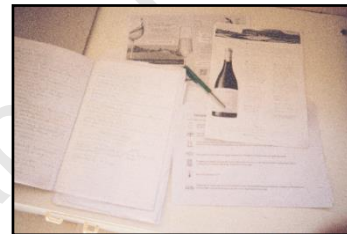
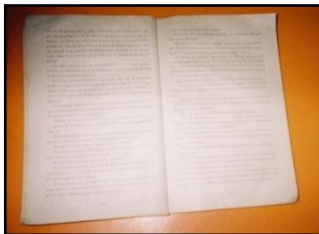


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**EXPLORING THE ROLE OF CONTEXT IN EMERGING ADULTS' EXPERIENCES OF  
OCCUPATIONAL POSSIBILITIES AND OCCUPATIONAL CHOICE IN A  
COMMUNITY IN THE WESTERN CAPE: A NARRATIVE INQUIRY**



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**DISSERTATION COMPLETED IN FULL FULFILMENT  
OF A MASTER OF SCIENCE IN OCCUPATIONAL THERAPY**

**Minkateko Wicht (WCHMIN001)**

**29 December 2024**

***Supervisors:***

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## DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate this thesis to a young girl whom I met in my undergraduate final year practical in Lavender Hill, Cape Town and whose words, perception of the world and lived experience stays with me until today. In a conversation I asked her whether she had ever been outside of Lavender Hill. She responded “no”, explaining that it was “too dangerous out there”. This response took me by surprise and I remember being shocked at the fact that she thought the world outside of Lavender Hill, one of the most dangerous areas on the Cape Flats at the time, was *too* dangerous. This simple interaction made me acutely aware of how our context has an important role in shaping our perceptions and world views, and that moment birthed the idea for what has become this thesis a decade later.

I would also like to dedicate this thesis to the South African youth, who, against immense challenges and constraints, continue to dream, hope and work towards a better future for themselves, their families and their communities.

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## ABSTRACT

### Exploring the Role of Context in Emerging Adults' Experiences of Occupational Possibilities and Occupational Choice in a Community in the Western Cape: A Narrative Inquiry

**Introduction:** Occupational therapists recognise that health and wellbeing are inextricably linked to people's occupations. Many emerging adults within the Western Cape, South Africa, are experiencing numerous social, economic, and educational challenges which may constrain their occupational engagement and negatively influence their transition into adulthood. Understanding how contexts shape the occupational possibilities and occupational choice of emerging adults will allow occupational therapists, who work with emerging adults in constraining contexts, to better support their transition into adulthood, promote meaningful and purposeful occupational engagement and ultimately enable health and wellbeing.

**Research Aim:** The aim of this study was to explore how living in a community within Bredasdorp, Western Cape, shapes the experience of occupational possibilities and occupational choice of emerging adults aged between 18 and 25 years. **Research Design:** This qualitative study was informed by the social constructivist/interpretivist paradigm and used a narrative inquiry design. It utilized a transactional perspective of occupation and Laliberte-Rudman's theory of occupational possibilities and Galvaan's theory of occupational choice as the guiding theoretical frameworks. Five participants were recruited, through purposive sampling methods, with the assistance of a community-based organisation. Photovoice methods were used to generate visual data for interviews. Narrative data was then generated through two in-depth unstructured narrative interviews per participant. **Data Analysis:** Data was analysed using both analyses of narratives and narrative analyses methods and included three levels of analysis, namely, narrative story writing; coding, editing and member-checking of narrative stories; and individual case analysis and cross-case analysis. **Findings:** One overarching theme emerged from the analysis which showed that occupational possibilities and occupational choice were not dependent on either individual agency or contexts but rather resulted from an interplay between the two. **Conclusion:** The participants' contexts played an integral role in shaping their occupational possibilities and occupational choices and influenced their health and wellbeing by supporting or constraining a range of available choices, resources, opportunities and possibilities. This study also found that there was a

transactional relationship between occupational possibilities and occupational choice. Lastly, there was some fit between the theory of emerging adulthood and the participants' experiences within their contexts.

**Keywords:** community, context, emerging adults, occupational choice, occupational possibilities.

## **DEFINITION OF TERMS**

### **AGENCY**

Agency can be understood as people's capacity to independently act through making their own choices which result in desired change and is enabled when power is distributed equitably (Janse van Rensburg, 2018).

### **BOUNDED AGENCY**

Bounded agency is defined as "a concept that situates the actions and decisions of individuals within the specific structural and social contexts in which they take place" (Turcotte & Lanctôt, 2021, p. 297).

### **COMMUNITY**

Community is defined as "...a social group, which encompasses historical events, cultural traditions and inter-connected social networks or layers, and can alternatively be defined by place, meaning a spatially defined geographical location" (Hyett et al., 2016, p. 63).

### **CONTEXT**

Context "refers to the present physical, social, economic and cultural environments together with its socio-political histories and associated socio-affective factors" (Galvaan, 2017, p. 53-54).

### **EMERGING ADULthood**

Emerging adulthood is a "conception of development for the period from the late teens through the twenties, with a focus on ages 18-25. ... [It] is distinguished by relative independence from social roles and from normative expectations" (Arnett, 2000, p. 469).

### **HEALTH**

Health is "...a dynamic process, negotiated through daily occupational engagement within context, recognized for its individual and collective dimensions" (Motimele et al., 2024, p. 778).

## **OCCUPATION**

“...occupation is a type of relational action through which habit, context and creativity are coordinated toward a provisional yet particular meaningful outcome that is always in process...” (Cutchin et al., 2008, p. 164).

## **OCCUPATIONAL CHOICE**

“Occupational choice involves the application of choice to participation in occupations; occupational choices are co-constructed [by individuals and groups] through their transactional relationship with the context...It occurs implicitly and explicitly when agency is applied to occupational engagement” (Galvaan, 2012, p. 153-154). *Occupational choices* will be used when relating the construct to people (Galvaan, 2012, 2015).

## **OCCUPATIONAL POSSIBILITIES**

Occupational possibilities “...refers to ways and types of doing that come to be viewed within a specific socio-historical context as possible and ideal and that, in turn, are supported and made available through social systems and structures” (Laliberte Rudman, 2015, p. 29).

## **WELLBEING**

Wellbeing is “...one’s quality of life, or the human need ‘to live a life of quality’” (Motimele et al., 2024, p. 777).

## **LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS**

CAM	Cape Agulhas Municipality
CBO	Community-based Organisation
FET	Further Education and Training
HREC	Human Research Ethics Committee
NSFAS	National Student Financial Aid Scheme
NDP	National Development Plan
ODA	Overberg Development Association
ODM	Overberg District Municipality
UCT	University of Cape Town
USA	United States of America

## CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 INTRODUCTION

Many black<sup>1</sup> South African youth are growing up and living in contexts of high levels of inequality, poverty and violence, due to the historical injustices experienced during colonialism<sup>2</sup> and apartheid<sup>3</sup>, which, according to Abrams (2011, p.40) “...have become structural and systemic in the new<sup>4</sup> South Africa...” (Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation, 2019; De Lannoy et al., 2018b; StatsSA, 2019; World Bank, 2024). The National Youth Policy (South African Government, 2015, 2020) identifies a myriad persistent economic, educational and social challenges that affect this group. South Africa has one of the most unequal educational systems in the world with regard to the quality of education (Amnesty International, 2020) and youth unemployment, at 45.5%,<sup>5</sup> has reached crisis proportions and is ranked one of the highest globally (South African Government, 2020; StatsSA, 2024a; Western Cape Government, 2023a). The legacies of colonialism and apartheid lie at the root of the educational inequality and high rates of youth unemployment (Amnesty International, 2020; Marumo & Sebolaaneng, 2019). Additionally, youth also experience high rates of school dropout, low transition from school to work, inadequate skills development, teenage pregnancy, poor physical and mental health outcomes, exposure to violence, high rates of substance abuse, gang involvement, and lack of access to sporting and cultural opportunities (South African Government, 2015, 2020). These various challenges may limit the

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<sup>1</sup> Black includes African, Coloured and Indian people (Biko, 1978).

<sup>2</sup> South Africa was colonised by the Netherlands (1652-1795 and 1803-1806) and Great Britain (1795-1803 and 1806-1961). Colonisation is understood as “...an action or venture to establish political control over a place or land, to settle among and establish control over the indigenous people of an area and to appropriate a place or domain for one’s own use” (Oliver & Oliver, 2017).

<sup>3</sup> “Apartheid was a system of law in South Africa between 1948 and 1994 that segregated people [according to the socially and legally constructed] racial groups. As part of apartheid law, a system of classification was developed ... [classifying] people as “black”, “coloured”, “Indian”, and “white” based on [how they were socially perceived] ... and outward appearance. Those designated “white” were provided with the majority of the opportunities and resources, while those designated as “black”, “coloured”, or “Indian” were deprived of some or all of the necessities of life that would have promoted their well-being and were subjected to abhorrent treatment. As part of this system of oppression the Apartheid government designed the Group Areas Act of 1950 as a means of securing the best land for those designated as “white”. This meant that land belonging to other race groups was forcibly taken from them and entire families were forced to move to obscure areas with no formal infrastructure and which placed them at a severe disadvantage in terms of access to basic facilities” (Motimele & Peters, 2017, p. 5).

<sup>4</sup> The “new South Africa” refers to South Africa after the first democratic elections held in 1994 (Harris, 2002).

<sup>5</sup> Youth (aged 15 to 34 years) unemployment rate in the first quarter of 2024 (StatsSA, 2024a).

opportunities, and constrain access of youth, to participate in occupations<sup>6</sup> that promote health and wellbeing.

The term “youth” in South Africa encapsulates a wide age range (15 to 35 years)<sup>7</sup> and includes several developmental stages (South African Government, 2020). The Western Cape Youth Development Strategy (Western Cape Government, 2013) recognises that youth aged 15 to 24 years, in particular, are in a crucial period of their development and require specific support to develop necessary skills and competencies to meet their physical, psychological, emotional, spiritual and material needs and become economically and socially active members of society (De Lannoy et al., 2018a, 2018b; Western Cape Government, 2013).

Of particular interest for this study is the period of *emerging adulthood* (18 to 25 years) (Arnett, 2000) as this stage comprises a unique transitional period which youth experience between adolescence and adulthood that is characterised by change and exploration due to transforming role requirements. Ideally, this transition should be accompanied by increased agency and independence (Arnett, 2000). However, in South Africa, many emerging adults find themselves in contexts which may constrain what they see as possible for themselves and the available choices that they have and make, thereby potentially limiting agency. They face two conflicting discourses: one in which they are the future leaders who can contribute to and build families, communities and society, and another in which the constraining conditions that they face limit their opportunities to fulfil these expectations (Western Cape Government, 2013).

A central tenet of occupational therapy is the understanding that health and wellbeing are determined by what we do, that is our occupations (Hammell & Iwama, 2012; Ramugondo, 2017; Wilcock, 1999, 2007). The premise that individuals will have access to a range of possible occupations and are able to choose what they do, and ultimately determine their health and wellbeing, does not take into account the impact of contextual and structural

---

<sup>6</sup> Occupation “...is a type of relational action through which habit, context and creativity are coordinated toward a provisional yet particular meaningful outcome that is always in process...” (Cutchin et al., 2008, p. 164).

<sup>7</sup> The upper age limit is higher than the United Nations definition of youth (15 – 24 years) (United Nations, nd). The inclusion of the wider age range within South African policy is due to the recognition of the historical disadvantages and imbalances that many young people face within the country (South African Government, 2020).

factors on shaping their occupational engagement (Hammell, 2017, 2020; Hammell & Iwama, 2012; Hayward & Taylor, 2011). Occupational therapists are, therefore, encouraged to take a broader view of occupational dysfunction, as more than just the result of physical or mental impairments as often referred to in medical models of health, and to consider the impact of contextual and structural factors on people's occupational engagement and health and wellbeing (Layton & Steel, 2015).

Recent literature suggests that living in contexts with constrained or inequitable access to opportunities may limit individuals' abilities to access their basic rights to meet their human needs and achieve or maintain health and wellbeing (Galvaan, 2012; Hammell, 2020; Laliberte Rudman, 2010). However, such studies are mostly limited to the Global North,<sup>8</sup> thus, requiring more research in the South African context, particularly within rural areas. Furthermore, there is a lack of research which considers how context shapes the experiences of emerging adults specifically during this developmental stage.

## **1.2 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY**

While working on projects in different low-income communities in Cape Town, South Africa, the researcher became aware of numerous issues experienced and expressed by youth. These included:

- low expectations and limited possibilities for their futures
- limited access to job opportunities beyond insecure low paid employment
- exposure to contextual violence and gangsterism which influences safety and community mobility
- high levels of boredom, common expressions of "there's nothing to do" and limited access to recreational opportunities
- limited access and support for educational attainment at secondary and tertiary level
- engaging in illegal activities to bring income into the household

---

<sup>8</sup> The Global North and Global South is a "...framework for understanding and analysing the relative prosperity and international power of countries around the world...typically...the Global North [includes] the United States, Canada, the countries of Europe, Japan, South Korea, Taiwan, Australia, New Zealand and Israel. The Global South usually includes the countries of Latin America, Africa, the Middle East excluding Israel, and Asia and Oceania excluding the aforementioned countries" (Kenny, 2024).

- navigating responsibilities such as caring for family members and dealing with the impacts of frequent weather-related disasters (such as flooded homes)

This study results from considering how these factors, in similar communities, may shape youth's occupational engagement.

### **1.3 CONTEXT OF THE STUDY**

It is necessary to consider the context which emerging adults are living in to understand their experiences of health and wellbeing.

#### ***1.3.1 Broad Context of the Study: Western Cape, South Africa***

The Western Cape is the second most unequal province in South Africa (StatsSA, 2016, 2020). Even though the education system in the province is ranked within the top five in the country, school dropout rates remain high, that is, 48% of youth who begin school do not complete Grade 12 (South African Government News Agency, 2024; Western Cape Government, 2013). Of the population aged 20 and above, only 35.4% had completed Grade 12 and 17.6% had a post-school qualification (StatsSA, 2023). Only 28% of youth aged 18 to 24 years attend university or college (De Lannoy et al., 2018a). The youth unemployment rate was 33.2% in the first quarter of 2023. Additionally, 34.3% of youth are not in education, employment or training (NEETs) (Western Cape Government, 2023a).

Western Cape youth are exposed to high levels of criminality and violence (Western Cape Government, 2013). The South African Police Service crime statistics for 2022/2023 ranks the Western Cape as the second highest with regards to the 17 community-reported serious crimes (e.g. murder, common assault, sexual offences) (South African Police Service, 2023). Gangsterism is endemic within the province (Western Cape Government, 2013). The province also has one of the highest rates of substance abuse, such as alcohol and methamphetamine, amongst youth (South African Government, 2015; Wegner et al., 2014) and a higher risk-taking profile than that of many other provinces (Western Cape Government, 2013).

The above description of the Western Cape depicts a challenging context which youth need to navigate. Living in contexts of inequality, and with educational and social challenges may constrain youth's occupational engagement.

### **1.3.2 Context of the Research Site: Bredasdorp, Western Cape**

Bredasdorp is a town in the Cape Agulhas Municipality (CAM) in the Overberg District Municipality (ODM) in the Western Cape. It is the economic hub of CAM and administration centre of CAM and ODM (Cape Agulhas Municipality, 2016; Western Cape Government, 2022). CAM has a population of 40 274<sup>9</sup>, with youth aged 15 to 24 years<sup>10</sup> comprising 14.2% (StatsSA, 2024b). Bredasdorp has the biggest concentration (43.6%) of urbanised population in CAM (Cape Agulhas Municipality, 2016; Western Cape Government, 2023c). The spatial division of the geographical area, resulting from the Group Areas Act<sup>11</sup> during apartheid, can still be largely seen today. Colloquially, Bredasdorp is broken up into the "bodorp" (Afrikaans for "upper town", which was historically a white area) and the "onderdorp" (Afrikaans for "lower town", historically a coloured area)<sup>12</sup> (A. Wicht, personal communication, 20 July 2022; Overberg Development Association, 2014). The socio-economic risk factors which may impact young people's occupational engagement in this context include poverty and inequality, crime, unemployment and low learner retention rates (Western Cape Government, 2023c).

In 2022, CAM had a Gini coefficient of 0,581, which was lower than that of the Western Cape as a whole (0,601) in the same year. Additionally, 32.9% of households in the municipality were considered indigent<sup>13</sup> and 55.64% of CAM's population falls below the upper-bound poverty line.<sup>14</sup> CAM has the highest proportion (29.3%) of people living below the food

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<sup>9</sup> 60.9% coloured, 23.4% white, 12.6% black, 2.7% other and 0.4% Indian/Asian (StatsSA, 2024b).

<sup>10</sup> Statistics for age group 18- to 25-years-old not available.

<sup>11</sup> Group Areas Act of 1950 was "...fashioned as the "cornerstone" of Apartheid policy and aimed to eliminate mixed neighbourhoods in favour of racially segregated ones which would allow South Africans to develop separately" (SAHO, 2021).

<sup>12</sup> During apartheid, black Africans were allowed to live in Bredasdorp only if they had work permits. The current informal settlements, which form part of the "onderdorp", grew as a result of migration of black Africans into Bredasdorp after the abolition of apartheid (A. Wicht, personal communication, 20 July 2022; Overberg Development Association, 2014).

<sup>13</sup> In CAM a household is classified as indigent if its occupants earn a combined monthly income that does not exceed R3 800 (Western Cape Government, 2023b).

<sup>14</sup> The upper-bound poverty line (UBPL) refers to the "...the food poverty line [described in footnote 14] plus the average amount derived from non-food items of households whose food expenditure is equal to the food poverty line." In 2023, the monthly UBPL in South Africa was R1558 (Statista, 2023).

poverty line<sup>15</sup> within ODM (Western Cape Government, 2023b, 2023c). CAM contributes approximately 12.5% of the employment rate of ODM (Western Cape Government, 2023b). Of those who are employed in CAM, 84.2% work in the formal sector, with the majority working in semi-skilled and low-skilled jobs. As CAM is the administrative hub of the district, and Bredasdorp that of CAM, public administration at local government level contributes to the most significant proportion of the formal employment profile. Other main sectors for employment include agriculture, fishing and construction of roads and railways (Western Cape Government, 2023c). Using the narrow definition of unemployment,<sup>16</sup> the unemployment rate of the working age population was 11.4%; and 28.7%<sup>17</sup> were not economically active (Western Cape Government, 2023b, 2023c).

Eight out of the ten schools in CAM are non-fee-paying schools. In 2022, CAM's Grade 12 pass rate was 90.7%, with 55.4% achieving a bachelor's pass rate. Although this is a high pass rate, it must be viewed considering CAM's Grade 10 to 12 learner retention rate<sup>18</sup> which was 63.9% in 2022 (Western Cape Government, 2023b, 2023c). Furthermore, a disparity between the matric pass rates of the two high schools in Bredasdorp exists, with the pass rate in 2023 at Bredasdorp High School (fee-paying) being 99.8% and Albert Myburgh Secondary School (non-fee-paying) was 73.5% (News24, 2024). A 2022 survey of the CAM population above the age of 20, indicated that only 30.6% had a matric and 14.6% had a higher education qualification (StatsSA, 2022).

In 2022/2023, CAM had a crime rate of 7 801 incidents per 100 000.<sup>19</sup> This was the highest in ODM and was above both the district's and province's rates of 6 385 per 100 000 and 5 439 per 100 000 respectively (Western Cape Government, 2023b, 2023c). Additionally, only 41.4% of people in CAM reported that they felt very safe walking alone when dark (StatsSA, 2016).

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<sup>15</sup> The food poverty line refers to the "...amount of money that an individual will need to afford the minimum required daily energy intake." In 2023, the monthly food poverty line in South Africa was R760 (Statista, 2023).

<sup>16</sup> The narrow definition of unemployment includes "...those who are unemployed and have taken active steps to look for work." (Section27, 2024).

<sup>17</sup> Within the Municipal Economic Review and Outlook, this statistic for 2022 is an estimate. The statistic for 2021 categorized 31.5% of the working population as not economically active (Western Cape Government, 2023b).

<sup>18</sup> "The Grade 10 to 12 retention rate is obtained by comparing the number of Grade 12 learners of a particular cohort with the number of learners from the same cohort who were present two years earlier in Grade 10. This shows the proportion of students who progressed to Grade 12" (Western Cape Government, 2023b, p, 144)

<sup>19</sup> These crimes included drug-related crimes, burglary at residential premises, common assault, malicious damage to property, commercial crime, driving under the influence of alcohol or drugs, sexual offences and murder (Western Cape Government, 2023b).

Teenage pregnancy is described as a pressing issue in ODM. Of the total number of births in CAM in 2022, 11.7% were to young woman between the ages of 10- to 19-years-old (Western Cape Government, 2023b).

The contexts described show that high poverty levels, high crime rates and low learner retention rates are CAM's three main socio-economic risks (Western Cape Government, 2023c). Additionally, the high level of inequality, impact of unemployment, lack of educational attainment, and high rate of teenage pregnancy, may affect the occupational possibilities and occupational choice of emerging adults in Bredasdorp. This provides insight into the current living conditions of youth within the Western Cape and Bredasdorp. As research suggests, living in such contexts may not be supportive of emerging adults' occupational engagement and health and wellbeing (Galvaan, 2012; Hammell, 2020; Laliberte Rudman, 2010). Thus, this may result in emerging adults entering adulthood ill-prepared to meet the demands and challenges of adulthood.

#### **1.4 RESEARCH ISSUE**

Given that youth comprise of 34.8% of the South African population (34.5% in the Western Cape) (StatsSA, 2023), the myriad persistent economic, educational and social challenges affecting them are of great concern, not only for their development and health and wellbeing, but also for the country's socio-economic future (South African Government, 2015, 2020). The National Development Plan (NDP) 2030 recognises that because South Africa has a youthful population, a 'youth lens' is required to "...urgently reduce alarming levels of youth unemployment and to provide young people with broader opportunities" (South African Government, 2012, p. 16). The NDP has thus prioritised several strategies to improve the future for South African youth. These include improving the school system, increasing learner retention rates, strengthening youth service programmes and training (such as life-skills and entrepreneurship), increasing the number of Further Education and Training (FET) colleges and learnerships, providing assistance programmes for educational funding which also covers living costs, inclusion of youth in the development of community safety centres and tax incentives for employing youth entering into the labour market (South African Government, 2012). To support the attainment of the NDP, hearing emerging adults' voices and understanding their perspectives of what they consider as possible for themselves and the

choices which they have available and make, is crucial to understand this group's current occupational engagement and the support they may require to transition into adulthood successfully (Galvaan, 2012; Laliberte Rudman, 2010).

## **1.5 RESEARCH RATIONALE**

Living in communities of high violence and socio-economic inequality is commonplace for many emerging adults in the Western Cape (Western Cape Government, 2019). Research has shown that traumatic events and chronic stress (e.g. experiences of violence or living in poverty) have a detrimental impact on physical and mental health (De Lannoy et al., 2018a; Hammell, 2017). Thus, it is vital to consider how contextual factors impact what emerging adults see as possible for themselves, their available choices and opportunities for occupational engagement; and how this may shape experiences of health and wellbeing.

## **1.6 RESEARCH PURPOSE**

Despite the crisis faced by youth, there is a dearth of research focused on understanding South African emerging adults' occupational possibilities and occupational choices, particularly those in rural areas. While contemporary shifts within occupational therapy are exploring occupation as a transactional experience (Dickie et al., 2006), more research is needed to understand how contextual factors shape occupational engagement, particularly within the Global South. Additionally, since emerging adults experience a particular challenge in navigating the conflicting local discourses (Western Cape Government, 2013), researchers need to add to the body of knowledge relating to the transactional perspective of occupation for this age group. This understanding will better inform occupational therapy interventions aimed at promoting and enabling the health and wellbeing of emerging adults who live in these and similar communities.

## **1.7 RESEARCH QUESTION, AIM AND OBJECTIVES**

### ***1.7.1 Research Question***

How does living in a community within Bredasdorp, Western Cape, shape the experience of occupational possibilities and occupational choice of emerging adults aged between 18 and 25 years?

### **1.7.2 Research Aim**

To explore how living in a community within Bredasdorp, Western Cape, shapes the experience of occupational possibilities and occupational choice of emerging adults aged between 18 and 25 years.

### **1.7.3 Research Objectives**

- To describe how emerging adults living in a community in the Western Cape experience their contexts.
- To explore how emerging adults living in a community in the Western Cape experience the impact of their contexts on their health and wellbeing.
- To understand how emerging adults living in a community in the Western Cape perceive occupational possibilities and negotiate occupational choice.
- To determine how living in a community in the Western Cape shapes what is experienced during the stage of emerging adulthood.

## **1.8 CONCLUSION**

This first chapter introduced the study by detailing the background, context and focus of the study. The next chapter will provide a review of the current literature relevant to this study.

## **CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW**

### **2.1 INTRODUCTION**

The theory of emerging adulthood (Arnett, 2000) offers a valuable structure for considering the challenges faced by South African youth and how these impact their health and wellbeing. This chapter explores this literature, with a particular focus on how emerging adults' occupational engagement is influenced by interactions between agency and structure, with specific focus on the influence of context on emerging adults' occupational engagement. Lastly, to further understand this relationship from an occupational perspective, the occupational science constructs of occupational possibilities and occupational choice are discussed as suitable constructs to explore the impact of context on emerging adults' health and wellbeing.

During the literature review, the search terms used included occupational choice, occupational possibilities, emerging adults, emerging adulthood, youth, South Africa, community, context, environment, occupation, occupational therapy, health and wellbeing. Search engines that were used included EBSCOHost (Academic Search Premier, CINAHL, ERIC, Health Source, MEDLINE, APA PsycArticles, APA PsychInfo and SocIndex), PubMed, Primo and Scopus.

### **2.2 OCCUPATION AS A DETERMINANT OF HEALTH AND WELLBEING**

Informed by occupational justice, the occupational therapy profession is concerned with promoting occupational engagement that enables health and wellbeing by "enabling a just and inclusive society so that all people may participate to their potential in the daily occupations of life" (Townsend & Polatajko, 2007, p. 372). A central tenet of the profession is that humans are occupational beings, and thus, occupations, which are inextricably linked to health and wellbeing, are essential for survival (Gallagher et al., 2015; Hammell & Iwama, 2012; Ramugondo, 2017; Wilcock, 2007). As a profession that originated in the Global North, the mainstream occupational therapy literature is dominated by a Western view of the world and thus of health and wellbeing (Hammell, 2017; Hayward & Taylor, 2011). These traditional perspectives conceptualise the *occupational being* as autonomous, self-made and separate

from the environment (Laliberte Rudman, 2013), thus placing the onus and accountability on the individual to “...choose, shape and orchestrate their occupations” (Murthi & Hammell, 2020, p. 1). A major critique of this individualistic perspective is that it centres the individual, which emphasises human agency as being a determinant of occupational engagement, and thus, ultimately of health and wellbeing, through individual factors such as abilities or internal motivation. This approach has been critiqued for being too dualistic and neglecting consideration of the social structures which shape the context for occupational engagement and the role which contexts play in how health and wellbeing is experienced in everyday life (Gallagher et al., 2015; Njelesani et al., 2015).

While shifts in thinking have recognised various factors that may influence health, Gallagher et al. (2015, p. 1) argue that “...the individual often remains the focus of intervention and attention... [which] obscures the potential for occupational therapy to address health and wellbeing concerns resulting from occupational inequities within communities and populations.” Thus, a more nuanced understanding of the complex relationship between the person and the environment is required. To do this, scholars need to move away from the binary perspective that separates person and environment to rather consider the connections and interrelatedness between the two and how, as one changes so does the other (Laliberte Rudman & Aldrich, 2017). Critical scholars have advocated for a more in-depth consideration of the ways in which occupational beings are socially and politically constituted. More emphasis should be placed on understanding how social structures shape individuals’ context and the opportunities for occupational engagement. This is supported by a transactional perspective of occupation that appreciates “...how the environment in which occupation unfolds facilitates or hinders the action, changes the actor and, in turn, is changed by what is done...” (Hocking, 2020, p. 3).

### **2.3 CONCEPTUALISING EMERGING ADULTHOOD**

As humans are occupational beings, their need to engage in occupations is integral to their survival, health and wellbeing (Wilcock, 2007). To understand occupational engagement, occupational therapists theorise different developmental stages through which people progress throughout their lifespan. Each developmental stage encompasses milestones,

characteristics and behaviours, demanding particular adjustments and achievements from the individuals as well as unique occupational patterns (Edwards & Christiansen, 2005). Understanding developmental stages is crucial for occupational therapists to ensure that interventions are appropriately matched to the client's life stage.

The emerging adulthood developmental stage, as theorized by American psychologist Jeffrey Arnett (2000), encompasses the period from the late teens through to the twenties, with a specific focus on ages 18 to 25 years. The theory describes five features of this developmental stage, namely, identity exploration, focus on self, instability, an in-between period and a time of possibilities and opportunity (Arnett, 2014, 2016). Arnett (2000, 2016) proposed this theory to address changes noted in young people's lives in developed countries over the past five decades, including extended tertiary education, delayed entry into stable full-time employment, and later marriages and parenthood. Due to these socio-cultural shifts, Arnett (2000) argues that this stage is not just a brief transition into adulthood, but a period of profound change warranting a distinct developmental stage to differentiate it from adolescence and young adulthood. Adolescence is defined by puberty, parental or caregiver presence and attending high school, whereas young adulthood is associated with stable employment and roles in marriage and parenthood (Bond, 2020). Emerging adulthood, however, is characterized by a degree of independence from social roles and normative expectations, with individuals often exploring various life paths in love, work and personal beliefs (Arnett, 2000).

Arnett (2000, 2016) acknowledges that this theory is culturally and socially constructed and primarily focuses on middle- and upper-class individuals who enjoy parental financial support, personal freedom and leisure. As such, it may have limitations in describing some emerging adults' experiences of this period as a time focused on independent exploration. Regardless, Arnett and Taber (2011) suggest that the theory is applicable to youth in industrialized countries and middle-class youth in developing countries (Tello-Navarro et al., 2024). The critiques of this theory, however, include debate on whether this is merely a description of a period or an actual developmental stage, and whether the characteristics inherent to the theory refer to all individuals or to specific countries or cultures (Côte & Bynner, 2008).

Côte and Bynner (2008) note that in the emerging adulthood literature, the concept of emerging adulthood is used more as a descriptor of the 18- to 25-year-old group rather than consisting of an exploration of the inherent qualities of this developmental period. They express concern over the theory's acknowledgement that not everyone experiences emerging adulthood and that its duration can vary (Arnett, 2000). This raises the question of whether this developmental stage adds meaningful value to understanding growth, especially if some individuals can bypass it yet still function at the same level as those who go through it (Côte & Bynner, 2008). Moreover, they emphasize that if emerging adulthood is significant for individuals from affluent backgrounds and dominant cultures, it should be equally important for disadvantaged groups (Côte & Bynner, 2008). This is supported by Hendry and Kloep (2010), who assert that this theory mainly applies to middle-class young adults in higher education, arguing that young people outside this category may have more diverse experiences when transitioning into adulthood (Hendry & Kloep, 2010). In their exploratory study involving employed or unemployed Welsh emerging adults, Hendry and Kloep (2010) revealed significant variations from the 'standard emerging adult' transition, even in Western societies, highlighting the need to consider those youth whose experiences differ from that espoused by the theory.

Zorotovich and Johnson (2019) explored the factors that predict the degree to which individuals endorse Arnett's features of emerging adulthood. They found that white, unmarried, childless, younger emerging adults strongly endorsed Arnett's features, while older or married individuals, parents, non-students, and those from diverse ethnic backgrounds were less convinced that the features were fully applicable. Tello-Navarro et al.'s (2024) critique supports this view by arguing that the theory proposed by Arnett inadequately addresses the class and ethnic differences within developed countries as the emerging adulthood period is primarily relevant to those who are privileged and "...who possess the necessary resources to engage for long periods in self-exploration and the construction of their identity" (Tello-Navarro et al., 2024, p. 253).

Responding to critiques regarding the theory's sensitivity to differences in social class, Arnett (2016) maintains that in the United States of America (USA), there are more similarities than differences amongst 18- to 25-year-olds of different social classes. Findings from a national

survey conducted by Arnett using mothers' educational attainment as a determinant of social class indicated that there were "...no differences in their responses regarding the five features proposed in the theory of emerging adulthood, and no differences in their expectations of what adulthood would be like" (Arnett, 2016, p. 232). However, in a subsequent comparative study of the five features of emerging adulthood across ages 18 to 60 years in the USA, Arnett and Mitra (2020) found that, while the study confirmed that the features are common across this period for emerging adults, it was noteworthy that the majority of adults between the ages of 26 to 60 years also agreed that the features applied to their lives, with the exception of "feeling in between adolescence and adulthood". This calls into question whether the proposed features are in fact distinct to emerging adulthood only.

Although South Africa is considered industrialized, it remains a developing nation (Hai, 2020; Marnewick & Bekker, 2022), thus necessitating a careful consideration of whether the theory of emerging adulthood, which was developed in the USA, is applicable to this study's context. Therefore, it is crucial that South African occupational therapists understand the norms and expectations of this developmental stage, as shaped by this specific context, to best enable and support South African emerging adults' occupational engagement.

## **2.4 THE EMERGING ADULT WITHIN THE SOUTH AFRICAN CONTEXT**

Critiques of the theory of emerging adulthood necessitate a consideration of the use of this theory within South African literature as well as how this specific context shapes the experiences of youth within this developmental stage. Although South African studies, particularly within the discipline of psychology, have explored various aspects of emerging adulthood, such as resilience (Theron et al., 2020), care leavers' and care workers' views of preparation and aftercare services in child and youth care centres (Bond, 2020), the role of self-esteem in school-to-work transition (Ismail et al., 2016) and the link between personality and wellbeing (Nel et al., 2017), the concept of emerging adulthood has mostly been used as a descriptor of this age group. This echoes the question raised earlier by Côte and Bynner (2008) on whether the term "emerging adulthood" is a formally defined developmental stage with identifiable characteristics.

Given the unanswered nature of this question, there is a gap in the literature regarding how the particularities of the South African context shape what emerging adults experience during this stage, what they envision as possible, their available choices for occupational engagement, and how these factors may shape their experiences of health and wellbeing (Galvaan, 2012; Laliberte Rudman, 2010).

When considering what Arnett describes as the key milestones of emerging adulthood, that is, obtaining employment, accessing tertiary education and living independently with or without parental financial support (Arnett, 2000, 2016), literature from the South African context reveals how the myriad challenges which youth currently experience, impacts their ability to meet the demands and milestones of this developmental stage. These include chronic youth unemployment, poor quality education, poverty, teenage pregnancy and high rates of violence and gangsterism, as discussed below.

In their study, Marumo and Sebolaaneng (2019) critically examined the structural causes of youth unemployment in South Africa. They highlight the association of youth unemployment and race as resulting from the apartheid system. Furthermore, they argue that the education system in South Africa is the main factor contributing to chronic youth unemployment since "...the South African basic education system still follows the Apartheid-type dimensions that perpetuate inequality, but this time around it is not based on race but rather on the financial status of the family" (Marumo & Sebolaaneng, 2019, p. 13480). This results in children from well-off families being able to attend well-resourced schools which equip them with the skills needed for the labour market. Conversely, children from low-income families usually attend poorly-resourced schools with limited facilities and minimal infrastructure, hindering their development of necessary job market skills. In turn, the poor quality of the education system, particularly at primary level, accounts for many youths dropping out of school or tertiary institutions because of being poorly prepared for secondary and tertiary education. This is problematic for emerging adults, as engaging in tertiary education and/or employment are both considered major milestones of this developmental period (Arnett, 2000).

Arnett (2016) suggests that moving out of the home and enjoying parental financial support are key characteristics of emerging adulthood. However, De Lannoy et al. (2018b) report that

many South African youth experience income poverty (62.2%), are multi-dimensionally poor<sup>20</sup> (33.1%) and/or live in households where no adult of working age is employed (42%). This poses challenges to the financial resources needed to experience the above-mentioned developmental tasks. Furthermore, while the undertaking of parental roles is usually seen as characteristic of young adulthood rather than emerging adulthood (Arnett, 2000; Bond, 2020), data in the Western Cape suggests that between 10% and 14% of mothers are under the age of 20 years (Western Cape Government, 2013). As these emerging adults would, therefore, assume the parental role, which, according to Arnett (2000), is designated to the young adulthood stage, this suggests that there may be a poor theoretical fit for this developmental task in this context.

The high rates of violence and gangsterism described in the Western Cape might also influence emerging adults' occupational engagement and, thus, their health and wellbeing (De Lannoy et al., 2018a, 2018b; South African Police Services, 2023; Western Cape Government, 2013). Youth involvement in gangs is a common occurrence in the Western Cape and may result in negative consequences for individuals, families and communities. These include substance abuse, imprisonment, school dropouts, death and increased crime and violence (Wegner et al., 2018). Van der Westhuizen and Gawulayo (2020) explored the reasons that youth join gangs and found that it was due to a combination of personal, familial and environmental factors. This supports the contention that there is a need to explore the way in which context shapes emerging adults' possibilities and choices in communities with high levels of violence and gangsterism.

Mosavel et al. (2015) investigated the aspirations and dreams of South African youth living in low-income, urbanized communities. Their study revealed that the structural conditions of the youths' community resulted in experiences of daily stressors and adversity. These conditions included high rates of poverty, unemployment, drug use, overcrowded housing, lack of safety and recreation facilities and high levels of crime and violence. These stressors impacted the youths' future dreams as they were more focused on meeting their basic needs, such as food, housing and security. Research by Swartz et al. (2012) on youths' sense of

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<sup>20</sup> The term "multi-dimensionally poor" is described as experiencing deprivations in several areas simultaneously such as limited access to basic services, economic opportunities, and educational attainment (De Lannoy, et al., 2018b).

belonging for those living in townships in post-apartheid South Africa found that youth had high hopes for their futures and that “maintaining hope becomes a coping mechanism in the daily experiences of deprivation” (Swartz et al., 2012, p. 33). While this might appear to contradict the research of Mosavel et al. (2015), further on in their analysis, Swartz et al. (2012, p. 32) refer to “the quiet violence of dreams” by concluding that while youth were able to dream better futures for themselves, the contexts of poverty thwarted these dreams and subsequently negatively impacted their psychological health and wellbeing. These studies support the need to investigate how contextual factors influence emerging adults’ access to choices, opportunities, and what they see as possible for themselves.

