn, 2012). Different trajectories or pathways to adulthood can be explained along fragmentation processes in society caused by social and economic policies and differences in gender, class and race (Knijn, 2012; Mahaffy, 2003; Thomson et al., 2004). Therefore Thomson et al. (2004) use a subjective understanding of adulthood and argue that adulthood is constantly constructed in the present. In this

perspective they discover different layers of adulthood; it exists of specific *feelings, responsibilities, relatedness* and the recognition of *being competent* as adult (ibid., p. 223).

Thomson et al. (2004) describe two kind of understandings of adulthood. First an *individualised notion of adulthood* stresses a process of increasing choice and autonomy and decreasing dependence. It's named as 'being out on your own'. Arnett's (1997) research confirms the existence of this notion strongly among American youth, who formulate adulthood mostly by 'accepting responsibility for the consequences of your actions', 'deciding on personal beliefs and values independently of parents and other influences' and 'being financially independent from parents'. American youth stress their goal of autonomy and their belief in self- sufficiency (ibid.). However, Whiting (1998) notes that these notions are highly related to Western cultures and are not found that strongly in non-Western societies such as African countries. Instead, societies with larger, extended families and kin-based communities value interdependency. Interdependency can be defined as 'experiencing one's self as being enhanced and empowered trough the very process of counting on others for help' (Propp, Ortega, & NewHeart, 2003, p. 263). Interdependency combines self-sufficiency with dependency. It values social support and strengthens youth's resilience during their transitions to adulthood (Moodley, Raniga, & Sewpaul, 2018; Propp et al. 2003).

Young people's conceptions of adulthood in South Africa consist of a great will to 'give back to their family or community', taking responsibility and feeling a sense of reciprocity (Moodley et al., 2018). These notions relate with Thomson's *relational understanding of adulthood*, in which young people are focusing 'on taking care and responsibility for others, locating oneself in sets of interlocking relationships in the different areas of ones' activities.' (Thomson et al., 2004, p. 224). Relational adulthood is mostly expressed in thinking about parenthood or thinking about 'settling down'. So notions of adulthood are related to both autonomy and relatedness. Rather than that autonomy is full independency or contractionary to dependency, notions of autonomy and relatedness cooperate and can be combined in the context of interdependency

Furthermore Thomson et al. (2004) describe how young people search for these notions of adulthood in different arenas of their live, which they calls 'fields', for example work, education, leisure time or family life. This approach makes clear that processes of identity work are highly related to the social locations in which young people live and are

influenced by processes of social inclusion and exclusion. For example, if young people don't acquire self-esteem in the education system or in the domain of work due to social exclusion, they will search for self-esteem in other things, such as in the domestic field, the family or in leisure time (Thomson et al., 2004). As Graham (2011) describes, in a poor neighbourhood in South Africa even the family and the community are not always safe places. This might lead young people search for adulthood and self-esteem in criminality, sexuality, violence and drugs.

Based on subjective notions of adulthood, independency and being able to take responsibility and care for others as well gaining a new embeddedness in relationships can be seen as the ends of becoming an adult in the capability approach. Having work is a necessary capability to gain independency. When one is not able to get employment due to constraining opportunities, the expectation is that one will search for adulthood in other fields, and thereby might stay (inter)dependant on others.

Social capital: bridging and bonding

To better understand processes of social inclusion and exclusion, Bourdieu describes different forms of capital that cause class inequality (Bourdieu, 2011). First, economic capital exists in money and property rights. Second, cultural capital exists in cultural skills and competences which society recognizes. Third social capital refers to social connections and relationships which can be useful to receive other kinds of capital. According to Bourdieu higher classes in society use social and cultural capital to keep and accumulate their economic capital. Furthermore the term 'habitus' describes how this social and cultural capital becomes part of someone's knowledge, behaviour and identity. Knowledge, languages and cultural expressions of lower classes are not recognized by the higher classes, which gives youth of lower classes less access to certain levels of education, income and employment.

Furthermore Putnam (2000) makes a distinction between bonding social capital and bridging social capital. Bonding social capital is exclusive, homogenous and based on particularized trust. Particularised trust tends to transform non-excludable goods into excludable goods, with better quality of services and information transmitted along private personal lines rather than public ones. Zmerli (2003) shows that bonding capital groups often distinct themselves based on their common religion, gender, language, ethnicity, age or certain interests, hobbies and lifestyles. In contrast, bridging social capital is characterized

by generalized trust, outward-orientation and heterogeneity. Generalized trust is based on certain norms or certain moralities that tell it is the 'right thing to do' (Svendsen & Patulny, 2007). Bridging social capital is necessary for obtaining inclusive public material or interpersonal identity goods, such as public radio, water, territorial security and culture, language and knowledge (Zmerli, 2003).

While bonding capital reinforces processes of social exclusion based on gender, race and class, bridging social capital fosters social inclusion in wider social networks (ibid.). However, the distinction cannot be made that clear, since many formal and informal networks bond along some social dimensions and bridge across others (Putnam, 2000). Thereby Raffo and Reeves (2000) argue that individuals reflect upon their networks and relations, and that individual's agency and choices can lead to different kind of social networks. It is therefore important to investigate youth's transition to adulthood within the context of young people's complex and dynamic social capital.

Empirical findings

Bonding social capital: the family

Bonding social capital plays an important role as being the foundation for youth's development into adulthood. Part of bonding social capital are young people's relationships with their parents, siblings, grandparents, extended family, peers, partners and lastly their community. The relationship between parents and adolescents is supposed to be characterized by closeness and warmth, but caused by a search for autonomy and independence there is increasing conflict, separation and distance (Smetana, Campione-Barr, & Metzger, 2006). Based on dimensions of demandingness and responsiveness different parenting styles can be classified (Maccoby & Martin, 1983). Demandingness is described as parental monitoring and parental control, for example setting rules and regulations, and having supervision, monitoring and management of adolescents' activities (ibid.). It is important that while monitoring, a reciprocal interaction and agency of the adolescent remains. However, for youth from families that are in high risk less autonomy and more demandingness can have a positive outcome (Smetana et al., 2006).

Other important family relationships are those with siblings, grandparents and the extended family (ibid.). Among siblings exists competition, rivalry but also closeness and warmth. The order of birth has an important influence on adolescents' development. For example, older siblings are often more dominant and nurturing, and can be example figures

for younger siblings. Furthermore, the extended family plays an important role in African cultures because these connections can provide more support and resources when social and material support from the government is scarce (Whiting, 1998). For example, grandparents often function as (additional) caregivers in replacement of parents who are absent due to death, divorce or illness.

Peers and romantic relationships

Whereas parents mostly influence long term matters such as career choices and moral issues and values, peers influence orientations towards adolescents' culture such as style, appearance and taste (Smetana et al., 2006). Peers are often chosen based on similarity in gender, race, age, class and status. Peer relations can be close, for example best friends and partners (Brown, 2004). Young people are also part of 'cliques', small groups of friends, and crowds, such as the 'nerds' or 'stoners'. By trying to be popular, young people experience peer pressure (Smetana et al., 2006). Peer pressure can have a direct as well indirect influence, and can either be positive or negative. Negative peer pressure can lead young people into risks such as alcohol or drugs abuse. Therefore, it is important that parents serve as managers and consultants for adolescents' peer relationships. At older ages friendships become closer, more intimate, more disclosing and more supportive.