While emerging adulthood is characterised by increased agency, personal freedom, exploration and possibilities (Arnett, 2000), the above studies demonstrate that exercising agency may not always be possible when opportunities for engagement are constrained by structural factors, suggesting that there may be a poor fit between this theory and the emerging adults’ experiences in the South African context. It is, therefore, necessary to explore how agency is afforded or limited by the context and how this shapes what emerging adults within the Western Cape see as possible, and the choices they have available and make for occupational engagement. Furthermore, consideration of the applicability of the features and milestones of this theory is required within this context.

## **2.5 INFLUENCE OF CONTEXT ON EMERGING ADULTS’ OCCUPATIONAL ENGAGEMENT**

Occupational therapists must understand how emerging adults perceive their contexts, the impact of the context on their experiences of health and wellbeing and how it may shape their experiences of agency to support their development and transitions into adulthood. Laliberte Rudman (2012) and Galvaan (2012) argue that occupation is not only influenced by either individual/internal or contextual/external factors, but rather through an interplay between the two. This is in line with a transactional perspective of occupation (Dickie et al., 2006), which is informed by John Dewey and Pierre Bourdieu, and which views occupation as a result of social action and recognises the embedded nature of occupation within existing social structures. This perspective asserts the importance of both the individual and their context in determining human action, thus appreciating that individuals, their occupations and their health and wellbeing are intricately connected with and interdependent on the context

(Cutchin et al., 2008; Galvaan, 2012, 2015). Essential to this perspective is the acknowledgement of people “...as an ongoing part of communities whose occupations are therefore also tied intricately to community life and to community issues” (Cutchin et al., 2017, p. 439; Dickie et al., 2006; Galvaan, 2017). It is, therefore, important to consider the specific ways in which emerging adults’ community contexts impact their occupational engagement, choices and possibilities.

Occupational therapists consider communities to have multiple dimensions and thus need to consider how the unique dynamics found within the geographical and social contexts of a community shape occupational engagement. Community is defined as “...a *social group*, which encompasses historical events, cultural traditions and inter-connected social networks or layers, and can alternatively be defined by *place*, meaning a spatially defined geographical location” (Hyett et al., 2016, p. 5). Hyett et al. (2016) described the features of communities as including access to basic services, the natural and built environment, spiritual dimensions such as personal or symbolic affiliations, a sense of belonging and the impact of power dynamics on social cohesion and participation in community life.

Differentiating between contexts and environments is integral to better understanding the emerging adult as situated within their communities. Environments are described in relation to various levels and dimensions (Galvaan, 2017). Bronfenbrenner’s ecological model of human development (1994) has been used extensively within occupational therapy and is useful for understanding the various factors which may influence emerging adults’ development both directly and indirectly (Cox et al., 2014; Swart & Pettipher, 2005). The model proposes that engagement in occupation occurs at various levels, namely micro-systems (e.g. home, school, work); meso-systems (i.e. the interaction of the micro-systems); exo-systems (i.e. structures and processes occurring within neighbourhoods); macro-systems (e.g. policies, socio-cultural and socio-economic patterns) and chronosystems (i.e. historical events and change or consistency over time within the environments) (Bronfenbrenner, 1994; Ramugondo & Motimele, 2017; Swart & Pettipher, 2005). It is important to consider these various levels as they may directly or indirectly influence emerging adults’ development.

The dimensions of the environment, namely, physical, socio-cultural, economic, ecological, historical and political, play an integral role in emerging adults' participation in occupations as they have the potential to shape barriers and opportunities experienced by the individual, which can either limit or enable occupational engagement and thus health and wellbeing (Galvaan, 2017). More specifically, physical components, such as objects (both natural and human-made), spatial dimensions (social meanings, material culture, physical embodiedness) and biophysical or natural elements can shape what occupations can be performed (Galvaan, 2017; Hocking, 2020; Hyett et al., 2016; Pierce, 2003). When examining the ways in which the environment shapes occupations, socio-cultural factors such as issues of gender, race, class and culture from both individual and group perspectives need to be considered. Engagement in occupations usually occurs at a local level but is directly and indirectly influenced by various local, national and international economic and political systems, and thus consideration of the inequities in access to occupations due to these structural factors is necessary to determine their impact on health and wellbeing (Galvaan, 2017; Hyett et al., 2016; Swart & Pettipher, 2005).

Contexts are constituted by the interplay and overlapping of the levels and dimensions of the numerous diverse environments and can be defined as "...the present physical, social, economic, and cultural environments together with its socio-political histories and associated socio-affective factors" (Galvaan, 2017, p. 53-54). Thus, emerging adults' patterns of engagement and types of participation that occur or may be seen as possible within various contexts, may be intergenerational and shaped by their historical and social positioning. Socio-affective responses, such as emerging adults' attitudes and emotional states, can influence and shape participation in certain occupations through the values attributed to specific occupations and the way in which power is reproduced (Galvaan, 2017). It is therefore necessary to consider aspects of both the emerging adults' environments and contexts to be able to better understand how their specific communities shape their occupational engagement.

To understand emerging adults as situated within a community, it is imperative to examine the interplay between human agency and social structure and to explore how the contexts in which they are living shape their experiences of agency. This will allow occupational therapists

who work with emerging adults in similar contexts to support their transition into adulthood, promote meaningful and purposeful occupational engagement and ultimately enable health and wellbeing (Galvaan, 2012; Laliberte Rudman, 2010).

## **2.6 EMERGING ADULTS' EXPERIENCES OF OCCUPATIONAL POSSIBILITIES AND OCCUPATIONAL CHOICE**

Since occupation is understood as a determinant of health and wellbeing, limited, constrained or inequitable access to choices and opportunities for occupational engagement may lead to poor outcomes of health and wellbeing (Galvaan, 2012; Hammell, 2020). The occupational science constructs of *occupational possibilities* (Laliberte Rudman, 2010) and *occupational choice* (Galvaan, 2012), discussed below, are essential in understanding the impact of living in constraining conditions on the occupational engagement of emerging adults. Both constructs are concerned with understanding the relationship between (human) agency and (social) structure or context and how it shapes occupational engagement (Galvaan, 2012; Hammell, 2020; Laliberte Rudman, 2010). Therefore, exploring how the context shapes emerging adults' occupational possibilities and occupational choices requires an examination of the interplay between agency and structure or context (Galvaan, 2012; Laliberte Rudman, 2010).

From an individualistic perspective, agency is viewed as "...people's capability to act in an intentional manner or exert power to shape their life circumstances"; therefore, having autonomy and independence are key features (Nyman et al., 2014, p. 460). This perspective posits that because "...people adapt to the environment when engaging in occupations", the locus of control is placed within the individual only (Brennan & Gallagher, 2017; Lévesque et al., 2024, p. 3). However, the underlying assumption here is that the power of individuals and groups of people is equally distributed, and, following this, that the right to exert agency exists across all social identities (Galvaan, 2012; Janse van Rensburg, 2018). This view of agency does not acknowledge the impact of living in constraining and inequitable conditions and also does not take into account the way in which people affect the environments they participate in (Gallagher et al., 2015; Hammell & Iwama, 2012). Responding to this, Janse van Rensburg (2018) described agency as people's capacity to act independently by making their own

choices that result in desired change that is enabled when power is distributed equitably (Janse van Rensburg, 2018).

Hammell (2020, p. 401) describes structure, or context, as “...the societal arrangements dictating the availability of choices and opportunities...”. When exercising agency, individuals contribute to and create social structures and in turn, these social structures shape and produce agency in social life (Galvaan, 2012; Hammell, 2020; Janse van Rensburg, 2018; Laliberte Rudman, 2010). Hence, the interconnection and interdependence between human agency and social structures are crucial in a transactional perspective (Cutchin et al., 2008; Galvaan, 2012, 2015). Viewing occupation as a result of the interaction between the person and their environments allows an exploration of the way the emerging adults’ contexts shape their experiences of agency and thus of occupational possibilities and occupational choice (Galvaan, 2012; Laliberte Rudman, 2010). Moreover, these two constructs enable an understanding of the impact that living in constraining conditions has on emerging adults’ occupational engagement. However, there is a dearth of research looking at these constructs among South African emerging adults.

### **2.6.1 Occupational Possibilities**

Occupational possibilities, a term coined by Laliberte Rudman (2010), can be defined as the “...ways and types of doing that come to be viewed within a specific socio-historical context as possible and ideal and that, in turn, are supported and made available through social systems and structures” (Laliberte Rudman, 2015, p. 29). Laliberte Rudman (2010) asserts that while occupational possibilities do not determine people’s *exact* occupational engagement nor limit it to only that which is considered ideal and possible for their intersecting social identities, this construct helps us to understand how occupations are shaped, embedded and negotiated and how occupations, in turn, shape the contexts. Engaging in contexts that limit occupational possibilities may influence what opportunities emerging adults have for occupational engagement and thus, their health and wellbeing (Laliberte Rudman, 2010).

Floríndez and Floríndez (2018) examined the role of context in the occupational possibilities for Latino male adolescents in Los Angeles, USA, and found that participation in gangs “...may

be due to the limited options for other occupations that low socioeconomic status (SES) neighborhoods afford” (p. 191). This had critical consequences for health and wellbeing outcomes as the systemic inequalities evident in this community, such as the low levels of formal education or minimal resources to pay for food, result in limited opportunities for occupational engagement. Similarly, Cox et al. (2014) found that the declining economic context was one of the key factors influencing the educational and occupational aspirations of emerging adults in rural USA. Many of the participants had already been engaging in employment to gain economic stability for themselves and their families prior to entering emerging adulthood. Cox et al. (2014) suggest that these experiences may have resulted in choices being made regarding their educational and vocational paths based on what was familiar and aligned with their community experiences. Furthermore, the choices participants perceived as available to them were shaped by the physical, social and economic contexts. Decisions to attend tertiary education were made “...based on practicalities and...what is feasible in the local environment rather than exploration and experimentation...” as would have been characteristic of this developmental stage within other contexts (Cox et al., 2014, p. 180). The results of both these studies support the need to consider how the broader contextual factors, as opposed to only individual agency, may shape emerging adults’ occupational engagement within the South African context.

As supported by Arnett’s (2000) theory of emerging adulthood, societal expectations often view the pursuit of work as being a ‘normal, ideal and appropriate’ occupation for emerging adults. In their study example of disabled male youths’ transition to adulthood, Njelesani et al. (2015) caution against this pervasive assumption as it leaves little room to explore alternative occupations beyond becoming a parent, being ill, or being a student. Furthermore, they state that “...youths who internalise beliefs about paid employment as the only legitimate route to becoming valued as a ‘productive adult’ are likely to consider volunteer activities as ‘second-best’ or even a failure” (Njelesani et al., 2015, p. 257). Thus, understanding what is viewed as ‘normal, ideal and appropriate’ within the emerging adults’ contexts is important to explore how this may shape their occupational engagement.

These studies highlight the need to examine what is considered normal, ideal or expected occupations for emerging adults within their contexts. Furthermore, their findings support

the need to consider the various contextual factors influencing emerging adults' occupational possibilities. As these studies were conducted in the Global North, research that explores the experiences of emerging adults within the South African context is essential.

### **2.6.2 Occupational Choice**

The ability to choose occupations is fundamental to health and wellbeing (Hammell & Iwama, 2012). Traditional perspectives of occupational therapy acknowledged that, while the environment may influence choice, the locus of control remains with the individual. These perspectives assume that choices are equally distributed and that individuals always have opportunities to act on their choices. However, recent shifts in the literature argue that 'choice' is socially structured and that inequitable and constraining circumstances shape and determine the choices available to people as well as shaping what people envision themselves doing (Brennan & Gallagher, 2017; Murthi & Hammell, 2020). Galvaan (2012, p. 153-154) defines occupational choice as involving "...the application of choice to participation in occupations; occupational choices are co-constructed [by individuals and groups] through their transactional relationship with the context...It occurs implicitly and explicitly when agency is applied to occupational engagement".

Galvaan's (2012) study explored what informs occupational choice among young adolescents in a marginalised community in Cape Town, South Africa. She found that their occupational choices were inextricably linked to the context and describes "...how the social environment together with the collective and contextual histories influences the manner and types of occupational choices made" as well as what occupational choices they thought were possible (Galvaan, 2015, p. 39). This is supported by Gallagher et al. (2015), who found that the occupational choice of adolescents in a disadvantaged community in Ireland was informed and profoundly constrained by the context and "...do not appear to emanate from internal interests and abilities but rather from necessitated and mandated actions based on socio-cultural expectations" (Gallagher et al., 2015, p. 622). It was also found that the adolescents' perceptions of their socio-cultural contexts impacted their occupational possibilities. These findings indicate that the youths' health and wellbeing were subsequently put at risk, as the constraining impact of their contexts perpetuates poor outcomes by marginalising them from

the occupational choices which may have enabled them to thrive (Gallagher et al., 2015). Thus, considering the influence of various contextual factors on emerging adults' occupational choice and occupational possibilities is important to understand the interplay between their agency and their contexts.

Brennan and Gallagher (2017) explored how gender informs the occupational choice of adolescents in rural Ireland and found that a combination of intrinsic and extrinsic factors influenced occupational choice. The intrinsic factors included their gender and expectations of themselves and others, and the expectations that others held of them, both of which are socially constructed. Extrinsic factors included their social systems, such as friends and families, physical and institutional opportunities, and ease of access to resources. Furthermore, results showed that even though opportunities for engagement were available to both genders, gender was still a determinant of the occupational choice made by adolescents (Brennan & Gallagher, 2017). This supports the need to examine both intrinsic and extrinsic factors that may shape emerging adults' occupational choices in the South African context.

These studies support the contention that individuals and groups who live in constraining conditions may not have the opportunity to exercise agency and choose which occupations they engage in, since making occupational choices is a complex process that is shaped by both individual and contextual factors (Galvaan, 2012). As these studies were conducted with adolescents, studies focused on other age groups are necessary to broaden the literature on occupational choice in similar contexts.

## **2.7 CONCLUSION**

This literature review described the key characteristics of the developmental stage of emerging adulthood as developed by Arnett (2000). The challenges which this group faces in the context of South Africa and its resulting impact on their health and wellbeing were then discussed. It argued that a transactional perspective of occupation is necessary to understand how the interplay between agency and structure locates the emerging adult within the community context. The occupational science constructs of occupational possibilities and

occupational choice were explored, suggesting that they may provide suitable perspectives through which to investigate the role of context in shaping emerging adults' occupational engagement, health and wellbeing.

## **CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY**

### **3.1 INTRODUCTION**

This thesis explores how living in a community within Bredasdorp, Western Cape, shapes the experience of occupational possibilities and occupational choice of emerging adults aged between 18 and 25 years. This chapter details the methodological approach to data gathering and analysis. A qualitative social constructivism/interpretivism approach was selected as it foregrounds the participants' lived experiences, enabling exploration of the relationship between the participants and their contexts. Narrative inquiry was chosen as the research design, allowing data to be co-generated with study participants. The chapter details the research process, including how the research site was accessed, the reflexive processes used in the study, the research participants and recruitment methods, and processes of data generation, management and analysis. Lastly, the chapter discusses the issues of trustworthiness and ethical considerations.

### **3.2 RESEARCH PARADIGM, APPROACH AND DESIGN**

#### ***3.2.1 Research Paradigm***

The social constructivism/interpretivism paradigm (Creswell, 2013; Neuman, 2011) provided an appropriate approach to study the transactional relationship between emerging adults and their contexts as it enabled an exploration of the participants' everyday lived experiences within their specific settings. This paradigm engages three central characteristics, namely, the interdependent relationship between individuals and society, subjective perspectives in knowledge construction, and reflections on positionality (Creswell, 2013; Neuman, 2011; O'Donoghue, 2019).

Researchers using the social constructivism/interpretivism paradigm assume that the relationship between the individual and society is mutually interdependent. That is, to understand an individual, one needs to understand the society in which they live, and to understand a society, one needs to understand the individuals who make up that society (O'Donoghue, 2019). This paradigm supports the use of the transactional perspective of occupation (Dickie et al., 2006) in answering the research question, as its emphasis on the

interdependent relationship between the person and context aligns well with this theoretical framework. Furthermore, Creswell (2013, p. 25) notes that researchers should then “...focus on the specific contexts in which people live and work in order to understand the historical and cultural settings of the participants”. This is of particular importance, as this research question is focused specifically on understanding the role of context in shaping emerging adults’ occupational possibilities and occupational choices.

Within social constructivism, knowledge “...is constructed by mutual negotiation and is specific to the situation being investigated” (O’Donoghue, 2019, p. 9). Reality is viewed as subjective and has multiple truths (Neuman, 2011). This paradigm supported the objectives of this research project, which aimed to describe the emerging adults’ perceptions and experiences of living in a specific community and its impact on their occupational possibilities and occupational choices. The participants were seen as experts in their lives, and emphasis was placed on understanding *their* lived experiences within context. Therefore, broad, general and open-ended questions, which elicited stories about participants’ subjective experiences, were used (Creswell, 2013).

Considering that knowledge is co-constructed by researcher and participant, this paradigm encourages processes of reflexivity to enable researchers to reflect on how their own background, lived experiences and positionality may influence their interpretation of participants’ lived experiences (Creswell, 2013; Neuman, 2011). This is further reflected upon under 3.3 Accessing Research Site on page 41).

### **3.2.2 Research Approach**

Qualitative research aims to provide a complex and holistic picture of a human or social issue (Creswell, 2014). It can be defined as “...a situated activity that locates the observer in the world. Qualitative research consists of a set of interpretive, material practices that make the world visible...they turn the world into a series of representations, including field notes, interviews, conversations, photographs, recordings...hoping always to get a better understanding of the subject matter at hand. It is understood, however, that each practice makes the world visible in a different way” (Denzin & Lincoln, 2018, p. 10). A qualitative approach was used to enable the researcher to generate multiple sources of data in the

naturalistic setting of participants, which sought to understand the role of context in participants' experiences of occupational possibilities and occupational choice (Creswell, 2013; Neuman, 2011; O'Donoghue, 2019). The use of this approach allowed rich data to be gathered and placed the participants' perspectives at the centre, which ensured that the researcher maintained focus on foregrounding the participants' voices as the experts in their own lives (Creswell, 2013).

### **3.2.3 Research Design**

The use of stories is an ancient method of understanding behaviours, events and actions through sharing experiences, educating others and making sense of ourselves and the world around us (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000; Riessman, 2008; Sunday et al., 2020; Wells, 2011). Narrative inquiry is defined as "...a way of understanding experience. It is a collaboration between researcher and participants, over time, in a place or series of places, and in social interaction with milieus" (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000, p. 20). Consistent with a transactional perspective of occupation (Dickie et al., 2006), narratives are not only used to explore what an individual does in the world but can also describe what impact the world has on the individual (Riessman, 2008). By centring participants' stories within context, this approach emphasises human agency and enables exploration of the role which contexts play in shaping agency (Riessman, 2008). Furthermore, this design was best suited for this study as it allowed the researcher and participants to co-generate data about participants' lived experiences within their contexts, explore the impact of contexts on occupational engagement and interplay between agency and structure (Riessman, 2008).

The primary source of data in narrative inquiry is the stories or narratives that people talk about their lived experiences and can be found in a variety of sources, such as interviews, observations, pictures and documents (Creswell, 2013; Wells, 2011). According to Riessman (2008), a *narrative* can range from a participant's response to a single topic-focused question to entire life stories developed from combinations of data sources. In the middle of this continuum, narrative is viewed as personal and "...encompasses long sections of talk – extended accounts of lives in context that develop over the course of single or multiple research interviews..." (Riessman, 2008, p. 6). This latter understanding of narrative was used

for this study. Thus, data, in the form of narratives, was generated between researcher and participants. Extended accounts describing events, happenings and actions from participant's lives within their contexts was gathered and then co-constructed into stories (Creswell, 2013; Polkinghorne, 1995). The use of narratives in this way, allowed the emerging adults' experiences to be foregrounded as the main actors of their lives.

Influenced by John Dewey's criteria for experience, namely, *interaction*, *continuity*, and *situation*, Clandinin and Connelly (2000) provide a framework for narrative inquiry as encompassing a three-dimensional narrative inquiry space, with four directions for travel throughout the inquiry. The three-dimensional narrative inquiry space includes the *interaction* between the personal and social; the *continuity* of experience from the past, present and future; and it locates experience within place or context (*situation*) (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000). This is in line with a transactional perspective of occupation, which views occupation as being situated within existing social structures and recognizes the inextricable link between the person and their contexts (Cutchin, et al., 2017; Dickie et al., 2006; Galvaan, 2017). Thus, this inquiry needed to consider the stories told by emerging adults by exploring the personal and social contexts and their interaction; exploring the influence of experience over time by considering both the emerging adults' history and its impact on their lives in the present and future as well as the historical context of the community and its current influence; and lastly, understanding the influence of the various layers of context (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000).

Furthermore, Clandinin and Connelly (2000) suggest four directions, that is inward, outward, backwards and forward, which influence what data is collected. Thus, in collecting narratives of emerging adults, the researcher must ensure that data represents what is happening *inwardly* or internally for both the participants and researcher, for example, feelings, hopes, aesthetic reactions and moral dispositions and what is happening *outwards*, that is, within the environment in which the stories are told and take place. Through travelling *backwards* and *forwards*, data must also consider the temporal aspects of past, present and future and how events or actions are influenced by the passage of time. The three-dimensional space and four directions were used to guide data gathering and analysis.

Narrative inquiry places emphasis on the co-construction of narratives for analysis (Creswell, 2013; Riessman, 2008). As Riessman (2008, p. 50) highlights, it is “through our presence, and by listening and questioning in particular ways, [that researchers] critically shape the stories participants choose to tell”. The central focus of stories of experience within context is critical to the objectives of this study. Co-constructing the narrative between the researcher and participant enabled the generation of stories, which focused on emerging adults’ occupational possibilities and occupational choices, to emerge as the researcher asked specific questions (Appendix H) pertaining to the research objectives while also providing a space for the participant to share their stories freely. Narrative inquiry’s emphasis on understanding stories *within context* provides the opportunity to focus on exploring the perceived impact of the context on emerging adults’ lives, as well as the interplay between agency and structure (Riessman, 2008). Using this method of inquiry, which foregrounds the emerging adults’ lived experiences through their shared stories, allowed meaning-making to be guided by their interpretation of their experiences within their context.

### **3.3 ACCESSING THE RESEARCH SITE**

#### ***3.3.1 Rationale for Choice of Research Site***

Bredasdorp was chosen as the research site as the researcher had established relationships with community members and a community-based organisation (CBO) and was also familiar with the town, thus enabling ease of access. Furthermore, the social composition of Bredasdorp reflects that of many cities and towns in the Western Cape. Numerous social issues, such as unemployment, violence, high crime, challenges in accessing opportunities, substance abuse and teenage pregnancy are prevalent, as in many other parts of the Western Cape and South Africa (Western Cape Government, 2013). Bredasdorp’s demographic characteristics, within one geographical location, also provided an opportunity for maximum variation of age, gender and race within the sampling.

#### ***3.3.2 Community Entry***

The researcher has a professional relationship with a CBO, Overberg Development Association (ODA), working within CAM and with a large focus on youth development. Once ethical approval was received from UCT’s Faculty of Health Science’s Human Research Ethics

Committee (HREC), with reference number 312/2022 (Appendix A), contact was made with ODA's chairperson. A formal request was sent via email to the chairperson and included the letter for community entry (Appendix B), the study information letter (Appendix D) and the informed consent form (Appendix E) attached. A positive response was received and a meeting time was scheduled. The researcher met with the ODA committee members, who are involved in the youth programmes, in-person in Cape Town.<sup>21</sup> In the meeting, the researcher explained the details of the study and what assistance would be required from the CBO. All questions were answered and logistics discussed. A positive response was received from the committee members, who agreed to assist with recruiting, booking venues and enrolment. To assist with recruitment, it was arranged that the researcher would send the contact person a brief description providing study details which committee members could use when discussing the proposed research with possible participants. A timeframe for recruitment and a tentative date for an information session were negotiated. A formal confirmation letter from ODA can be found in Appendix C.

### **3.3.3 Reflexivity**

This section will introduce the researcher, describe the reflexive process and detail the researcher's assumptions at the start of the study. As this section focuses on the individual person doing the research it is written from the perspective of the researcher using the first-person singular pronoun "I".

#### *3.3.3.1 Introducing the researcher*

Savin-Baden and Major (2010, p. 4) define stance as "...the way that researchers position themselves in relation to their subjects, their participants and their own belief systems, and the way in which they locate themselves across the qualitative paradigm". In understanding their own stance, a researcher should consider the categories of their identities and the positioning of themselves as insiders or outsiders (Cousin, 2010).

As the researcher, I am a South African young adult who is a white middle-class cisgender heterosexual woman of mixed European descent and am culturally mixed (Jewish,

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<sup>21</sup> The organisation was visiting Cape Town on a youth camp.

English/British and Afrikaans) and non-religious. I was born in a rural area and at the age of five moved to Cape Town, where I grew up. A central part of my identity is being an occupational therapist who practices in non-traditional ways. These identities position me as an outsider to the communities of the participants in Bredasdorp. Firstly, I did not grow up nor do I live in Bredasdorp. Secondly, my identities of race and class position me as an outsider. My experiences of being a woman may provide me with an insider position, however, the privileges obtained from my identities of race and class intersecting with my gender places me back in the outsider position.

### *3.3.3.2 The reflexive process*

The social constructivism/interpretivism paradigm and qualitative approach recognise the researcher as an important aspect and a key instrument of the research process. Thus, ensuring reflexivity throughout the research process is vital (Creswell, 2013, 2014; Punch, 2005). Reflexivity can be defined as “...the process of a continual internal dialogue and critical self-evaluation of researcher’s positionality as well as active acknowledgment and explicit recognition that this position may affect the research process...” (Berger, 2015, p. 220). A reflexive practice was engaged in through continuous peer review with supervisors, triangulation, member-checking, ensuring prolonged engagement, developing support networks for supervision and maintaining a research journal (Berger, 2015).

It is important to engage in reflexivity during all parts of the research process as the research and the self will be continuously shaped by the other throughout the process and the researcher’s positionality may shape their interpretations of data (Attia & Edge, 2017; Creswell, 2014). According to Berger (2015), the researcher’s positionality may impact the research process in three ways, namely, access to the field, relationship between researcher and participants and the impact of the researcher’s worldview on how the world is constructed.

Firstly, my positioning as a non-traditional occupational therapist has enabled me to work with and develop relationships with organisations like ODA. Additionally, my parents lived in Bredasdorp for five years and were founding members of ODA. This assisted me in the process of community entry and recruiting participants.

Secondly, given my outsider position, particular attention needed to be paid to the researcher-participant relationship. Building trust was crucial to create a safe space for participants to openly share their experiences. To this end, I treated all participants with respect and kept them informed of the progress of the study. As a researcher from the University of Cape Town (UCT), which holds a particular position of power within the Western Cape, I was conscious of navigating power dynamics which may influence the researcher-participant relationship. However, the pre-existing relationship with ODA appeared to mitigate this and I did not find the power dynamics to be an issue. Additionally, I was also conscious of challenging the stereotyping of researchers who come to communities to do research *on*, not *with*, people and who leave without there being any benefits to the people involved.

Lastly, my worldview, influenced by my upbringing, personal experiences and position of privilege, influenced the way in which I engaged in the research process. Important to my world view are three central themes influenced by my social environment. These are a commitment to social justice; an awareness of the influential impact of the macro-context and power inequities on people's lives; and the need to address the root causes of social issues. These themes have influenced my practice and research focus by instilling in me a sense of responsibility and a desire to find ways to redress the injustices of the past; address the root causes of issues, not only treat the symptoms; and contribute to creating an equal South Africa.

### *3.3.3.3 Researcher's assumptions*

Below is a list of assumptions which I reflected on prior to data generation:

- We experience and navigate life through bounded agency.
- Growing up in low-income communities with high violence will disadvantage individuals by limiting access to opportunities.
- While one may "dream" of a range of possibilities for life, we are influenced by what we see (and hear) around us and the opportunities we have growing up.
- Navigating difficult circumstances requires the assistance of a supportive relationship with someone who believes in the ability of the individual. This relationship does not need to be that of a primary caregiver.

- Youth do not choose a life of unemployment but rather are influenced by a lack of opportunities.
- Apartheid and colonialism have deeply entrenched socio-economic and racial inequalities in South Africa and these influences emerging adults' occupations in the present.
- Choices about what to do are shaped by various factors like prevailing social discourses and family and friends' expectations.
- The culture of a low-income community prioritizes interdependence over independence and the sense of financial responsibility towards family is based on socio-economic status.
- It is common for emerging adults in communities in the Western Cape to face various social challenges during adolescence, such as pressure to join gangs or teenage pregnancy, and this will influence school retention.
- Tertiary education is not a given for everyone in South Africa.
- Emerging adults in South Africa are influenced by the contradictory discourses discussed in the introduction of the dissertation.

Finally, there is an additional assumption that I do not agree with, which is:

- If you just work hard enough you can get yourself out of poverty.

I feel that it is important to note this assumption since it is pervasive amongst many people I engage with socially and professionally and has influenced my choice of research question.

### **3.4 RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS**

#### ***3.4.1 Sampling***

As this study aimed to explore how living in a specific community in the Western Cape shapes the occupational possibilities and occupational choice of emerging adults, the use of purposive sampling methods was appropriate. Purposive sampling is a non-random sampling method and is understood as "...select[ing] individuals and sites for study because they can purposefully inform an understanding of the research problem and central phenomenon in the study" (Creswell, 2013, p. 156; Neuman, 2011). To explore the experiences of emerging adults, this sampling method was used to deliberately choose participants who fulfilled the inclusion criteria. Given that there is no "list" of emerging adults within one community and

that the researcher is an outsider to Bredasdorp, gaining the assistance of a CBO working with youth in Bredasdorp was necessary (Creswell, 2013).

### ***3.4.2 Inclusion and Exclusion Criteria***

To be included in this study, participants had to be between the ages of 18 and 25 years (Arnett, 2000) and live in Bredasdorp at the time of study enrolment. There were no exclusion criteria.

During the first phase of data generation, one of the participants moved to the nearby town of Hermanus for a work opportunity. This participant indicated that they were still interested in continuing with the study. As they had already been enrolled in the study, while living in Bredasdorp, and had begun taking photos, it was decided that the participant should not be excluded as this sudden relocation may be an important finding shedding light on emerging adults' mobility within the district and province. All other participants remained living in Bredasdorp during the data generation process.

### ***3.4.3 Sample Size***

Narrative inquiry prioritizes collection of rich data over large sample sizes (Josephsson & Alsaker, 2015). Thus, emphasis is placed rather on selecting cases which fulfil the inclusion criteria and are able to provide in-depth narratives of the research phenomenon as opposed to recruiting a pre-determined sample size (Josephsson & Alsaker, 2015; Neuman, 2011). It was anticipated that five participants would be sufficient to obtain rich data for analysis.

Maximum variation was used to enable variation of experiences within the same community (Creswell, 2013). Maximum variation sampling is an approach which "...consists of determining in advance some criteria that differentiate the sites or participants, and then selecting sites or participants that are quite different on the criteria...when a researcher maximizes differences at the beginning of the study, it increase the likelihood that the findings will reflect differences or different perspectives" (Creswell, 2013, p. 156-157). The criteria for maximum variation were for age (dispersion across 18 to 25 years) and social identities of gender and race.

#### **3.4.4 Recruitment and Enrolment**

Two information sessions were held at community venues within walking distance of participants' homes. Refreshments<sup>22</sup> were available. Information sessions were held in English, with some participants speaking Afrikaans.<sup>23</sup> Translations were provided either by participants or the ODA committee member and were obtained as needed.

Four potential participants and two ODA committee members attended the first information session. After introductions, information about the study was provided. This included the research question, the process and phases, the inclusion criteria, the benefits and risks, the study's voluntary nature, confidentiality, safety, use of pseudonyms, forms, dissemination of research and dates. Questions were answered as and when participants asked for clarification. The study information sheet (Appendix D) and informed consent form (Appendix E), which had been translated into Afrikaans and isiXhosa, were given to participants in their language of choice. The researcher read through both forms and answered any questions. Voluntary participation was emphasised and participants were given the option to take the information home to consider participation, which none of them chose to do. A break was given to read through the forms and decide about participation. All four participants indicated interest and completed the informed consent forms and provided their demographic information<sup>24</sup> for contact purposes. Photovoice training then commenced (discussed under Data Generation on p. 48).

To assist with obtaining maximum variation, another ODA member was contacted to help recruit the last participant. The researcher initially had a telephonic meeting with the recruited person and provided general study details. Given their interest, a face-to-face information session in Bredasdorp was scheduled. The same process as for the first information session was followed. The participant requested time to consider participation and took the forms home. A positive response was received and a photovoice training session in Bredasdorp was scheduled and completed. Table 1 details the demographics of the participants.

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<sup>22</sup> Refreshments included tea, coffee and biscuits.

<sup>23</sup> Afrikaans is the most widely spoken language (83.1%) in Bredasdorp, followed by isiXhosa (7.5%) and English (4.3%) (StatsSA, 2011).

<sup>24</sup> Demographic information included name, surname, date of birth, address and two contact numbers.

Table 1: Demographic Details of Participants

SELF-APPOINTED PSEUDONYM	AGE	GENDER	RACE
Petronella	25	Woman	Coloured
John	19	Man	Coloured
Jenay	22	Woman	Coloured
Sassy	Early emerging adulthood <sup>25</sup>	Woman	Coloured
Zipho	23	Man	Black

Given the small sample size, ‘perfect’ variation would not be possible and thus a focus on age dispersion was preferable. Maximum variation of age and gender was achieved. Despite ODA’s attempts, obtaining maximum variation for race was challenging due to the demographics of the area in which the organisation works.

### 3.5 DATA GENERATION

This study generated data in two phases that involved photovoice methods and narrative interviews (Figure 1). Photovoice methods (Asaba et al., 2015; Lal et al., 2012; Margolis & Zunjarwad, 2018) formed Phase One where visual data was generated through photographs taken by participants within their communities. The visual data was then used as a tool to support the narrative interviews. Phase Two consisted of narrative interviews (Jovchelovitch & Bauer, 2000; Kartch, 2018; Riessman, 2008) informed by the photographs. This was the primary method of data generation. Gathering data in this way enabled the researcher to engage directly with people in their contexts, allowing rich data to be generated which informed how emerging adults perceive their contexts and its impact on their occupational possibilities and occupational choices (Creswell, 2014; Denzin & Lincoln, 2000, 2018; Punch, 2005).

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<sup>25</sup> Participant requested their age not to be reported to maintain confidentiality.

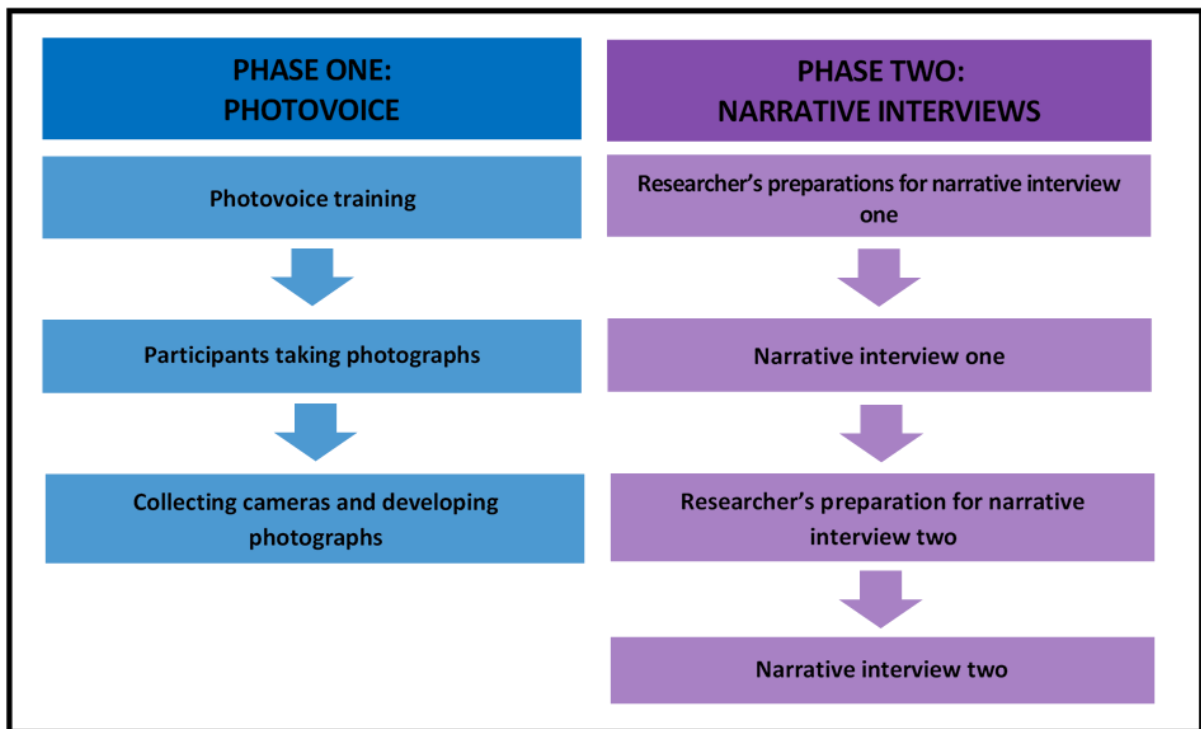


Figure 1: Data Generation Process

Due to scheduling and unforeseen circumstances, data generation could not be followed concurrently with all participants. When a participant was not able to attend an interview, this was consensually rescheduled. Participants recruited at the first information session were engaged in data generation for approximately seven weeks and the last participant for twelve weeks, due to holidays.