Older youth from different sexes tend to mix more. This mix within crowds forms the basis of first relationships (Smetana et al., 2006). At younger ages youth tend to have very idealized and stereotypical ideas about romance, and relationships serve mostly as gaining status and giving space for sexual experimentation. At later ages, after grade 10, romantic relationships begin to fulfil needs for support and caregiving and can provide as much support as parental relationships.

The importance of bridging social capital

Bray, Gooskens, Kahn, Moses and Seekings (2011) show that parents who did not receive good education or employment themselves, don't know how to guide their children from education to a good job. In South Africa 42% of youth aged 15 to 24 live in households with no employed adult (Youth Explorer, 2018). Being part of a low household income makes it hard for poor young people to find a job and sustainably move out of poverty (Adato, Carter, & May, 2006). The lack of social capital is a main cause for unemployment (De Lannoy et al., 2018; Graham et al., 2016). When one lacks social capital that can deliver access to information about the education system, the labour market, job availability, or access to jobs

themselves, chances on employment become small. Especially since jobs in South Africa are mainly found through these networks (De Lannoy et al., 2018).

For these reasons Bray et al. (2011) argue the importance of places such as shopping malls, churches and youth camps; places where youth of different backgrounds can meet each other and where poor youth can obtain social upward mobility. Community organisations provide adolescents with the opportunity to interact with heterogeneous groups of individuals, which help them to develop social trust, tolerance and reduces stereotypes (ibid.). When young people are involved in extracurricular activities at school and community-based organisations, youth also tend to develop greater civic involvement and feelings of affection and attachment to a larger social order (Smetana et al., 2006). Interaction within the community can be part of bonding as well of bridging social capital. Other forms of bridging social capital can be found when adolescents are in training, employment or participate in interventions. Having social contacts beyond their neighbourhoods gives them instrumental and symbolic information, which can help them in their route out of school into further education and work (Bray et al., 2011).

Necessary means and conversion factors in the search for employment

Graham, Stuart, Richards, Mthembu and Moller (n.d.) investigated the daily life and the future prospects of youth in different neighbourhoods in the Eastern Cape and Gauteng. In daily life youth have different roles. First of all youth are engaged in household activities and see themselves as contributing members of the household, especially the poor youth. Second, youth from lower- and middle income classes, although with a different quality, are part of sport activities, religious activities and cultural activities. These activities are important because it makes them feel part of a community and fits with their desire to make a change in society. At last education and the search for employment are the most important activities. However, financial constraints hinder young people's current and future (post-)educational attainment. They do not have the money to pay for educational fees. It leads youth into a 'gap year', in which they volunteer or search for a job so they can pay for educational fees later. Different jobs are prioritised, such as lawyer, journalist, doctor, pilot or social worker.

Although they have positive ideas about the future, most young people underestimate the difficulty of finding a job without postsecondary education qualifications, work experience and a good social network (Bray et al., 2011; Graham et al., n.d.). In remote

areas chances on employment are small (Graham et al., 2016). Furthermore, poor youth struggle with high transport costs, print costs and information inaccessibility (Graham et al., 2016). The mental load of searching for a job and not finding it, can be discouraging. It leads a lot of young people into depression. This gap between prospects of the future and the reality of unemployment and persistent inequality might therefore be an explanation for the high number of youth that are in NEET.

Interventions

National and local governments, civil society, the private sector and young people themselves are important components in solving the problem of youth unemployment. The Siyakha Youth Assets project (Graham et al., 2016) investigated the effectiveness of different kinds of interventions, in which employment, earnings, and access to further education and training are the most important long-term outcomes. Most of the interventions aim to overcome the skills gap and lack of experience of youth by developing human capabilities, strengthening social capital, technical and social skills and entrepreneurship. Secondly interventions are focused on decreasing the barriers in accessing further education and/or the labour market. Third, Graham et al. (2016) strongly argue in favour of financial support. Developing knowledge of financial literacy and access to savings are necessary assets.

Transitions to adulthood framed in a capability approach

To evaluate the relation between employment, youth's perceptions of adulthood and the influence of social network, I will make use of the capability approach of Amartya Sen (2004). First, it makes a difference between the means, such as goods and services, and the ends of wellbeing, development, justice or in this case adulthood (Robeyns, 2005; Sen, 2004). Second, the framework makes a distinction between capabilities and functionings. Capabilities are a unique set of opportunities an individual possesses in order to reach a goal. The ultimate goal is that people have all the opportunities (capabilities) they need so that they can do what they value the most (functionings). The relation between a means and an end (achieved functioning) is thereby influenced by personal and social-environmental conversion factors (ibid.).

As visible in figure 1, 'being independent', 'taking care and responsibilities for others' and 'locating oneself in sets of interlocking relationships' as part of 'being adult' form the potential or achieved functionings in this research. A necessary capability therefore is employment. In order to have this opportunity of employment, important goods are having

money sources, educational qualifications, means of transport, information, bonding and bridging social capital and at last practical experience. A personal conversion factor is mindset. Social-environmental conversion factors are job offers, locality, age, gender, ethnicity, class and processes of social in- and exclusion.