### 3.5.1 Phase One: Photovoice

Although photovoice is considered a research methodology on its own, it can also be used as a tool to produce “in-depth data within vivid contexts...learn from individual and group perspectives...construct narratives to present to the outside world” (Margolis & Zunjarwad, 2018, p. 616) and provide “...unique insights about [people’s] communities” (Margolis & Zunjarwad, 2018, p. 615). As the researcher is an outsider to the community of Bredasdorp, utilising photovoice required collaboration with participants as co-researchers. Additionally, it provided an emic perspective into participants’ lived experiences, enabling the exploration of the research topic through *their* perspectives (Lal et al., 2012).

Participants were invited to take photographs using two photovoice prompts (Appendix H)<sup>26</sup> which were to take photographs of:

1. What you do everyday
2. What you would like to do

This gave participants the power to choose which aspects of their lives within their contexts they would like to represent, thus enabling a participant-centred approach (Asaba et al., 2015; Lal et al., 2012).

### *3.5.1.1 Photovoice training*

Once participants were enrolled in the study, the researcher completed photovoice training (see Appendix I for photovoice training checklist). Two photovoice sessions were held; one at the first information session and the second a week after the second information session. Table 2 details the photovoice training content and process used at both sessions. Questions were answered as needed and the researcher was available to provide support to participants during data generation.

When obtaining consent from people, Hannes and Parylo (2014) suggest using vouchers instead of forms as a smaller form is easier for participants to carry in a pocket or wallet and use before taking photographs. Wang and Redwood-Jones (2001) highlight that obtaining consent is only needed when people's faces are recognizable in the photograph, and it is not necessary "...if they were taking a picture of a group so large that individual faces were unrecognizable or if the participant was focusing on an object, such as a building, but the photograph included a person who just happened to walk by" (p. 565). Although the need to obtain consent before taking pictures may impact the spontaneity of the photographs, the ethical principles of ensuring consent and respecting individual's privacy outweighed this.

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<sup>26</sup> The photovoice prompts were translated into Afrikaans and isiXhosa. However, only the English and Afrikaans was needed during data generation, and thus appear in the appendices.

Table 2: Photovoice Training Content and Process

TOPIC	CONTENT
<b>Photovoice prompts</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Meaning of the two prompt questions reviewed and examples provided.</li> <li>• Number of photographs to be taken (20) and distribution of photographs between the two prompts discussed.</li> <li>• Photovoice prompts provided as a reminder.</li> </ul>
<b>Camera logistics</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Participants received a numbered disposable camera. Researcher recorded their corresponding number.</li> <li>• Instructions in using a disposable camera were provided.</li> <li>• A camera form<sup>27</sup> (Appendix F), acknowledging receipt of camera was completed.</li> </ul>
<b>Safety concerns</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Safety issues when taking photographs discussed.</li> <li>• Participants noted feeling safe in their areas with cameras, except at night and in known dangerous/risky areas.</li> </ul>
<b>Taking photographs of people</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Obtaining consent, criteria for consent, consent vouchers (Appendix G) and taking photos after obtaining consent discussed.</li> <li>• Between 20 to 50 consent vouchers, in English, Afrikaans and isiXhosa as requested, and a pen were provided to each participant.</li> </ul>
<b>Possible challenge with photovoice prompt two</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Reminder of option to bring or take photos of artefacts which may represent prompt two, if unable to take photographs.</li> </ul>
<b>Timeframe</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• A timeframe (approximately 10 days<sup>28</sup>) to take photographs and camera collection date was negotiated.</li> </ul>

### 3.5.1.2 Taking photographs, cameras collection and photograph development

During Phase One, the researcher checked in with participants and enquired if support was needed. Only one participant reported finding the process difficult. Three participants returned the camera after 10 days and four participants experienced various challenges, as described in Table 3.

<sup>27</sup> The use of a camera form was advised by an ODA founding member.

<sup>28</sup> The 10 days included two weekends for participants in the first photovoice training session and only one weekend for the participant in the second training session due to timing of training sessions.

Table 3: Challenges Faced during Phase One

CHALLENGES	HOW CHALLENGES WERE ADDRESSED
<p><b>Query/struggling with what to take photographs of/representation of prompts</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Discussed and clarified the photovoice prompts again with participants.</li> <li>• Reminded participants to bring artefacts to interview</li> <li>• Unsuccessful attempts to provide support over telephone to the one participant who was struggling with process.</li> <li>• Utilized WhatsApp chat to assist with providing support to one participant.</li> </ul>
<p><b>Challenges with winding/counting mechanism on camera</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Incorrect usage of winding mechanism on camera identified.</li> <li>• Reviewed the use of camera again and participant practiced with test photographs.</li> <li>• Additional time given to take photographs.</li> </ul>
<p><b>Fewer than 10 photographs taken</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Reminded about maximum number of photographs.</li> <li>• Unsuccessful attempts to contact the participant immediately after camera collection. Upon discussion with supervisors, decision taken to develop photographs as is and follow up in the interview.</li> </ul>
<p><b>Two no-shows at agreed upon camera collection date</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Attempts to contact participants and their back-up contacts revealed one had been ill and the other had relocated to Hermanus.</li> <li>• Arrangements were made for a new collection date and camera to be dropped off by researcher for participant in Hermanus.</li> </ul>
<p><b>Safety challenges due to recent relocation to Hermanus</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Safety issues discussed:               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Careful use of camera required as participant not familiar with new community</li> <li>○ Re-emphasis of not putting self at risk for photographs</li> <li>○ To only take possible photographs, even if only indoors, and rest of items could be discussed at interview.</li> </ul> </li> </ul>

Upon camera collection, participants completed a form (Appendix F) acknowledging they had returned the camera. Developed photographs were numbered according to camera number.

Some photographs were duplicates, accidentally taken, or of poor quality. A few participants took photographs of items which represented something that they do or would like to do, for

example, swimwear representing their dream to learn to swim. Only one participant had no people in their photographs. Table 4 indicates how many photographs related to the photovoice prompts were taken per participant and the number of consent vouchers. Three participants indicated at camera collection that they had not taken photographs of people. However, upon development of photographs it appeared all three had photographs of people who were recognizable. This was discussed in narrative interview one and consent was obtained retrospectively before the second interview. The photographs were only discussed in narrative interview two, if consent had been obtained. Only one photograph could not be included as obtaining retrospective consent was not possible.

Table 4: Number of Photographs Developed per Participant

PSEUDONYM	NUMBER OF PHOTOGRAPHS	CONSENT VOUCHERS
Petronella	17	1
John	7	1 *
Jenay	7	0
Sassy	20	1 *
Zipho	13	2 *

\* Obtained retrospectively

### 3.5.2 Phase Two: Narrative Interviews

Riessman (2008, p. 23) notes that “...the goal in narrative interviewing is to generate detailed accounts rather than brief answers or general statements”. For data to be considered suitable for narrative inquiry, it therefore needs to be storied and presented in narrative forms. Literature suggests that to generate such data, the use of in-depth unstructured interviews which elicit stories is appropriate (Brinkmann, 2018; Josephsson & Alsaker, 2015; Peter & Polgar, 2020; Sunday et al., 2020). Narrative interviews can be conducted in three ways, namely, a once-off interview, a series of interviews or in combination with other research methods (Kartch, 2018). The process of using photographs in interviews is called photo elicitation interviews. Photo elicitation is when “...participants are shown pictures (their own or those taken by the researcher) and asked by the inquirer to discuss the contents of the pictures...” (Creswell, 2013, p. 161). To generate detailed data, this study used two in-depth

unstructured narrative interviews per participant, which was supported by the photovoice methods.

Jovchelovitch and Bauer (2000) describe five guiding phases of a narrative interview, represented in Table 5.

Table 5: Phases of Narrative Interviewing

PHASE	DESCRIPTION
<b>Preparation</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Researcher explores topic.</li> <li>• Researcher formulates exmanent questions. These have been translated into Afrikaans and isiXhosa.</li> </ul>
<b>Initiation</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Topic of interview formulated.</li> <li>• Process explained and topic introduced to participant (audio-recording begins).</li> <li>• Review of visual aids.</li> </ul>
<b>Main Narration</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Participant shares stories in response to key questions.</li> <li>• Researcher refrains from interrupting.</li> </ul>
<b>Questioning Phase</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Researcher asks questions for clarification on what happened only.</li> <li>• Researcher translates exmanent questions into immanent questions, using these to fill gaps/clarify.</li> </ul>
<b>Concluding Talk</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Recording of interview stops, small-talk discussion ensues.</li> <li>• Researcher asks “why” questions.</li> <li>• Responses and reflections recorded after interview.</li> </ul>

During the *preparation phase* (Jovchelovitch & Bauer, 2000) for the general narrative interviewing process, the researcher explored the topic through formulating the research proposal. Careful consideration of interview questions was vital to ensure that elicited data is storied as opposed to focusing on descriptive information and facts (Josephsson & Alsaker, 2015). This required questions to be “...clear, contain one idea...devoid of academic language...emphasize what or *how* something was experienced...[and] yield detailed descriptions of concrete experience” (Wells, 2011, p. 25). Should the responses be very factual, Josephsson and Alsaker (2015) suggest the researcher uses prompts and further questioning to obtain elaborations on what has been said. Exmanent questions “...reflect the interest of the researcher and their formulation and language” (Jovchelovitch & Bauer, 2000, p. 62). Exmanent questions were prepared in line with Clandinin and Connelly’s (2000) three-

dimensional narrative inquiry space. Thus, the researcher carefully formulated the two key narrative interview questions and exmanent questions prior to the interviews; these were translated into Afrikaans and isiXhosa (Appendix H).<sup>29</sup> The two key narrative interview questions were:

1. What do you do every day?
2. What would you like to do?

The researcher as an instrument, a key feature of qualitative methodologies (Creswell, 2013; Punch, 2005), is supported in narrative interviews as the researcher plays an important role in the facilitation of the process. Narrative interviewing requires one to “give up control” and allow the participants’ storytelling to guide the process (Riessman, 2008). The researcher served as the interviewer and was involved in co-constructing the narrative by guiding the development of a narrative through posing questions to elicit stories, actively listening, being attentive to emotions and body language and requesting clarification when needed (Brinkmann, 2018; Kartch, 2018; Riessman, 2008; Wells, 2011). Since interpretation of photographs is dependent on *who* is doing the interpretation, participants were asked to interpret their photographs in conversation with the researcher during the interviews by answering the narrative interview questions. This allowed meaning making to be guided by the participants’ interpretation of their lived experiences in context (Riessman, 2008).

Two narrative interviews were chosen as this would allow the researcher to review data from the first interview, and between the two interviews, identify areas which required further clarification and expansion. During both interviews, exmanent questions were translated into immanent questions, which refer to “...the themes, topics and accounts of events that appear during the narration by the informant” (Jovchelovitch & Bauer, 2000, p. 62), which were used as prompts in the interview. Such questions were only asked if the information had not been provided by the participants. These questions were also used to identify any gaps which needed to be filled during the second interview. Clarifying questions were focused specifically on the exmanent questions, however, additional questions, which were appropriate and ‘natural’ in the moment, were also used.

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<sup>29</sup> As only the English and Afrikaans were needed during data generation, the isiXhosa translations are not included in the appendices.

To generate storied data, the researcher utilized a conversational style of narrative interviewing. This included a combination of the features of everyday conversations (i.e. turn-taking, relevance and entry and exit talk), encouraging participants to speak in their own way and creating opportunities for extended narration to allow details of participants' experiences to be shared (Riessman, 2008). The length of 'narration' varied across participants, with some participants providing short answers/explanations, and others much longer responses. Due to shyness and language, some participants also required more prompting and questioning than others. Some of the stories which participants shared led the narrative away from what the photographs had depicted. This was allowed and encouraged as the participant was guiding the interview. Given that participants were not sharing stories about one specific experience – rather, their narratives were guided by the photographs and included numerous experiences – there was not a clear distinction between the *main narration* and *questioning phase* of Jovchelovitch and Bauer's (2000) narrative interviewing guide, as shown in Table 5, (page 54).

Interviews took between one and two hours for most participants<sup>30</sup> and took place in a one-on-one format in a negotiated private setting (Creswell, 2013; Josephsson & Alsaker, 2015; Peter & Polgar, 2020). ODA assisted with booking of community venues within walking distance of participants' homes for the interviews in Bredasdorp. In Hermanus, the interviews took place in the researcher's car in the parking lot of a mall. This location was suggested by the participant as it was one area they were familiar with and could access. To allow for privacy, interviews were held in a quiet spot in the parking lot. Refreshments<sup>31</sup> were available at all interviews.

Interviews were held in a mix of English and Afrikaans. Participants were encouraged to speak the language which they were most comfortable with. Although the researcher has competency in conversational Afrikaans, the accent, dialect and speed of Bredasdorp Afrikaans did pose some challenges. However, this was overcome by the researcher and

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<sup>30</sup> The shortest interview was 1 hour and 30 minutes and the longest interview was 2 hours and 20 minutes.

<sup>31</sup> Refreshments included water during the interview as well as a lunch pack, which contained a pie, a packet of chips, a box of juice and an apple. The lunch pack was available for participants to either consume in the interview or to take home.

participants switching between English and Afrikaans and the researcher requesting clarification when needed.

All interviews were audio-recorded by two cell phones<sup>32</sup> and transcribed by a professional company, barring one interview.<sup>33</sup> Contrary to Jovchelovitch and Bauer's (2000) narrative interview guide (Table 5, page 54), which indicates cessation of recording after the questioning phase, the entirety of each interview was recorded so as not to miss any important details. Minimal notes were taken during the interviews, as the researcher focused on actively listening and maintaining the conversation. Soon after each interview, the researcher completed a reflection in their research journal. Table 6 details the specific processes followed in the two narrative interviews.

### **3.6 DATA MANAGEMENT**

Data management was informed by the Protection of Personal Information Act and the University of Cape Town's (UCT) Data Management Policy. Maintaining participants' privacy and confidentiality was of utmost importance during this study. All documentation, photographs and notes were kept in the researcher's home office and all electronic data (photographs, audio-recordings, transcripts and stories) was stored on the researcher's laptop, cell phones and university-managed cloud storage; all of which are password protected.

Participants chose their own pseudonym and these were used to label any files, documents, audio-recordings and transcripts. Only one document had their name and pseudonym together and this was kept separately from the rest of the data. Each camera was numbered and recorded with demographic information. This number identified ownership of photographs. To ensure immediate back-up of interviews, the audio-recording was uploaded to the researcher's Google Drive (password protected) after each interview and labelled with the participant's pseudonym and interview number, for example, NI 1 Petronella.

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<sup>32</sup> The second cell phone acted as a backup.

<sup>33</sup> The first interview was transcribed by the researcher. Given the time it took to complete that, it was decided that all further interviews would be transcribed by a professional transcriber.

Table 6: Narrative Interview Process

PHASE	NARRATIVE INTERVIEW ONE	NARRATIVE INTERVIEW TWO
<b>Preparation</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Practice interviews, with four to six photographs, held with three friends/family of different ages (i.e. 27, 32 and 65 years old).</li> <li>• Two key reflections resulted from practice interviews:               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ To increase ease when using questions, the exmanent questions (Appendix H) were reorganized according to the photovoice prompts, not Clandinin and Connelly's (2000) three-dimensional narrative inquiry space (see p. 40). Similar questions were also grouped and the English and Afrikaans questions were collated into one document.</li> <li>○ A difference between the practice interview participants' interpretation of their photographs and that assumed by the researcher was noted.</li> </ul> </li> <li>• To mitigate against pre-emptively interpreting photographs, the researcher spent minimal time 'reviewing' the photographs. Photographs were printed and inserted into a slideshow.<sup>34</sup></li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The first interview was transcribed and accuracy checked by the researcher.</li> <li>• The researcher listened to audio-recordings and read the transcript a few times to identify any gaps or unasked exmanent questions.</li> <li>• Questions for the second interview were prepared specifically to each participant and were separated into general and photograph-specific questions.</li> </ul>
<b>Initiation</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Brief check-in and small talk to settle participants.</li> <li>• Explanation of the interview process provided:               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Reviewing the photographs and narrative interview questions.</li> <li>○ Obtaining consent retrospectively before the second interview.</li> <li>○ Reminders about refreshments, length of interview, use of language and audio recording.</li> </ul> </li> <li>• Opportunities to ask any questions were provided.</li> <li>• Photographs were reviewed and included:               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Confirming ownership of photographs by participants.</li> <li>○ Identifying accidental/unrelated or missing photographs and any additional items participants were unable to photograph. One participant had three photographs missing and four participants had additional items. Reasons varied from being unsure about representation, unable to access particular</li> </ul> </li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Check-in and small talk.</li> <li>• Explanation of the interview process provided:               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Reminder of expected duration, language use and refreshments.</li> <li>○ Reminder of focus of the interview, that is, the two narrative interview questions.</li> </ul> </li> <li>• Opportunity to share or ask questions from the previous interview.</li> <li>• Retrospective consent checked; one photograph excluded as obtaining consent was not possible.</li> </ul>

<sup>34</sup> Participants' photographs were placed in a PowerPoint slide show and printed with 4-6 pictures per A4 page.

	<p>occupation or not having time. Both the missing photographs and photographs not taken were noted down to be discussed.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Participants numbered photographs according to corresponding photovoice prompt, that is, either one or two, or both, if it related to both photovoice prompts.</li> <li>● Photographs reorganized on slideshow according to prompts.</li> </ul>	
<p><b>Main Narration and Questioning Phase</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Researcher asked first narrative interview question and participants discussed relevant photographs.</li> <li>● Researcher asked clarifying questions when needed and before moving onto the next photograph.</li> <li>● When a story was completed, the researcher prompted by asking the key narrative question under discussion.</li> <li>● Interview moved onto second photovoice prompt and same process followed.</li> <li>● Additional items were also discussed.</li> <li>● Number of photographs discussed varied from either discussing all photographs or only those for first photovoice prompt.</li> <li>● Photographs without consent not discussed.</li> <li>● Interviews used combination of slideshow and print photographs.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● This phase was slightly different for each participant based on what had been covered in the first interview. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ All photographs discussed: Researcher asked general exmanent questions and then photograph-specific questions.</li> <li>○ Only some photographs discussed: Outstanding photographs discussed first and then additional questions were asked.</li> </ul> </li> <li>● Only photographs which needed clarification or further details were revisited.</li> <li>● Repetition in questions allowed for participants to share more deeply than previous interview. This appeared supported by the trust built during data generation.</li> </ul>
<p><b>Concluding Talk</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Interviews concluded differently depending on number of photographs discussed.</li> <li>● Conclusion of interview included: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Explaining that interview would be stopped.</li> <li>○ Checking if participants had any additional questions.</li> <li>○ Thanking participant for time and participation.</li> <li>○ Next steps (transcription and preparation for next interview).</li> <li>○ A tentative time for next interview scheduled.</li> <li>○ Checking-in regarding participants' experience of interview</li> </ul> </li> <li>● Participants provided lunch packs and audio recording stopped.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Interviews concluded either when there were no more questions/photographs to be discussed or due to time constraints.</li> <li>● Conclusion included: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Thanking participants for their time and participation.</li> <li>○ Checking-in regarding participants' experience of interview.</li> <li>○ Next steps (transcription and data analysis).</li> <li>○ Answering any questions from participants.</li> <li>○ Reminder that they would receive a copy of their story at the end of process.</li> </ul> </li> <li>● Participants provided lunch packs and audio recording stopped.</li> </ul>

To protect privacy and ensure anonymity any accidental use of people's names by participants during the interviews was removed from the transcripts and any identifying features (e.g. faces) in the photographs were covered. During member-checking, one participant requested additional aspects of their photographs to be obscured, which the researcher completed.

Upon submission of the thesis, any copies of generated data will be kept for a period of three years in case they are to be used in dissemination of findings (e.g. peer reviewed articles), after which they will be destroyed.

### **3.7 DATA ANALYSIS**

Analysis of narratives was the overarching method of data analysis. According to Polkinghorne (1995, p. 12), in analysis of narratives "...researchers collect stories as data and analyse them...[to] result in descriptions of themes that hold across the stories...". Analysed data included photographs, interview transcripts and participants' stories. Researcher's field notes and journal entries were also reviewed throughout analysis to clarify, back-up or add meaning to participants' data. The entire analysis process was an iterative one utilising both inductive and deductive reasoning at different stages (Creswell, 2013). With inductive methods, the researcher analysed the data before reviewing literature and research objectives, while with deductive methods, the analysis was guided by literature and research objectives. Figure 2 illustrates the three levels of analyses used in this study.

#### **3.7.1 Level One Analysis**

As data in the form of storied narratives is essential for analysis of narratives, the first level required the narratives to be transformed into an emplotted narrative that told a coherent story (Nasheeda et al., 2019). Narrative analysis, defined by Polkinghorne (1995, p. 12), is when "...researchers collect descriptions of events and happenings and synthesize or configure them by means of a plot into a story..." Narrative analysis was used to organize generated data, that is, participants' narratives, into a story by synthesizing participants' descriptions of events and actions, thus producing a story for each participant for further analysis (Polkinghorne, 1995, p. 19).

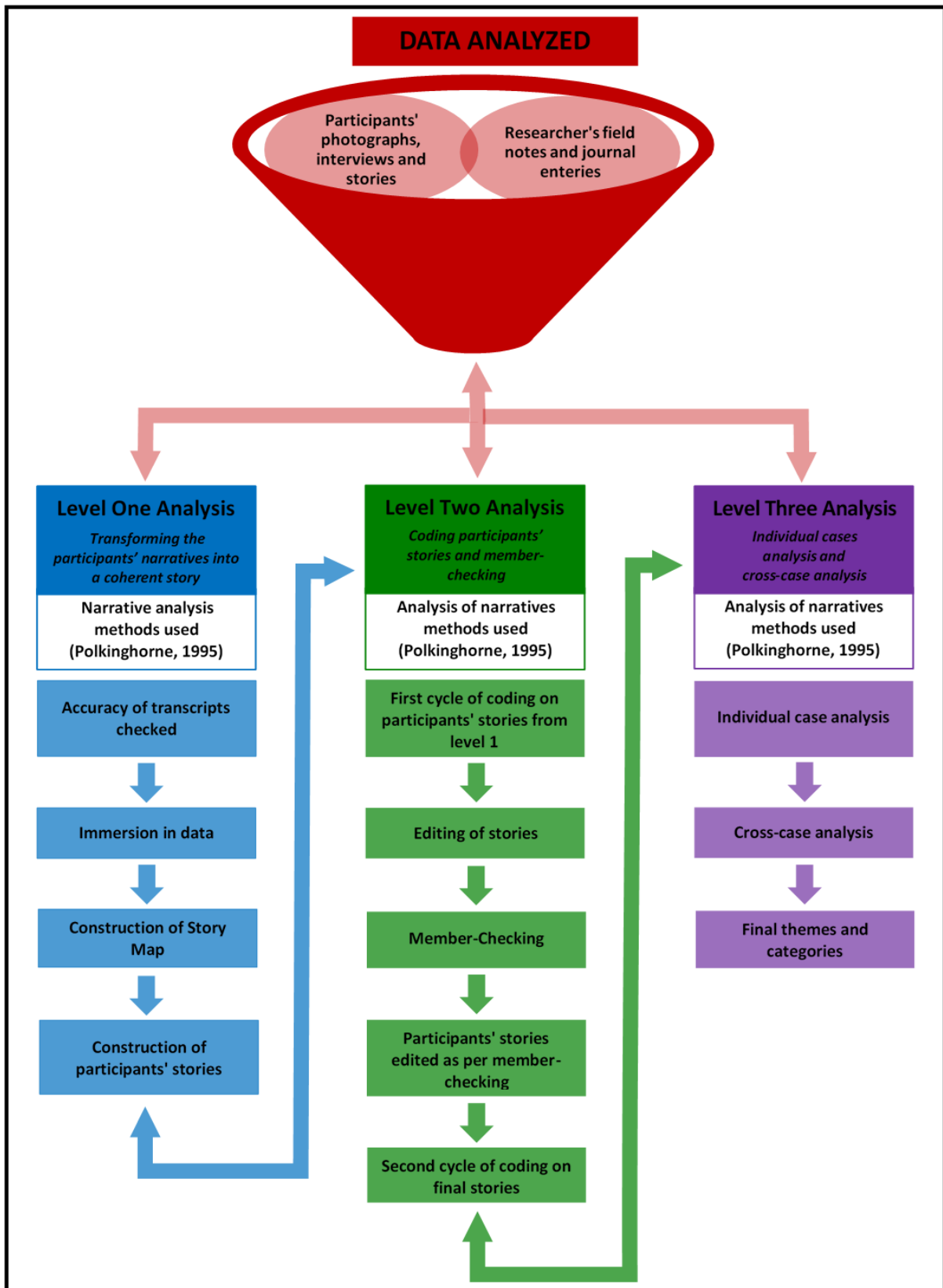


Figure 2: Data Analysis Process

Once interviews were transcribed, the researcher checked the accuracy by listening to the interviews and simultaneously reading the transcripts. Any errors were corrected and names were removed. The interviews were read and listened to several times throughout analysis to ensure data immersion.

After finalising transcripts, a story map was constructed for each participant. This was guided by Clandinin and Connelly's (2000) three-dimensional narrative inquiry space and four directions (discussed on page 40). The elements of character, setting, time and experiences/events were highlighted in the transcripts. Consideration of what was happening *inward* and *outwards* was noted under the *interaction* between personal and social; and the temporal aspects, travelling *backwards* and *forwards*, was noted under the continuity of experience. Table 7 depicts the details under each element. The researcher provided a descriptive code for different sections in the transcript. For example, when a participant was talking about their role at work, this was coded in the margin as "work role", thus making it easier to cross reference between the interview transcripts and the story map as well as organize the plot of the story. When constructing the story map, the researcher also asked the following questions (Nasheeda et al., 2019):

- Who are the main characters in this story?
- What are the main events?
- When and where did these events take place?

An example of a story map can be found in Appendix J.

To stay as close as possible to the participants' voices, the stories were written in first person and used direct quotes from the transcripts as far as possible. *Narrative smoothing* was used to make the stories coherent, connect narratives together and follow the identified plot (Kim, 2019). Kim (2019, p. 11) cautions that this technique can be problematic as it "...involves certain omissions, such as the selective reporting of some data...or the lack of context due to the researcher's assumption that what is clear to him or her will also be clear to the reader". Narrative smoothing was necessary to weave each participant's different narratives together into a coherent story and ensure that confidentiality was maintained by adding, changing or omitting certain information. Furthermore, the member-checking process, discussed below,

provided the participants with an opportunity to review the accuracy of the story, ensuring that narrative smoothing had not changed the meaning of their narratives.

Table 7: Story Mapping Elements

<b>STORY MAPPING ELEMENTS</b>	
<b>Characters</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Main Character</li> <li>• Other Characters</li> </ul>
<b>Setting (<i>Situation</i>)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Broad context</li> <li>• Specific situations (relayed within the story)</li> </ul>
<b>Time (<i>Continuity of Experience</i>)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• General Description of time (when is past, present, future)</li> <li>• Past (past experiences of storyteller)</li> <li>• Present (present experiences illustrated in actions of an event)</li> <li>• Imagined/Future (actions to occur in the future)</li> </ul>
<b>Experiences/Events (<i>Interaction between Personal and Social</i>)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Personal Experience (what the individual experiences)</li> <li>• Social Experiences (the individual interacting with others)</li> <li>• Interaction between Personal and Social</li> </ul>
<b>Plot</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Outline of plot (based on above)</li> </ul>

As some participants used both English and Afrikaans, a mix of language was maintained where possible to ensure the meaning of the Afrikaans would not be lost. English translations were added as footnotes. Where appropriate, some Afrikaans sections were translated into English so as not to interrupt the flow of the story. Each of the story's titles aimed at capturing the essence of the participant's experience. Participants' stories can be found in Appendix K-O.

### **3.7.2 Level Two Analysis**

Analysis of narratives was used for level two. After completion of stories, the coding process began. Each story went through two cycles of coding and further editing. In preparation for cycle one, the researcher reviewed key literature and the research objectives were used to guide the coding. A mixture of descriptive, in vivo, concept and process coding was used (Saldaña, 2021). Codes were transferred to a table organised according to the research

objectives. Once this cycle was completed, the stories were edited with attention on tightening the story to focus on the essence of the participants' narratives.

The edited stories were then sent to each participant for member-checking. Four were sent electronically via WhatsApp (which are end-to-end encrypted), as preferred by participants, and the fifth was sent via courier as the participant did not have a cell phone or email. Participants were asked to review their stories and check for accuracy, correct meaning and anything which may compromise confidentiality. Participants were encouraged to notify the researcher if debriefing or support was required after reading their story. Two of the participants had no changes, two participants required changes to further strengthen confidentiality<sup>35</sup> and the last participant identified grammatical errors in the Afrikaans. Numerous attempts were made to contact this participant over the telephone, however, even with the assistance of ODA, the researcher was unsuccessful. As the participant was happy with the story, barring the grammatical errors, continuing with analysis while simultaneously trying to contact the participant was advised by the research supervisors. After two months with no success, attempts to contact the participant ceased and the help of an Afrikaans speaker was enlisted. Only changes to the grammar were made. After member-checking, the stories were edited and the second cycle of coding was completed where the researcher re-coded the stories and updated the coding table.

### ***3.7.3 Level Three Analysis***

Level three included individual case and cross-case analysis. Thematic analysis was used to examine commonalities, differences and relationships between various elements (Gibson & Brown, 2011).

For the individual case analysis, each participant's codes were analysed separately to determine categories and sub-categories. Using deductive reasoning, codes were analysed per objective. For each objective, inductive reasoning was used to see what categories emerged. Once the individual case analysis was completed, the various categories for each

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<sup>35</sup> One participant required only a minor change to ensure confidentiality, whereas the other requested a number of changes which included changing ages, grades, years (date), covering additional features in the photographs and omitting some details.

participant were analysed together. Initially, analysis was completed per objective and a descriptive label was used to name the category. Through this process it became apparent that there were common categories across the objectives, for example, goals or friends, and thus categories were re-organised according to these groupings as opposed to the objectives. Next, a closer analysis of each 'grouping' of categories was completed. Inductive reasoning was used and another iteration of categories was produced. During individual and cross-case analysis, the researcher continuously referred to the participants' stories to check meaning and accuracy of interpretation.

Once the cross-case analysis was completed, all categories were reviewed together and three broad themes with categories emerged. When writing up the findings, the researcher iteratively moved between the data and the findings to ensure data saturation and this resulted in two separate processes of collapsing of categories and themes. The final findings revealed one broad theme. Instead of using categories, narrative sections appeared appropriate to report the findings. These findings can be found under Chapter 4.

### **3.8 ENSURING RIGOR**

Ensuring rigor of a qualitative study happens throughout the research process (Creswell, 2013). The four criteria to ensure trustworthiness, namely credibility, dependability, confirmability and transferability will be described (Liu, 2018); and qualitative reliability will be detailed (Creswell, 2014).

Credibility refers to the extent to which the findings depict the true value of participants' lived experiences (Liu, 2018). Credibility was established through prolonged engagement, peer debriefing, triangulation and member-checking (Creswell, 2013, 2014; Josephsson & Alsaker, 2015; Liu, 2018). Prolonged engagement required researcher-participant interaction over an extended period of time to build trust, reduce bias and develop in-depth understanding of studied phenomena (Creswell, 2013, 2014; Josephsson & Alsaker, 2015; Liu, 2018). Participants engaged in data generation for a period of seven to twelve weeks and were kept informed of data analysis progress. Peer debriefing involved the researcher's primary supervisor and co-supervisors to review and question the research throughout the process (Creswell, 2013, 2014). Triangulation was established by utilizing multiple sources of data,

which included narrative interviews, participant photographs and final stories and the researcher's field notes and journal entries, to develop a rich and in-depth understanding (Creswell, 2013, 2014; Liu, 2018).

As this process is co-constructed, dependability was established by participants, researcher, and supervisors. It involved ensuring that findings were consistent by reviewing the research process, findings and conclusions to ensure that they were supported by the data (Creswell, 2013, 2014; Liu, 2018).

Confirmability refers to the extent which the findings are a result of the participants' responses and not the biases, motivations or interests of the researcher (Liu, 2018). Confirmability was ensured through triangulation and reflexivity. Triangulation was completed by utilising multiple sources of data and comparing findings to theoretical perspectives. Reflexivity uncovered the researcher's positionality and assumptions while reflecting on potential influence on research findings (Liu, 2018).

Transferability describes the applicability of the findings beyond the study context (Liu, 2018). While the small sample size may limit transferability, rich and thick descriptions allow readers to "...determine whether the findings can be transferred..." to similar contexts (Creswell, 2013, p. 252). The use of rich and thick descriptions and maximum variation in sampling may enable readers to apply the study findings to emerging adults in similar contexts (Creswell, 2013; Liu, 2018).

Ensuring reliability required consistent and stable approaches and methods. This involved producing detailed documentation of procedures, checking transcript accuracy and constantly comparing data with developed codes and themes (Creswell, 2014).

### **3.9 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS**

Attention to ethical issues has been guided by the Declaration of the Helsinki World Medical Association (2013). Ethical approval was granted by HREC with reference number 312/2022 (Appendix A). Given the chosen research paradigm and design, emphasis was placed on co-constructing data and participants' subjective experiences. Using such a lens recognised

participants as experts of their own lives, acknowledging their free will and capacity to make informed decisions about study participation and their ability to refuse to answer particular questions.

Recruitment and enrolment processes ensured participants were not coerced to participate in the study by other possible participants, the researcher or ODA staff. At the information sessions all the necessary information to make an informed decision about participating was provided. The researcher ensured participants understood the study requirements before deciding to participate by checking-in and answering any questions. Time was provided for decision making (Creswell, 2013; Neuman, 2011) by taking a break in the information session and allowing participants to take information home for review. *Informed consent* forms (Appendix E) provided the participants with options regarding whether they agreed to be audio-recorded and allow their photographs (with identifiable features blurred) to be used in the thesis and any further publications. All participants agreed to both options. *Privacy and confidentiality* were discussed in Data Management (page 57).

All interested participants had a fair chance of enrolling and no participants were discriminated against (*justice*). Only five participants attended information sessions and since all met the inclusion criteria they were enrolled in the study. Thus, selecting participants based on maximum variation was not necessary. *Autonomy* was ensured through negotiating various aspects of the process and by notifying participants that they could leave the study any time without consequences. Upon relocation to Hermanus, the participant was given an opportunity to decide regarding continuation in the study.

Benefits (*beneficence*) for participants included having an opportunity to reflect on their occupational possibilities and occupational choices that may have assisted them in making sense of lived experiences which could have been empowering, transformative and supportive of their developmental tasks. As participants were also involved in data generation, they may also have benefitted by learning about the research process. Lastly, there was the potential of knowledge sharing, should participants enquire about training or programmes in which the researcher had details, contacts or helpful information. Although

participation was voluntary and not compensated for, refreshments and lunch packs were available during sessions and interviews.

Ensuring *non-maleficence* was also a key ethical principle for this study. Participants did not require special protection as they were not considered part of a vulnerable group and there was no risk of danger in participating in this study. A referral pathway to appropriate health care providers (Figure 3) was compiled prior to data generation, in case participants required a referral or further intervention. Available community-based services were obtained from ODA during the initial meeting.