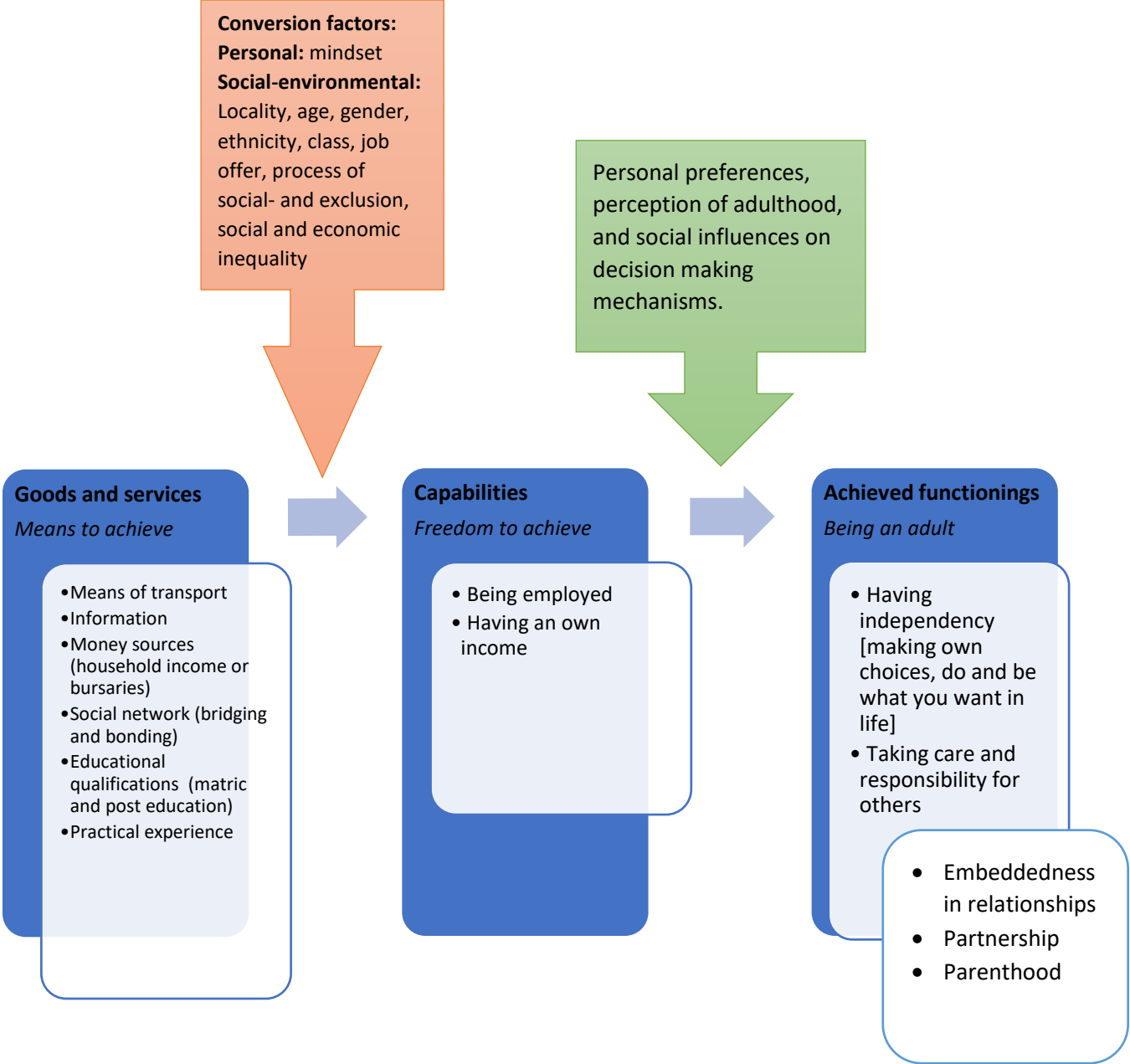


Figure 1. Transitions to adulthood in framework of capability approach.

Research questions

Young people in South Africa search for self-esteem and create new pathways to adulthood. While relational forms of adulthood promote interdependency, individualized forms of adulthood promote freedom. Since employment is a necessary capability in obtaining responsibility and a certain level of freedom, I'm especially curious how work is part of their perception of adulthood. The expectation is that when young people cannot find work or don't perceive this as a possibility due to their social and economic position in society, alternative ways to adulthood that promote connection and freedom will be invented. Youth make their transition to adulthood thereby in a certain social context. Different kinds of bonding and bridging capital can influence their chances on employment. Therefore the main question in this research question is:

“How do young people in South Africa experience (un)employment in their transition to adulthood and how is this transition and situation of unemployment influenced by their social network?”

Sub questions are:

- What do young people in South Africa perceive as adulthood?
- What is the meaning of employment in their search for adulthood ?
- What are necessary means in their search for employment and what are important conversion factors?
- How does the relationship with peers, partners and family influence youth's search for employment and transition to adulthood?
- How do young people find social relationships beyond their own network and how does that help them in their search for employment and transition to adulthood?

2. Methodology

The open ended functionings of adulthood fit well with qualitative research that is explorative and theory based. Furthermore I chose for qualitative research because I want to put the voice of young people central. As well, a small research group makes it possible to investigate in detail the context of youth unemployment and the social and cultural mechanisms underlying it. In addition to secondary data I gathered primary data through one-on-one interviews.

Secondary data

The Centre for Social Development in Africa (CSDA) conducted different researches to youth unemployment in South Africa. First, data of “Youth transitions in South African communities” (Graham et al., n.d.) are gathered by organising focus groups with youth between 14 to 21 years old from different neighbourhoods and towns in Gauteng and the Western Cape. Most of the participants were African and Coloured, and from lower income classes. The total research group existed of 43 males and 42 females. Since these data contain much information about the daily life and the future prospects of youth from different social economic backgrounds I could use the data for my research too. I re-analysed the data to describe in more detail different forms of adulthood and the meaning of employment in this search for adulthood. Secondly, I used the re-analysis to get more insight into the influence of youths’ social network on their employment perspectives.

The other data gathered by the CSDA come from the Siyakha Youth Assets project (Graham et al., 2019) and the Minimal Wage Report (Patel, Khan, Graham, Baldry & Mqhehe, 2016). In the Siyakha project young people are asked to describe constraining and reinforcing factors in the search for employment alongside a simple timeline of their life. I chose six interviews from this dataset based on richness of the interviews and gender and status of employment of the participant. These data have been useful because it describes youth’s life in a later stage. I reanalysed the data of the Siyakha project and Minimal Wage report to get insight into the meaning of employment in the broader context of transitions to adulthood, and into the influence of their social network, an aspect which is under-analysed in the original research. The Minimal Wage research contains 19 focus groups with young adults in the age from 18 till 25 years old. I have used four focus groups which are done in Gauteng, of which two with employed youth from Killarney, Soweto and Auckland

Park and two with unemployed youth from Orange Farm and Hillbrow. An overview of the different studies, focus groups and participants can be found in table 1 below.

Study	Study 1: 'Youth in transitions in SA communities' (Graham et al., n.d.)	Study 2: 'Siyakha youth assets' (Graham et al., 2019)	Study 3: 'Investigating the feasibility of a national wage for South Africa' (Patel et al., 2016)
Method	Focus groups	One-to-one interviews	Focus groups
Gender	43 M/ 42 F	3 M/ 3 F	Mixed
Age	14-21 years	18-25 years	18- 25 years
Locality	Gauteng and Western Cape	Gauteng and Western Cape	Gauteng
Reference in results	Soweto, Onverwacht, Orange Farm, Tembisa, King Williams Town, Kensington (2) and Grahamstown (2)	Two unemployed female, one employed female, two employed male and one unemployed male	Orange Farm (Unemployed), Hillbrow (Unemployed), Killarney, Soweto (employed), Auckland Park (employed)

Table 1. Overview secondary data studies.

Primary data gathering

In addition, I organised interviews with eight participants, of which six have been reached via the contact list of the Siyakha project. We have called them to make an appointment and we met at their houses. I also asked two students via my own network at the University of Johannesburg. They were all aged between 23 and 30 years old. During the interviews I cooperated with a South African, male translator. His presence gained more trust among the participants. I bought them some airtime to show them my thankfulness for their participation.

Interview topics

In the interview I asked about their notion of adulthood and experiences in growing up. Based on the definition of Thomson et al. (2004) I asked them what responsibilities, competences and feelings belong to adulthood. Based on the sociological meaning of adulthood and the relational notion of adulthood I also asked them if they saw parenthood

and having a serious relationship as part of being an adult. Other questions refer to changing relationships with caretakers, friends and partners, the meaning of employment and free time activities. A final set of questions was about their life path - what necessary goods did they have and what not? – , constraints to put goods into capabilities, and the influence and use of their social network in their transition to adulthood. Additional to the interview I made use of a participatory appraisal technique as described by Theis and Grady (1991), namely social mapping. With social mapping you ask the participant to draw his or her social network. The interview guide and further operationalizations can be found in appendix 1 and 2.