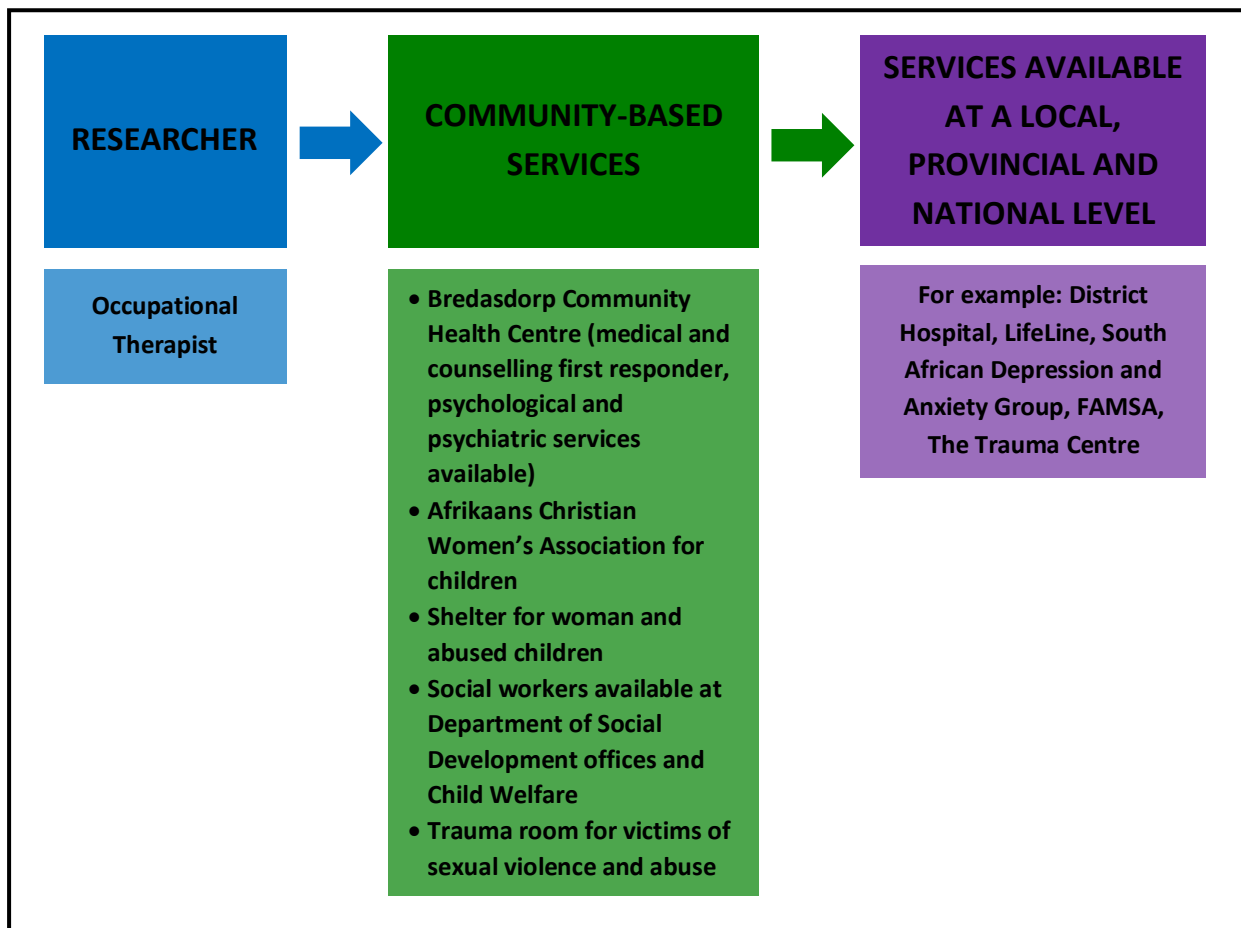


Figure 3: Referral Pathway

As the two interview questions (Appendix H) required discussion about what participants do every day and what they would like to do, the interview process was focused on drawing out participants’ existing narratives and revealing their meaning construction, as opposed to an external judgement of their lived experiences, thus, minimal risk was anticipated. Although

talking about personal experiences may carry some risk of experiencing discomfort or psychological distress, depending on the type of experiences, the researcher, a trained occupational therapist with nine years work experience at the time of the interviews, had the capacity to manage difficult stories when they arose. Thus, the risk of potential harm was anticipated to be low. This is supported by Jaffe et al.'s (2015) meta-analysis of participant reactions to trauma research. Their findings show that while "...trauma-related research can lead to some immediate, low-to-moderate distress...participants generally find their involvement in trauma research to be a positive experience that they do not regret...support[ing] the notion that asking individuals about prior trauma represents a rather minimal risk to adult participants..." (Jaffe et al., 2015, p. 54).

During one of the first narrative interviews, the researcher was faced with the challenge of holding the boundary between being a researcher and a therapist as the participant shared their traumatic experiences and mental health challenges. The researcher decided that, given their purpose on site, and the fact that the participant did not appear to be in distress, it was appropriate to remain in the researcher role. This decision was later affirmed by the researcher's supervisor during debriefing. It was also noted that the participant in question had previously received psychological support. The researcher indicated that should the participant require support after the interview, they could get in contact and appropriate referrals would be made. No contact regarding this matter was made. At the second interview, the researcher followed up with the participant regarding their wellbeing and the participant responded positively indicating that sharing their story had provided relief. This supports Jaffe et al.'s (2015) findings. Furthermore, Jaffe et al. (2015) recommend that informing individuals of the potential risk of psychological distress and mitigating this through ensuring participant autonomy throughout the research process is a necessity. Both these factors were in the information sheet (Appendix D) and discussed during recruitment.

No debriefing was required after the interviews or member-checking. One participant did however require support during member-checking. The participant felt anxious about re-reading their story and had been looking for additional mental health support, so the researcher, in consultation with the participant, delayed the member-checking process until the participant was ready. The researcher and participant discussed accessing support in

Bredasdorp and the researcher advised the participant to consult their existing mental health provider, which the participant noted was their intention. Member-checking resumed once this participant was ready and the researcher maintained contact while the participant reviewed their story. Positive feedback was received from the participant as they were appreciative and grateful for the opportunity to read their own story.

Given the potential safety risk regarding crimes that are present in many communities in the Western Cape, appropriate measures to safeguard both participants and researcher during the study were taken. Safety was discussed with ODA members who indicated that participants' safety, when carrying a disposable camera, should not be a major concern as possible participants, being familiar with their own community, would know where it would be appropriate to use the camera. Issues of safety were also discussed during each of the photovoice training sessions and were discussed again with the participant who relocated. The researcher, due to previous work experience and familiarity with Bredasdorp, was aware of potential safety risks and mindful of following the advice and rules of the community. Using cell phones as audio recorders did not present any additional risks. The researcher was shown the location of the potential interview sites by the ODA contact person.

### **3.10 CONCLUSION**

This chapter has detailed the methodological approach that was followed in generating and analysing data to answer the research question. To lay the foundation of the methodological approach a social constructivism/interpretivism paradigm, along with a qualitative approach and narrative inquiry research design, were selected. This allowed co-generation of data in the form of narrative stories that foreground the participants' lived experiences within their contexts. Additionally, these methods emphasise the importance of engaging in reflexive processes. Bredasdorp was chosen as the research site as the researcher had pre-existing relationships in the area and was familiar with the town, and it was thought that Bredasdorp's demographic characteristics, within one geographical location, would provide an opportunity for maximum variation. A CBO assisted with accessing the research site and recruiting five participants. Data was generated in two phases; photovoice methodologies produced photographs about what participants do every day and what they would like to do, and two narrative interviews generated narrative data for their stories. Analysis of narratives was the

overarching method of data analysis and analysis occurred in three phases, which produced a story for each participant and one overarching theme. These findings will be described in the next chapter.

## CHAPTER FOUR: FINDINGS

### 4.1 INTRODUCTION

This study aimed to explore how living in a community within Bredasdorp, Western Cape, shapes the experience of occupational possibilities and occupational choice of emerging adults aged between 18 and 25 years. To answer this research question, the chapter will present the findings that emerged from the thematic analysis of the participants' narrative stories. The first part of the chapter briefly introduces each participant's story, with the complete narratives in Appendices K-O. The second part describes the findings of the thematic analysis of the narrative stories, presented in one overarching theme.

#### 4.1.1 Introducing Participants' Narrative Stories

- Petronella's story, entitled *Aspiring to be an Olympic athlete* (Appendix K), focuses on her dream of becoming a professional athlete and the obstacles that she faced on this journey during school, university in Cape Town and upon her return to Bredasdorp. Her need to work to provide for her son presents a conflict for her in becoming a professional athlete.
- John, in his story, *Making the right choices for a better life* (Appendix L), is focused on finishing high school, which was disrupted by the COVID-19 pandemic, as well as navigating a variety of challenges to stay focused, achieve his dream of matriculating, studying further and creating a better life for himself and his family.
- Jenay's story, *A life at home* (Appendix M), is centred on her daily life in Bredasdorp. Eight years after dropping out of school in Grade 8, her day-to-day life consists of babysitting her siblings' children and spending time on her own and at home. She reflects on the challenges she has faced in trying to get work, return to school and on her hopes to become a photographer.
- In *Helping myself to heal* (Appendix N), Sassy shares her experience of depression and anxiety, which is possibly associated with witnessing and experiencing domestic violence; the impact this has had on her life; the various things she does that support her mental health; as well as the important role her mother plays. She would like to become a model and an influencer, however, having recently dropped out of school, she is faced with a conflict of either returning to school or beginning to work.

- In Zipho's story *Hustling* (Appendix O), he shares how a move to a new school provided him with the opportunity to study tourism, which he later pursues at college. However, after dropping out of college due to financial circumstances, he returns to Bredasdorp and seizes any employment opportunities available to him, leading him to work in a series of contract jobs until an opportunity in the tourism industry takes him to Hermanus, a town in the neighbouring municipality. There, he navigates working on a one-month contract as a trainee wine ambassador, adapting to living in a new town, and starting a small business while looking for new opportunities.

#### **4.1.2 Interpretation of Participants' Narrative Stories**

One overarching theme was developed from the participants' narratives, namely, "...people are influenced by what is already happening here...". This theme explores the various personal and contextual factors that shaped the participants' occupational possibilities and occupational choices, and thus their occupational engagement, by describing how they exercised agency within challenging contexts.

As mentioned earlier under Data Analysis (page 65), instead of producing traditional qualitative categories, this chapter presents one overarching theme and a narrative of the five participants' lived experiences. The narrative consists of four different sections and subsections (Table 8). First, the section titled "*In this community, [you're] expect[ed]...to be somewhere in your life...*" describes the participants' engagement in their key daily occupations, their expectations, goals and dreams. The second section, titled "*It's very difficult to live in Bredasdorp...and not focus on...what's happening...*" presents the impact of specific cultural factors which shaped participants' occupational engagement. The last two sections, namely, *Navigating living in this community* and *Me in this community* both have subsections and describe the crucial contextual and personal factors that affected participants' sense of agency.

Table 8: Theme and Narrative Sections of the Findings

Narrative Theme	Narrative Sections	Narrative sub-sections
<p><b>“...people are influenced by what is already happening here...”</b></p>	<p>“In this community, [you’re] expect[ed]...to be somewhere in your life...”</p>	<p>-</p>
	<p>“It’s very difficult to live in Bredasdorp...and not focus on...what’s happening...”</p>	<p>-</p>
	<p>Navigating living in this community</p>	<p>“...finance is the key to everything”</p>
		<p>Facing obstacles in the economy/ in getting work</p>
		<p>The importance of our support systems</p>
		<p>It’s difficult to not focus on bad things</p>
		<p>Navigating social challenges</p>
	<p>Me in this community</p>	<p>The impact of where we live</p>
		<p>What I value</p>
		<p>Taking on different roles “I just have to work hard because nothing is impossible”</p>

**4.2 THEME: “...PEOPLE ARE INFLUENCED BY WHAT IS ALREADY HAPPENING HERE...”**

Participants engaged in occupations in their community contexts within four predominant focus areas, that is, a focus on themselves, their families, their friends and on the broader community. Across these areas, participants’ past, present and future occupational engagement and abilities to achieve their expectations, goals and dreams were influenced by a combination of contextual and personal factors. Both the context and the person had enablers and barriers that either provided them with opportunities for engagement or constrained participation in occupations across the four areas.

**4.2.1 “In this community, [you’re] expect[ed]...to be somewhere in your life...”**

Across the participants’ stories, there were three common personal expectations for this stage of their lives, namely, to obtain either high school or post-school education or training,

to be working in a stable job and to live independently (with the last expectation being shared only by Petronella, Sassy and Zipho).

*My verwagtinge vir hierdie ouderdom was om die jaar my finals te geskryf  
het<sup>36</sup>... – John*

*My whole life I thought that by this age, I would have gotten a permanent  
job...– Zipho*

*I would have also liked my own place by now...But I realised it's not as easy  
as you think. – Petronella*

Participants' perceptions of their caregivers' and community's expectations of youth in Bredasdorp informed and reinforced these personal expectations to obtain an education and/or to be working at this age.

*...my mother said if I get to matric and still want to leave [school], then I  
can do it, but my grandmother talked sense into my head and I started to  
see a different kind of life...Die mense in die gemeenskap verwag ons jong  
mense moet... 'n skool loopbaan klaarmaak.<sup>37</sup> – John*

*...in this community, people expect you to be somewhere in your life, work  
on your career and have a job. – Petronella*

The expectations of the caregivers and communities appear to have influenced the value participants placed on education and employment, what they saw as expected occupations for this stage of their lives and their choices to pursue these occupations.

Despite not yet having met any or all of their expectations, participants had goals which they were working towards in support of achieving these expectations and fulfilling their dreams.

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<sup>36</sup> *My expectations for this age is that I should have written my finals this year...*

<sup>37</sup> *People in the community expect us young people to...finish our school careers.*

As participants viewed obtaining secondary and/or tertiary education as crucial to being able to progress in the future, they had personal goals to finish secondary or tertiary education or to obtain additional tertiary qualifications or post-school training.

*As ek matriek klaarmaak dan wil ek graag studier. Ek wil na college gaan, daardie een by Caledon, Boland College.<sup>38</sup> – Jenay*

*I also want to finish my diploma at Boland College and then get a higher qualification at university. – Zipho*

Each participant also had specific career dreams, beyond the expectation of just working in a stable job, such as being a professional athlete, owning a business, or following a specific career path.

*I would like to become a professional athlete. My top goal is to go to the Olympics one day... – Petronella*

*I really would want to open a store in Bredasdorp or Cape Town so friends can sell their brands and also start my own clothing brand... I would like to build schools, safe houses, a house for orphans and an affordable complex in Bredasdorp. – John*

*My droom vir die toekoms is dat ek graag 'n fotograaf kan word<sup>39</sup>... – Jenay*

*...one of my goals for next year is to see if I can be an influencer...But being an influencer is something I want to do on the side-lines. My main thing is to be a model... – Sassy*

*For work, I would like to be a senior wine ambassador. – Zipho*

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<sup>38</sup> If I finish matric then I would like to study. I want to go to college, that one in Caledon, Boland College.

<sup>39</sup> My dream for the future is that I would like to become a photographer....

Besides wanting to meet their expectations, the economic opportunities that fulfilling their career dreams could bring was a key motivating factor for participants to pursue these dreams.

*[Being a professional athlete is] a good opportunity and if you're representing internationally there's always money involved then I can provide for my son... – Petronella*

*I think I can go far with [being a senior wine ambassador] because there's opportunities at a job like this. There was someone who started like me at the estate and now works for the owner overseas. That is definitely something I would like to do. – Zipho*

As Zipho was the only participant who had achieved independent living during data generation, this was still a goal for both Petronella and Sassy.

*...I'm renting from a friend...I have my bedroom, a little kitchen and an outside toilet. I've never lived on my own before, so it's quite a new experience... – Zipho*

Although Jenay did not want to live independently, she wanted to have her own space in future.

*I want my own room and my own space, because my sister's children are always walking around and scratching in my things. – Jenay*

Both Petronella and Sassy expressed a desire to leave Bredasdorp. Petronella expressed pride in her close friends who are mostly outside Bredasdorp working on their careers.

*I'm proud they're working on their careers, instead of staying here doing nothing or like a teller job...I don't want to stay [in Bredasdorp]*

*permanently. I see mine and my son's life in Cape Town or somewhere. –*

*Petronella*

This goal is supported by Zipho's narrative as, prior to relocating to Hermanus, he had previously left Bredasdorp for work opportunities.

*In 2021, I worked at a vineyard pruning grapes...[and] I had another tourism opportunity in another province for two months. – Zipho*

The feeling of being stuck in Bredasdorp seemed to motivate participants to want to leave.

*People in the community expect young people to not make it in life, to be a failure and to not make it out of Bredasdorp, because not a lot of people make it out of Bredasdorp. I know lots of people get many opportunities outside of Bredasdorp but it kind of feels like if you're from here you're stuck here. I also think people are influenced by what is already happening here and they expect all teenagers to be the same. The older generation expects us to stay here and do the exact same thing that they did at their age, they just don't understand how the times have changed. – Sassy*

However, even though there is this perception, it appears to be uncommon for young people to want to leave Bredasdorp, as described by Petronella.

*Me wanting to leave Bredasdorp is different to other young people here, I think. I don't normally hear people saying they want to leave. I think it's because they don't get to see what's outside, like the freedom I had at uni.*

*– Petronella*

In addition to their personal goals of obtaining educational qualifications, achieving career dreams, living independently and leaving Bredasdorp, participants also had goals and dreams which specifically related to their families and their communities. Goals to support their

families are centred on caring for them, being able to provide their families with a better future and access to better opportunities.

*...ek wil 'n beter lewe vir my familie hê<sup>40</sup>...Ek wil in die toekoms 'n familie huis bou vir almal van my familie wat hier in die dorp bly<sup>41</sup>...it will make me very happy, to see that everyone is safe and eating and I won't have to worry because I'll know if they're home. – John*

*I want my sister to be able to count on me in whichever way, financially or emotionally...[and I want] to extend my mother's house, because my family are sharing rooms and I'd like them to have their own rooms and also a guestroom for visitors. – Zipho*

All participants, except Jenay, had goals focused on improving their communities in Bredasdorp by providing support, opportunities and services.

*I want to make a positive influence in the community...Whatever you want to be, good or bad, you're influencing the community...I also want to have my own sports club one day to motivate and support our youth, get them off the streets, off drugs and other negative things. – Zipho*

*I'm also working on my athletics goals to be an inspiration for Bredasdorp kids. We don't really have a lot of role models...I would like to give hope and motivation...it's better if you have role models from here, to see someone doing good from a grassroots level, then you can see that you can come from the same place and can also make it. – Petronella*

*I also really want to help girls feel good about themselves from the inside because I know how hard it is to struggle with anxiety. I also want to do this for men, like my father, because it's hard for men to feel like they can't*

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<sup>40</sup> ...I want a better life for my family.

<sup>41</sup> In the future, I want to build a family house for all of my family who live here in the town.

*talk to anyone because they'll look weak. So, I want to make people realise that mental health is important and there's no shame in it, if you have the illness, you can make it, because I'm a living proof. – Sassy*

The participants' goals for their families and communities were strong motivating factors to meet their expectations of obtaining education and stable employment.

#### **4.2.2 “It's very difficult to live in Bredasdorp...and not focus on...what's happening...”**

Several factors within the community culture influenced what participants saw as viable and possible options and the choices that were available to them. These factors included the commonality of youth living at home, dropping out of school, being at home, and the values placed on education and working, sports and partying.

At the start of data generation, all the participants were living at home with their families in Bredasdorp and all participants, except Sassy, lived in households which included multi-generations and extended family.

*I live with my mother, grandmother, nephew and older brother. – John*

*At home it's me, my mother, my sister, my little cousin and my stepfather.*

*– Zipho*

Even though living with family contrasts with Petronella, Sassy and Zipho's personal expectations of living independently, it appears that within this community the commonality of living at home with consanguineal family and relying on familial support during this developmental stage is part of the culture. Although participants may have wanted to live independently, it appears that the possibility of achieving that expectation was limited due to both cultural and economic factors.

Dropping out of educational institutions appears to be a viable and acceptable possibility within this context, as three out of five participants had left an educational institution, and one had considered it. Therefore, this choice was available for participants to make in

response to the various disruptions experienced, even though it impacted their future educational and employment possibilities and choices.

*...[I] was close to writing my final exams when NSFAS<sup>42</sup> started to drop me. They didn't give a reason, they just stopped...So. I had to drop out due to financial circumstances... – Zipho*

*Ek was veertien jaar oud toe ek die skool los want ek was gebullie, dit was in Graad 8.<sup>43</sup> I didn't want to continue going to school because the bullying was getting too much and it made it more difficult, so I just left... the work is very hard to get...without a matric. – Jenay*

The decisions to drop out were supported by the responses of their contexts. Jenay and Sassy's decisions to leave school appeared to be reinforced by either the lack of or availability of support, respectively, from their schools and mothers, and for Zipho, the lack of alternative funding sources reinforced this option.

*I told my mom I didn't want to go back [to school] and she didn't say anything. The school also didn't say anything. – Jenay*

*...[my mother] informed the teacher and they said that I could take a break if I needed...My mother was supportive of [the] decision [to drop out] and didn't want to see me in the place I was in before. – Sassy*

Additionally, these participants also spoke about returning to finish their secondary or tertiary education to access better work opportunities in the future. There was fluidity in their narratives which, in their decision-making, moved between the choice of dropping out and the possibility of returning to school, suggesting that dropping out was not seen as an absolute decision with no chance of going back, but rather a solution to the present disruption they faced.

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<sup>42</sup> NSFAS is the National Student Financial Aid Scheme.

<sup>43</sup> I was 14 years old when I left school because I was bullied, that was in Grade 8.

*...I decided I'm not going back to school, I'm going to start making money...I can always finish school online. – Sassy*

*...I didn't have money to pay for my studies or rent. My mother also couldn't afford it because she had to take care of my sister, so I decided it's too much and I can always come back and do my studies. – Zipho*

Since dropping out of school, neither Sassy nor Jenay had engaged in paid employment, yet they did not mention in their narratives that they were unemployed; rather, they described themselves as “being at home”. This could indicate that within this community “being at home” is viewed as an acceptable option either after dropping out of school or if unable to find paid employment.

*After I left school, I was just at home, doing nothing, and since then I've been home. I haven't worked either, except for babysitting my brother's and sisters' children. – Jenay*

*...I'm at home at the moment, so I don't have a lot of things to keep me busy... – Sassy*

Jenay and Sassy's stories, in comparison to the other three participants, had a much larger focus on the range of additional activities that they do, such as reading, writing in a diary, playing rugby or being in nature. This contrasts with Petronella, John and Zipho's stories, whose main focus was on pursuing education or employment occupations. Jenay and Sassy's wider perspective suggests that, for youth within this community, focusing primarily on education or employment are not the only possibilities regarding how they spend their time. However, an incongruence is noted in Jenay and Sassy's stories, since, even though they had a large focus on “being at home”, obtaining education and employment were still central themes in their stories. Their narratives suggest that occupations of education and employment are more valued than “being at home”, as they are considered the ideal occupations for this developmental stage. This view is supported by the community's expectations, as noted by Petronella.

*...people expect you to...work on your career and have a job...The older people in town are always proud if they know someone from town that went to university or did something with their life. – Petronella*

The sporting culture, which includes playing and watching sporting events, and the culture of partying, along with drinking and smoking, within Bredasdorp also influenced which occupations were valued, considered “normal” and prioritized within this community.

*Rugby is big in Bredasdorp and I support the Bredasdorp Rangers. During the season I’ll watch the games at Glaskasteel.<sup>44</sup> – John*

*It’s very difficult to live in Bredasdorp as a teenager and not focus on bad things...because there’s like a party every weekend, people drink and smoke every day... – Sassy*

The commonality of youth living at home, dropping out of school, being at home, along with the values placed on education and working, engaging in sport and partying were all factors within the cultural environment that shaped what participants saw as viable options and influenced the choices they made.

#### **4.2.3 Navigating Living in this Community**

Participants identified various economic, social and physical factors experienced within their community contexts, which either supported or constrained their occupational engagement.

##### **4.2.3.1 “...finance is the key to everything”**

Participants identified finance as a key resource for their education, and their expectations to live independently and achieve their goals and dreams.

*I think most people who want to study...would, but can’t because of financial constraints. – Petronella*

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<sup>44</sup> Glaskasteel is a sports complex in Bredasdorp.

*My goals all require finances... – Zipho*

Accessing education at a secondary and tertiary level was dependent on economic factors. Regarding secondary education, Bredasdorp has both fee-paying and non-fee-paying primary and high schools, which ensures that all participants have the possibility of accessing schooling regardless of their families' socio-economic status. However, their families' socio-economic status and ability to pay school fees influenced the choice of schools attended.

*I want to go back to Albert Myburgh High because it's a state school, so they don't ask for school fees and because Bredasdorp High is not so cheap. – Jenay*

In turn, attending a fee-paying or non-fee-paying school appears to impact access to various resources and opportunities.

*I also want my son to be in a nice school that gives him all the opportunities, to have privileges and facilities...The facilities at non-fee-paying schools in Bredasdorp are not up to par...So, if I want him to have all these facilities I must put him in a fee-paying school, like Bredasdorp High. So, I would need financial assistance or stable finances. – Petronella*

Similarly, the possibility and feasibility of accessing tertiary education was dependent on access to finances. As Bredasdorp has no tertiary institutions, participants had to consider accommodation and transport costs in addition to tuition. Thus, the choice to study further is only possible by accessing financial support/aid.

*Ek kan nie universiteit in Bredasdorp doen nie.<sup>45</sup> My options are Boland College in Caledon, University of the Western Cape and Stellenbosch University in Cape Town or Wellington or Worcester...I will need a bursary for me to study further. – John*

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<sup>45</sup> I can't attend university in Bredasdorp.

The cessation of Zipho's financial aid limited his ability to complete tertiary education as he had no other access to finances.

*[NSFAS<sup>46</sup>] didn't give a reason, they just stopped. So, I didn't have money to pay for my studies or rent. My mother also couldn't afford it...So, I had to drop out due to financial circumstances... – Zipho*

Petronella was the only participant who could access financial assistance from her parents to supplement the financial aid received, as both parents were employed full-time.

*It was also kinda easy to get money from my parents to help with like food or taxi fare as they both have full time jobs. – Petronella*

Zipho and Petronella's experiences support the community's perceptions of financial constraints as a barrier to accessing tertiary education.

*If you say to people in Bredasdorp you must study, they're like "no, we don't have money". Most of my coloured friends or family here, think that studying is just for rich people or some people... – Petronella*

Access to finances and obtaining financial stability are crucial for participants to achieve their expectations of living on their own, as well as their goals and dreams. Financial constraint was the main barrier preventing independent living and limiting participants' ability to move out of home. Although Zipho was living on his own, the sustainability of this was unclear as he relied on savings while unemployed.

*I had raised enough money as a trainee, to rent for maybe two months until I find another job. – Zipho*

Participants recognised the importance of obtaining financial independence to be able to meet their needs and goals. Apart from Petronella, none of the participants had people

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<sup>46</sup> NSFAS is the National Student Financial Aid Scheme.

depending on them financially, which meant they had the opportunity to attain financial stability. However, financial stability meant they would need to access opportunities for employment.

*Most of my friends have children already and I don't even have one. That's good for me as I don't have a lot of responsibilities then... [I can] focus on myself now. – Zipho*

*To achieve [building a crèche] I'll need a great job and stable pay cheque...  
– John*

Jenay was the only participant to identify an alternative source of income, namely, pocket money, for saving for her goals. However, with this minor and intermittent source of income, she identified very low saving potential as a barrier to her achieving her goals.

*Saving money is going to make becoming a photographer harder for me because...I only get money like once every two months and it's not much. –  
Jenay*

Finances were required to access educational institutions, live independently and achieve goals and dreams.

#### *4.2.3.2 Facing obstacles to obtaining employment*

In addition to needing access to finances, participants identified four different drivers within the local and national economy that constrained their ability to obtain employment or fulfil their career dreams. These included a lack of opportunities and challenges in obtaining employment, inequitable access to opportunities between Bredasdorp and other cities and towns, periods of unemployment, and experiences of low income and job instability.

Participants, particularly Petronella, Zipho and Sassy, identified a lack of opportunities and challenges in accessing employment in Bredasdorp, partly due to the fact that the sectors that interested them are underdeveloped or not available in the town. This reduced the possibilities of working in their area of interest, resulting in an absence of opportunities, or

they were obliged to accept jobs that they were not interested in, with limited job satisfaction. The limited opportunities influenced what participants saw as possible for themselves regarding employment, which in turn affected the choices they made.

*...sports and recreation isn't that developed in Bredasdorp to provide jobs...I was lucky to get this opportunity. The job is okay...but I'm not really satisfied with it. – Petronella*

*...I grabbed [the bank job] because it was an opportunity and I was unemployed... [now] I decided to stay in Hermanus while applying for other jobs in the tourism industry...Bredasdorp doesn't have many tourism opportunities...– Zipho*

Participants recognised a difference in access to opportunities between Bredasdorp and either Cape Town or other Western Cape towns, viewing these places as having more possibilities.

*It would still be difficult to get a job [in Cape Town], because you'll be competing with more people with the same degree or experience but there's more opportunities. – Petronella*

Additionally, the expensive public transport constrained access to work opportunities in surrounding towns, requiring participants to move if they wanted to take up these opportunities.

*The place for tourism in [Cape Agulhas Municipality] is Arniston or Cape Agulhas.<sup>47</sup> But it's too expensive to relocate or travel...it's almost R600/week. I'd need to stay closer, like Struisbaai,<sup>48</sup> but I don't have family there. – Zipho*

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<sup>47</sup> Arniston is 24 km from Bredasdorp and Cape Agulhas is 37 km from Bredasdorp.

<sup>48</sup> Struisbaai is 31 km from Bredasdorp and 4 km from Cape Agulhas.

Experiencing periods of unemployment, while varying in duration, appears to be common for all out-of-school participants and thus a real possibility during this stage. Barriers to finding employment included a lack of appropriate qualifications and job search expenses.

*...the work is very hard to get. I've tried to get work in shops here, but it's difficult without a matric. – Jenay*

*...there's no Thusong Centre in Hermanus.<sup>49</sup> So I need to pay R5 per page to print my CV, or R2 to photocopy or pay for data or R20 for 30 minutes at an internet café. It's hard to have money for these things while you are not working. – Zipho*

However, Jenay's perception of the lack of a matric certificate as a barrier to getting work contrasted to John's experience of working part-time while still in school.

*I didn't have to apply for the job, it was easy, a friend asked if I wanted a job and I took my ID and phone number. – John*

The low income and employment instability were constraints Petronella and Zipho had to navigate, as most available job opportunities were on a contract basis. These difficulties influenced their ability to become financially stable as it provided no saving potential. As they entered the job market, Petronella and Zipho had to balance job satisfaction, working in their areas of interest or achieving their dreams and trying to establish financial stability.

*I know if I get a permanent job, it will take a lot of my time. I'm scared that I won't be able to focus on athletics then...I can't even save for shoes with my salary [now], so I need a better job that provides a comfortable salary...  
– Petronella*

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<sup>49</sup> The Thusong Centre is a service centre providing government information and services to communities.

*I have had many jobs... I worked at a vineyard pruning grapes...I had another tourism opportunity in another province for two months...I had a contract job for five months doing community survey work... – Zipho*

In addition to requiring access to finances and navigating the economic drivers, participants identified the important role of social support in their daily lives.

#### *4.2.3.3 The importance of our support systems*

Access to social support was important for participants to engage in occupations such as education, employment and sports, as well as to navigate various social issues.

*Almal in my hood support my om [skool] klaar te maak<sup>50</sup>... – John*

There were two common sources of support across the stories, namely support received from their mothers and/or grandmothers and participants' "close" friend(s). Participants also received support from other community members such as teachers or employers.

*My mother is very supportive... We've been through a lot together and this year we've started to talk about stuff and she prepares me for the future. –*

*Sassy*

*With my Bredasdorp friends, we support each other with everything. –*

*John*

*The teacher was quite impressed and he convinced me that I should study tourism because he sees potential in me in the tourism industry... – Zipho*

The social support participants received included support to navigate daily life, childcare, emotional support, assisting with decision-making and staying focused, providing guidance, motivation, access to opportunities, and recognizing innate potential and future possibilities.

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<sup>50</sup> *Everyone in my hood (neighbourhood) supports me to finish [school]...*

*To go back to school, finish matric or get to college I will probably just need support from my parents, net dat hulle vir my kan miskien motivate, om vir my net te sê gaan doen dit, of hulle gaan praat met die skool.<sup>51</sup> – Jenay*

*...the post for my job now came out and I applied and got it. Luckily, I had a similar degree to my boss who said I can work with him. – Petronella*

*My school friends...also helped me to focus on my studies, as we used to compete for marks. I also have a friend in Bredasdorp who...mentors me with school stuff... – John*

Participants identified lack of social support as a barrier to engaging in certain occupations and achieving their goals as they struggled to access opportunities, services and resources.

*I am in desperate need of a coach because if I want to go to Nationals I need someone to lead me there. – Petronella*

*I would probably need to speak to the school principal, but that may be difficult because they have a new principal that I don't know...There's not really anyone else in the community that I can go to for support about going back to school. – Jenay*

#### **4.2.3.4 It's difficult to not focus on bad things**

Social challenges that participants experienced included difficult social dynamics, the influence of peers and peer pressure, teenage pregnancy, and negative influences such as substance abuse, the culture of partying and gang influences. On a daily basis participants had to navigate experiences of challenging social dynamics, ranging from bullying to attitudes within the broader community. It shaped their occupational engagement by limiting access to resources, support and opportunities and affected their mental and emotional health.

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<sup>51</sup> ...just that they can maybe motivate me, to just tell me like go do that, or they can go talk to the school.

*I wanted to go back to school in the past. I don't know why I didn't, probably because I'm scared of being bullied again. – Jenay*

*Preference in sports codes here is a bit selective. Rugby is a huge thing and they'll go out of their way to throw the lines<sup>52</sup> for that, but I don't think they'll throw lines if I'm the only one training [athletics]. – Petronella*

Participants identified the influence of peers and peer pressure as a challenge. The main reasons for being influenced by peers was the desire to satisfy friends and not disappoint them. This desire influenced participants' ability to enact their own agency, requiring them to choose between doing what they wanted or what their friends wanted.

*...[your friends] can influence you to do things you don't want to do because you want to make them happy and not let them down. – Sassy*

*In the past I've made choices that didn't benefit me, but benefitted my friends and it had a bad influence on me. – John*

Participants recognized teenage pregnancy as a common occurrence in Bredasdorp, even amongst early adolescents. Contrary to the community's expectation of youth, the prevalence of teenage pregnancy in the area was also evident amongst the five participants, as Petronella became pregnant in Grade 11, Jenay's younger sister had just had a baby, and Zipho noted that most of his friends already have children.

*Mense in Bredasdorp verwag dat jongmense van my ouderdom moet...nie kinders het nie, unless hulle getroud is.<sup>53</sup> There's lots of young people in Bredasdorp that have children, it happens a lot. – Jenay*

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<sup>52</sup> Creating lines for which to run on in athletics.

<sup>53</sup> People in Bredasdorp expect young people my age to...not have children, unless they are married.

The impact of teenage pregnancy was described as being unable to focus on yourself or do things you want because of your responsibilities.

*...there's nothing wrong with [having a baby] but I feel like it also stops you from doing things that you truly want to do. – Sassy*

Petronella's narrative of her pregnancy identifies it as a setback. Even with a tertiary degree, the responsibility to look after her son resulted in her choice to return to Bredasdorp, despite anticipating limited job opportunities. Additionally, she was conflicted between working to provide for her son and training fulltime to be a professional athlete.

*...[after uni] I couldn't work in Cape Town as I needed to think about my son in Bredasdorp...Ideally, I would like to only focus on training...But I also have to be realistic about providing for my son and consider him in decisions about what I do. – Petronella*

Participants identified additional social issues that influenced the choices young people made. These included the easy access to alcohol and drugs and use of these substances, a culture of partying and the influence of gangs.

*It's very difficult to live in Bredasdorp as a teenager and not focus on bad things...because there's like a party every weekend, people drink and smoke every day... – Sassy*

*Other choices are about getting into gangs, beginning by a drug lord or poaching. A lot of youngsters goes to poaching perlie<sup>54</sup> to get fast money.*

*– John*

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<sup>54</sup> Slang for perlemoen, Afrikaans for abalone.

Within their stories, participants navigated these social challenges by making choices to help themselves stay focused on their present occupations and achieve their expectations, goals and dreams.

*It's the choices I make, wat dit gaan limit,<sup>55</sup> because if I make the wrong choices I might end up in jail or in the graveyard because of the bad choices, so I have to make the right choices. – John*

Common strategies which assisted with this included choosing the right friends, support from mothers and grandmothers, considering negative outcomes and staying indoors.

John, Sassy and Zipho identified choosing the right friends as a key strategy to staying on the right path due to the recognized impact that friends have on their thinking, choices, ability to stay focused and thus, their life outcomes.

*The most important thing to stay focused is choosing the right friends because they'll affect how you think, you'll be affected by their decisions...  
– Sassy*

*...daar is ook baie keuses wat 'n mens moet maak met vriende, want as jy vriende ontmoet dan lyk hulle soos die regte vriende vir jou maar eintlik is hulle net daar om jou aftebreek<sup>56</sup>. – John*

To navigate the influence of friends on their education, John and Zipho, in particular, chose to limit time with friends or to change schools.

*...I was influenced by my friends who were very naughty at school...So, I decided they're holding me back, let me move to another [school] where I don't know anyone so I can focus on myself and my studies. – Zipho*

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<sup>55</sup> ...it will limit it...

<sup>56</sup> ...there are many choices people must make with friends, because when you meet friends they look like they are the right friends for you, but actually they are only there to break you down.

Participants relied on the support from their mothers and grandmothers to navigate peer pressure and stay focused on their goals.

*I'm different from people my age, like they always party and drink and I don't do that...I kinda made a promise to my granny that I'm never doing that. I was close with her before she died, so I'm still keeping my promise. –*

*Jenay*

*In the past, I was influenced by the people I was with and I got caught up in the fire...My mother also realized that something was wrong and spoke with me, she said, "one day you'll find yourself in something that even I cannot help you with." I was very scared of that, if my mother couldn't help me, then who will? So I realized the path I was walking was wrong, and it wasn't what I planned for my life, so I stopped and walked another path. –*

*Zipho*

For all participants, except Petronella, staying indoors at home was identified as a strategy to remain on the right path and avoid negative influences.

*Staying in the house helps me to stay focused. I'm more than happy to be home on a Friday or Saturday night...As opposed to going out and getting into trouble or being somewhere you're not supposed to be or in the wrong place at the wrong time. I also feel like as teenage girls we are targets now for like boys or men...So, staying inside prevents me from a lot of trouble. –*

*Sassy*

*Drugs is nou 'n main ding by ons,<sup>57</sup> and there's also a lot of merchants in Bredasdorp. It impacts the community a lot because they can get drugs*

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<sup>57</sup> Drugs are a main thing by us now...

*everywhere now. Dit is alright vir my want ek is baie in die huis<sup>58</sup> and I don't care about that stuff. – John*

#### *4.2.3.5 The impact of where we live*

In addition to the supportive and constraining economic and social factors, participants identified three important ways that their physical environment affected their daily lives. These were access to services, facilities, resources and opportunities; the spatial layout of geographical areas; and safety issues.

Having access to personal resources, such as Wi-Fi or books, opportunities, and community facilities, enabled participation in educational and recreational occupations and assisted with obtaining employment. Constraining factors, such as lack of resources, weather influences and disparity in opportunities between rural and urban contexts, influenced their engagement in daily occupations and what was possible for them within the context.