Data analysis

For the analysis of the secondary and primary data I made use of the program called QSR NVivo. Although I started my coding with theoretical concepts, I continued my analysis with an inductive approach (Gobo, 2008). Based on the definition of adulthood of Thomson et al. (2004) I searched for both individualized notions of adulthood as well relational notions of adulthood. I categorized different notions of adulthood into feelings, competences, responsibilities and forms of independency. 'Parenthood' and 'partnering' were part of notions of adulthood as well. To contrast notions of adulthood with former stages, I coded notions of teenagerhood and young adulthood. Secondary data of study 2 and 3 did not contain notions of adulthood, and therefore I focused my analysis of these data on other main codes, for example 'meaning of employment', 'feelings during unemployment' and the status of employment during different parts of their live. Based on the idea of the capability approach, I coded reinforcing and constraining factors in the search for employment. These factors gave insight into necessary means and capabilities to get employed and/or to become adult. Conversion factors at different levels became clear as well, for example locality and age. The drawn social map and subcodes of 'kind of relationships' and 'use of relationship' gave information about the functions and changes of their bonding and bridging social capital. In the end I synthesised the results into the framework of the capability approach, to show if and how social conversion factors and mechanisms influence youth's perceptions of adulthood and chances on employment. A simplified version of the coding list can be found in appendix 3.

3. Results

Notions of adulthood

Coming from teenagerhood

In study 1 young people, most of them still teenagers themselves, describe teenagers as being irresponsible and experimental. They do not know the difference between right and wrong and do things they shouldn't do. The main problem seems that teenagers 'cannot think for themselves' and 'don't think before they act', which places them in a vulnerable spot. A main challenge in this phase is peer pressure: *'We find ourselves living a life of others since we want to fit in certain groups or friends.'* (Study 1, Grahamstown). Peer pressure can become dangerous once someone has chosen 'bad friends', according to them it can lead to risks such as dropping out of school, alcohol or drugs abuse, prostitution and criminality. Moreover, teenagers depend financially and materially on their parents and need to obey their rules. They need older people for guidance, advice and as an example. Not making own choices, being dependent and being insecure change while growing towards adulthood.

Independence and self-awareness

In the stage of young adulthood young people take time to discover themselves, so that when you are an adult 'you know what you want in life' and 'you know who you are'. A girl describes: *'You start to find yourself, to find your values and who you are as a person.'* (Study 1, Kensington). This process of self-discovery leads to a certain notion of independence framed as 'thinking for yourself' and 'making your own decisions.' Setting goals and aiming to grow is key in reaching what you want in life, as a participant of the primary data states: *'[A mature mindset is] one that sets goals and is driven to achieve those goals.'* (Participant 5). Furthermore independence is described as 'doing things on your own', like travelling to another city, washing your own clothes and cooking. Young adults of the primary data capture this as being self-sufficient, for example having your own income and house.

Responsibilities

With this independency comes responsibility. When talking about freedom a girl says:

'It is a little bit scary. ... You are responsible for every single action and there is no one that will cover up or answer for your actions.' (Study 1, Kensington).

The youth describe acting responsible as thinking before you do and making 'informed decisions about live.' With this kind of decision making comes a sense of morality as well. Adults should be able to see the difference between right and wrong, and consequently act

right. This means not drinking, not smoking and not wasting your money. The young adults from the primary data add that adults should prevent challenges and difficulties, and otherwise should be able to solve these challenges. 'Taking others into account' is also part of acting responsible and shows a higher awareness and ability to adapt to ones surroundings compared with teenagers who are more focused on themselves.

The youth from study 1 and the primary data describe different responsibilities. The main responsibility is taking care for yourself, and secondly to provide for your family. This can be the family of origin or the own family. In the household they can take responsibilities such as cleaning and cooking, taking care for younger siblings or ill grandparents, and in the case of parenthood for their child. Once they are older, they can make decisions with their parents or partner together. Furthermore the younger youth are talking about responsibilities in the community, such as being an example for younger people. They want to contribute to positive change, mostly in the form of music, dancing, volunteering or starting a business with a social purpose. For older participants responsibilities for themselves and the family are more important. At last young people describe 'acting according the law' and 'voting' as responsibilities at a national level.

Furthermore being an adult means that you 'work hard', and 'have your own house and car.' In order to gain these things a job is essential. Related to this is the capability to budget your money and to make informed, conscious decisions about how to spend your money. Having an own income is also important to provide for yourself and to contribute to the household income. When young people contribute to the household income, they can better co-decide in financial matters with their parents or partner. It gives them the possibility to 'give back':

'I would have completed my studies, be employed and in a better position to support my parents and give back what they did to me so I can also bring joy to them.' (Study 1, Grahamstown).

This sense of reciprocity is expressed by a lot of youth.

Being mentally healthy

Next to being responsible and independent, older youth of the primary data add that an adult should be able to deal with different feelings and to stay mentally healthy. To prevent depression young people deal with disappointments by trying to stay positive or by trusting

on their religious beliefs. Young adults also experience conflicts with their partners and expectations from the family. In overcoming a conflict and preventing a fight, self-control is essential. Furthermore, self-acceptance and feeling loved and recognized by others is important. To stay mentally healthy, you should *'not live life according other's people's lenses, but according to your own perspective and how you experience it. Accept who you are. That helps a lot.'* (Participant 7).

Changes in relatedness: a relational notion of adulthood

Participants of the primary data show a *relational understanding of adulthood*, in which one focuses 'on taking care and responsibility for others, locating oneself in sets of interlocking relationships in the different areas of ones' activities.' (Thomson et al., 2004, p. 224). While growing up, changes in relationships put young people in a new position. Participants have different caregivers. Some of them are raised by a mother or a father only due to divorce, death or abandonment. Other caregivers are grandparents, uncle and aunts. The relationship with their caregivers changes when growing up and they now better understand the situation and decisions of their caregivers. There are no more rules and they behave better:

'...I changed my behaviour and the way I did things at home. Because I was very naughty and disrespectful. Now I will respect. I don't do a lot of things she doesn't like.' (Participant 2).

The young adults feel more comfortable to talk with their caregiver about topics such as career, budgeting or personal issues. This change is also influenced by the expectation that they *should* be mature now, and therefore they are treated as such. For example, caregivers trust their children to manage the household income, and let them participate in important decision making. This is also the case for unemployed young people, which shows that young people can find adulthood in the domestic field without having employment.

Friendships change as well. Most of the participants loose friendships after finishing high school, because everybody goes different paths or moves to other cities. Young people also make choices in friendships:

'I chose good friends and I left the group [of bad friends/gang]. It was hard to leave the group, but I had to. Some of them, they were going to higher standards, they were now stealing, breaking in houses, stuff like that. ... Then I saw this is not the life that I want.' (Participant 3).

At later stages young people only stay in touch with friends who are motivating them in studying and finding work. Such friendships became more close and intimate.

Romantic relationships during high school are described as 'not that serious' and 'just having fun'. During these relationships they are not thinking about the future. Girls describe these relationships as similar with friendships. Some of the young men say that it was more about gaining status and being able to have sex: *'[The guys would say] I have the cutest in school, or the most beautiful, or the one with the most sexy body. But never a sense of "I see myself with her in the future."'* (Participant 5). Later relationships, approximately after the age of 20, are longer and more serious. A relationship is described as serious when you 'really love each other' and when communication is more open and intimate. Participant 3 says about his wife:

'There was this time I didn't have a job ... I thought she would go. But she didn't, she stayed. That's when I thought no maybe she is the one.'

During a serious relationship they are thinking about marriage or engagement, or already are married, engaged or living together.

One need to be mature to have a serious relationship:

'When you decide to marry, for a good intention, that's not deciding to marry because of peer pressure or family telling you to, deciding to marry for good reasons is that you decide by yourself, that's part of adulthood.' (Participant 1).

Maturity is needed so you know what kind person you need in life. Maturity makes that someone can make commitments and is able to share responsibilities. However, having a serious relationship doesn't necessarily make you an adult, since young people can also be married without being mature and vice versa. The same opinion exists about parenthood: *'Especially high school kids. There are thousands of them who have kids, but they are not adults.'* (Participant 3). It becomes clear how individual notions of adulthood are highly related with relational notions of adulthood. Growing towards adulthood, having this sense of independency is important in order to choose the right partner and friends, to create a new family and to establish in new forms of interdependency.

The meaning of employment

Employment leads to financial security though most of the participants' salaries are just enough for basic needs and little saving. Therefore they still need to use their money

strategically, by compromising and setting priorities. Nevertheless, their income makes it possible to meet the responsibilities that come with being an adult:

'Having a little boy, he needs so much care, so much, he needs a lot more. So if I'm not working, imagine what would it be, what would we do. If I didn't have a job I couldn't cope.' (Participant 1).

Having employment also gives them 'hope', it means that 'you can move forward' and that 'good things will come'. Highly related to this sense of hope and happiness is the opportunity of growing and learning. Employment also gives 'something to do'; a purpose to wake up and a reason to stay away from risks such as drinking and criminality.

The vulnerability of unemployment: not meeting responsibilities.

In contrast, being unemployed places young people in a vulnerable spot. During unemployment as well during their search for employment they are dependent on the money of their parents, siblings, grandparents or friends. This dependency puts pressure on their relationships:

'My father sometimes has these cutting remarks! Like: "now I have to do everything while you are just sitting ..." He can say such harsh words that sadly touch you. Such things push you that you must go and market for employment.' (Study 2, unemployed female).

In a status of unemployment young people cannot meet the responsibilities that come with their age: *'You are expected to give not to take. So, it's a bad feeling and again it is emotionally and physically straining.'* (Study 3, Orange Farm). Unemployed youth therefore deal with feelings of stress, pressure, frustration, anger, pain, shame and guilt. A participant says: *'You feel like you are useless, you don't belong to earth, you are not even a human being, that's how I feel.'* (Study 3, Orange Farm). Participants describe their days as pointless: *'It is very painful; today I'm doing this thing and tomorrow I will do the same thing and the day after the very same thing.'* (Participant 2). There is a lot of stress because of the inability to provide for basic needs, such as paying the rent. This insecurity contributes to the risks of going into crime or prostitution: *'You are vulnerable for doing things you shouldn't do. Because you don't have a job, you think you have no choice.'* (Participant 5).

In sum, employment is a necessary capability to become independent and meet responsibilities that come with being an adult. It gives a certain freedom and purpose, and it makes relationships with others sustainable. When young people are not able to find

employment, they stay dependant. Their time is mostly spent in the domestic field or in (forced) leisure time, and in the end they might feel forced to search for adulthood in the field of criminality.

Means and conversion factors in the search for employment

Young people in South Africa have a lot of dreams for the future. They are dreaming about studying, having an own income, job, business, car, house and family. However, pathways towards those things and adulthood are not linear. Due to a lack of means and different conversion factors, trajectories are difficult and diffused. Participants with only a matric¹ experience different periods of unemployment, alternated with periods of participating in interventions and temporary jobs with long hours and hard work. In order to get employed, necessary goods are having educational qualifications, additional certificates, having money from the household or bursaries, having knowledge and having practical experience. Practical experience can be gained from additional jobs, learnerships or volunteering. Different interventions may help with gaining computer skills, social skills, knowledge about administration or starting a business.

However, most young people don't have the financial means that are necessary to find a job. Without income from the household or a bursary, young people are not able to afford educational fees, and therefore cannot study or must delay education. During the search for employment the participants have to pay for printing CV's, transport and internet. An unemployed female participant from study 2 tells:

'...one (must) borrow some money, and in the household no one has money. One must lend the money elsewhere. At the end of the month you must take from the children's subsidy to repay the person you had borrowed from.'

Next to lack of income, young people struggle with finding the right information about requirements for post-secondary education or vacancies. At last young people lack practical experience and necessary certificates such as a driver's license or proof of computer skills.

Different conversion factors constrain their search for employment. In remoted rural area's vacancies can hardly be found while certain urban areas, such as Hillbrow, have a bad reputation, which makes it hard for inhabitants to get a job. Scarcity of jobs and hard to find

¹ In South Africa matriculation (or matric) is a term commonly used to refer to the final year of high school and the qualification received on graduating from high school.

and even fake vacancies are another constraint: *'Sometimes at the internet it's just a scam, you go there but it will be an empty hotel or two people are there and they will be like "bring R350 if you are looking for a job"'* (Study 3, Orange Farm). For some this corruption and bribery is a reason to no longer use the internet or search further at all.

At a social level gender and ethnicity are important factors of influence. For example, teenage pregnancy is a big problem for women. In many cases the guys do not take responsibility and the women need to take care for a child alone, which makes further education and working hard. Some of the participants also experience racism and feel they have less chances on promotion or employment:

'Like "Hey, wena, you are lazy!" ... "You are not meant for that position. It's only for us". Then they laugh.' (Study 3, Hillbrow)

"It's very hard when you're treated like that. ... I don't want to work for a white person."
(Study 3, Hillbrow)

At a personal level mindset can influence young people's path a lot. Young people end up demotivated not knowing why they aren't invited for an interview or hired. Interventions can help young adults with strengthening their mentality: *'They taught us if ever you feel like you're not succeeding in life look for other parts. ... It helped me in terms of being resilient, and overcoming impossible situations.'* (Study 2, unemployed female). Employed young people note that it's important to take opportunities, to be ambitious and motivated, to be willing to learn, to overcome problems and most of all to 'keep moving'. Participants have different example figures and role models who help them to stay motivated. For example, when participant 5 sees his old friend playing professional soccer at the TV, he gets motivation because it shows him how someone can grow out of poverty.

The use of social network: bonding and bridging capital

Bonding as well bridging capital play an important role in the trajectory towards adulthood and the search for employment. Bonding capital serves for different things. Young adults find emotional support in close relationships. As participant 7 states: *'They don't care about what I have, they just care about my emotional wellbeing.'* In a lot of cases parents, partners and children form the most important people in young people their lives. They are *'people who give you reason to wake up and try to make yourself a better person.'* (Participant 1). Young people feel loved by close relatives with whom they talk about personal issues, who

try to keep them out of trouble, and from whom they receive a lot of material and financial support. In times of unemployment they can live in the house of an aunt or sister or can borrow money for transport. Participants also find jobs or interventions through the network of their siblings, extended family or friends.

Young people find bridging capital at work, school, university, church, the sport school, in the neighbourhood, during an intervention or even through online talking on the internet. Those relations can start as acquaintances but can transform into close friendships. However, most of those acquaintances stay distant, and function as a source of information and advice. A participant (1) who started his own business gains a lot of knowledge through his clientele, some of whom are successful entrepreneurs as well. Young people also receive references for a job through those people.

However, analysing the different social maps of the participants from the primary data, a difference can be made. When young people are growing up, they lose friends and are left with family or only one or two good friends. Those who are employed do gain new contacts, for example participant 7 who gained a new, rich network on the campus of the university. As one can see in appendix 4 (social maps of primary data), the networks of these people contain more useful, bridging capital. On contrast, those who stay unemployed, tend to have smaller networks with not much bridging capital. They miss contacts such as colleagues and clients. If they don't do much additional activities, they miss contacts in the community as well.