*To finish matric, I will also need a lot of data for research and studying online. A lot of matric classes will be online, but being online isn't good because not everyone has data and it's very expensive. I am buying data with my own money but I can't buy enough for the whole month. There is free Wi-Fi at the Thusong Centre<sup>59</sup> and Anene Booysen Centre<sup>60</sup>, but it's far from our area...Bad weather also impacts my schooling. My school is about 20-minute walk from my house so in winter I might miss school depending on how hard it rains. – John*

*When I wasn't working [in Bredasdorp], I would go to the Thusong Centre to look for opportunities, that's where all the opportunities are advertised... But living in Hermanus, I miss the Thusong Centre because by now I may have a job already...I also feel like we are more privileged in Bredasdorp having the Thusong Centre because the people working there*

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<sup>58</sup> *It's alright for me because I'm in the house a lot.*

<sup>59</sup> The Thusong Centre is a service centre providing government information and services to communities.

<sup>60</sup> The Anene Booysen Centre is a skills development centre run by the local municipality.

*are very supportive and you get free internet, photocopying and printing. –*

*Zipho*

*It's not better in the city, but there's more activities and opportunities.*

*Here...there's only few places to do things. – Petronella*

The spatial layout of Bredasdorp and Hermanus, shaped by historical and political factors such as racism and racial segregation, also had an impact on participants' ability to access facilities, services and opportunities as well as their community mobility. Participants described how the long distances to services and amenities, the expensive public transport or lack thereof, and the distances to other towns and cities limited their engagement in various occupations and constrained access to opportunities.

*I do my training at Bredasdorp High school track...But it's very far from home and after training, I still have a 45-minute walk home, because I stay down in the town...I don't travel often to watch athletics live because it's expensive and I'm not as financially privileged. – Petronella*

*That [racial profiling] only happens in the boere gebied,<sup>61</sup> we can walk around freely in my area because we are surrounded by coloureds. I think it's a common experience for young people coming from my community.*

*There isn't trust like there should be en mense maak nog steeds assumptions en hulle eie afleiding. Hulle klas jou nog steeds volgens jou velkleur.<sup>62</sup> It impacts me because I can't meet people that can help me, because they judge you before knowing you. Like the guy from one store, I wanted to work at, didn't like me and he treated me differently to others...– John*

Safety concerns in the physical environment constrained participants' occupational engagement. Most participants felt unsafe in their communities as all, except for Jenay, raised

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<sup>61</sup> ...in the Afrikaans/White area...

<sup>62</sup> ...and people still make assumptions and draw their own conclusions. They still class you by your skin colour.

issues of safety in their narratives. These safety issues included crime, violence, gangsterism, drug use, racism and racial segregation. For Zipho, this was limited to Hermanus only, as he felt safe in Bredasdorp.

*...people also get raped or killed here [Bredasdorp]. This place is definitely damaged for sure. I also live in an area where there's a lot of gangsters. It's kind of safe, but also not so much anymore. There's also like skollies<sup>63</sup> standing by the shop with knives and smoking weed, some of us grew up with them so they won't hurt us but it's getting worse. – Sassy*

*There's also a lot of shootings in Zwelihle [Hermanus], every weekend you'll hear that there was a guy who was shot. They're even shooting during the week as well...I feel really safe [in Bredasdorp] and can walk everywhere anytime during the day...Bredasdorp is also more integrated amongst black and coloured people, we're living together and there's no separation. – Zipho*

Petronella and Sassy reported feeling unsafe, mostly due to crime and violence. Additionally, their safety concerns were not only in the community, but also within their homes. For Petronella the lack of a male figure, and for Sassy, the presence of an abusive father at home decreased their sense of safety.

*Our house isn't really secured and we've been having break-ins. It's mostly my mother, my son and I at home, as my father works in a neighbouring town and my brother mostly stays at his girlfriend. Before sleeping, I always check everything's closed, and always have a weapon, like a golf club, close to my bed, just in case. – Petronella*

*When I was in primary school, I only slept two hours because I always had to stay awake, because if my father hit my mother then I had to look after*

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<sup>63</sup> *Skollie* is an Afrikaans term of abuse for layabouts, criminals and gangsters (ESAT, 2018).

*her...That's where my anxiety actually started...When he couldn't hit her,  
he began hitting me. – Sassy*

The safety concerns in Bredasdorp for John and in Hermanus for Zipho, were mostly related to experiences of racism, racial profiling and racial segregation.

*One time I was walking to a friend who lives [in the white area] and the cops stopped me...and they asked where I was going and they wanted to see a message from my friend. When I wanted to go to the coloured [cop], the whitey<sup>64</sup> [cop] got aggressive. People think I'm just loafing, doing nothing good and they're scared their stuff will get stolen. The cops wouldn't let me go see my friend, so I went home. – John*

*...if I'm walking with someone from Zwelihle [black area] in Mount Pleasant [coloured area], they're surprised with how comfortably I communicate with the coloured people, but they're feeling like "no, you shouldn't speak to a coloured guy". I see that even the coloureds don't feel safe in Zwelihle. Also, if I decide to walk alone in Mount Pleasant, they'll see a black guy, then what's going to happen to me? So, I'm not used to these things. –  
Zipho*

For the four participants, the lack of safety impacted their sense of agency by limiting their community mobility, choices to participate in occupations outside the home, ability to access employment opportunities and their emotional and mental health. Safety issues were also a major factor in their choice to consider leaving Bredasdorp.

*...I was scared of taking a part-time job in Cape Town which may have been at night. I couldn't just walk anywhere or take a taxi at night, it was different to Bredasdorp, where I can walk everywhere...[but] Living here [Bredasdorp], I'm [also] scared. I feel secure walking around during daylight, but I won't walk around in the evening...if I need to go*

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<sup>64</sup> Slang for white person.

*somewhere at night, I'll ask a friend to walk with me...That's also why I would like to move basically. – Petronella*

*...walking in the location people can see I'm alone and not from here. So, I wouldn't just walk for fun because I felt really unsafe...let's say for instance, people don't know me and someone will think I look like a guy he had conflict with, and shoot me and afterwards say "no, he's not the guy", and then? That's why I didn't feel safe here in Zwelihle. – Zipho*

Participants identified enablers and barriers within the physical environments that supported or constrained their occupational engagement. This included access to services, facilities, resources and opportunities; their communities' spatial layout and safety concerns.

#### **4.2.4 Me in this Community**

##### *4.2.4.1 What I value*

Participants' personal values had a strong influence on their behaviour, expectations, goals and dreams. They valued education, various forms of employment, supporting their family, friends and community and spending time on their own or with family or friends.

Education was valued by all participants as important in providing access to possibilities. Due to this, the pursuit of either secondary, tertiary or post-school training was considered essential occupations during this stage of their lives. Obtaining secondary or tertiary education was viewed as necessary to gain employment and enable access to *better* work opportunities.

*The only reason I would get a matric certificate is to keep my options open, maybe get better opportunities, and as a backup if a job requires a matric.*

*– Sassy*

*By 25, I had this idea of being...in a proper job earning a salary...because I studied and I have my degree. – Petronella*

Petronella, Jenay and Zipho placed different value on paid employment compared to other forms of productivity, such as volunteering, babysitting or running a small business. They appeared to see these options as an interim solution while looking for more permanent work.

*...I agreed to volunteer and came back to Bredasdorp...at least I had something to get going with after uni. – Petronella*

*After I left school, I was just at home, doing nothing...I haven't worked either, except for babysitting my brother's and sisters' children. – Jenay*

Supporting their family and friends, giving back to their communities, as well as spending time on their own or with family or friends, were valued by the participants.

*I spend the most time with [my nephew]...Sometimes I take him to my friends...It makes me feel good to spend time with my family because when we're together we talk about everything then I know if there's something wrong. – John*

*... [I] only have two or three friends who are like family, because I know I can trust them...when we're together we uplift each other, it's positive energy and healing vibes. We'll drink and smoke and the conversations are so good. We just talk about stuff, about God and we just let it out. – Sassy*

*I like to participate [in community meetings] when they ask for solutions for a problem. It makes me a good member of the community so people can count on me. – Zipho*

Jenay's experience with her family contrasts with other participants as her family relationships do not seem to be as positive, and she does not spend as much time with her family when they are together at home.

*Wanneer my familie saam sit, is ek nie by nie, ek lê altyd, want hulle sal lag en van my jokes maak, ek lag soms self maar nie altyd nie. Dit is irriterend en ek raak baie gou kwaad.<sup>65</sup> – Jenay*

Participants' valued education, various forms of employment, supporting their family, friends and community and spending time on their own or with family or friends. These values informed their preferences and habits regarding which occupations to pursue; prioritising time on their own; engagement in particular social and recreational activities, supportive social circles and spending regular time with the entire family or specific family members.

*...I take my son [to the library] because I want him to read...I also play games with him, watch movies and take him to events in town. –  
Petronella*

*Die tyd wat ek die tablet gebruik, is my privaat tyd.<sup>66</sup> – John*

*...I don't like to have many friends, I like my own space. The smaller my friend circle is, the more I can focus on myself. I don't like to be in a circle where we are not sharing the same goals or perspectives of life. – Zipho*

#### 4.2.4.2 Taking on different roles

Participants took on multiple roles within their contexts, such as daughter/son, sibling, family member, friend, student, caregiver, employee, sports team member, athlete and community member. The expectations and perceptions of appropriate roles for this developmental stage influenced what they saw as appropriate and possible for themselves at this age and informed their perceptions of independence.

*I just don't think [going back to school] will be easy, I mean I'm 22. – Jenay*

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<sup>65</sup> *When my family sits together, I'm not by them, I'm always lying down, because they will laugh and make jokes about me, I sometimes laugh but not always. It is irritating and I get angry very quickly.*

<sup>66</sup> *The time I use the tablet is my private time.*

*I'm always about opportunities because I don't like sitting at home and asking my mother for everything, I have to be independent at some stage.*

*– Zipho*

These roles also influenced the choices participants made regarding how they spend their time, which occupations they engaged in and whether they took up opportunities, such as providing for family, pursuing a particular career and working towards goals and dreams.

*...I'm conflicted [between athletics and working] because I need the money for my son...But work takes a lot of my time, it's draining and I can't get to my training...I know I have to have a job; it sucks. – Petronella*

*There's opportunities in rugby like playing for WP<sup>67</sup> where you actually get paid. Next year, I want to try out for Boland<sup>68</sup> and WP. – Sassy*

*The other reason why I'm still in Hermanus is that I love my family and want to give them a better life and future and I want them to be proud of me. I want my sister to be able to count on me in whichever way, financially or emotionally. – Zipho*

#### *4.2.4.3 "I just have to work hard because nothing is impossible"*

Believing in themselves, the necessity to work hard, and that nothing is impossible were some of the beliefs of participants that provided internal motivation and supported the pursuit of their chosen occupations, goals and dreams.

*I was in matric when I gave birth, but I figured everything out and passed with a distinction...I had wanted to go to the Tokyo 2020 Olympics, but there's a lot that goes into it...But dreams delayed are not dreams denied...I know [becoming a professional athlete requires] hard work to get there, but I'm willing to put it in...It's not about the money or awards*

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<sup>67</sup> Western Province rugby club.

<sup>68</sup> Boland rugby club.

*for me, I'm doing it because I have put my heart into it...The motivation is more intrinsic than extrinsic. – Petronella*

*I think it will be possible for me to get my learner's and my driver's in the future, because I really want to do it. – Jenay*

Participants also described various innate skills, abilities and characteristics that shaped their occupational engagement and enabled them to overcome obstacles and achieve their goals. These included their ability to manage challenges, stay focused, resist negative influences, make the right choices, and be curious to learn.

*I read a lot, so I get the knowledge I need as an athlete and even a coach...So, in a way I can coach myself. – Petronella*

*I can do it if I can accomplish all my goals, keep my mind straight and don't let people influence me badly. – John*

Furthermore, having good academic abilities enabled Petronella and Zipho to access tertiary education. John considered academic abilities to be an enabler, which would support him in potentially attending a tertiary educational institution, provided he does well in matric.

*I'm very excited to finish school because I can then go to any college of my choice because I'm a clever learner. – John*

Possessing sporting skills or talent was an important factor that provided participants with a choice to engage in sport and consider it as a possible career.

*I started athletics in primary school. You know when you're a kid and you win at something and feel really good about it? That was me. I said, "let me see if I win again", and I kept winning and I thought I can do something with this. – Petronella*

Common across Petronella, Jenay and Sassy's stories was the impact that their various mental health challenges had on their level of confidence, which limited their occupational engagement. Additionally, their mental health experiences, anxieties, fears, age and insecurities limited their engagement in certain occupations and constrained what they saw as possible for themselves and the choices they made.

*Die een ding wat my kan keer om te gaan [na die museum] is die feit dat ek social anxiety het, daai keer vir my van baie goed af.<sup>69</sup> – Jenay*

*I have stopped school twice and was held back a few years, because I couldn't focus because of my anxiety and depression... I stayed in the house for about six months...I used to look out the window and admire people walking by, like how do they have so much confidence, I can't even make it outside... A few months ago, I had an opportunity at a modelling agency...but my mother and I decided it wasn't the best time for me because I was taking a break from school because of my anxiety... – Sassy*

#### **4.3 CONCLUSION**

This chapter detailed the findings of the thematic analysis of the participants' narrative stories drawing on one theme, "...people are influenced by what is already happening here...". The findings showed that participants' abilities to exercise their agency within challenging contexts was influenced by both contextual and personal factors which shaped their occupational possibilities and occupational choices.

Participants described three common personal expectations for this stage of their lives, namely, to obtain either high school or post-school education or training, to be working in a stable job and to live independently. These were also influenced by their caregivers' and their communities' expectations of young people in Bredasdorp. Participants had additional personal goals and dreams as well as goals specifically related to their families and their

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<sup>69</sup> *The one thing that can stop me from going [to the museum] is the fact that I have social anxiety, that stops me from doing a lot of things.*

communities. Aspects within the cultural environment of their communities that shaped what participants saw as viable options and influenced the choices they made included the commonality of youth living at home, dropping out of school, being at home, and also the values placed on education, working, sports and partying.

Participants identified various economic, social and physical factors experienced within their community contexts, which either supported or constrained their occupational engagement. Economic factors included access to finances and navigating four different drivers within the local and national economy, namely, a lack of opportunities and challenges in obtaining employment; inequitable access to opportunities between Bredasdorp and other cities and towns; experiencing periods of unemployment; and experiences of low income and job instability. Access to social support was crucial for participants to engage in occupations such as education, employment and sports, as well as to navigate various social issues. The physical environment affected participants' daily lives through three key factors, that is, access to services, facilities, resources and opportunities; the spatial layout of geographical areas; and safety issues.

In addition to the contextual factors, participants described various personal factors that shaped their occupational engagement, and thus their occupational possibilities and occupational choices. Participants' personal values influenced their behaviour, expectations, goals and dreams. The multiple roles which participants took on within their contexts influenced what they saw as appropriate and possible for themselves at this age. Their beliefs and internal motivation supported their pursuit of their chosen occupations, goals and dreams. Lastly, participants described various innate skills, abilities and characteristics that shaped their occupational engagement.

Although it is the participants who engage in the occupations, the analysis found that their contexts are continuously shaping this engagement. The context, which was in a continuous state of change, played an influential role in how participants navigated their daily lives, impacting their path in terms of the past, present and what they expected and hoped for their futures. Thus, the findings of this study suggest that the participants' personal factors in transaction with their contextual factors impacted their ability to exercise their agency within

their contexts, which, in turn, influenced their occupational engagement by shaping what participants saw as possible for themselves and the choices which they had available and made. The nature of this transactional relationship between the person and their contexts, as well as between their occupational possibilities and occupational choices, will be discussed in the next chapter.

## **CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSION**

### **5.1 INTRODUCTION**

The findings of this study describe two elements which played an influential role in participants' occupational engagement, namely, their contextual and personal factors. The nature of the relationship between these two elements, the participants' ability to exercise their agency within their contexts and how this resulted in occupation will be discussed utilizing a transactional perspective of occupation (Cutchin & Dickie, 2012; Dickie et al., 2006). The situated nature of participants' occupational possibilities and occupational choices will then be examined. Exploration of occupational possibilities will be informed by the theory of governmentality, while Bourdieu's (1997, 1990) understanding of social action will be used to further explore occupational choice. The chapter will end with a discussion of the applicability to the study participants of the five features and common milestones of the emerging adult developmental stage.

### **5.2 THE TRANSACTIONAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE PERSON AND THE CONTEXT**

The emergence of the transactional perspective of occupation (Dickie et al., 2006) has been an important shift in the understanding of the situated nature of occupation in occupational therapy and occupational science (Cutchin & Dickie, 2012). Informed by John Dewey's pragmatic understanding of transactionalism, action theories have assisted occupational science scholars to develop nuanced understandings of occupation as a form of social action (Cutchin & Dickie, 2012; Galvaan, 2012). This perspective has been promoted as a means by which to "...overcome the duality between the person and environment" that is often present in occupational therapy's understanding of human occupation (Galvaan, 2015, p. 40).

In challenging the implicit division between the person and their context, this perspective proposes that occupations are embedded within social structures, and in turn, these structures form an integral part of occupations (Dickie et al., 2006; Lavalley, 2017). This perspective is necessary to understand the interrelatedness of occupation, individuals, and their contexts. Such a perspective appreciates that occupation provides opportunities for individuals to relate *to* their environments and *within* their environments and is co-constructed through the complex transaction between humans, environments and

communities that form a complex situation (Dickie et al., 2006; Galvaan, 2017; Lavalley, 2017).

Thus, the study sought to understand participants' individual experiences of how the context has shaped their occupational possibilities and occupational choices, and ultimately, their health and wellbeing, by recognising the complex relationship between human agency and social structure. Identifying the limitations of an individualistic perspective coupled with occupational science's determination to develop a socially responsive science, Laliberte Rudman and Aldrich (2017, p. 470) contend that "...transcending the individual does not equate to neglecting how individuals make sense of and experience occupation; rather, it requires looking at individual constructions of experiences and occupations in critically informed ways that highlight the socio-political influences on those constructions".

### ***5.2.1 The Nature of the Transactions between Person and Context***

Through the construction and analysis of the participants' narrative stories, this study found that both personal and contextual factors, not either or, shaped how participants exercised their agency in the different environments in which they engaged. Both elements consisted of enablers and barriers, which either provided participants with opportunities for engagement or constrained participation in occupations within their community contexts. As the context transacted with participants' agency, possibilities for occupational engagement and the availability of choices were either created or expanded, or were constrained or limited, due to the internal and external enablers and barriers and how these changed over time. This expansion or limitation of possibilities was also due to the choices that participants made and the influence of those choices on the contexts. Similarly, the choices participants made depended on their past choices, current and future possibilities, and any changes within the contexts.

Additionally, this study found that this transactional relationship between participants' agency and their contexts was complex, dynamic and non-linear. Within the participants' narratives, it was seen that both personal and/or contextual factors (agency and structure) may provide individuals with a particular possibility for occupational engagement. Participants may then make a particular choice to "fulfil" this possibility or they may make a

different choice (agency) based on the available internal or external enablers and barriers (agency and structure). This, in turn, affects what is now possible and the choices which they have available and/or which they make. Similarly, this “relationship” may start with a participant making a choice (agency) that influences what is available in the context and what may be possible based on that choice (structure), and this, in turn, influences their available possibilities and choices. However, it is argued that the “initial” choice is only possible due to the availability or lack of possibilities, opportunities and choices at that time. This illustrates how the participants’ agency and their contexts are intertwined, circular and interdependent and, thus, not separate entities.

These findings show that the participants were not acting as separate entities from their environments, but rather in relation to their context. This is supported by the transactional perspective of occupation, which postulates that the environment is not just a backdrop or container for occupations to occur in, but that “...the specific attributes of the place, together with people, their culture, and ways of being, shapes the way and kinds of occupations that are possible and the way that environments are constructed” (Galvaan, 2017, p. 50). Furthermore, Cutchin and Dickie (2012) emphasise the importance of understanding the dynamics of the relationship *between* the person and their context, rather than what takes place *within* the context. These authors argue that the transactional perspective provides the “...conceptual power to analyse occupation as the functional coordination of person and situation in order to bring people into greater harmony with their worlds – and to improve well-being” (Cutchin & Dickie, 2012, p. 34).

The influential role of the participants’ personal and contextual factors was, however, not always equal, with the context often having a greater influence on providing or constraining opportunities for occupational engagement. The idea of bounded agency is helpful in conceptualizing the impact of the interplay between human agency and social structure within this study. Informed by Evans (2007), Turcotte and Lanctôt (2021, p. 297) define bounded agency as “...a concept that situates the actions and decisions of individuals within the specific structural and social contexts in which they take place”. Thus, Evans (2007) views bounded agency as being socially situated; noting that agency is not determined, but, instead, influenced by the environments. This is supported by Laliberte Rudman (2015, p. 32) who

states that agency is therefore “...‘bounded’ within various layers and aspects of contexts”. Considering this, the participants’ ability to be *agentic* can be seen as being held within specific boundaries, which are determined by their contextual enablers and barriers and by what was available and possible within their context.

As the participants were intricately connected to and embedded within their contexts, their possibilities and choices regarding their occupational engagement were shaped by the interplay between their personal agency and their contexts. Figure 4 shows diagrammatically how, when the various aspects of the context transacted with participants’ personal factors, possibilities for occupational engagement and availability of choices were either created or expanded on one hand, or constrained or limited on the other hand, due to the personal and contextual enablers and barriers.

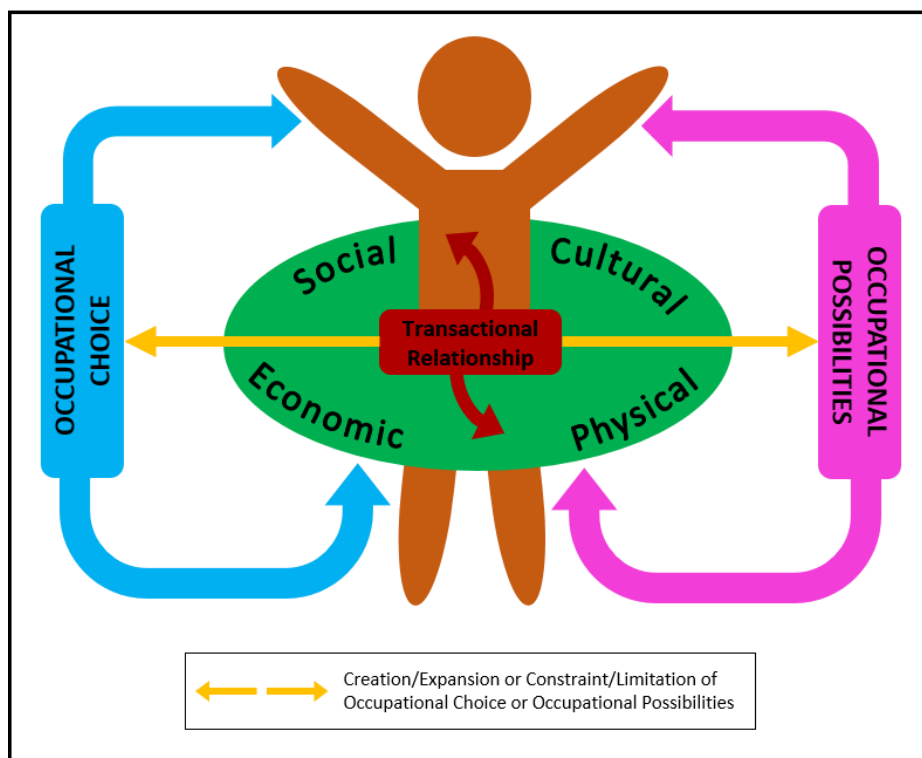


Figure 4: The Transaction between the Person and the Context

### 5.2.2 The Role of the Different Levels of the Environment

The findings described the various aspects of the environment which affected participants’ occupational possibilities and occupational choices, namely, the social, economic, physical, cultural and historical. These aspects relate to Galvaan’s (2017) conceptualisation of the



their home and educational institutions; for example, experiences of domestic violence directly influencing their ability to focus in school. There was also a connection between their home and work; for example, low income earned at work diminishing financial stability at home. Additionally, there was a link between their sports clubs and work; for example, lack of support of sports club requiring engagement in work that does not provide job satisfaction. Lastly, there was an interaction between their social circles and educational pursuits; for example, peer pressure and distracting friends impacting the capacity to stay focused on education.

The participants' exo-systems included their neighbourhoods, the larger community of Bredasdorp and Hermanus, as well as the surrounding areas of the tertiary educational institutions they attended. Aspects within these various contexts which influenced their occupational engagement included safety issues; attitudes and preferences for specific sports; dynamics within the sport clubs or church communities; social norms regarding school dropouts, teenage pregnancy and the culture of partying amongst young people in Bredasdorp; lack of facilities and amenities within neighbourhoods; community expectations; and the existing school system within the community. These factors either enabled or hindered their participation in occupations by, for example, constraining available opportunities and access to resources, limiting community mobility and requiring participants to walk long distances, and influencing participants' expectations of themselves.

The macro-systems included the broader contextual factors that have an indirect influence on the participants' daily occupations. This included factors such as the COVID-19 pandemic and subsequent lockdowns; issues of racism and racial segregation resulting from the socio-political history of apartheid; socio-economic factors resulting in financial constraints, funding requirements to study at tertiary level, limited job opportunities, and a lack of economic opportunities in various sectors in Bredasdorp and youth unemployment; and disparity in access to resources, amenities and opportunities between rural and urban settings.

The chronosystem includes the impact of historical events as well as the passage of time and continuity of experience from past to present to future. The main historical events that affected participants' possibilities and choices were the apartheid legacy of racism and racial

segregation in both Bredasdorp and Hermanus. Furthermore, the choices that participants made in the past influenced what was possible for them and the choices they have available in the present. Likewise, the past and present possibilities and choices influenced what will be possible for them and the availability of choice in the future.

Utilising the transactional perspective of occupation is necessary to understand the interrelatedness between the person and the environment. This study supports this perspective as it shows that the person and environment cannot be separated, and that the various dimensions and levels of the environment influence occupational engagement, either directly or indirectly by transacting with agency. The next section will discuss the ways in which the context shapes occupational possibilities and occupational choice.

### **5.3 THE SITUATED NATURE OF OCCUPATIONAL POSSIBILITIES AND OCCUPATIONAL CHOICE**

Given the findings in relation to the transactional relationship between the person and their contexts, this study revealed that participants' occupational possibilities and occupational choices were not wholly dependent on either their individual agency or their context but instead resulted from an interplay and constant interaction between the two. Thus, the person is situated within the context when engaging in occupations and does not act separately *to*, but rather, *within* the context. Both the theories of occupational possibilities and occupational choice posit that these occupational science constructs have an influential, although not deterministic, effect, on people's occupations (Galvaan, 2012, 2015; Laliberte Rudman, 2010). In considering the situated nature of occupation, examination of each of these constructs is necessary.

#### ***5.3.1 Understanding Occupational Possibilities through Governmentality***

Laliberte Rudman (2010, 2012) draws on the theory of governmentality to understand how contextual and structural factors shape people's occupational possibilities by examining how societies are governed through various strategies and processes which manage people's behaviour in different aspects of social life (Cutchin & Dickie, 2012). Governmentality is understood as "...all endeavours that aim to shape, guide or direct the conduct of others and one's own conduct towards certain ends...the ways in which the technologies and practices

of various social authorities and agencies, such as schools, health care institutions, mass media, families, as well as the state, seek to govern conduct” (Laliberte Rudman, 2010, p. 56).

A core concept in governmentality theory is that of *subjectivity*, which is “...conceptualised as possibilities for organizing personhood” (Laliberte Rudman, 2012, p. 109). Laliberte Rudman (2010) contends that similar to subjectivities, occupations are a focus of the technologies of government, as they subtly direct people’s ways of being, and in doing so “...shape particular occupations as possible, ideal and ethical for particular types of individuals or collectives, while simultaneously marking out other occupations as not possible, non-ideal and unethical” (Laliberte Rudman, 2012, p. 110). This theory is helpful in understanding the participants’ lived experiences and how this shaped their occupational possibilities as it examines how these technologies and practices promote a particular way of being and doing within their community contexts (Laliberte Rudman, 2010).

Within the study context, it is clear that the occupations of education, whether at a secondary or tertiary level, and employment are promoted as ideal for the emerging adult population/study participants. Mechanisms across the various levels of the environment supported education and formal employment as ideal occupations for this age group. These mechanisms include: personal and community expectations; widely accepted beliefs that young people need to focus on obtaining education to be able to obtain employment; mechanisms within the labour market which requires a matric certificate as a basis for obtaining employment and tertiary diplomas or degrees as necessary for specific professional jobs; and national policies which make access to education at a secondary level available regardless of socio-economic class, despite a clear disparity between the quality of education of fee-paying and non-fee paying schools.

Furthermore, even within the pursuit of education, the participants placed emphasis on tertiary as opposed to secondary education at this age. Although it appears acceptable to enter this developmental stage while still in high school, there was implicit understanding that being over 18 years in high school meant there was a delay of sorts in the schooling journey.

Although leaving school early was a viable option and thus a feasible possibility for participants, the emphasis on obtaining education implicitly promotes dropping out as non-ideal and contradictory to the status quo, as it limits the individual's achievement of their educational and employment goals. Furthermore, there are limited opportunities for participants who drop out, and few alternative means to obtain formal employment. This supports the discourses of the "right path" for young people in this community; that is, obtaining education and formal employment.

Within the study, particular types of work occupations are promoted by the social context as more valuable than others, that is, stable, paid employment is considered more ideal than having a small business, volunteering or contributing to a household's reproductive labour. Thus, to get work or access employment opportunities, participants needed to make particular choices that would assist them to obtain the appropriate qualifications and experience necessary for this type of employment.

In addition to education and employment, there appears to be a third available option for participants, which is, "being at home". Within the study this was viewed as an acceptable and viable alternative after leaving school. However, "being at home" is not idealised with the same value as completing education or obtaining employment. The two participants who were at home after leaving high school, appeared to have an incongruence within their narratives, as they both spoke about their experiences of being at home, but also considered either returning to complete their education or finding employment. This suggests that within this context "being at home" was not valued in the same way as studying or working.

Even though some participants had the expectation to live independently, this did not seem to be promoted as ideal or possible within this context. This could be due to two reasons. Firstly, the socio-economic context constrained emerging adults' abilities to live independently. Secondly, the collectivistic culture and poverty promotes *interdependence* within family units and, thus, as participants began to earn, the money was used to contribute to the household income or to lighten the financial burden on the family unit.

Although it is recognised that having a child as a teenager is common in this context, according to the participants' perceptions, societal attitudes, informed by religious and cultural values and developmental expectations, regard having children as reserved for young adulthood or those who are married. Furthermore, it is considered as not ideal within this context as it is seen as "interfering" with the young person's ability to stay on the right track towards achieving the idealised occupations of education and employment as well as financial independence.

The various forms of socialising within the context were judged on a continuum from preferable to risky. For participants, spending time with friends, while either smoking cigarettes, drinking alcohol (but not "partying"), attending sport games and hanging out, appear to be idealised as appropriate ways to be and do with friends. The culture of partying, which is common in Bredasdorp, is however, considered not ideal by the participants, as it is viewed as risky and can lead to negative consequences such as substance abuse and deviation from the "right path".

Within this context, certain occupations were promoted as ideal over other occupations. Ideal occupations for this developmental stage were considered to be obtaining education and stable employment, living at home and hanging out with friends. Dropping out of school, "being at home", teenage pregnancy and the culture of partying were less idealised within this context, and while they were acceptable, they were not given the same value as ideal occupations.

Participants' occupational possibilities were shaped by mechanisms within the context which idealised certain occupations as appropriate for emerging adults within this context.

### ***5.3.2 Understanding Occupational Choice through Social Action Theory***

The study findings support Galvaan's (2012; p. 153) position that occupational choice is a complex process that is influenced by a variety of factors ranging from the personal, such as a specific skill set, to contextual, for example, availability of a particular opportunity. Utilising the lens of occupation as a form of social action which occurs in multiple contexts (Cutchin & Dickie, 2012; Galvaan, 2012, 2015), Galvaan (2015, p. 40-41) considers occupational choice as

“serv[ing] as a mediating factor, contributing to the way in which people, as agents of their own actions, navigate their occupations within social structures”. Galvaan (2015, p. 41) notes a dialectic interconnection between people and the social structures recognising that “...agents, rather than structures, act, but that structures sway the agent’s actions”.

Drawing on Bourdieu’s (1997, 1990) theories of action, Galvaan (2012, 2015) highlights that the transactional nature of occupational choice is shaped by practical consciousness, which is, in turn, shaped by habitus, capital, social fields and doxa. Practical consciousness can be understood as “...conscious and unconscious reflexive behaviour...” (Dmitrievna et al., 2014, p. 1464). Thus, the choices that participants made and the way in which they engaged within their contexts was dependent on their previous life experiences, socialisation within their families and communities, attitudes, and their perceptions of and interactions with the world. Galvaan (2012, 2015) asserts that practical consciousness is “...informed by habitus and dispositions that are developed over time and that are often consistent with the doxa of communities where they live” (Galvaan, 2015, p. 49).

Habitus is defined as “...an unconscious, embodied presence of external socio-cultural structures that shape our disposition to act in particular contexts” (Cutchin et al., 2008, p. 160). Thus, habitus results from people internalising the external structures of society that then shapes their expectations and aspirations and ultimately the disposition to act. Habitus does not determine exactly what people choose to do; however, it has an influential effect on occupational choice (Galvaan, 2015). The social norms for emerging adults within this community appear to be largely focused on completing secondary and tertiary education or training, obtaining formal employment, “hanging out” with peers, and having a sense of responsibility towards their families and the community. These norms informed their expectations for themselves at this age, which in turn informed the choices that would support their accomplishment of these occupations. Each of the participants had deviated from this pathway in some way by dropping out of school, becoming pregnant, failing a grade, or being influenced by peer pressure. However, they had either found their way back to the idealised path or were considering processes to do so. This suggests that the choices that they made or were considering are greatly influenced by the social norms.

The concepts of capital and social fields are intertwined and best discussed together. Capital is considered to be the “objectively valued resources within a particular social field” (Galvaan, 2015, p. 41). These resources include economic, cultural, social and symbolic capital (Cutchin, et al., 2008). Social fields describe the social and institutional spaces in which people’s actions occur that reproduce or challenge power and capital (Cutchin et al., 2008). Thus, social fields can be considered to be the various contexts in which people engage, and capital can be understood as the resources that contribute to the social positioning required to engage in these various fields (Galvaan, 2015). Social and economic capital appeared to be the most overtly used forms of capital within this context. Participants relied heavily on their social capital to navigate their occupational choices. Additionally, the lack of social support constrained participants’ occupational engagement by creating barriers for them to engage in the occupations idealised for this age within the context. Due to their socio-economic status, participants’ limited economic capital also constrained their choices regarding their occupational engagement, and thus the necessity to accumulate economic capital for themselves and their families was a prominent motivator influencing participants’ pursuits of formal employment.

Doxa is understood as the tacit presuppositions or taken-for-granted assumptions that individuals or groups of people hold. The doxa creates an internalised sense of limits or boundaries for a person to enact their agency within the specific context (Galvaan, 2015; Huot & Laliberte Rudman, 2010). People’s presuppositions (doxa) have an impact on their implicit understanding regarding their agency in making different occupational choices. The doxa that is common across communities are evident in the patterns of occupational engagement of the community (Galvaan, 2015). However, similar to habitus, Galvaan (2015) maintains that a person’s doxa does not determine the choices they make, but rather, it highlights the strategies of reproduction or reconversion that people use to regulate the positions that they hold in various contexts. Such strategies either “...reproduce existing social positions or, through conversion, establish new social positions through the occupational choices made” (2015, p. 41).

Throughout their narratives, participants made a clear distinction between the *right* and *wrong* path, and even though many of these occupations, such as teenage pregnancy,

substance use or poaching, were commonly occurring in the community context, there was a tacit understanding of which occupations fell into which category. Although participants may have made past or present choices to engage in occupations which resulted in a deviation from the “right” path, they appeared to “police” or monitor their own behaviour, with the implicit understanding of the risk involved in engaging in deviant occupations, such as drug use and partying.

Furthermore, it can be argued that those participants who dropped out of school are resisting the dominant discourses of education and/or employment as ideal occupations for this age group. Leaving school, due to bullying or mental health difficulties, disrupted their ability to pursue these idealised occupations. Thus, their actions opposed the discourse regarding the ideal path for emerging adults in this context. While this reproduces the discourse of dropping out of school as a viable option, “being at home” also establishes and supports alternate ways of doing and being within this community. This is similar to the participant who became pregnant and maintained their occupational choice to remain in school after childbirth, thereby resisting the discourse that teenage pregnancy leads to young people leaving school.

Thus, the participants’ occupational choices are shaped by personal factors that are in continuous transaction with the context.

### ***5.3.3 Disparity between Dreams and Possibilities***

Due to participants’ internal motivation and belief that anything is possible, they mostly felt that their dreams and goals were achievable in the future. There was, however, a disparity noted between their dreams and what may be possible within their contexts; that is, what is feasible for them to achieve versus what was a dream providing hope and something to work towards. This disparity was largely due to the contextual enablers and barriers and personal barriers, as participants’ personal enablers would not be sufficient on their own to achieve their dreams, even if they believed they would be. Thus, this difference depended on participants accessing their contextual enablers and overcoming their personal and contextual barriers.

Participants' past choices and experiences, such as having a child as a teenager or dropping out of school, as well as their contexts, play a role in the potential difference between their dreams and their actual possibilities. This is noted as a potential difference, since predicting exactly what will happen in the future and where each participant's path may take them is not possible. The impact of the context can be seen, for example, in the influence of the current socio-economic context. Since the majority of the participants' dreams required economic capital, the socio-economic context currently affected their abilities to become financially stable and begin saving for their dreams. Additionally, the lack of opportunities and activities within Bredasdorp and challenges with community mobility were aspects of the physical environment which created contextual barriers to achieving their dreams.