Concluding social bridging capital and bonding capital explain processes of social inclusion and exclusion as a social conversion factor. Being unemployed implies social exclusion from the work field. Not being able to afford post-secondary education, means exclusion from the university network. Young people who don't have much bridging social capital, have less opportunity to gain new knowledge or references for a job, and therefore have less chance on employment. Social capital furthermore correlates with economical capital. If one lives in a poor household with low income, chances on further education and employment are minimal.

4. Discussion

A first question of this study was how young adults in South Africa define adulthood as the achieved functioning. In line with Thomson et al. (2004) they underline the individual notion of adulthood by stressing on independency as 'making your own choices' and 'knowing what you want in life'. In addition, they stress a relational notion of adulthood, focused 'on taking care and responsibility for others, locating oneself in sets of interlocking relationships in the different areas of ones' activities.' (Thomson et al., 2004, p. 224). Next to being responsible for themselves, young adults feel the responsibility to provide for their families. The younger ones also feel the responsibility to contribute to change to the community and to be a good citizen. Adulthood also becomes visible in how relations change: relationships with caregivers become more equal and personal, relationships with partners become more serious and intimate, and friendships become less and closer. An adult makes an informed choice about friends and a partner.

In order to be independent, meet responsibilities and establish new relationships, employment is an essential capability. However, a lot of young people lack the means needed to get employment, such as educational qualifications, information, practical experience and money sources. In addition, conversion factors such as locality, the scarcity of jobs, gender, ethnicity, social and economic inequality and mindset, make it hard for young people to put these means into an opportunity for work.

Processes of social inclusion and exclusion become visible when analysing their social network. Unemployed people lack connections in the work field and in the field of (post-secondary) education and therefore have less chances on job references and gaining new knowledge. This finding confirms the literature that bridging capital is important to find employment (De Lannoy et al., 2018; Putnam, 2000). However, this research also shows that the influence of bonding capital should not be underestimated. If their bonding capital is mostly part of lower classes with low incomes, they lack money sources. Bonding capital is furthermore important because it motivates young people to find a job. Based on their emotional relation, family and friends intensely provide young people with emotional, financial and material support during their trajectory towards adulthood and search for employment. This emotional support is especially important during teenagerhood and during periods of unemployment and discouragement.

As a consequence of being unemployed, they cannot provide for themselves or their family. They cannot meet the responsibilities that come along with being an adult and stay dependant on their families and friends. This dependency puts pressure on their relationships, and therefore establishing new relationships with more equality becomes difficult. Nevertheless, unemployed young people, if not in the field of work, do try to search for adulthood in other fields, such as the domestic field. They try to contribute with the little money they have, do domestic tasks and care giving, co-decide in household matters and still can get a partner or become a parent.

Since periods of employment and unemployment can alternate each other, and since employed youth are providing for others as well, one can conclude that full independency is an unrealistic goal. Rather is their trajectory towards adulthood characterized by a change from full dependency in teenagerhood towards new forms of interdependency and relatedness in adulthood, in which interdependency is defined as 'experiencing one's self as being enhanced and empowered through the very process of counting on others for help' (Propp et al., 2003). How much independency they can gain depends on their status of employment, but this should be seen as a certain freedom of movement and choice within the relationships in which they are embedded. Concluding trajectories towards adulthood are very diffuse and highly influenced by the means and opportunities they have. Having constrained opportunities, and not having employment, gives young people less chance to become the adult they want to be.

Limitations

Some limitations have influenced the internal and external validity. First of all, two students are not gathered from the Siyakha participants list, and therefore, different from the other participants, were not part of any employability intervention. Secondly, age categories and localities of participants, as well the methods differed among the used studies. The different focus groups and interviews had a slightly different focus which decreases the internal validity as well. I tried to solve this by consistently using the same codes during the analysis. However, the use of different data sources, gathered with different methods in different neighbourhoods and times, does increase the external validity. Similar meanings and processes found in this research can probably be found in other areas of South Africa, but further research is needed to proof this.

Recommendations

Based on the findings of this research, the following recommendations can be made for further research. First of all, the influence of social network on youth's opportunities for employment can be further investigated in relation with cultural capital (Bourdieu, 2011). For example, as Mahaffy (2003) and Thomson et al. (2004) argue, factors such as gender and ethnicity influence processes of social inclusion and exclusion, and therefore form important conversion factors in the search for adulthood and employment. Furthermore, national policies and trends in the labour market do influence youth's trajectories towards adulthood (Knijn, 2012). Further research is needed to see how this works in South-Africa. Although Western cultures are perceived to be more individual, understanding interdependency in trajectories towards adulthood might lead to the new discoveries about adulthood in Western countries as well.

Based on this research the following policy recommendations can be made for the development of interventions that are focused on youth's employability. First of all, the development of social skills should be considered as a crucial aspect of interventions. Since personnel of intervention programs are part of youth's bridging capital, they have the opportunity to connect young people with people from different companies, for example by setting up meetings, visits or events. Secondly investment in young people's bonding capital is important. Interventions can incorporate young people's close relatives, so they can learn how to support their child/sibling or cousin in the search for employment. The community can contribute by organising sport and cultural activities, so that youth are distracted from risks such as alcohol and drugs abuse, can find role models and have the opportunity to develop self-esteem. Thirdly, this research confirms that the development of mental skills, such as dealing with disappointment, persuasion, and finding motivation and ambition, can help young people in their search for employment. Fourth, when one considers financial support in the form of stipends or bursaries, one should take into account that income is divided among the household. Therefore, together with their family, young people need to learn how to strategically use money and save. In sum people from their own network, interventions, the labour market and the government all need to cooperate to help youth in South Africa to overcome the constraining factors they face in the search for employment, so that they can give back to their families, communities and country, and can become the adult they want to be.

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Appendix 1. Operationalization

THEORETICAL CONCEPTS OPERATIONALIZATION

TRANSITION TO ADULTHOOD	Subjective meaning	Sociological meaning
(ARNETT, 1997; KNIJN, 2012; SMETANA ET AL., 2006; THOMSON ET AL., 2004)	Autonomy: making own choices about what to do and who to be Feelings Responsibilities: towards one self and/or others Relatedness/interdependency Recognition Formal markers <i>*sensitive concepts</i>	Leaving the parental home Entry into the labour market and earning an independent income Entering partnership Parenthood; having children Age: 10-13: early adolescence 14-17: middle adolescence 18-24/25: late adolescence/ young adult/emerging adulthood 18-34 Post adolescent phase
FIELDS OF ADULTHOOD (GRAHAM, 2011; GRAHAM ET AL., 2016; THOMSON ET AL., 2004)	Field Work Income Relationships Family Sex Leisure time Citizenship Crime <i>*These concepts are seen as sensitive concepts, in reality constructions of adulthood might be more nuanced, complex and different.</i>	Being employed / in search for employment/ unemployed Having an own income/ dependant on household income Marriage/cohabitation/relationship/single Parenthood/ getting children /creating nuclear family/ being part of extended family Having sexual intercourse Sport activities, religious activities and cultural activities Political activities, community work Being part of gang
SOCIAL NETWORK (BOURDIEU, 2011; PUTNAM, 2000; SMETANA ET AL., 2006; ZMERLI, 2003)	Bonding <i>Based on particularized trust; knowledge and experience. Homogeneity in race, class and locality (among peers as well age and gender).</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Family: parents, siblings, grandparents • Extend family: uncle and aunts, cousins • Peers: friends, cliques and crowds • Romantic relationships