This disparity is supported by Mosavel et al.'s (2015) study, which found that the contexts of youth living in constraining conditions resulted in limited opportunity for them to focus on achieving their dreams due to the daily stressor of meeting their basic needs. Furthermore, the idea of the "quiet violence of dreams" (Swartz et al., 2012), introduced in the literature review, is important when considering the disparity between the participants' dreams and their actual possibilities. Most of the participants' narratives show clearly that they have high hopes and dream of better futures for themselves and their families. These dreams range from becoming an Olympic athlete, to being an influencer, to buying property on an estate as a second income, to owning a glass mansion, private jet and luxury cars. Swartz et al. (2012, p. 33) state that living in contexts of poverty is "...not conducive to realizing dreams and the social and cultural capital necessary for getting ahead is almost non-existent". Even though participants may not necessarily live in "poverty" (as this was not specifically determined), they live in contexts of inequality that may have the same impact. Thus, while participants may have these hopes and dreams for themselves and display the necessary internal motivation, their contexts lack the required capital, which may create significant barriers to achieving these dreams.

#### ***5.3.4 The Impact of Participants on their Contexts***

Although the research question is focused on understanding the way in which the context shapes occupational possibilities and occupational choice, it is important to note that the participants did appear to be shaping their contexts. This is in line with the transactional

perspective of occupation (Dickie et al., 2006), which recognizes how social structures are shaped and created by everyday living (Galvaan, 2012).

Superficially, it appears that participants' impact on their contexts may be limited to the micro-system level of their environments, as this is where they have a direct influence; for example, within their families, friend circles and/or work environments. However, their patterns of occupational engagement, while on an individual level, may indirectly contribute to what was occurring in their exo-systems and macro-systems. Galvaan (2012, p. 159) states that "since occupations are forms of social action, it is asserted that the patterns of occupations over time contribute to the continuity of society". Thus, the participants' occupational engagement in, for example, the pursuit of education, being unemployed, dropping out of school or college, or choosing not to participate in the party culture, contributes to the continuity of or shifts the existing accepted, viable and normal occupations for this developmental stage within this context over time. This is consistent with the strategies of reproduction or reconversion discussed above. The use of these strategies is important in understanding the impact that participants have on their contexts and vice versa. When participants reproduce existing structures, they are perpetuating and stabilising ways of being and doing in that context. However, when they exercise their agency and make choices which are different to the existing social positions, they allow for different ways of being and doing to exist in that context.

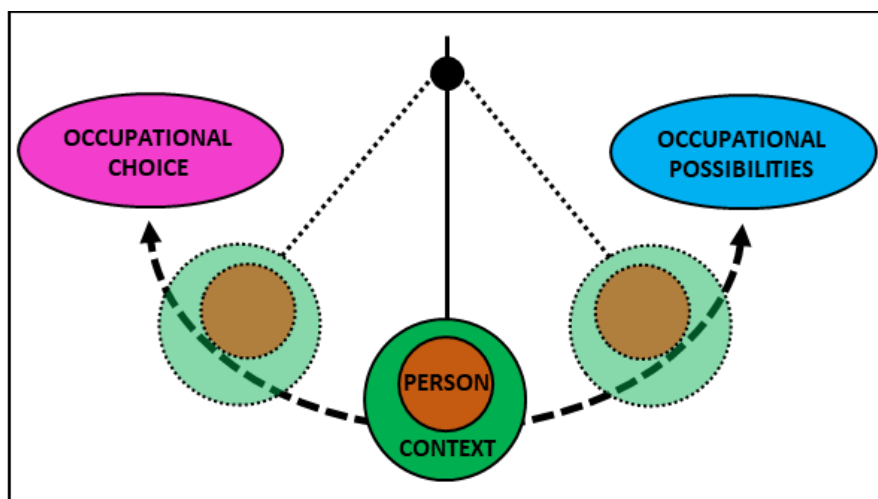
Additionally, participants have the potential to influence their contexts in the future if they can achieve their dreams and goals. Most of the participants had goals and dreams for their family and community contexts, for example, improving their families' lives, building crèches in the community, being a role model for young aspiring athletes, creating a sports club to support youth development in the future and advocating for mental health. Thus, if realised, the participants may have a direct influence on these contexts.

### ***5.3.5 The Relationship between Occupational Possibilities and Occupational Choice***

In addition to the interplay between agency and structure, the findings revealed an important relationship between occupational possibilities and occupational choice. As participants engaged in occupations, their occupational possibilities and occupational choices were

constantly influencing each other. In conjunction with the transactional relationship between the person and context, the occupational choices that were available and that participants made, appeared to reinforce the occupations which were considered ideal or non-ideal for this developmental stage, thus influencing the current and future occupational possibilities. Additionally, the participants' available occupational possibilities reproduced similar opportunities for engagement. This influenced which occupational choices participants had available to make and that they made; and as such, their occupational choice influenced what was now possible in the present and future. Thus, this dialectical relationship between occupational possibilities and occupational choice appears to also be transactional in nature.

In other words, the expansion or limitation of occupational possibilities was due to the choices which participants made and the influence of those choices on the contexts. Similarly, the expansion or limitation of participants' occupational choices depended on their past choices, current and future possibilities, and any changes in the contexts. Thus, the interplay between participants' occupational possibilities and occupational choices also appears to be continuous, fluid, non-linear and dynamic, in that it does not start with either occupational possibilities or occupational choice but rather a back and forth between the two constructs, as seen in Figure 6.



*Figure 6: Transactional Relationship between Occupational Possibilities and Occupational Choice*

Furthermore, this transaction between the two constructs had an influence in shaping the participants' directions in life. The fluidity between occupational possibilities and

occupational choice changes the pathway of a person's life due to the choices they have made and the changing possibilities. Each "next step" in the participants' path was reliant on both their occupational possibilities and occupational choices. This relationship between occupational possibilities and occupational choice is also dependent on the passage of time and on continuity of experience from past to present to future. The choices that participants made in the past influenced what was currently possible for them and the choices they have available in the present. Likewise, the past and present possibilities and choices influenced what would be possible in the future. This is also due to the changes in the context that are experienced over time.

This study appears to be the first to investigate both occupational possibilities and occupational choice amongst the same study population. Most studies examine only one of the constructs, however some scholars do discuss the interplay between the two constructs, albeit briefly (Brennan & Gallagher, 2017; Floríndez & Floríndez, 2018; Gallagher et al., 2015; Galvaan, 2012, 2015; Laliberte Rudman, 2010, 2015; Murthi & Hammell, 2020). In her exploration of the contextual-embeddedness of occupational choice, Hammell (2020) discusses the resonance between Galvaan's (2012, 2015) conceptualization of occupational choice and Laliberte Rudman's (2010, 2015) conceptualization of occupational possibilities, stating that "...occupational possibilities play a fundamental role in determining the range of occupational choices that people are able to envision as realistic options for themselves" (Hammell, 2020, p. 406). Thus, within this study, the relationship between occupational possibilities and occupational choice appears to be continuous and fluid in that it does not start with either occupational possibilities or occupational choice, but rather there is a back-and-forth with each "next step" in the participants' path which is reliant on both constructs.

This study's findings revealed a transactional relationship between participants' occupational possibilities and their occupational choices. This relationship was noted to be dialectic, continuous, fluid, non-linear and dynamic. The transaction between these two constructs expanded or limited what participants saw as possible for themselves and the choices they had available and made, which ultimately shaped their direction in life.

A closer examination of how the context shapes occupational possibilities and occupational choice revealed that agency is influenced by governmentality and practical consciousness, supporting the idea of bounded agency. Furthermore, through strategies of reproduction and reconversion, individuals shape their contexts. Due to the impact of living in constraining conditions, a disparity between participants' dreams and their possibilities was found. Lastly, a dialectical and transactional relationship was found between occupational possibilities and occupational choice.

#### **5.4 THE EXPERIENCE OF BEING AN EMERGING ADULT IN BREDASDORP**

The critiques of the theory of emerging adulthood (Arnett, 2000, 2014, 2016), outlined in the literature review, prompts an examination of the proposed developmental stage to explore whether it is applicable within the South African context and more specifically the context of this study.

##### ***5.4.1 Applicability of the Five Features of Emerging Adulthood***

Each of the five features of emerging adulthood, that is, identity exploration, focus on self, instability, in-between period, and a time of possibilities and opportunity (Arnett, 2000, 2014) will be discussed to examine the applicability to the participants in this study.

###### ***5.4.1.1 Focus on self***

Arnett (2014) posits that this period of development is a self-focused age and that emerging adults have fewer obligations to people around them than in other life stages. The theory suggests that emerging adults are no longer fully reliant on parents (as adolescents are) nor are they experiencing the long-term commitments in work and love that are found in adulthood (Arnett & Mitra, 2020). Thus, as they become more independent during this stage, they focus more on their own obligations than on others and with the focus in developing the self-understanding, knowledge and skills needed for adulthood (Arnett & Mitra, 2020; Nice & Joseph, 2023).

Most participants appeared to still be reliant on parents for daily needs and while there was a clear focus on "sorting themselves out" or "settling themselves", participants were also concerned about the wellbeing of their families and their community. This is also seen in

Hendry and Kloep's (2010) study, where the emerging adults "...showed a considerable amount of empathy and responsible behaviour towards others..." (p. 173). Thus, participants' motivations for self-advancement were not only influenced by their desires to meet their own goals, but also largely to provide for their families and make a difference in their communities.

This difference in relation to the theory could be due to a difference in cultural values in terms of individualism versus collectivism. Mitra and Arnett (2021), informed by Kapp (1963), describes an "unresolved dualism" amongst their study population of emerging adults in India, noting that both being responsible in relation to the family and requiring autonomy were of importance. They recognize that this is commonly seen in cultures that have both individualistic and collectivist attributes. South Africa can be considered to have a mixture of both individualistic and collectivistic values (Harunavamwe & Palmer, 2020). Thus, the participants' focus on themselves as well as their families and communities could be due to the value of interdependence in the community of Bredasdorp, rather than solely independence as is often seen in Western cultures (Adams et al., 2016).

Cox et al. (2014) state that for rural emerging adults, family plays an important role in their lives and forms part of their decision-making regarding employment and educational attainment. This is supported by Gallagher et al. (2015, p. 627) who state that "people from disadvantaged communities more often make choices that emphasize their connection to others rather than those choices that reflect individual pursuits". Consideration of the importance of family in the choices which participants made was seen within the study.

Furthermore, in support of collectivist values, Swartz et al. (2012, p. 32) note that in South Africa, young people's dreams "...refer not only to personal success, but also involve the young people's family and even the broader community". This is similar to the study's findings in relation to the participants' goals, which encompass those for themselves, providing for their families, and impacting their communities.

#### *5.4.1.2 Identity exploration*

In his theory, Arnett (2000, 2014) posits that identity exploration, which may begin in adolescence, peaks during emerging adulthood, as this period provides opportunities for

identity exploration and making enduring choices in the areas of work, love and worldviews. For emerging adults, exploration of identity includes “...seeking opportunities, sampling different careers, exploring romantic interests, and finding new hobbies” (Nice & Joseph, 2023, p. 272). Through this exploration, emerging adults develop a better understanding of themselves, their beliefs, values, strengths and limitations, as well as how they fit into the society around them (Arnett & Mitra, 2020; Nice & Joseph, 2023).

Within this study, a key difference is noted between the younger and older participants in relation to exploration in work. The older participants appeared more focused and clearer on their overall career direction, whereas the younger participants were not yet clear on their specific career paths but had several ideas of what they wanted to do. Only one participant seemed to have “explored different opportunities” in terms of work by taking on numerous contract jobs. It can, however, be argued that this was due to what was available in the context in terms of work opportunities rather than being motivated by a desire to explore different career paths, as the theory suggests (Arnett, 2000, 2014). Similarly, another participant took the opportunities that were available in the context as opposed to exploring various career paths. Thus, this shows that the lack of opportunities in the context constrains the participants’ ability to experience this time as a period of exploration.

Interestingly, none of the participants spoke about romantic relationships in their narratives.<sup>70</sup> This could be due to the relationship that existed between the researcher and participants at the time of the interviews, that is, the data generation process may not have been long enough to develop the level of trust needed for participants to share these personal details. Additionally, it could also be due to the age gap between the participants and the researcher; and to the researcher being seen as an adult, and thus romantic relationships may not be something you discuss with an adult. Additionally, as this topic did not come up in the participants’ photographs, no direct questions were asked about this as informed by the methodology.

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<sup>70</sup> One participant briefly mentioned something in an interview break, however because it did not relate to the photographs nor was it part of their narrative, it was not included in their story.

#### *5.4.1.3 A time of possibilities and opportunities*

The period of emerging adulthood is seen as a time of possibilities and opportunities in which young people are optimistic about the various pathways for their futures (Arnett, 2014; Arnett & Mitra, 2020). Additionally, literature suggests that in this stage of life, emerging adults experience a widening range of choices and possibilities and that hesitancy to commit to a career is due to challenges in having to select from a range of opportunities (Hendry & Kloep, 2010).

The findings of this study showed that while participants mostly believed that their dreams and goals were possible, it was evident that they would need to overcome certain barriers to achieve these dreams. Participants also reflected on the reality of some of their situations as barriers to this period being one of possibilities and opportunities. This included needing to provide for family, the constraint of not having a matric certificate in relation to accessing job opportunities or further education, and a lack of available opportunities in their communities. Thus, it is argued that the context has a large influence on whether this period is experienced as one of possibilities and opportunities. As discussed earlier, the interplay between agency and context shaped the choices and possibilities available to participants, and so whether participants felt that this time was one of possibilities was dependent on the enablers and barriers to occupational engagement within the context. This is supported by Hendry & Kloep (2010, p. 174) who found that “the lack of job opportunities, failure at school, pressure from boyfriends, and lack of geographical mobility reduced the smorgasbord of life choices for many young people to very few options, if any at all”. Lastly, participants’ personal expectations of wanting to become financially independent or create financial stability for themselves appeared to be more important than using this time to explore a range of possibilities. This is supported by Mosavel et al. (2015) who state that the experience of daily adversity necessitated the youth’s future dream to be focused on meeting their basic needs.

#### *5.4.1.4 Instability*

Emerging adulthood is characterized by instability. The theory posits that because this is a time of explorations of possibilities in love, education and work, emerging adults will make different life choices and thus experience frequent changes in these areas (Arnett, 2014; Arnett & Mitra, 2020). As romantic relationships were not discussed in this study, discussion

of the applicability of this feature will focus on explorations of education and work. To a certain degree this period was experienced as one of instability for most participants as they experienced changes such as dropping out of school or college, attending tertiary education (which included changing residences), looking for employment opportunities and accepting short to medium term contract work. However, it is argued that this instability may also largely be due to contextual factors rather than participants' agentic choices. These factors included lack of opportunities and financial resources, challenges in finding permanent work as first-time job seekers and cessation of funding for college education.

#### *5.4.1.5 In-between period*

The last feature of emerging adulthood is the feeling of being in-between, thus no longer an adolescent but not yet an adult (Arnett, 2014; Arnett & Mitra, 2020; Nice & Joseph, 2023). This feeling of being in-between results from emerging adults straddling reliance on their parents and being responsible for themselves. Thus, the transition during this period usually sees emerging adults gradually becoming more responsible for themselves and thus more independent (Arnett, 2014; Nice & Joseph, 2023). The study findings support the idea of this period being an in-between one. While, for the most part, participants felt that there was a need for them to settle themselves and become independent, most participants were still in a process of transitioning from being under parental care to taking responsibility for their own needs. However, the two older participants appeared to have, to some degree, completed this transition and were largely responsible for themselves. For the other three participants, whether they are able to complete this transition is dependent on their choices and future occupational engagement. Arnett (2000) describes making independent decisions as a key criterion of transitioning to adulthood. However, given the close and important relationships most participants had with their families, it could be argued that the role which families would play in, for example, decision making, may continue beyond the upper age boundary of this period, that is, 25 years, particularly if participants continue living at home. Furthermore, the sense of responsibility within a collectivist culture may be seen differently to that of individualist cultures. Most participants live in homes with multi-generations and extended family and thus the sense of collective responsibility may be more prominent than needing to attain independence.

Within this study, there was some difference noted in the applicability of the five features of emerging adulthood to the study population. Participants' focus was not only on themselves but also included their families and community. Living in constraining contexts limits the ability to experience this developmental stage as a period of exploration or a time of possibility. Although there was a certain level of instability for participants in this stage, the instability appeared to be due to constraining contexts as opposed to agentic choices. This study supports the idea that emerging adulthood is an in-between period. However, due to the collectivist culture, transitioning to adulthood within this context may still result in interdependence within the family unit as opposed to complete independence from families.

#### ***5.4.2 Applicability of the Milestones of Emerging Adulthood***

The key developmental tasks of emerging adulthood theory include furthering tertiary education or training, establishing a career, committing to a long-term partner, leaving the parental home, and becoming financially independent and responsible for oneself (Arnett, 2000, 2014; Mitra & Arnett, 2021; Theron et al., 2023). The applicability of these milestones to the participants within this study will be discussed below.

##### ***5.4.2.1 Tertiary education or training***

Within this study, participants viewed educational milestones as providing access to opportunities and thus of importance for this stage of their lives. Contrary to Arnett's (2000, 2016) theory, however, it was common amongst the participants (three out of five) to either still be in school at the start of emerging adulthood or not to have completed secondary education. Thus, within this context young people may not necessarily enter emerging adulthood with a completed secondary education. This was in part due to the various contextual challenges faced, such as the COVID-19 pandemic, as well as the prevalence of high school dropouts. Participants all considered attaining a tertiary education or post-school training as necessary to accessing better employment opportunities. However, this was not a given pathway for participants and only one participant had completed tertiary education. Besides the barrier to accessing tertiary education presented by dropping out of school, obtaining access to tertiary education relied on financial resources to cover tuition, accommodation and transport, and all participants would need/needed to obtain bursaries to support themselves during this period. Additionally, tertiary education is not necessarily

seen as a time to explore various education options, like in the first few years of college in the USA, but is usually directed towards a specific career path, similar to the European education system (Mitra & Arnett, 2021).

#### *5.4.2.2 Employment*

The study findings showed that obtaining employment was a key milestone for participants during this age group and most participants had the expectation that they should be working in a permanent job at this stage of their lives. However, due to a variety of choices and contextual factors, achieving their career dreams was not a straightforward path. The current employment experiences for participants ranged from being unemployed, doing part time work while still in high school, working in a contract job that does not provide job satisfaction, to seeking work in their chosen career. The high youth unemployment and limited job opportunities in South Africa, both experienced within the study, leave emerging adults vulnerable to unemployment (Van Lill & Bakker, 2020).

Furthermore, it appears that participants were more focused on finding employment to attain financial independence or financial stability rather than to explore a variety of possible directions in work, as posited by the theory (Arnett, 2000, 2014). Additionally, finances were identified as a key resource to achieving their goals and dreams.

Lastly, transitioning from tertiary education to work is seen as a major milestone for this developmental stage (Grosemans et al., 2020). Although attainment of tertiary education is seen to increase possibilities and optimism about employment opportunities (Zorotovich & Johnson, 2019), a university degree is not a guarantee of any form of employment in South Africa, as experienced by the participant who graduated university (Van Lill & Bakker, 2020).

#### *5.4.2.3 Transitioning to financial independence*

Arnett (2000) identifies becoming financially independent as an important transition to adulthood and thus a milestone to be achieved before the end of this period. Critiques of this theory state that it is only applicable to those with the financial resources to engage in periods of self-exploration (Tello-Navarro et al., 2024). As most participants lived at home, some appeared to be dependent on parents for basic needs. For the majority of participants there

was a strong desire to attain financial stability and independence from parents. However, it is argued that due to collectivist values, this could be motivated more by desires to contribute to household income and provide for families than self-interest alone. Furthermore, only one participant was able to rely on parental financial support for tertiary studies, however this was supplementary in nature as a bursary for tuition and accommodation was still required.

#### *5.4.2.4 Independent living*

Arnett (2000) indicates that moving out of home is common for emerging adults in the USA. The majority of the study participants held the personal expectation of living independently in their 20s, with only one participant having achieved this. There were socio-cultural and economic factors that affected whether participants lived on their own. The findings showed that it was common for participants to be living at home with their families, even though this contrasted with their personal expectations for this age. Not leaving the parental home at this age is common within South Africa. Thornton's (2023) study on the trends of home-leaving for South African young adults found that 66% of youth aged 15- to 35-years-old remained at home, she notes that "...home-leaving is diffused across age and that home-leavers only start representing the majority after about age 25" (Thornton, 2023, p. 11). Literature identifies marriage, gaining employment and getting older as reasons for leaving the parental home. Thus, Thornton (2023) suggests that the high youth unemployment rates and lack of social grants targeted at this age group were possible reasons for the high prevalence of youth staying at home, as young people lack the resources to move out. Of the participants who spoke about wanting to move out, all, except one, did not have the financial resources to do so and the one who had moved out was not able to live independently while unemployed and thus required a job to make this sustainable.

Furthermore, Thornton (2023) notes that the existing cultural family patterns could also influence whether youth leave home. Consanguineal family patterns, as opposed to nuclear family patterns, are common across a large proportion of the population of South Africa (Thornton, 2023). This was seen amongst the participants, as the majority of the households they lived in included multi-generations and/or extended family and most participants still relied on familial support during this developmental stage.

#### *5.4.2.5 Becoming a parent*

According to Arnett's (2000) theory, becoming a parent would be a milestone of young adulthood, not emerging adulthood. However, the prevalence of teenage pregnancy in South Africa indicates that this is not necessarily the case for emerging adults (Pillay, 2021). One participant had had a child as a teenager and thus being a parent was a key aspect of their identity and had an influential effect on their occupational possibilities and occupational choices. Thus, this period was not necessarily focused on personal explorations, but also on fulfilling the parental role. This is supported by Naudé and Piotrowski's (2023) study exploring becoming an emerging adult parent in South Africa. They found that "...parenting seems to narrow previous areas of exploration that are losing their importance, and the individual's perspective shifts from a focus on the self to a focus on responsible role fulfilment" (Naudé & Piotrowski, 2023, p. 606). Furthermore, this study found that other participants also seemed to take on various "parental" roles within their families, suggesting that within this context, taking on parental roles may not be designated to young adulthood only, but also within emerging adulthood.

As with the degree of fit for the five features of emerging adulthood, the milestones of this theory do not necessarily coincide with those observed in the study population. Despite the value placed on education, entering this developmental stage with a completed secondary education was not common amongst the participants, nor was it a given to attend tertiary education. The study supported employment as a key milestone for emerging adults, however, the previous choices that participants made, coupled with the constraining contexts, limited access to employment opportunities. Even though participants had a strong desire to attain financial independence, the contextual factors experienced resulted in most of them still being reliant on their families and supported a collectivist culture. Within this context, living independently was not a common experience as the majority of the participants lived with consanguineal families. Similarly, having children or taking on parental roles were common, and thus not only experienced after emerging adulthood.

Some of the features and milestones of the emerging adulthood theory aligned with the study population, however, there was some difference noted in the applicability of the theory to emerging adults within this context.

## 5.5 CONCLUSION

This study has contributed to the body of knowledge which aims to better understand how environments and people are related and how that relationship influences human action. The use of the transactional perspective of occupation (Dickie et al., 2006) was used to understand the nuances of this relationship. This study's findings supported the interrelated nature of the person and their context, highlighting that neither aspect solely resulted in occupational engagement, but rather that occupational engagement was a result of the transaction between the person and their context. The idea of bounded agency further deepens this understanding as it provides a conceptualization of how people's choices are "bound" within various layers and dimensions of their context. These layers and dimensions impacted the person either directly or indirectly. As the context transacted with the person, possibilities for occupational engagement and availability of choices were either created or expanded, or constrained or limited due to the personal and contextual enablers and barriers.

The situated nature of occupation is supported by the use of governmentality theory (Laliberte Rudman, 2010, 2012) and theories of action (Galvaan, 2012, 2015) to further understand the processes within the context that shape occupational possibilities and occupational choice, respectively. This included mechanisms within the context that govern which occupations are idealised and thus seen as possible for this age group as well as how practical consciousness is shaped by habitus, capital, social fields and doxa. A transactional relationship was also found between occupational possibilities and occupational choice. Lastly, the examination of the applicability of the five features and milestones of the emerging adulthood theory found that there is some difference noted between this theory and the emerging adults within this context.

## **CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSION, STRENGTHS AND LIMITATIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

### **6.1 INTRODUCTION**

This chapter begins by presenting the overall conclusion to this study. The strengths and limitations of the research study are then described, followed by recommendations for the disciplines of occupational therapy and occupational science; for further research; and for youth programmes and policy.

### **6.2 STUDY CONCLUSION**

This study sought to understand the role that the context has in shaping emerging adults' occupational possibilities and occupational choices. It enabled the foregrounding of participants' perspectives which acknowledges the participants' voices as experts of their own lives. Narrative inquiry, used in this study, enabled the co-construction of narratives between the participant and researcher. These narratives were about participants' lived experiences within their contexts; the interplay between agency and structure; and the impact of context on their occupational possibilities, occupational choices and ultimately occupational engagement. The findings showed that occupational possibilities and occupational choice were not dependent on either individual agency or context but rather resulted from an interplay between the two. The various levels and dimensions of the environment created a complex and dynamic system which influenced participants' occupational engagement. Thus, the participants' contexts played an integral role in shaping their occupational possibilities and occupational choices. The study also found that there was a transactional relationship between occupational possibilities and occupational choice. Furthermore, it found that the context influences health and wellbeing through providing or constraining a range of available choices, resources, opportunities and possibilities through external enablers and barriers. This influences occupational engagement by shaping the occupational possibilities and occupational choice and thus, in turn, influences health and wellbeing. Lastly, the study found that there was some fit between the theory of emerging adulthood and the participants' experiences within their contexts.

## **6.3 STRENGTHS AND LIMITATIONS**

### **6.3.1 Strengths**

This study had several strengths. Within the Western Cape context, there is a large amount of research that is done with youth from Cape Town, thus focusing on youth in urban areas. Therefore, having completed this study in a rural area is a strength as it allows for the voices of rural youth to also be heard and for their lived experiences to be considered in the body of knowledge concerning youths' occupational possibilities and occupational choices.

As far as the researcher is aware, this study appears to be the first of its kind in investigating both occupational possibilities and occupational choice amongst the same study population. Thus, it has added to the body of knowledge within occupational science regarding the two constructs, the relationships between the two constructs and the understanding of youths' lived experiences within the South African context.

There was a parallel between the foundations of transactional perspective of occupation (Dickie et al., 2006) and Clandinin and Connelly's (2000) three-dimensional narrative inquiry space. These two theoretical frameworks supported each other in this study. This allowed for the data generation process to elicit data that would assist in the answering of the research question. The use of a narrative inquiry methodology enabled a depth of understanding about the participants' lived experiences to be obtained due to the nature of the data generation process of this research design. Even though maximum variation was only partially achieved, there was still a diversity of experience amongst the five participants, which added to the quality of the data. Furthermore, the rigorous process of data generation, particularly the depth of the interviewing, ensured that a rich data set was available for data analysis. The various levels of analysis used assisted with understanding the nuances of the participants' individual lived experiences while also teasing out patterns of engagement within this group of emerging adults.

The focus on the perceptions of the young people, through their narratives, was also a strength. The use of the photovoice phase provided participants with the opportunity to choose what aspects of their lives they wanted to share in the interviews. Foregrounding the

participants' stories was important in ensuring that their voices were centred as the experts of their lives and thus crucial in understanding their lived experiences.

### **6.3.2 Limitations**

#### *6.3.2.1 Sampling*

As narrative inquiry prioritizes collection of rich data over big sample sizes (Josephsson & Alsaker, 2015), a small sample size of five participants was used in this study. This small sample size however is a limitation to the generalizability of the study findings to all emerging adults within the Western Cape. Furthermore, maximum variation for race was not achieved as no white participants were recruited. The recruitment was completed by Overberg Development Association (ODA), an organisation that works in the "onderdorp" area of Bredasdorp. Due to apartheid's legacy of racial segregation evident in Bredasdorp, the majority of white people live in the "bodorp", and thus not in the area in which ODA predominantly works. Although attempts were made to recruit participants from all areas in Bredasdorp, the organisation relied on their networks within the communities where they work and thus, this was not possible. As the participants mostly came from the same areas in Bredasdorp, this could have influenced the data generated as they may possibly have had access to the same resources, facilities and amenities in their specific communities. Thus, further research should be done with emerging adults living in different areas of the same geographical community. Having said that, it is also important to understand emerging adults' occupational engagement within constraining contexts, in particular, as their experiences are often marginalised by more dominant narratives.

#### *6.3.2.2 Data generation*

Some participants appeared to struggle with the abstract level of the second photovoice prompt. This could have affected the number of photographs which were taken. Even though the researcher checked with participants at the end of the photovoice training that they were clear on instructions, the training could have been lengthened so that participants could have practiced, discussed more or brainstormed the meaning of the questions to ensure that they fully understood the photovoice prompts. Furthermore, it is interesting to note that while the social context was one of the key contextual influences found in this study, there were very few people in the participants' photographs. This could be due to the necessity of using

consent vouchers. Having to request consent before taking a picture may have limited participants' inclination to take photographs that included people.

Lastly, before engaging in the narrative interviews, there was relatively short contact between the researcher and the participants, that is, only at the information session and again at camera collection. Thus, as the relationship between the participants and the researcher was relatively new at the start of the narrative interviews, this could have impacted what participants shared with the researcher.

## **6.4 RECOMMENDATIONS**

### ***6.4.1 Recommendations for Occupational Therapy***

Occupational therapists working with this age group across the occupational therapy practice areas need to understand and consider the impact of the various levels and dimensions of the context on emerging adults' occupational engagement. Furthermore, occupational therapists need to consider how the occupational possibilities and occupational choice, as well as the interplay between agency and context, influences the occupational engagement of the emerging adults with which they work. Thus, interventions need to be aimed at providing young people with support to navigate the challenges in their contexts, exercise their agency in taking up opportunities and support their transition into adulthood.

Additionally, more occupational therapists need to broaden their scope of practice beyond clinical settings to work at a community level. This includes focusing on interventions which mitigate the impact of constraining contexts, assisting people to understand how their context is shaping their occupational engagement, and strengthening people's abilities to navigate challenging contexts. Moving away from individualized ways of practicing and understanding human occupation, to include a transactional perspective of occupation, is necessary to address underlying contextual factors which constrain occupational engagement, and thus the health and wellbeing of the populations with which occupational therapists work.

As the study showed that there was some fit between the emerging adulthood theory (Arnett, 2000) and the study context, it is recommended that occupational therapists working with

this age group critically examine the cultural appropriateness of the theory within their context to ensure that their interventions are contextually relevant.

#### ***6.4.2 Recommendations for Youth Programmes and Policy***

The study provided important insights into the lived experiences of emerging adults, the way in which they perceive what is possible for themselves and how they negotiate their choices. These findings are helpful in understanding how youth are navigating the myriad persistent economic, educational and social challenges they face. Thus, the study has relevance beyond occupational therapy and occupational science, to include other disciplines working with youth. Furthermore, the study findings can be helpful to inform policies regarding youth at a local, provincial and national level.

Informed by the influential impact that the interplay between agency and context has on emerging adults' occupational possibilities and occupational choices, it is recommended that the various professions and disciplines working with this age group consider intervening at both the individual and the contextual level with a focus on strengthening agency and problem solving to build their capacity to overcome barriers and navigate constraining contexts. To address the conflicting discourses faced by South African youth, it is necessary to not only create more opportunities for participation, but also to support emerging adults to identify and critique these social narratives for themselves, exercise their agency and navigate their transition from adolescences to adulthood. This study supports the prioritized strategies as laid out in the National Development Plan (NDP). However, while the NDP aims to create more opportunities for youth through their prioritized strategies (South African Government, 2012), young people also require a combination of support made up of individuals, the family and social networks, communities and institutions they engage with to access and take up available opportunities to meet their needs.

#### ***6.4.3 Recommendations for Further Research***

As this study focused on a rural community in the Western Cape, further research is needed within different contexts in South Africa. It is recommended that further research is completed with emerging adults in urban areas in the Western Cape, as well as different

provinces within South Africa. This will enable a broader understanding of the experiences of emerging adults across these contexts.

Given that the term “youth” in South Africa comprises young people between 15- to 35-years-old, further research is needed to understand the impact of the context on older adolescents’ (15 to 17 years) and young adults’ (26 to 35 years) occupational possibilities and occupational choices. This will broaden the scope of understanding about how youth at these different developmental stages experience the role of context in shaping their occupational possibilities and occupational choices.

Since this study focused on the perceptions of young people, it is recommended that further research is completed to evaluate the reach of the NDP’s prioritized strategies into peri-urban and rural areas as well as what may be enabling or constraining youth from accessing these initiatives.

It is also recommended that more research in occupational science is completed with a focus on the Global South. Completing research in contexts within the Global South will further shape our understanding of human occupation as it will broaden our understanding of how people enact agency in response to varying environments. Adding to the body of knowledge in this way will assist in the continuous development of occupational therapy and occupational science ensuring that its practice interventions are relevant not only to those within the Global North but to a broad range of contexts across the globe.

Lastly, it is recommended that more research which focuses on the relationship between occupational possibilities and occupational choice is completed to better understand the nature of the relationship between these two occupational science constructs.

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## APPENDICES

### APPENDIX A: ETHICS APPROVAL LETTER



**UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN**  
**Faculty of Health Sciences**  
**Human Research Ethics Committee**



**Room 45 E-52-E-Floor- Old Main Building**  
**Groote Schuur Hospital**  
**Observatory 7925**  
**Telephone [021] 406 6492**

**Email:** [hrec-submissions@uct.ac.za](mailto:hrec-submissions@uct.ac.za)

**Website:** [www.health.uct.ac.za/fhs/research/humanethics/forms](http://www.health.uct.ac.za/fhs/research/humanethics/forms)

25 August 2022

**HREC REF:312/2022**

**A/Prof A Sunday**

Division of Occupational Therapy  
F-45, OMB  
Email: [Amshuda.sunday@uct.ac.za](mailto:Amshuda.sunday@uct.ac.za)  
Student: [wchmin001@myuct.ac.za](mailto:wchmin001@myuct.ac.za)

Dear A/Prof Sunday

**PROJECT TITLE : EXPLORING THE ROLE OF CONTEXT IN EMERGING ADULTS' EXPERIENCES OF OCCUPATIONAL POSSIBILITIES AND OCCUPATIONAL CHOICE IN A COMMUNITY IN THE WESTERN CAPE- (MASTER'S CANDIDATE-MS MINKATEKO WICHT)**

Thank you for your response letter, addressing the issues raised by the Faculty of Health Sciences Human Research Ethics Committee (HREC).

It is a pleasure to inform you that the HREC has **formally approved** the above-mentioned study.

**Approval is granted for one year until the 30 August 2023.**

Please submit a progress form, using the standardised Annual Report Form if the study continues beyond the approval period. Please submit a Standard Closure form if the study is completed within the approval period.

(Forms can be found on our website: [www.health.uct.ac.za/fhs/research/humanethics/forms](http://www.health.uct.ac.za/fhs/research/humanethics/forms))

***The HREC acknowledge that the student: Ms Minkateko Wicht will also be involved in this study.***

**Please quote the HREC REF 312/2022 in all your correspondence.**

Please note that the ongoing ethical conduct of the study remains the responsibility of the principal investigator.

Please note that for all studies approved by the HREC, the principal investigator **must** obtain appropriate institutional approval, where necessary, before the research may occur.

Yours sincerely

  
**PROFESSOR M BLOCKMAN**  
**CHAIRPERSON, FACULTY OF HEALTH SCIENCES HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE**

HREC.REF312.2022

Federal Wide Assurance Number: FWA00001637. Institutional Review Board (IRB) number: IRB00001938 NHREC-registration number: REC-210208-007  
This serves to confirm that the University of Cape Town Human Research Ethics Committee complies to the Ethics Standards for Clinical Research with a new drug in patients, based on the Medical Research Council (MRC-SA), Food and Drug Administration (FDA-USA), International Council for Harmonisation of Technical Requirements for Pharmaceuticals for Human Use: Good Clinical Practice (ICH GCP), South African Good Clinical Practice Guidelines (DoH 2020), based on the Association of the British Pharmaceutical Industry Guidelines (ABPI), and Declaration of Helsinki (2013) guidelines. The Human Research Ethics Committee granting this approval is in compliance with the ICH Harmonised Tripartite Guidelines E6: Note for Guidance on Good Clinical Practice (CPMP/ICH/135/95) and FDA Code Federal Regulation Part 50, 56 and 312.

HREC.REF312.2022

## APPENDIX B: LETTER FOR COMMUNITY ENTRY



27 September 2022

### THE CHAIRPERSON OVERBERG DEVELOPMENT ASSOCIATION

Dear Michael Dennis,

#### **Request for Assistance with Research Study**

My name is Minkateko Wicht and I am an Occupational Therapist working in Cape Town. I am also a Master's student registered at the University of Cape Town and I am currently completing a research study towards a Master of Science in Occupational Therapy (by full dissertation). My research supervisors are Associate Professor Amshuda Sunday and Sarah Crawford-Browne.

The topic for my research study is *exploring the role of context in emerging adults' experiences of occupational possibilities and occupational choices in a community in the Western Cape*. The purpose of the study is to understand how living in a community in Bredasdorp, Western Cape influences what emerging adults (aged 18 – 25 years) see as possible for themselves and the choices which they have available and make. This information will be used to further develop the occupational therapy services for young people who live in similar communities. This study has been granted ethical approval from the University of Cape Town Faculty of Health Sciences Human Research Ethics Committee. The study reference number is 312/2022.

The study will require participants to take photos in response to two questions, i.e. what do you do every day and what would you like to do and then engage in two narrative interviews with the researcher (approximately 60 – 90 minutes each) exploring the photographs and these two questions. Participants will be provided with disposal cameras and the cost of developing the photographs will be covered by the researcher. The information gained from

the interviews will be used to create a narrative about the participant which will be reviewed and checked by the participant and then analysed to answer the research question. Please see attached the information sheet and informed consent form for further details.