<p>USES OF SOCIAL NETWORK (SMETANA ET AL., 2006)</p>	<p><i>Making use of same facilities and part of same organisations.</i> <i>Outward distrust</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Community (church, sport, school)
	<p>Bridging <i>Based on generalized trust; morality.</i> <i>Heterogeneity in race, class and locality.</i> <i>Making use of different organisations and institutions</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Community based organisations • At work • Via interventions, training or other programs • Via via (Bonding network)
	<p>Emotional support</p>	<p>Trust, closeness , warmth,..</p>
	<p>Informational support</p>	<p>Moral guidance, advise, references for jobs,..</p>
	<p>Material support</p>	<p>Money, car,..</p>
<p>MEANS (GOODS AND SERVICES) (GRAHAM ET AL., 2016; NUSSBAUM, 2003; SEN, 2004)</p>	<p>Income (household and own) Information Means of transport Social capital (bonding and bridging) Educational qualifications (matric and post education) Practical experience Social skills</p>	
<p>CAPABILITIES (GRAHAM ET AL., 2016; GRAHAM ET AL., N.D.; NUSSBAUM, 2003; SEN, 2004)</p>	<p>Employment Information accessibility Mobility</p>	
<p>CONVERSION FACTORS (GRAHAM ET AL., 2016; GRAHAM ET AL., N.D.; ROBEYNS, 2005; SEN, 2004)</p>	<p>Individual: Personal characteristics (intelligence, mindset)</p> <p>Social environmental: Scarcity of jobs, locality, age, class, household dynamics, processes of social inclusion and exclusion</p>	
<p>FUNCTIONINGS (ROBEYNS, 2005; SEN, 2004; THOMSON ET AL., 2004)</p>	<p>Being an adult Being independent; making own choices and being self-sufficient. Being responsible towards self and others Being embedded in relationships; having a partner or being a parent.</p>	

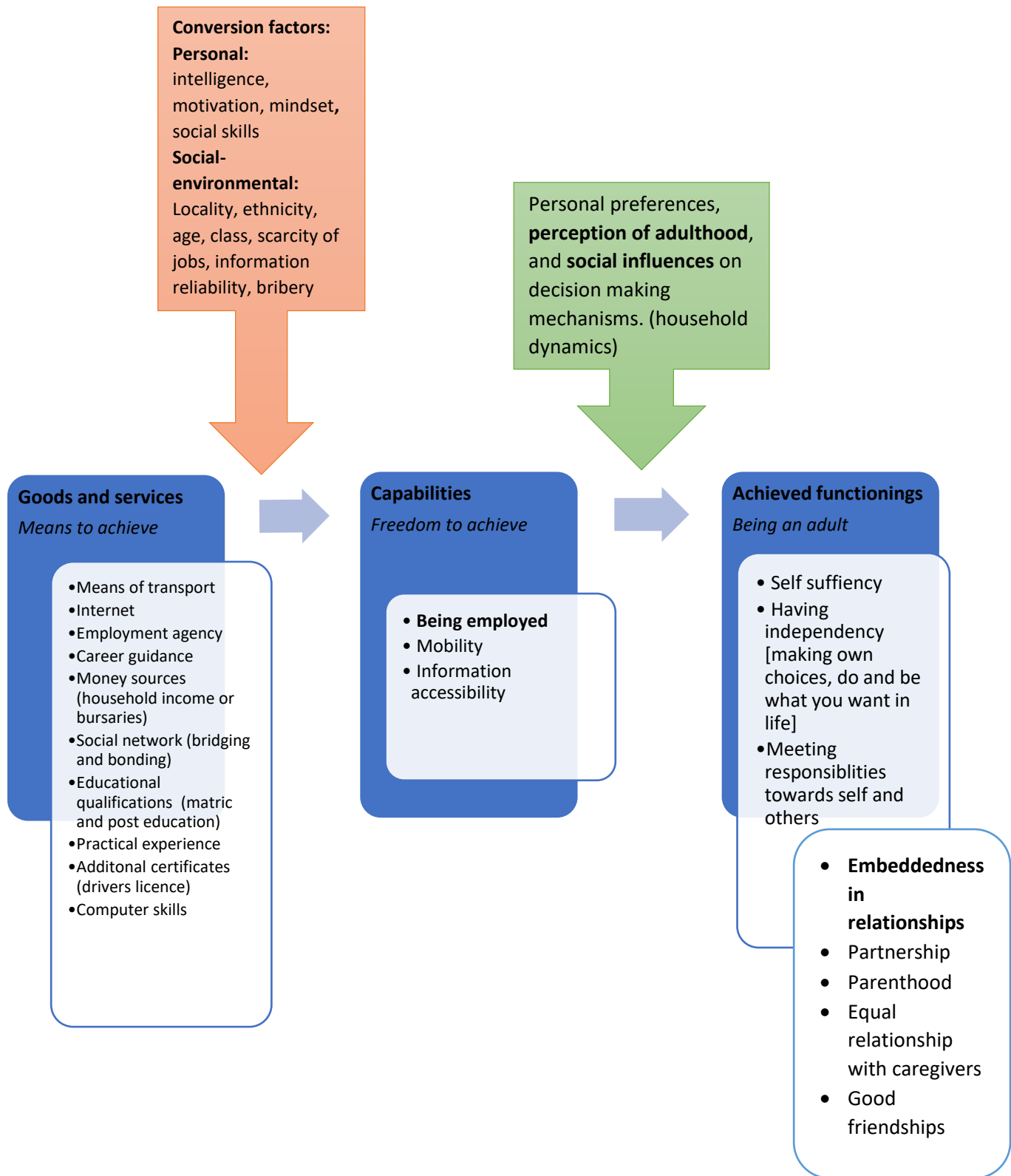


Figure 2. *Transitions to adulthood in framework of capability approach (added with results).*

Appendix 2: Interviewguide.

TOPIC	MAIN QUESTION	SUBQUESTION/PROBES
BACKGROUND [5 MIN]:	Can you tell me something about yourself?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • (note gender) • Name • Age • Ethnicity [what is your main language?] • what do you do in daily life? Education/job? • Hobbies/leisure time: arty/creative things/music/sport.. • Neighbourhood/country; where do you come from? Where do you live? Do you like it there? Why yes/not? • Household: With who do you live? Always lived with them?
	Can you shortly tell me something about your family?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What does your family look like? • <i>Could you maybe draw this for me with yourself in the middle? (Social mapping explained)</i> • Parents; jobs/employed? • Siblings? • Grandparents and other relevant extended family (uncles, aunts, cousins)?
TEENAGERHOOD [7 MIN]	How did you experience your time at sec school?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • When did you start with secondary school? • Did you feel motivated? • How would you describe the quality of the school? (good teaching, materials etc) • How was your relation with teachers? Still in contact? <i>Add on map</i> • How was life with your peers? Groups/ conflicts? • When did you finish school/matric? • Did you receive any career guidance at school/ information how to apply for university? Was it helpful to you?
	Next to school, how did your daily life look like during high school?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Responsibilities in household? (domestic tasks) • Additional jobs? • Did you do some additional activities at school? Outside school? Cultural, sport, volunteering? What did you learn from those activities?