Bredasdorp, Western Cape has been chosen as the research site for this study. In order for me to conduct this study, I am looking to partner with a community-based organisation, like Overberg Developmental Association, to assist with community entry and recruitment of emerging adults living in Bredasdorp. I am looking to recruit 5 emerging adults between the ages of 18 – 25 years who live in Bredasdorp. Ideally, I would like a range of participants regarding age (dispersion across 18-25 years), gender (man, woman and, gender non-conforming) and race (black and white). Participants will be required to complete an informed consent form to participate in the study.

I would like to request a meeting to further discuss the above information and answer any questions you may have about the study.

Please let me know when would be a suitable date and time for your organisation.

I look forward to hearing back from you,

Yours sincerely,



Minkateko Wicht

HPCSA No.: OT0087092

UCT Student number: WCHMIN001

Email: [m.wicht7@gmail.com](mailto:m.wicht7@gmail.com)

# Overberg

## Development Association

NPO Registration: 094-195-NPO



24 October 2022

Dear Minkateko Wicht,

**Response to Your Request for Assistance with Research Study**

Thank you for the information received regarding your Master's Research Study as per your email on 28 September 2022.

As discussed in the meeting with Overberg Development Association on 04 October 2022, we are able to assist you with gaining access to the community of Bredasdorp, recruiting emerging adults to participate in your study as well as booking of venues for your information session and interviews.  
Your contact person will be Daniela Siebrits.

Should you require any additional assistance please do not hesitate to ask,

Yours sincerely,

  
Michael Dennis  
Chairperson  
Overberg Development Association

## APPENDIX D: STUDY INFORMATION LETTER (ENGLISH)



### Information Sheet for Participants

#### **Introduction**

My name is Minkateko Wicht and I am an occupational therapist working in Cape Town. I am also a Masters student at the University of Cape Town and am currently doing a research study. My supervisors are Amshuda Sunday and Sarah Crawford-Browne.

#### **What is the purpose of the study?**

This study hopes to understand how living in a community within Bredasdorp, Western Cape influences what young people, like yourself, see as possible for themselves and the choices which they have available and make. This information will be used to further develop the occupational therapy services for young people who live in similar communities.

#### **Who can be in the study?**

If you are between 18- and 25-years-old and live in Bredasdorp in the Western Cape you can be part of the study. I am looking for five young people to be part of the study. If more than five are interested, participants will be chosen based on specific criteria to get a variation of experiences.

#### **What will I be asked to do if I am part of the study?**

Once you decide to be in the study you will be given a disposable camera and asked to take photographs of what you do every day and what you would like to do. The photographs will be printed. We will then have two interviews where I will ask you to tell me about your photographs and share some of your life experiences. The date, time and place of meetings will be discussed with you. The interviews will take between 45 minutes and 1½ hours each time. The study will run from 01 October 2022 and end on 31 March 2023. Each meeting will be recorded and only I will have access to the recordings.

#### **Can I stop being in the study?**

Yes, you can. Your participation is completely voluntary. If you decide you no longer want to be in the study, then you can stop at any time. If you do decide to stop being in the study, there will be no consequences for your decision.

**What are the risks of being in the study?**

Sometimes when we talk about our lives, there is a risk of experiencing discomfort or psychological distress. If you need any assistance or further intervention, appropriate referrals/contacts will be made to suitable service providers within your community.

As we are still in the COVID-19 pandemic, there is still a risk of getting COVID-19. We will follow the precautions as advised by the National Department of Health and the University of Cape. If you or I test positive for COVID-19, we will stop doing the interviews and follow the appropriate quarantining/isolation protocols. We will continue with interviews once it is safe to do so again.

**What are the benefits of being in the study?**

During the study, you will also have the opportunity to share and make sense of your life, which you may find empowering and transformative. You may also benefit by learning about the process of research as you will be involved in the process.

Your participation may benefit future young people living in similar conditions. I hope that this study will inform occupational therapy services for young people like yourself.

**Will my participation be kept confidential?**

All the information I collect about you during the study will be kept confidential and private. You will be able to select a fake name for yourself which will be used in my report. This will make sure that you remain anonymous and nobody can identify you. Only I will have access to your information. If any of your photographs are used in the report, the faces of everyone in them will be blurred so that no one can identify who is in them.

**Will I be paid for being in the study?**

You will not be paid for being in the study. Refreshments will be available when we meet for the interviews.

**Has ethical approval been granted for this study?**

Yes, the University of Cape Town Faculty of Health Sciences Human Research Ethics Committee has granted ethical approval for this study. The study reference number is 312/2022.

**What happens at the end of the study?**

The results of the study will be shared with you at the end of the study. You will also be given a copy of your photographs and story.

**Who can I contact if I have any more questions?**

If you have any further questions you can contact the following people:

**Researcher**

Minkateko Wicht

0824069516 / [wchmin001@myuct.ac.za](mailto:wchmin001@myuct.ac.za)

**Research Supervisors**

Amshuda Sondag (Primary Supervisor)

[a.sondag@uct.ac.za](mailto:a.sondag@uct.ac.za)

Sarah Crawford-Browne (Co-supervisor)

[sarah.crawford-browne@uct.ac.za](mailto:sarah.crawford-browne@uct.ac.za)

The University of Cape Town Faculty of Health Sciences Human Research Ethics Committee can be contacted on the number below in case you have any questions regarding your rights and welfare as research participants in the study.

**Human Research Ethics Committee**

E53-Room 46, Old Main Building, Groote Schuur Hospital, Observatory, 7925

021 650 1236 / [hrec-enquiries@uct.ac.za](mailto:hrec-enquiries@uct.ac.za)

## APPENDIX D: STUDY INFORMATION LETTER (AFRIKAANS)



### Inligtingsblad vir deelnemers

#### **Inleiding**

My naam is Minkateko Wicht en ek is 'n arbeidsterapeut, werksaam in Kaapstad. Ek is ook 'n Meesters student aan die Universiteit van Kaapstad, besig met 'n navorsings studie. My studieleiers is Amshuda Sunday en Sarah Crawford-Browne.

#### **Wat is die doel van die studie?**

Die doel van die studie is om te verstaan watter keuses en geleenthede beskikbaar is en gemaak word deur jongmense soos u en beïnvloed word deur in 'n gemeenskap in Bredasdorp in die Weskaap te woon. Die inligting was gebruik word om die arbeidsterapeutiese dienste aan jongmense wat in soortgelyke gemeenskappe woon, verder uit te brei.

#### **Wie kan aan die studie deelneem?**

U mag deel van die studie wees indien u tussen die ouderdomme van 18 en 25 jaar oud is en in Bredasdorp in die Weskaap woon. Ek is op soek na vyf jongmense om deel te neem in die studie. Indien meer as vyf belangstel, sal deelnemers op grond van spesifieke kriteria geskies word om 'n variasie van ervarings te hê.

#### **Wat sal ek gevra word om te doen indien ek deel is van die studie?**

Sodra u besluit om deel te word van die studie, sal u 'n weggooibare kamara ontvang en versoek word om fotos te neem van u daaglikse aktiwiteite en dinge wat u graag sal wil doen. Die fotos sal gedruk word. U sal dan aan twee onderhoude deelneem waar ek u sal vra om meer oor die fotos te vertel en ook om sommige van u lewenservarings te deel. Die datum, tyd en plek van die onderhoud sal met u bespreek word. Die onderhoud sal ongeveer 45 minute tot 1½ uur elk wees. Die studie sal begin vanaf 01 Oktober 2022 tot en met 31 Maart 2023. Elke onderhoud sal opgeneem word en ek sal die enigste een wees met toegang tot die opnames.

#### **Kan ek deelname in die studie kanselleer?**

Ja u kan. U deelname is total en al vrywillig. Indien u besluit dat u nie meer wil deel wees nie, kan u enige tyd stop. Indien u besluit om u deelname te stop, sal daar geen nagevolge van u besluit wees nie.

**Wat is die risiko verbonde aan deelname in die studie?**

Somtyds, wanneer ons oor ons lewens gesels, is daar 'n risiko om ongemak of sielkundige spanning te ervaar. Indien u enige verdere hulp of ingryping benodig, sal die nodige verwysings/kontakte aan u beskikbaar gestel word deur middel van geskikte diensverskaffers binne u eie gemeenskap.

Aangesien ons steeds midde die COVID-19 pandemie is, is daar ook die risiko om COVID-19 op te doen. Ons sal die nodige voorsorgmaatreels tref soos adviseer deur die Nasionale Gesondheidsdepartement en die Universiteit van Kaapstad. Indien u of ek positief toets vir COVID-19, sal ons die onderhoude stopsit en die nodige kwarantein of isolasie protokols volg. Ons sal voortgaan met die onderhoude sodra dit veilig is om voort te gaan.

**Wat is die voordele van deelname aan die studie?**

Tydens die studie sal u ook die geleentheid kry om van u lewe te deel en sin daaruit te maak, wat u dalk bemagtigend en transformerend kan vind. U kan ook baat vind deur die proses van navorsing te leer ken, aangesien u by die proses betrokke sal wees.

U deelname mag toekomstige jongmense wat in soortgelyke omstandighede woon bevoordeel. Ek hoop dat die studie arbeidsterapeutiese dienste vir jongemense soos u sal verbeter.

**Sal my deelname vertroulik gehou word?**

Al die inligting oor u deelname gedurende die studies al privaat en vertroulik gehou word. U mag ook 'n skuilnaam kies wat in die verslag gebruik sal word. Dit sal u anoniemiteit verseker en niemand sal u kan identifiseer nie. Slegs ek sal toegang tot u inligting hê. Indien enige van u fotos gebruik sal word in die verslag, sal enige gesig verbloem word sodat niemand hulle kan identifiseer nie.

**Sal ek betaal word vir deelname in die studie?**

U sal nie betaling vir deelname ontvang nie. Verversings sal beskikbaar wees by die onderhoude.

**Is etiese toestemming verkry vir die studie?**

Ja, die Universiteit van Kaapstad se Fakulteit van Gesondheids Wetenskappe se Menslike Navorsings Etiek Komitee het etiese goedkeuring vir die studie verleen. Die studieverwysingsnommer is 312/2022.

**Wat sal gebeur aan die einde van die studie?**

Die uitslae van die studie sal met u gedeel word aan die einde van die studie. U sal ook 'n afskrif ontvang 'n kopie van u fotos en storie.

**Wie kan ek kontak indien ek meer vrae het?**

Indien u enige verdere vrae het kan u die volgende mense kontak:

**Navorser**

Minkateko Wicht

0824069516 / [wchmin001@myuct.ac.za](mailto:wchmin001@myuct.ac.za)

**Navorsing Studieleiers**

Amshuda Sunday (Primêre Studieleier)

[a.sunday@uct.ac.za](mailto:a.sunday@uct.ac.za)

Sarah Crawford-Browne (Mede-studieleier)

[sarah.crawford-browne@uct.ac.za](mailto:sarah.crawford-browne@uct.ac.za)

Die Universiteit van Kaapstad se Fakulteit van Gesondheids Wetenskappe se Menslike Navorsings Etiek Komitee kan gekontak word op die onderstaande nommer indien u enige vrae het rakende u regte en welstand as 'n deelnemer in die studie.

**Human Research Ethics Committee**

E53-Room 46, Old Main Building, Groote Schuur Hospital, Observatory, 7925

021 650 1236 / [hrec-enquiries@uct.ac.za](mailto:hrec-enquiries@uct.ac.za)

## APPENDIX D: STUDY INFORMATION LETTER (ISIXHOSA)



### Iphepha Lenkcazelo Lwabathathi-Nxaxheba

#### **Intshayelelo**

Igama lam ngu Minkateko Wicht kwaye ndingugqirha wononelelo lwamathambo, ndisebenza e Kapa. Ndikwanguye nomfundi we Mastaz (Masters) kwi Dyunivesithi yase Kapa kwaye ngoku ndinophando endilwenzayo. Abaphathi bam koluphando ngu Amshuda Sunday kunye no Sarah Crawford-Browne.

#### **Yintoni injongo yoluphando?**

Olu phando luceba ngethemba ukuqonda ukuba ingaba ukuhlala kuluntu lwaseBredasdorp eNtshona Kapa kuyiphembelela njani into abantu abatsha abafana nawe abayibona inokwenzeka kubo kunye nokhetho abanalo nabanokulwenzana. Olu lwazi luyakusetyenziselwa ukuqhubela phambili ulwakhiwo lweenkonzo ezinikezwa ngogqirha bononelelo lwamathambo kulutsha loluntu kwindawo ezifanayo.

#### **Ngubani onokuba koluphando?**

Ukuba uphakathi kweminyaka elishumi linesibhozo (18) namashumi mabini anesihlanu (25) ubudala kwaye uhlala eNtshona Kapa kwi eBredasdorp ungaba yinxalenye yoluphando. Ndijonge ukufumana abantu abatsha abahlanu babe yinxalenye yoluphando. Ukuba abangaphezu kwesihlanu bonomdla wokuthatha inxaxheba koluphando, abathathi nxaxheba bayakukhethwa kujongwe imiba ukuze sifumane izimvo ezahlukeneyo.

#### **Ndiyakucelwa ndenze ntoni ukuba ndiyinxalenye yoluphando?**

Xa ugqibe ukuba ube yinxalenye yoluphando uzakunikwa i khamera elahlwayo ucelwe uthathe imifanekiso yezinto ozenza imihla ngemihla kunye nonqwenela ukuzenza. Iifoto ziya ku printwa. Emva koko siya kuba nodliwano-ndlebe kabini apho ndiya kukucela ukuba undixelele malunga nee foto zakho kwaye wabelane ngamanye amava akho wobomi. Umhla, ixesha kunye nendawo yentlanganiso ziya kuxoxwa nawe. Udliwano-ndlebe luya kuthatha phakathi kwemizuzu engamashumi amane anesihlanu (45 mins) kunye ne yure enesiqingatha (1.5 hrs) ngexesha ngalinye. Oluphando luzakuqalisa ngomhla we 01 Okthobha 2022 luphele ngomhla we 31 Matshi 2023. Intlanganiso nganye iyakushicilelwa kwaye ndim kuphela oyakufikelela kolushicilelo.

### **Ndingayeka ukuba koluphando?**

Ewe ungayeka, ukuthatha kwakho inxaxheba kukuzithandela ngokupheleleyo, Ukuba wenze isigqibo sokuyeka ukuba koluphando, akusayi kubakho ziphumo kwisigqibo sakho.

### **Yeyiphi imingcipheko yokuba koluphando?**

Ngamanye amaxesha xa sithetha ngobomi bethu, kukho umngcipheko wokufumana ukungonwabi okanye ufumane uxinzelelo lwengqondo. Ukuba ufuna naluphi na uncedo okanye uncedo olongezelekileyo, udlulisele olufanelekileyo/ uqhakamshelwano luya kwenziwa kubaboneleli benkonzo abafanelekileyo kwindawo ohlala kuyo.

Njengoko sisekubhubhane we KHOVID (COVID-19), kusekho umngcipheko wokufumana I KOVID (COVID-19). Sizakulandela amanyathelo okhuseleko njengoko kucetyisiwe lisebe leze Mpilo le sizwe kunye ne Dyunivesithi yase Kapa. Ukuba wena okanye mna uvavanyo lusifumanise sine KHOVID (COVID-19), siyakuyeka ukwenza udliwano-ndlebe kwaye silandele iindlela ezifanelekileyo zokuvalelwa okanye ukwahlukaniswa. Siza kuqhubeka nodliwano-ndlebe xa kukhuselelekile ukwenza oko kwakhona.

### **Zeziphi iinzuzo zokuba koluphando?**

Ngexesha loluphando uyakuba nethuba lokwabelana kunye nokwenza intsingiselo yobomi bakho, oko ungakufumanisa kukuxhobisa kwaye kukutshintshe ngokomelezayo. Nokufunda malunga nenkqubo yophanda njengoko uyabe uthatha inxaxheba kwinkqubo yoluphando.

Ukuthatha inxaxheba kwakho kunganceda ulutsha olusezayo oluhlala kwimeko ezifanayo. Ndiyathemba ukuba oluphando luyakunceda iinkonzo zononelelo lwamathambo zolutsha olufana nawe.

### **Ingaba ukuthatha kwam inxaxheba kuyakugcinwa kuyimfihlelo?**

Lonke ulwazi endiluqokelelayo malunga nawe ngexesha loluphando luya kugcinwa ngentembeko kwaye luyimfihlo. Uya kukwazi ukhetha igama elingelilo elakho eliya kusetyenziswa kwingxelo yam. Oku kuya kuqinisekisa ukuba uhlala ungaziwa kwaye akukho mntu unokukuchaza. Ndim kuphela oyakufikelela ku lwazi lwakho. Ukuba kukho naziphi na iifoto zakho ezisetyenzisiweyo kwingxelo, ubuso bomntu wonke buya kuba mfiliba ukuze kungabikho mntu uchonga ukuba ngubani na okuzo

### **Ndiza kuhlawulwa ngokuba koluphando?**

Awuyi kuhlawulwa ngokuba koluphando. Iziphungo ziya kufumaneka xa sidibana kudliwano-ndlebe.

**Unayo imvume yokuziphatha enikezelweyo koluphando?**

Ewe, iYunivesiti yaseKapa iFakhalthi yeeNzululwazi zezeMpilo kwiKomiti yeeNqobo zokuziphatha zoPhando lunike imvume yeenqobo ezisesikweni kolu phononongo. Inombolo yereferensi yophononongo ngu-312/2022.

**Kwenzeka ntoni ekupheleni koluphando?**

Iziphumo zoluphando ziya kwabelwana nawe ekupheleni kophando. Uyakunikwa kwakhona ikopi ye foto kunye ne bali lakho.

**Ngubani endinokuqhagamshelana naye ukuba ndineminye imibuzo?**

Ukuba uneminye imibuzo ungaqhagamshelana nababantu balandelayo:

**Umphandi**

Minkateko Wicht

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Ikomiti kwicandelo lesayensi yezempilo kuphando lwabantu (Health Sciences Human Research Committee) ye Dyunivesithi yase Kapa ungaqhagamshelana nayo kule nombolo ingezantsi ukuba unemibuzo malunga namalungelo akho kunye nentlalontle njengabathathi-nxaxheba bophando kolu phando.

**Human Research Ethics Committee**

E53-Room 46, Old Main Building, Groote Schuur Hospital, Observatory, 7925

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## APPENDIX E: INFORMED CONSENT FORM (AFRIKAANS)



### Ingeligte toestemmingsvorm

**Navorsingsprojek: “Hoe word jongmense tussen 18 en 25 jaar, wat in ‘n gemeenskap in Bredasdorp in die Weskaap woon se aktiwiteits geleenthede en aktiwiteits keuse gevorm deur die area waarin hulle woonagtig is?”**

Ek, \_\_\_\_\_, het die inligtingsblad gelees/ die inligtingsblad is aan my gelees. Ek verstaan wat van my verwag word in die navorsings studie en al my vrae is beantwoord. Ek kies uit vrye wil om deel te neem aan die studie. Ek verstaan dat ek enige tyd kan onttrek van die studie sonder om enige rede te verskaf en dat daar geen nagevolge van so ‘n besluit sal wees nie. Ek verstaan dat my identiteit vertroulik hanteer sal word.

Merk asseblief:

- ek **stem in** om opgeneem/verfilm te word.
- ek **stem nie in** om opgeneem/verfilm te word nie.
  
- Ek **gee toestemming** dat my fotos in die navorsings verhandeling en ander publikasies gebruik word, mits enige identifiserende eienskappe, bv., gesigte, verbloem word om anonimiteit te beskerm.
- Ek **gee nie toestemming** dat my fotos in die navorsings verhandeling en publikasies gebruik word nie.

**Geteken:**

_____	___/___/___	_____
<i>Deelnemer</i>	<i>Datum</i>	<i>Plek</i>
_____	___/___/___	_____
<i>Navorser</i>	<i>Datum</i>	<i>Plek</i>
_____	___/___/___	_____
<i>Getuie</i>	<i>Datum</i>	<i>Plek</i>

## APPENDIX E: INFORMED CONSENT FORM (ISIXHOSA)



### Ifomu yesiqinisekiso sokuthatha inxaxheba

**Iprojekthi Yophando: “Ukuba ngumhlali woluntu eBredasdorp eNtshona Kapa kuwamilisa njani amathuba omsebenzi kunye nokhetho lomsebenzi kulutsha olukwiminyaka ephakathi kwe 18 ne 25 ubudala?”**

Mna \_\_\_\_\_ ndilifundile/ ndilifundelwe (yenza isangqa) iphepha lenkcazelo. Ndiyayiqonda into efunekayo kum koluphando kwaye yonke imibuzo yam iphenduliwe. Ndikhetha ngokuthanda kwam ukuthatha inxaxheba kolu phando. Ndiyakuqonda ukuba ndingarhoxa koluphando nangaliphi na ixesha ngaphandle kokunika isizathu kwaye akusayi kubakho ziphumo kwisigqibo sam sokwenza njalo. Ndiyaqonda ukuba imfihlo ngam iyakukhuselwa.

Nceda uphawule:

- Ndiyavuma** ukushicelelwa
- Andivumi** ukushicelelwa
  
- Ndiyavuma** imifanekisa yam ukuba isetyenziswe kwi thisisi yophando kunye nalo naluphi na olunye upapasho, ngaphandle kokuba naziphi na iimpawu ezichongiweyo umzekelo ubuso, bumfiliba ukukhusela ukungaziwa.
- Andivumi** ukuba imifanekiso yam isetyenziswe kule thisisi yophando nalo naluphi na olunye upapasho.

**Isayinwe:**

_____	____/____/____	_____
<i>Umthathinxaxheba</i>	<i>Umhla</i>	<i>Indawo</i>
_____	____/____/____	_____
<i>Umphandi</i>	<i>Umhla</i>	<i>Indawo</i>
_____	____/____/____	_____
<i>Inggina</i>	<i>Umhla</i>	<i>Indawo</i>

**APPENDIX F: CAMERA FORM**

**CAMERA FORM**

I \_\_\_\_\_ have been given one disposable camera (camera number: \_\_\_\_\_) and will use it to take 20 photographs for the purposes of the research project with Minkateko Wicht.

Participant Signature: \_\_\_\_\_

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

Researcher Signature: \_\_\_\_\_

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

**CAMERA FORM**

I \_\_\_\_\_ have returned one disposable camera (camera number: \_\_\_\_\_) which was used for the purposes of the research project with Minkateko Wicht.

Participant Signature: \_\_\_\_\_

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

Researcher Signature: \_\_\_\_\_

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

## APPENDIX G: CONSENT VOUCHERS (ENGLISH, AFRIKAANS, ISIXHOSA)



**Research Project:** *How does living in a community within Bredasdorp, Western Cape shape the experience of occupational possibilities and occupational choice of emerging adults aged between 18 and 25 years?*

### CONSENT FOR TAKING AND USING MY PICTURE

I consent to be photographed as part of this research study. I allow my photographs to be used in the research thesis and any further publications, provided that any identifiable features, e.g. faces, are blurred to protect anonymity.

\_\_\_\_\_  
**Name**

\_\_\_\_\_  
**Signed**

\_\_\_\_\_  
**Date**



**Navorsingsprojek:** *“Hoe word jongmense tussen 18 en 25 jaar, wat in ‘n gemeenskap in Bredasdorp in die Weskaap woon se aktiwiteits geleenthede en aktiwiteits keuse gevorm deur die area waarin hulle woonagtig is?”*

### TOESTEMMING VIR DIE NEEM EN GEBRUIK VAN MY PRENT

Ek stem in om gefotografeer te word as deel van hierdie navorsingstudie. Ek gee toestemming dat my fotos in die navorsings verhandeling en ander publikasies gebruik word, mits enige identifiserende eienskappe, bv., gesigte, verbloem word om anonimiteit te beskerm.

\_\_\_\_\_  
**Naam**

\_\_\_\_\_  
**Geteken**

\_\_\_\_\_  
**Datum**



**Iprojekthi Yophando:** *“Ukuba ngumhlali woluntu eBredasdorp eNtshona Kapa kuwamilisa njani amathuba omsebenzi kunye nokhetho lomsebenzi kulutsha olukwiminyaka ephakathi kwe 18 ne 25 ubudala?”*

### IMVUME YOKUTHATHA NOKUSEBENZISA UMFANEKISO WAM

Ndiyavuma ukufotwa njengenxalenye yolu phando lophando. Ndiyavuma imifanekisa yam ukuba isetyenziswe kwi thisisi yophando kunye nalo naluphi na olunye upapasho, ngaphandle kokuba naziphi na iimpawu ezichongiweyo umzekelo ubuso, bumfiliba ukukhusela ukungaziwa.

\_\_\_\_\_  
**Igama**

\_\_\_\_\_  
**Isayinwe**

\_\_\_\_\_  
**Umhla**

## APPENDIX H: QUESTIONS FOR DATA GENERATION (ENGLISH)

### ***Photovoice Prompts:***

Take photographs of:

1. What you do everyday
2. What you would like to do

Should participants not be able to take photographs of what they would like to do, they can bring or take photos of artefacts or bring other visual media which may represent this aspect of the question.

### ***Narrative Interview Questions:***

1. Tell me about what you do every day / What do you do every day?
2. Tell me about what you would like to do / What would you like to do?

### ***Exmanent Questions:***

These questions have been prepared in line with Clandinin and Connelly's (2000) three-dimensional narrative inquiry space, that is, interaction between the personal and social, the continuity of experience from past, present, and future and locating experience within situation or place. These will be translated into immanent questions and be used as prompts in the questioning phase. They will only be asked should the information not be provided by participants and they will also be used to identify any gaps which need to be filled during the second interview.

#### *1. Interaction between the personal and social*

- a. Who do you usually do [occupation in photograph] with?
- b. How do you feel when you do [occupation in photograph]?
- c. Why do you do [occupation in photograph]?
- d. What do you like the most / least about [occupation in photograph]? Why?
- e. Do you want to do [occupation in photograph] more or less? Why?
- f. What helps you to do [occupation in photograph]?
- g. What prevents you from doing [occupation in photograph]?

- h. Is this [occupation in photograph] something you choose to do or have to do? Why?
- i. Who do you spend most of your time with?
- j. Who do you live with?
- k. What impact does doing [occupation in photograph] have on you?
- l. What do you enjoy doing?
- m. What do you not enjoy doing?
- n. What are your hopes or dreams for your future?
- o. Why would you like to do [occupation in photograph]?
- p. What did you expect of yourself at this age? Why?
- q. What do people in the community/in your life expect of young people your age? How do you know this?
- r. Is this [occupation in photograph] similar or different to what other young people your age do? Why/Why not?

2. *The continuity of experience from past, present, and future*

- a. When did you start doing [occupation in photograph]?
- b. Have you always done [occupation in photograph]?
- c. When do you usually do this [occupation in photograph]?
- d. What happens before and after you do [occupation in photograph]?
- e. How often do you usually do [occupation in photograph]?
- f. What is different or similar about what you are doing now in [occupation in photograph] and when you were younger (child or teenager)/in the past?
- g. Do you think doing [occupation in photograph] in the future will be possible for you? Why/Why not?
- h. What may support you to do [occupation in photograph] in the future?
- i. What may limit you from doing [occupation in photograph] in the future?
- j. What would you like to do differently or similarly in the future?
- k. Have you always lived in this community?
- l. Is there anything you would like to start doing or stop doing?
- m. Has there been any experiences in the past which have changed or influenced how you do [occupations in photograph]?

- n. Has there been any experiences in the past which have changed or influenced your future?

3. *Locating the experience within situation and place*

- a. Where is this [occupation in photograph] happening?
- b. Describe the [place where occupation in photograph is happening].
- c. Where do you usually do [occupation in photograph]?
- d. Where would you like to do [occupation in photograph]?
- e. What do you need to be able to do [occupation in photograph]? How do you access those things?
- f. Where do you spend your time?
- g. What is it like being [insert age]/a young person in this community?
- h. What makes it easier or more difficulty to do [occupation in photograph]?
- i. Is there anything in your community/where you live that prevents/limits you from doing [occupation in photograph]? If so, what are they?
- j. Is there anything in your community that supports/helps you to do [occupation in photograph]? If so, what are they?
- k. Are there other things you do in your community, that are not here in the photographs? What are they?

## APPENDIX H: QUESTIONS FOR DATA GENERATION (AFRIKAANS)

### **Foto Stem Aanwysings:**

Neem fotos van:

1. Wat u elke dag doen
2. Wat u graag sou wou doen

### **Narratiewe Onderhouds Vrae:**

1. Vertel my meer omtrent wat u elke dag doen / Wat doen u elke dag?
2. Vertel my wat u graag sou wou doen / Wat wil u graag doen?

### **Eksmanente Vrae:**

1. *Interaksie tussen persoonlik en sosiaall*
  - a. *Met wie doen u [occupation in photograph] gewoonlik mee?*
  - b. *Hoe voel u wanneer u [occupation in photograph]?*
  - c. *Waarom doen u [occupation in photograph]?*
  - d. *Waarvan hou u die meeste / minste van [occupation in photograph]? Waarom?*
  - e. *Wil u gaag [occupation in photograph] doen? Meer of minder? Waarom?*
  - f. *Wat help u om [occupation in photograph] te doen?*
  - g. *Wat verhoed u om [occupation in photograph] te doen?*
  - h. *Is hierdie [occupation in photograph] iets wat u verkies om te doen of moet u dit doen? Waarom?*
  - i. *Waaraan spandeer u die meeste van u tyd?*
  - j. *Saam met wie woon u?*
  - k. *Watter impak het [occupation in photograph] op u?*
  - l. *Wat geniet u om te doen?*
  - m. *Wat geniet u nie om te doen nie?*
  - n. *Wat is u hoop en drome vir die toekoms?*
  - o. *Waarom hou u van [occupation in photograph]?*
  - p. *Wat was u verwagtinge oor uself op hierdie ouderdom? Waarom?*

- q. *Wat verwag mense in u gemeenskap/in u lewe van jongmense van u ouderdom? Hoe weet u dit?*
- r. *Is hierdie [occupation in photograph] soortgelyk aan wat ander jongmense van u ouderdom doen? Waarom/Waarom nie?*
2. *Die kontinuïteit van ervarings uit die verlede, hede en toekoms*
- a. *Wanneer het u begin met [occupation in photograph]?*
- b. *Het u altyd [occupation in photograph] gedoen?*
- c. *Wanneer doen u gewoonlik die [occupation in photograph]?*
- d. *Wat gebeur voor en nadat u [occupation in photograph] doen?*
- e. *Hoe gereeld doen u [occupation in photograph]?*
- f. *Wat is verskillend en wat is soortgelyk aan wat u nou doen en [occupation in photograph] en toe u jonger was (kind of tiener)/in die verlede?*
- g. *Dink u dat [occupation in photograph] sal moontlik wees vir u in die toekoms? Waarom/Waarom nie?*
- h. *Wat wal u ondersteun om [occupation in photograph] te doen in die toekoms?*
- i. *Wat sal u verhoed om [occupation in photograph] te doen in die toekoms?*
- j. *Wat sal u graag anders of soortgelyk sou wou doen in die toekoms?*
- k. *Het u altyd in die gemeenskap gewoon?*
- l. *Is daar enige iets wat u graag wou doen of ophou doen?*
- m. *Is daar enige ervarings van die verlede wat wat en hoe u [occupations in photograph] doen beïnvloed of verander het?*
- n. *Is daar enige ervarings van die verlede wat u verander of beïnvloed het?*
3. *Die plasing van die ervaring binne die situasie en plek*
- a. *Waar gebeur [occupation in photograph]?*
- b. *Beskryf [place where occupation in photograph is happening].*
- c. *Waar doen u gewoonlik [occupation in photograph]?*
- d. *Waar wil u graag [occupation in photograph] doen?*
- e. *Wat het u nodig om [occupation in photograph] te doen? Hoe sal u toegang daartoe verkry?*
- f. *Waar spandeer u u tyd?*

- g. Hoe is dit om [insert age]/'n jong mens in die gemeenskap te wees?*
- h. Wat maak dit makliker of moeiliker om [occupation in photograph] te doen?*
- i. Is daar enige iets in u gemeenskap /waar u woonagtig is wat u verhoed/beperk om [occupation in photograph] te doen? Indien wel, wat is dit?*
- j. Is daar enige iets in u gemeenskap wat ondersteuning bied/u kan help om [occupation in photograph] te doen? Indien wel, wat is dit?*
- k. Is daar ander dinge om te doen in u gemeenskap wat nie in hierdie fotos is nie? Wat is dit?*

## **APPENDIX I: PHOTOVOICE TRAINING CHECKLIST**

The following checklist was used for the photovoice training:

- How to use a disposable camera (focus on winding and counter mechanism, not covering lens with finger, use of flash)
- Discussion on what to take pictures of (referring to the photovoice prompts)
- How to obtain consent to take photographs of other people through the use of consent vouchers and then how to take photos which are still natural/spontaneous
- Discussion on issues of community mobility and potential safety risks such as timing of photos, what they carry with them when taking photos, potentially risky locations and ensuring consent to take photographs of others
- Available support during the photovoice process
- Camera form
- Maximum number of photographs to be taken (20)
- Time frame to take photographs
- Responding to participants' questions

## APPENDIX J: EXAMPLE OF A STORY MAP

<b>Story Map: Petronella</b>	
<b>Characters</b>	
<b>Main Character:</b> <i>Petronella</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 25 years old</li> <li>• Born in Bredasdorp</li> <li>• Has son</li> <li>• Lives with mother, father, brother and son</li> <li>• Works full time</li> <li>• Part of the athletics club, 400m athlete</li> <li>• Graduated from university with BA in Sports and Recreation Science</li> <li>• Wants to be a professional athlete</li> <li>• Has always lived in Bredasdorp except for when at university</li> </ul>
<b>Other Characters</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Son: born in February 2015; does some gardening with grandfather, likes reading a lot and football</li> <li>• Mother: works full time</li> <li>• Father: works full time in another town; likes to garden</li> <li>• Brother: doesn't stay a lot at home, mostly spends time at his girlfriend's house</li> <li>• Boss: has similar degree</li> <li>• Friends (small circle – most stay outside of Bredasdorp)</li> <li>• Athletics Clubs</li> <li>• Uncle: used to run for South Africa</li> <li>• Coaches               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Coach who is currently assisting her</li> <li>○ university coaches</li> <li>○ Other coaches at university who were like "vultures"</li> </ul> </li> </ul>
<b>Setting (Situation)</b>	
<b>Broad context</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Bredasdorp (BD)               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Predominantly Afrikaans</li> <li>○ Expensive to travel out of BD with a taxi</li> <li>○ Rugby is a huge sport and given a lot of attention/priority</li> <li>○ Glaskasteel Sports centre</li> <li>○ Has two high schools</li> <li>○ Has two primary schools</li> <li>○ Described as conservative, people don't go out of BD/see bigger picture</li> <li>○ Able to walk to most things</li> <li>○ Limited places for social activities, e.g. restaurants</li> </ul> </li> </ul>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Feels safe to walk around during the day, but not at night</li> <li>○ Town is small, so people know everyone educational things</li> <li>○ No inspiration for athletics in the town, rugby player for Sharks comes from Bredasdorp, most role models are from overseas</li> <li>● University in Cape Town <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ NSFAS issues</li> <li>○ Hospital where she had knee operation</li> <li>○ Politics at university affecting athletes</li> <li>○ Language was a barrier in the beginning</li> <li>○ Stayed in Residence</li> <li>○ Scared of safety in Cape Town</li> <li>○ R500 for return trip between BD and university</li> </ul> </li> </ul>
<p><b>Specific contexts/situations – relayed within to story</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Home <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Both parents have full time jobs</li> <li>○ three bedrooms, kitchen, lounge with TV, front door leads to lounge, bathroom, laundry room</li> <li>○ Back of house – hang washing and stuff like that</li> <li>○ Front of house garden, father has flowers and garden</li> <li>○ Mostly it's P, son and mother at home (brother and father are in and out)</li> <li>○ Has lived in this house her whole life</li> <li>○ Doesn't feel safe in her house</li> <li>○ House is not secure</li> <li>○ Have a garden with loquat tree</li> <li>○ Stay around people who uses drugs</li> <li>○ No car in the family</li> </ul> </li> <li>● Works in an office</li> <li>● Glaskasteel has grass field for her own training and is closer to her home but doesn't have lines for running so can't practice there</li> <li>● Travels for work</li> <li>● Travels for competitions</li> <li>● Training grounds at Bredasdorp High School, far from her house and needs to walk home afterwards</li> <li>● Graveyard where she jogs to, overlooks town and is quite</li> <li>● University Training <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Synthetic track</li> </ul> </li> <li>● University Classes</li> <li>● Library: P gets books there and takes her son to get books as well</li> </ul>

**Time (Continuity of experience)**

**Past (past experiences of storyteller)**

- Started athletics in Primary school: won a race and felt really good about it and tried again and won and so has kept doing it
- Matriculated in 2015 with distinction, took classes in Afrikaans, started running 400m in high school
- Ran her personal best in Grade 9 for 400m
- Become pregnant in Grade 11, didn't know she was pregnant until about 5 months; had baby in 2015
  - Mother fine when she found out, father not, he made appointment for abortion and took P without her consent, but she couldn't have it as the pregnancy was already too far along
  - Struggled after pregnancy to get back to where she was in terms of fitness
- University (2016 – 2020)
  - Started with BSC Sport Science 2016, failed the year
  - Transferred to BA Sport Recreation Science 2017-2020
  - Athletics training on synthetic track
  - Mother looked after son while P was at university, son would go to father's aunt during day when mother at work
  - Got bursary from NSFAS and parents were also able to support her
  - Worked occasionally during the day to earn money
  - Wasn't able to develop mother son bond while studying
- Knee operation (2020, final year of university)
- Internship in final year
- 2021: organisation work in Bredasdorp (volunteering): was the branch of organisation where she completed her internship, didn't enjoy it, they were not satisfied in her and was let go, issues with paying her, was being paid very little; work for half a year in 2021
- Didn't work for a month or two
- 2021 "depressive year"
- Working, on contract basis
- Mother took her to library when she was young and now she takes her son
- Friend has had major influence on music taste and listening to music
- Completed schooling in Afrikaans, made it challenging when at university as most classes were in English
- Anene Booysen murder
- Break ins at home experienced