<p>LIFE AFTER SEC. SCHOOL (YOUNG ADULTHOOD) [10 MIIN]</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How did you experience contact with people from those organisations? Still in contact? <i>Can you add them on your map?</i> <p>What did you do after you finished high school?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • With who do you live and where? <p>Post secondary education</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What do you study? • Where did you get the information about applying? How did you get in? • How is it going with your study? • If I may ask, how do you pay? <p>What helps/helped you in the search for employment?</p> <p>Employment</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What kind of job? • How did you find it? • What helped you to get the job (interventions, training, social network?) • Did you do any additional trainings or interventions? How was that? What did you learn? • Are you still in contact with the people from those programs? How do they help you? <i>Can you add them on your social map?</i> <p>What does being employed mean to you?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What does it mean to you to be employed? • How does it help you? <p>Unemployed/searching for a job</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What kind of jobs are you looking for? • How do you find jobs vacancies? • What do you think can help you in the search for employment? [training, interventions, additional schooling] • Did you do any additional trainings, courses or interventions? How was that? • Are you still in contact with the people from those programs? How do they help you? <i>Can you add them on your social map?</i> • What constrains you in finding a job? /what makes it difficult? • Who helps/support you? How? <p>What makes it difficult for you to find/keep a job?</p>
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	<p>How do you deal with the situation of being unemployed?</p> <p>Next to these things [studying/ working/searching] how does your daily life look like? Any additional activities?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How is it for you to be unemployed? How does it make you feel? (Mental status: motivation, depression, self-confidence etc.) • How do you solve/deal with the problems you experience? • What would having a job mean to you? How would it help you? /change your situation? • Responsibilities in household? (domestic tasks) • Any additional activities? Cultural, sport, volunteering? What do you learn from those activities? • How do you experience contact with people from those organisations? <i>Add on social map</i>
<p>FUTURE [5 MIN]</p>	<p>What are your dreams for the future?</p> <p>What do you think your future looks like?</p> <p>Is your dream similar with what your surrounding expects from you? How is it different?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What are your goals in life? • What are your plans for the future? • (Jobs? Partner? Children? Place of living? Travelling?) • What are expectations from your family, partner, friends for the future? • What of the things you named [employment, own house, partner, parenthood etc.] are part of being an adult according to you?
<p>NOTIONS OF ADULTHOOD [10 MIN]</p>	<p>Do you see yourself as an adult? Why ?</p> <p>What makes you/ someone an adult?</p> <p>How would you describe the difference between an</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Autonomy/ independence? • Certain capabilities/ competences/skills: what things should an adult be capable of? • What does him/her make mature? • What kind of responsibilities come with being an adult? • Towards who? [self or others?] • What kind of feelings does an adult have to deal with? Feeling of pressure? How do you/would you deal with that? • <i>If not named before:</i> Partnering, Parenthood, change in material/financial situation? (house, car, job?) • What characterizes teenagers? • How do they act?

	<p>adult, young adult and/or a teenager?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What are their responsibilities? • What makes a young adult different from an adult? • What do young adults do? • What are their responsibilities?
<p>SOCIAL NETWORK [10 MIN]</p>	<p>At high school; did you/you said you also spend time with friends? How was that like?</p> <p>Do you think that relationships with your <u>friends</u> have changed now you're an adult? How?</p> <p>How was your relation with your <u>parents</u> during high school?</p> <p>Do you think that relationships with your parents/family have changed now you're an adult? How?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How much? • What did you do with your friends? • What kind of topics you talked about with them? (personal issues, relationships, studying, employment, fashion, music other interests?) • Who were your best friends? Close friends?/ group of friends? • What did they mean to you? • <i>Can you add them on your social map?</i> • How did they influence you? Positive, negative? • Do you think your relationships with friends will change when you're older/have changed now you're older? How? [Other friends? Less friends? /More distance/closeness?] • With what friends can you talk about your dreams? About your study/career? • Who are your primary caregivers? • How was the relationship with your caregiver? With your father? Mother? • (How) did they support you? • Did you feel free to talk with them when you experienced problems or issues? • Were there any rules and regulations you had to obey? What happened if you didn't? How did you deal with that? • Did they influence your choice of friends? How? • Why /what made the relationship not good? • Do think your relationships with your family changed/will change? How? [More distance? Support or

		<p>supporting? Responsibly? Expectations?]</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • With what family members can you talk about your study/career dreams? • What family members do you ask for advise if you need?
PARTENERING [5]	<p>Did you have a boy-/girlfriend during high school?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How would you describe your relationship with this person? (romantic, serious or not serious) • How long? • How much time did you spend with this person? <p>Do you have a romantic relationship at the moment? How would you describe this relationship?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How serious is the relationship? • How long have you been with him/her? • Do you see being in a serious long term relationship as part of becoming an adult? 	
[1 MIN]	<p>What people are most important in your life? Why?</p> <p>Who are your example figures?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How are you related? • How do those people inspire you? • What do you learn from them?
BINDING CAPITAL	<p>What people you know outside of your own, close network? For example from an event, organisation, or a trip</p> <p>If you were searching for a job, what people from your network do you think can help you? To get in contact with the right persons/companies?</p>	<p>Where do you know them from?</p>
ENDING [2 MIN]	<p>These were all my questions. Do you have any other things you think that are important? Any questions for me or about the study? Ok thank you very much. + giving airtime/reward for their participation</p>	

Appendix 3: Coding list

NOTION OF ADULTHOOD

age
physically
capabilities
feelings
relational problems
expectations
spiritually
independency
interdependency
responsibilities
meaning
For who/what
as citizen
for family
for self
materially
Relational
relation with caregivers
<i>change when older</i>
<i>no change</i>
<i>during high school</i>
change in other family relatives relations (Extended or creation)
<i>no change</i>
Friendship
partnership
<i>during younger ages</i>
<i>serious relationship</i>
part of adulthood
<i>not part.</i>
parenthood
<i>not part of adulthood</i>

NOTION OF YOUNG ADULTHOOD

<i>no difference</i>
only age
self discovery
more responsibilities
partly independent
still depending on parents

NOTION TEENAGERHOOD

living for own happiness
not being able to understand and adapt

being irresponsible
dependant on parents and family
not making own decisions
peer pressure

DURING TEENAGERHOOD

domestic tasks
leisure time
Motivation
quality school
additional activities
career guidance and university info
resources
relationship teachers
life with peers
risks

FUTURE DREAMS

MEANING OF EMPLOYMENT

STATUS OF EMPLOYMENT

upgrading marks matric
studying
Gap year
doing intervention or other training
employment
situation of unemployment
searching for a job
feeling

REINFORCING FACTORS (Employment)

educational qualifications
Additional qualifications
participation intervention and courses
practical experience
information accessibility
having knowledge and resources
mobility
money sources
mentality
social networking skills

CONSTRAINING FACTORS (Employment)

changing market and competition
information inaccessibility
lack of educational qualifications
lack of experience
locality
low income
nepotism
not having enough resources
scarcity of jobs
teenage pregnancy
unemployment
weak social network
Racism/tribalism

USES OF SOCIAL NETWORK

binding social capital

use

getting advise
reference for job

bonding capital

created family
extended family
family of creation
friends
partner

use

critical emotional
event
emotional support
financial support
material support
reference for a job
academic support
caretaking

having an example

inspiration by
successful business men

Appendix 4: Social maps, primary data

Green= bridging social capital, blue= bonding social capital