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Wasn't as focused on athletics in university</li> <li>• Personal best scores in 400m during Grade 9</li> <li>• Politics at university within sport and the different coaches</li> </ul>
<p><b>Present (present experiences illustrated in actions of an event)</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Work <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Gets a weekly schedule on a Monday from boss, she adds anything she needs to the plan and works from that</li> <li>○ Travels for work when needed</li> <li>○ On a contract not permanent</li> <li>○ Salary is not enough for her to save</li> </ul> </li> <li>• Athletics Training - currently training on grass, which gives her advantage when competing (which usually happens on synthetic track)</li> <li>• Jogs during the week, has a specific route which goes to the graveyard</li> <li>• Looking after/taking care of son</li> <li>• Sunday is prep day: Preparation for week for P and son usually happens on Sunday: ironing clothes, checking homework, pack clothing for her and son, clean room, do nails/hair, checking sports events</li> <li>• Over weekends spends time on her own at home, Saturdays - watching sport on TV or live in Bredasdorp</li> <li>• Sees friends</li> <li>• Having difficult with getting coach from club</li> <li>• When there's load shedding at work, she reads books</li> <li>• Expected that at this age she would be in a proper job and earning a salary, peak time to be an athlete, also would have liked her own place by now</li> <li>• Sleeps with weapon (golf club) near bed, doesn't feel safe sleeping at night, particularly when brother and father are not there</li> <li>• Takes son to the library</li> <li>• More motivated in Athletics</li> </ul>
<p><b>Imagined/Future (actions to occur in the future)</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Goals: improving personal best time; going to SA Nationals (maybe winning or having a SA record) and the Olympics</li> <li>• Getting a place of her own with a garden and view</li> <li>• Becoming a professional athlete – would like to not have to work and just train every day, so her training becomes her work</li> <li>• Be a role model for kids in BD, to inspire some kids</li> <li>• Would love to travel and be able to take son with: Europe, Thailand and around South Africa</li> </ul>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Wants to be able to provide son with privileges at school and be able to go to Bredasdorp High School (fee-paying)</li> <li>• Provide her son with privileges and being able to go to a nice school with facilities, take English classes</li> <li>• Sees life with her son in Cape Town, not in Bredasdorp, doesn't want to stay in BD permanently</li> <li>• Would also like to move because she doesn't feel safe in her house</li> <li>• Would like to do further studies in Physiology (but may need a BSC not a BA)</li> <li>• Wants to continue doing athletics in future and working in sport field</li> <li>• To achieve Athletics goals needs to compete regionally first</li> <li>• To leave Bredasdorp (needs to consider son)</li> </ul>
<b>Experiences/Events (<i>Interaction between personal and social</i>)</b>	
<p><b>Personal Experience (what the individual experiences)</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Started athletics when P was a child and it felt good to win and so she continued</li> <li>• Prefers doing athletics than working; very passionate about it</li> <li>• Enjoys reading a lot, fiction and nonfiction</li> <li>• Loves listening to music, listens everyday</li> <li>• Is chilled with being alone over the weekends</li> <li>• Likes to be practical and active</li> <li>• Was reckless with money when at university, not budgeting</li> <li>• Likes to do the preparation on her own</li> <li>• Scared for safety in Cape Town – didn't get a part time job during university</li> <li>• Not a good choice in degree to try and find work in Bredasdorp</li> <li>• Knee injury due to excessive strain – was training for some time with pain, didn't realize needed an operation</li> <li>• Failed first year of BSC Sports science and was able to switch to BA Sports and Recreation Science</li> <li>• Didn't like having to wake up early at university</li> <li>• Dream of going to the Olympics keeps her going</li> <li>• Experience of being at university opened her eyes to a bigger world beyond Bredasdorp</li> <li>• Athletics performance was not so good during university, heart wasn't in it, was training with a sprinting coach, training with a knee injury that she wasn't aware of, also body had to make adjustments after having baby (was very fit before pregnancy)</li> <li>• Scared for safety in her area, sleeps with weapon; always checks everything is closed/fine before sleeping, sometimes lies awake if she hears something</li> </ul>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Describes self as carefree, does things her way, doesn't care what other people think</li> <li>• In 2021 when she came back from university, had zero confidence, was more depressed that year (being back in BD, no job, was volunteering but needed money)</li> <li>• more motivated in athletics now that she's back in BD</li> <li>• Intrinsic motivation currently high to become a pro athlete, helped to improve and shift motivation</li> <li>• Used to be one of those kids who thought she's from a small town she's never going to be on top, but she just has to prove herself</li> </ul>
<p><b>Social Experiences (the individual interacting with others)</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Travels with boss for work events</li> <li>• Mother took her to the library when she was younger</li> <li>• Taking son to library and reading together</li> <li>• "they" doesn't always "throw" the lines at Glaskasteel – making it difficult for her to train at field closer to her house</li> <li>• Has asked club for coach but hasn't heard back from them, and so is continuing her training by herself</li> <li>• Mother looked after son while P was at university, now it is her time to look after him</li> <li>• Has athletics trials</li> <li>• Had previous break in experience</li> <li>• Watches movies with son, takes him to things happening in town</li> <li>• People expect you to have a job by this age, to be somewhere in your life by now, earn a fair salary to look after child</li> <li>• Wasn't able to develop bond with child as she was away, was only seeing home once a month or every second month, missed his baby milestones</li> <li>• Relationship with father has been rocky after he made appointment for abortion, father and son are best friends now; P is also very protective over son now</li> <li>• Plays games with son and his friends, used to play lots of games with her friends when they were younger but they are sedentary now</li> </ul>
<p><b>Interaction between Personal and Social</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• "Peer pressure" to go to university, everyone else was going and so she decided to apply as well</li> <li>• Likes that her friends are not living in BD as she's happy that they are leaving BD and progressing in careers etc.</li> <li>• Has to consider son in her decisions she makes, need to think about his schooling and getting babysitter</li> <li>• Challenges with the athletics clubs and getting a coach for her training now</li> </ul>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Requires coach to lead her, she's on the lookout for another coach</li> <li>• There are people in the community she can ask to be a coach, but aware of their own obligations and doesn't want to take advantage</li> <li>• Employed on a contract, want to make it permanent</li> <li>• Because "they" don't throw the lines at Glaskasteel she can't train there and has to train at BD high which is a 45-minute walk from her house, priority given to rugby, won't throw the lines if only one person is training (Preferences for sports codes)</li> <li>• Assigned to a sprinting coach at university, not a 400m coach and had to adapt to speed training, politics amongst coaches impacted her performance</li> <li>• Won't walk around at night on her own, will ask a friend or someone to accompany her if she needs to go somewhere; feels safe to walk around during the days, they won't do anything in daylight</li> <li>• Friends are sedentary</li> <li>• Needs athletics club to do the administrative things on their side to get to competitions</li> <li>• Politics between the university coaches and how it impacted her not getting the proper coaching</li> <li>• Has to consider son if she wants to move to another place</li> <li>• No many other young people want to leave – she feels that is different to what she is doing</li> </ul>
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**Plot**

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Introduction of passions and Olympic goals</li> <li>• Athletics journey <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Primary school</li> <li>○ High school</li> <li>○ University</li> </ul> </li> <li>• Studying and attending university <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Challenges</li> <li>○ Financial aid</li> </ul> </li> <li>• Challenges with athletic performance at university <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Coaches</li> <li>○ Pregnancy impact on body</li> <li>○ Knee injury</li> </ul> </li> <li>• Son and birth</li> <li>• Returning to Bredasdorp <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Internship</li> <li>○ Volunteering</li> <li>○ Unemployment and looking for work</li> </ul> </li> </ul>
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	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>○ First job</li><li>● Athletics Training and competing</li><li>● Challenges with club and coaches</li><li>● Goals and motivation for Athletics</li><li>● Goals for son</li><li>● Personal expectations and goals re Athletics</li><li>● Responsibilities and Leisure activities</li><li>● Future goals and dreams</li><li>● Living in Bredasdorp and wanting to leave<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>○ Wanting to leave</li><li>○ Safety issues</li><li>○ Community expectations</li></ul></li><li>● Being a role model</li></ul>
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## **APPENDIX K: PETRONELLA'S STORY**

### ***Petronella: Aspiring to be an Olympic Athlete***

I am Petronella, I'm 25 and athletics is my passion. There isn't a day that goes by that I don't think about making it in what I love, it completes me. I would like to become a professional athlete. My top goal is to go to the Olympics one day, but for now I am concentrating on improving my personal best and going to Nationals, maybe even winning or getting a South African record. I would love that wow. I would also love my son to see me on TV and be proud of me.

I started athletics in primary school. You know when you're a kid and you win at something and feel really good about it? That was me. I said, "let me see if I win again", and I kept winning and I thought I can do something with this. I also think it's in my genes, because my uncle is a well-known athlete who ran for South Africa at the Olympics. But I'm not doing it because there's someone in my family, I'm doing it for myself. In high school, I started to train the 400m event, which is my main event now. In Grade 9, I ran my personal best of 57 seconds! That was a great achievement for that age. Back then I was confident but I was still young, I didn't understand how serious this is.

I also did athletics at university from first year, which was 2016. I decided to go to university mainly because of peer pressure. People here were like "I'm going to university; I'm going to do this or that". I thought let me also just apply. So, I applied and got accepted for my second choice, BSc Sports Science. I didn't qualify for my first choice, Education, which I am so glad about as I don't wanna work at a school. First year was difficult and hard to adapt. The language barrier was a problem. My English was fair, because I read English books, but Bredasdorp is predominantly Afrikaans, and at school they don't tell you it's better to take your classes in English because everything at university is in English. The BSc was also rough, because of those medical terms. I failed my first year, but I had this opportunity to switch to BA Sports and Recreation Science. I restarted first year in 2017, which was fine because there were some credits that counted at least. The BA was lighter, not easier, but better.

If you say to people in Bredasdorp you must study, they're like "no, we don't have money". Most of my coloured friends or family here, think that studying is just for rich people or some people, but there's so many bursaries and opportunities, you just have to do research and put in effort to get there, like I did. It wasn't hard per se to get money for uni<sup>71</sup>, but it was still difficult to maintain my needs. I got a NSFAS<sup>72</sup> bursary for fees and accommodation, it was easy to apply for. I was lucky to stay in res<sup>73</sup> throughout uni. Students legit struggle to get accommodation, even those staying further than me, which was unfair. It was also kinda easy to get money from my parents to help with like food or taxi fare as they both have full time jobs. But I was actually reckless with money. I wasn't budgeting, I had this freedom to do this and that and then mommy and daddy must give money. I didn't even work part-time, but that's because I was scared of taking a part-time job in Cape Town which may have been at night. I couldn't just walk anywhere or take a taxi at night, it was different to Bredasdorp, where I can walk everywhere. But there were some opportunities during the day for work, at least.

At uni they had a proper synthetic track which was nice to train on but I didn't perform at all in athletics, so I was very disappointed. There was lots of politics and favouritism in sports, which affected the athletes. My first coach had conflict with other coaches who wanted me to train with them. Then that coach left and I was assigned to a sprinting coach who couldn't attend to my needs as a 400m athlete, so I had to adapt. I struggled which definitely pushed me back. I was always longing to come back here and train with the coach I knew. I was also training with a knee injury, I had pain that came randomly for like an hour, and I didn't realise it was becoming severe. It affected my performance without me knowing. In 2020, my final year, I had an operation. It influenced my vision of whether I was mentally fit to take on this journey. I'm glad I had the operation, because I was able to get back to training and focus more. I felt better and my motivation shifted, but not entirely.

I couldn't perform as well in uni, not only because of the coaches and the injury, but also because my heart wasn't into it then. You see, my son was born in 2015. I knew what I was

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<sup>71</sup> Colloquial term for university.

<sup>72</sup> National Student Financial Aid Scheme.

<sup>73</sup> Colloquial term for residences at university.

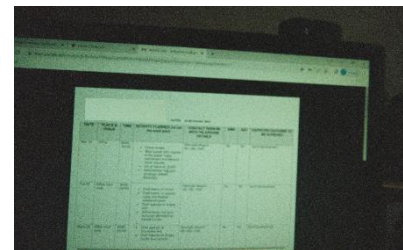
getting myself into when I did the deeds, but I wish I was more prepared, because at first, I didn't want myself to be in that situation. My mom was fine when she found out, but my dad didn't want it to happen. He made an appointment, out of my consent, to stop everything. I went with him but then luckily nothing could've happened because I was too far along. I was in matric when I gave birth, but I figured everything out and passed with a distinction. It was like a setback because I was super fit, motivated and a full-on athlete before I had my baby. But after giving birth, my body changed. I was so eager to get back on the track and I started training again, but it was difficult. I had no confidence because I couldn't understand why I couldn't get on that level again. I tried to get back at uni, I'm like "I have coaches now, I can focus on athletics", but it was still a struggle. It took from matric until end of uni, four years, to motivate me and get back to that point. The incorrect coach and knee operation also made it difficult.

I'm grateful that nothing could've happened at the appointment when I was pregnant. My dad and my son are like best friends now. I did forgive my father, but our relationship has been rocky. I couldn't bear losing my son and knowing that that was a possibility, I'm very protective over him. I'm also very attached to him now and can't be apart anymore because I wasn't seeing him as much in uni so I didn't have the mother-son bond. I wished I could've been with him for his baby milestones, I missed out a lot. My mother looked after him and he'd go to his father's aunt when she was working. I could only spend proper time with him over weekends or holidays when I was home which was once a month or every second month. It was also expensive for them to visit me.

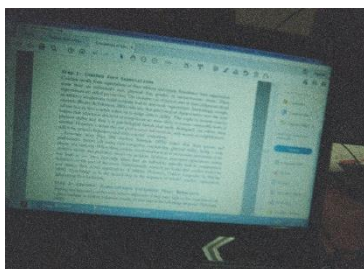
In my final year, we did an internship. The organisation I interned at also had a branch in Bredasdorp, so they asked me to volunteer after uni. I was very scared about finding a job after uni, because I couldn't work in Cape Town as I needed to think about my son in Bredasdorp. I think my degree choice wasn't the best choice for Bredasdorp, because there isn't a lot of opportunities to use my degree, unless I start my own business in personal training, which I didn't want to do then, and sports and recreation isn't that developed in Bredasdorp to provide jobs. It was the best choice if I was in like Cape Town. It would still be difficult to get a job, because you'll be competing with more people with the same degree or experience but there's more opportunities. So, I agreed to volunteer and came back to

Bredasdorp in 2021, at least I had something to get going with after uni. I volunteered from January until about June. But 2021 was a depressive year, because I was back without a job, volunteering but still needing money to do things. I had almost zero confidence and was trying so hard to get back to where I was and wanted to be. It was tough and like a setback. The organisation also made me do unnecessary things and I didn't get paid for like four months. I wasn't feeling it and didn't like how they were treating me. I was still doing the job but showed zero interest. Then one time I didn't show up for work and they let me go. I was grateful for the small payment; it was better than nothing. I also had nothing else then and no jobs to apply for with my degree in Bredasdorp.

For about two months I didn't work. It was fine because I was still looking for work, but I was a bit depressed because I didn't have a job. I tried to get work but places weren't employing. Then the post for my job now came out and I applied and got it. Luckily, I had a similar degree to my boss who said I can work with him. I was lucky to get this opportunity. The job is okay, I enjoy it.



Picture 1: Weekly plan for work



Picture 2: Reading during load shedding

It's just me and my boss in the office. Usually, every Monday he provides a weekly plan, which I can add to, and we work from that for the week, sometimes it's quiet, sometimes not. My time is mostly spent in the office, which I don't enjoy, it's not stimulating. Load shedding affects our office work, and when it happens, I just read handbooks on the work laptop. We also travel for work. I enjoy getting out of town and seeing other places. I don't like being in the office, I like to be practical and active. This is not a permanent job, my first contract ended at the beginning of this year [2022] and then they renewed it until next year. They're talking about making it permanent. I know if I get a permanent job, it will take a lot of my time. I'm scared that I won't be able to focus on athletics then.



Picture 3: Travelling to a work meeting



Picture 4: Graveyard where Petronella jogs

On Mondays, I take an easy jog to prepare my muscles for the tough training ahead in the week. I jog to the graveyard and do stretches there. It overlooks town, it's peaceful and I can let my mind be free. I'm still jogging in the same place as two years ago. When I compare the feelings and mind-set,

it's totally different. It's definitely positive, I'm motivated and confident now. I'm emotional sometimes when I think of where I started, things can definitely change, it just takes time. I

do my training at Bredasdorp High school track. It's up against the mountain, so it has a nice view of town. This track is grass, so it gives me an advantage because it's harder to train on, so it increases my performance on the synthetic tracks. But it's very far from home and after training, I still



Picture 5: Track where Petronella trains

have a 45-minute walk home, because I stay down in the town. I train directly after work, and I'm tired from the day, then after training I'm even more tired and I still have to walk home. The conditions of most the fields closer to me are not always the best for training as there often isn't even a track. There's a field at Glaskasteel<sup>74</sup>, which is closer to my house than the school, but I can't train there because they don't always throw the lines<sup>75</sup> and the field isn't measured correctly, which will affect my whole programme. Preference in sports codes here is a bit selective. Rugby is a huge thing and they'll go out of their way to throw the lines for that, but I don't think they'll throw lines if I'm the only one training. The school always has lines, so I train there.

In my first race of 2022, I ran 400m in 58 seconds, it was close to my personal best which is my first goal now. I know I can definitely do it, because I'm in better shape than I've ever been before. To compete, I need to be registered with my club, pay R100 for my number and the uniform. Other than that, it's the club's job to get their athletes to competitions. Some of the challenges are travel costs for events and issues with clubs getting us to competitions, the lack of qualified coaches, and having a support structure behind me to help drive my goals. If

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<sup>74</sup> Glaskasteel is a sports complex in Bredasdorp.

<sup>75</sup> Creating lines for which to run on in athletics.

the club does all the necessary things, then I feel secure. Nothing can go wrong if I have the right coach and training programmes.

But now I am struggling to get a consistent coach. I am in desperate need of a coach because if I want to go to Nationals I need someone to lead me there. The club promised they will have someone for me but nothing yet. If they're serious about my career the person will show up the next day. So, I'm still on the lookout for a coach. Having contacts and knowing the right people, will make it easier to find someone in Bredasdorp. I know people who can do the coaching but I also think about their life and obligations. I have someone who is assisting me now, but it's not consistent because they're not always training. Not having a coach or the close coach-athlete relationship is difficult but it isn't going to stop me from training myself, because my dreams don't wait. I read a lot, so I get the knowledge I need as an athlete and even a coach. I also follow coaches or professional athletes on Instagram and they always give tips. So, in a way I can coach myself. I also train with other athletes so at least I'm not alone. But I do feel disadvantaged without a coach, because I see all these professional athletes with their teams of people, like biokineticists or performance analysts. So, I definitely need a coach.

For motivation, I hang my running number up in my room, with some of my achievements and athletics idols. Seeing this keeps me going and focused on my dream to go to the Olympics. I had wanted to go to the Tokyo 2020 Olympics, but there's a lot that goes into it and that was the time I had the challenges in uni, so I couldn't really focus on training. But dreams delayed are not dreams denied. To achieve this dream, I shouldn't have any distractions, like jobwise. But I'm



Picture 6: Some of Petronella's achievements



Picture 7: Petronella's training gear

conflicted because I need the money for my son and also supplements which are expensive. But work takes a lot of my time, it's draining and I can't get to my training, also when I train my body is tired and sore. I know I have to have a job; it sucks. But I don't complain because I need to do it.

Ideally, I would like to only focus on training, I'd rather wake up at 5am to train than work in an office. I wish I could train, rest and eat the necessary things every day to reach my goal. Training basically satisfies me. But I also have to be realistic about providing for my son and consider him in decisions about what I do. It's difficult because I can't just move, I have to take him with, get him into school and get a babysitter if I work. I also want my son to be in a nice school that gives him all the opportunities, to have privileges and facilities, like the new synthetic hockey field at Bredasdorp High, and be able take English classes, because of my language barrier. The facilities at non-fee-paying schools in Bredasdorp are not up to par, so they use the town's facilities. So, if I want him to have all these facilities I must put him in a fee-paying school, like Bredasdorp High. So, I would need financial assistance or stable finances.



*Picture 8: New synthetic hockey field*

By 25, I had this idea of being independent, secure, in a proper job earning a salary and providing my son with all his needs, because I studied and I have my degree. I have a job but I'm not really satisfied with it. There's still a lot of growing to be done. I would have also liked my own place by now, somewhere with a view of the sun, mountain or beach that would make me feel complete. But I realised it's not as easy as you think. The job I have now doesn't financially assist me to do that. That's why I want to become a professional athlete, then my job is athletics. It's a good opportunity and if you're representing internationally there's always money involved then I can provide for my son. But I have to achieve internationally first and get recognition from sponsors. I know it's hard work to get there, but I'm willing to put it in. If I get an opportunity to further my career in sport but I can't take my son, then I'll do it. It will be hard, but I know he'll be safe with my mother. It's not about the money or awards for me, I'm doing it because I have put my heart into it, I want to be the best and achieve my goals. The motivation is more intrinsic than extrinsic. When I'm 50, I don't want to regret watching other's running on TV, at least I want to try.

But for now, I am working, training and looking after my son. I do all my son's school preparation and his homework with him. I won't let my mother do it because when I was in uni she looked after him, so it's my time now. I know my friends will judge me if they come visit and I'm doing all this preparation. On a Sunday, I usually clean my room, sort our closets,

iron and pack our clothes. I also prep for work and training and check what sports events are happening before the week starts. I enjoy prepping on my own, it's therapy, it makes me feel good about myself, ready for the week, and I don't have to stress then.



Picture 9: Sorting out closets

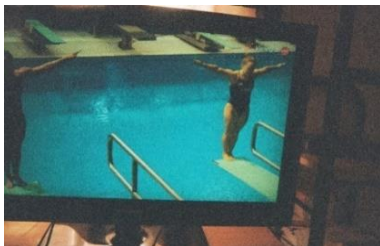


Picture 10: Ironing her son's school clothes



Picture 11: Prepping for the week ahead

On weekends, I am very chilled at being alone. I socialized enough in uni to not socialize too much anymore. I have a small friend circle here, but they're mostly outside Bredasdorp. I'm proud they're working on their careers, instead of staying here doing nothing or like a teller job. I also enjoy watching any sport over the weekends, on TV or live in Bredasdorp, like school



Picture 12: Watching sport on TV at home



Picture 13: Watching sports in Bredasdorp

competitions. I don't travel often to watch athletics live because it's expensive and I'm not as financially privileged. I also love listening to music, there's not a day that goes by that I don't. I've been listening to music forever, since I started feeling that deep intense feeling you get from music. My friend, who's in Cape Town now, influences my taste in music a lot. I also like reading a lot, fiction and non-fiction. I have a bookshelf of all the books I like to read. When I don't have anything to do, I read to minimize screen time. What I enjoy the most about reading is learning. I started reading from super young, my mom used to take me to the library. I still go to the library now and I take my son because I want him to read, he also likes reading a lot. My son is also into football and plays on the fields around our house. I need to check on him as it's not always safe. But there's securities there now. I also play games with him, watch movies and take him to



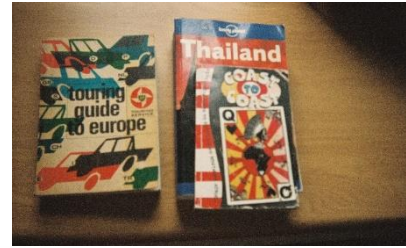
Picture 14: Listening to music



Picture 15: Petronella's son's plant

events in town. My father gardens with my son, he planted a *lekortel*<sup>76</sup> and it's growing! I'd love to have my own garden one day.

In the future, I would like to continue with athletics, obviously, and working in the sports field. I would also like to further my studies in physiology, one of the modules I enjoyed. But I think I need to have a Bachelor of Science not Arts. I wish I studied another degree, but I'm trying to make it work. I'd also like to travel with my son and see different places, cuisine and cultures in Europe, South Africa and Thailand. What prevents me is finances, not having my own transport for local travel and COVID. If I didn't have to consider the price, I would definitely go travelling now. I can't even save for shoes with my salary, so I need a better job that provides a comfortable salary so I can save or use for travelling.



Picture 16: Guide books representing dream of travelling one day

I've lived in Bredasdorp my whole life, except for uni, and I don't want to stay here permanently. I see mine and my son's life in Cape Town or somewhere. To make that a possibility, I need to get a proper job that can facilitate all mine and my son's needs, I think that's what may limit me from leaving. I would like to do that within the next one and a half to two years. I also live in quite a dangerous and unsafe area, it's not normal. I'm shocked at all the stuff that's been happening here, like Anene Booysen's<sup>77</sup> murder. People are evil. Living here, I'm scared. I feel secure walking around during daylight, but I won't walk around in the evening. We don't have a car so if I need to go somewhere at night, I'll ask a friend to walk with me. We also stay around people who uses drugs. Our house isn't really secured and we've been having break-ins. It's mostly my mother, my son and I at home, as my father works in a neighbouring town and my brother mostly stays at his girlfriend. Before sleeping, I always check everything's closed, and always have a weapon, like a golf club, close to my bed, just in case. If I hear something at night, then I wake up and can't sleep because I'm so alert. That's also why I would like to move basically.

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<sup>76</sup> Loquat tree in English

<sup>77</sup> Anene Booysen, aged 17, was brutally raped, beaten and disembowelled, and left for dead at a construction site in Bredasdorp in February 2013. She died soon after being hospitalized (Mail and Guardian, 2013).

Me wanting to leave Bredasdorp is different to other young people here, I think. I don't normally hear people saying they want to leave. I think it's because they don't get to see what's outside, like the freedom I had at uni. It's not better in the city, but there's more activities and opportunities. Here, it's small, life is slow and we're like a ghost town, there's only few places to do things. It's also a bit conservative and like you're not allowed to think bigger, people don't go out and see the bigger picture or world out there. I think most people who want to study, travel or leave Bredasdorp would, but can't because of financial constraints.

Being 25 in this community, people expect you to be somewhere in your life, work on your career and have a job. But me, I'm so carefree and don't care what others think, I'll do things my way. The town is so small and people like to talk, they'll know everyone's educational things. Because I have a child, people will think I'm supposed to earn a fair salary, look after my child and that I'm secure because of my job. But that's still coming. The older people in town are always proud if they know someone from town that went to university or did something with their life. People also expect young people to do something with their lives that inspires and impacts other kids and brings change in this community.

I'm also working on my athletics goals to be an inspiration for Bredasdorp kids. We don't really have a lot of role models. People don't get much inspiration from people in town, it's mostly from overseas, except for that Sharks<sup>78</sup> player from Bredasdorp. I'm not sure if that affects their vision but I know a lot of friends or people from school, even some athletes, that have been taken by drugs, just like that they're in that dark place. I would like to give hope and motivation because I was also one of those kids thinking "I'm from a small town; I'm never going to be on top". I feel like it's better if you have role models from here, to see someone doing good from a grassroots level, then you can see that you can come from the same place and can also make it.

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<sup>78</sup> Provincial rugby team for Kwa-Zulu Natal.

## APPENDIX L: JOHN'S STORY

### *John: Making the right choices for a better life*

I am John, I am 19 and in Grade 11. I want to pass matric with A's so I can go to any college or university and get a great job. To achieve this, I need to learn hard and stick to my goals. School is going to give me a basis for work, sodat ek kan begin om my lewe agtermekaar te kry<sup>79</sup>. In the past I didn't care about most things, but now I care about my future. I want to be better than I am today en ek wil 'n beter lewe vir my familie hê<sup>80</sup>. I also want people to know me as someone they can rely on and who does things for the community. I want to take care of my family and friends and also be a backup for my friends' families, like if something happens to them.

Ek was in Bredasdorp gebore. Toe ek was soos een jaar oud, ek en my ma het by my pa in 'n dorp in die Overstrand<sup>81</sup> gebly het<sup>82</sup>. I started school at a plaas skool<sup>83</sup> and when we came back to Bredasdorp, I was in Grade 6. When I was younger, I didn't worry much about school, I went because my mother said I must go, but I just wanted to leave school. Then my mother said if I get to matric and still want to leave, then I can do it, but my grandmother talked sense into my head and I started to see a different kind of life. Ek dink wat ek die meeste van skool hou is om elke dag my gunsteling onderwyser en vriende, wat nie in die dorp bly nie, te sien. My gunstelling vak is Geography. Ek hou daarvan want ons kry met kaart werk te doen en leer oor die aarde en die weer. Die ding wat ek nie van skool hou nie, is dat dit laat uitkom<sup>84</sup>.

There are a lot of other young people my age still in school, some are even older. My verwagtinge vir hierdie ouderdom was om die jaar my finals te geskryf het, maar weens COVID kon ek nie, en word toe agter gehou<sup>85</sup>. I was in Grade 10 when COVID came and the schools

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<sup>79</sup> ...so that I can start to get my life straight.

<sup>80</sup> ...I want a better life for my family.

<sup>81</sup> Gansbaai is approximately 77km from Bredasdorp. Overstrand is one of the municipalities in the Overberg District and neighbours Cape Agulhas Municipality

<sup>82</sup> I was born in Bredasdorp. When I was like one years old, me and my mother went to stay with my father in a town in the Overstrand.

<sup>83</sup> ...farm school...

<sup>84</sup> I think what I like most about school is seeing my favourite teacher every day and my friends who don't live in the town. My favourite subject is Geography. I like it because we get to do map work, and learn about the earth and the weather. The thing I don't like about school is that it comes out late.

<sup>85</sup> My expectations for this age is that I should have written my finals this year, but because of COVID I couldn't and I was held back.

closed. When schools re-opened, we started going back only one day a week for about four months, then we were in groups and went for a week every second week. Daai het my baie lui gemaak<sup>86</sup>. We didn't really have schoolwork to do and online school only came in 2021. Not being able to go to school was bad, it was boring and we had nothing to do at home, just house cleaning and spending time with friends. It was like the start of a new life; home, friends, doing nothing. It impacted me badly because I started to neglect my schoolwork. When I got my report and I failed Grade 10, I realised that I can't go on like that, I had to do something. That's when I decided, if I want to be like most of the guys and be a loser, I must keep on going that way, but if I want to do better, I must change my views. So, I started to see that school is only for my own good and I have to finish it. So, I started to put more effort in my work, even more than before. I told my friends I can only be with them for an hour during the week because I must focus on my schoolwork. My school friends, who live outside town, also helped me to focus on my studies, as we used to compete for marks. I also have a friend in Bredasdorp who is very supportive and mentors me with school stuff, I can always go to him if I don't understand the schoolwork. He'll explain it to me or he'll get info about it for me.



Picture 1: John's school top, representing going to school every day and his goal to finish matric.

I'm very excited to finish school because I can then go to any college of my choice because I'm a clever learner. Ek kan nie universiteit in Bredasdorp doen nie<sup>87</sup>. My options are Boland College in Caledon, University of the Western Cape and Stellenbosch University in Cape Town or Wellington or Worcester. But I haven't looked through all my options yet and I'm still deciding. I will need a bursary for me to study further. There's this one guy who said he'll organise my ride if I want to go study. My first dream was to become a soldier, then a police officer, after that a businessman. My mind is stuck on a businessman but I'm not sure. I want to study business. I really would want to open a store in Bredasdorp or Cape Town so friends can sell their brands and also start my own clothing brand, with t-shirts first, then pants and shoes. I'm chatting with a girl that is going to make me a t-shirt and also with my friend to

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<sup>86</sup> That made me very lazy.

<sup>87</sup> I can't attend university in Bredasdorp.

collab with his brand, because it's well known. If they agree to work with me, I can start doing this now. For both these ideas, I need my connections and a great customer base so that people will buy it. I would also like to study engineering, it fascinates me. I would like to build schools, safe houses, a house for orphans and an affordable complex in Bredasdorp.

I need to just keep the spirit I have now so I can finish matric. Almal in my hood support my om klaar te maak, want ek is die enigste een van my ou vriende wat nog steeds op die skool is, verder het almal dit gelos<sup>88</sup>. Things that will influence me negatively is if I get in with the wrong people and they influence my mind-set and I start to do bad things, then I'll have to leave school. Like, most children start by stealing, with the skollies<sup>89</sup>, or doing or selling drugs. To finish matric, I will also need a lot of data for research and studying online. A lot of matric classes will be online, but being online isn't good because not everyone has data and it's very expensive. I am buying data with my own money but I can't buy enough for the whole month. There is free Wi-Fi at the Thusong Centre<sup>90</sup> and Anene Booysen Centre<sup>91</sup>, but it's far from our area. I've missed three classes already this year, because I didn't have data or I was too late getting online and it negatively impacts my studies, because I miss important work that's in the exams. Bad weather also impacts my schooling. My school is about 20-minute walk from my house so in winter I might miss school depending on how hard it rains. Sometimes I can miss like five days in a month and that's a lot of work.

At home I have a tablet which I began using at the beginning of 2022. I use it for about 2 hours a day, but if it's for schoolwork I would go three to four hours. For schoolwork, I use it for projects and researching on the internet. I also watch soccer on it, play games or I watch movies when I'm bored. I also have to buy data for it. I don't like to be on technology the whole day because then you miss things that's happening or you also don't get the mood to do other things,



Picture 2: John's tablet.

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<sup>88</sup> *Everyone in my hood (neighbourhood) supports me to finish, because I am the only one of my old friends who is still in school, the others have all left.*

<sup>89</sup> *Skollie* is an Afrikaans term of abuse for layabouts, criminals and gangsters (ESAT, 2018).

<sup>90</sup> The Thusong Centre is a service centre providing government information and services to communities.

<sup>91</sup> The Anene Booysen Centre is a skills development centre run by the local municipality.

because you are used to just sitting on the phone. Die tyd wat ek die tablet gebruik, is my privaat tyd. As ek dit gebruik is ek op my rustigste en in my eie wêreld, ek vergeet van die wêreld en vir al die fake friends<sup>92</sup>. I usually use it on my own, but sometimes I will play games on it with my nephew. I spend the most time with him. He is one year four months and is a really nice kid but now that he's started walking, he's a real handful. He is my sister's child; she's on the streets in Bredasdorp so my mother and grandmother look after him. Every day, if I get a chance, I play with him for about an hour or two, we play games on my tab or we will walk around to the shop or park. Sometimes I take him to my friends because my oldest friend has a baby, so they can play together with their toys or watch movies, while the big boys chill.



Picture 3: John's nephew.

I live with my mother, grandmother, nephew and older brother. Our house has two bedrooms, a kitchen and lounge. Ek het my eie slaapkamer. My ouma en klein nefie slaap in die ander slaapkamer. Buite is 'n wendy<sup>93</sup> waar my ma en broer slaap. Ons het nie 'n tuin nie maar daar is 'n boom<sup>94</sup>. On weekends, we like having Sunday lunch together and at night we watch movies. Saturdays are our private days, where we get to go to our friends. During the week we have a game or movie night, or sometimes we just sit and talk. It makes me feel good to spend time with my family because when we're together we talk about everything then I know if there's something wrong. My street is divided between the party ones, older ones and druggies; I am staying by the older ones. My area is quiet because it's mostly old people. There aren't friends for me in my street, because they don't have grandchildren with them, so I'm the only youngster in my street and it's a bit boring. But I learn a lot from the older people, I can see how they're thinking and operating because I'm a lot by them.

My Bredasdorp friends are only guys, most are finished with school already, there's only two of us still in school. Two of my friends live close by, the other is about a 30-minute walk. If I

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<sup>92</sup> *The time I use the tablet is my private time. When I use it I am at my most peaceful and in my own world, I forget about the world and about all the fake friends.*

<sup>93</sup> A wendy is a dwelling made out of timber usually erected in a backyard as an addition to the existing house.

<sup>94</sup> *I have my own bedroom. My grandmother and little nephew sleep in the other bedroom. Outside there is a wendy where my mother and brother sleep. We don't have a garden but there is a tree.*

ain't home, then I'm mostly with my friends. We don't socialize with others much, because in Bredasdorp people don't want to build each other, they just want to break you down. As ek by my vriende is, chill ons by iemand se huis. Soos naweke, sal hulle sit en chill met doppe of okkapyp<sup>95</sup>, en deur die week dan sal ons net sit en jokes maak<sup>96</sup>. We also watch rugby and soccer. Rugby is big in Bredasdorp and I support the Bredasdorp Rangers. During the season I'll watch the games at Glaskasteel<sup>97</sup>. I might watch their away games, but it costs R120 for the trips, so it depends on my pocket money. My school friends mostly come from the towns and farms outside of Bredasdorp. When we're at school we gossip about people and things happening in the towns. We also like to eat take-aways, chips and drinks. During holidays, I only see them on weekends when they come to town to shop. My crew at school is girls because they are more real than most of the guys. I'm closer to my Bredasdorp friends than my school friends. With my Bredasdorp friends, we support each other with everything. But my school friends choose what they want to support you with. There's also a lot I won't tell my school friends, and I wouldn't just message them like, "I'm bored, come over, let's go buy a drink or let's go to that party". So, it's different.

I'm also part of a youth group and we meet once a week. We have workshops where we discuss a klomp goed soos<sup>98</sup> social problems and we'd like to do some projects like have a talent show and visiting creches and old age homes. Dit het 'n goeie impact want ek leer baie, en dit is soos 'n stress relief, dit is lekker<sup>99</sup>. I also socialize with people outside my friend's zone and do things I wanted to do but was too shy, like taking care of old people. We recently went on a trip. It was amazing, I learnt a lot about the past, apartheid, how black people's histories were erased and how as youngsters we don't actually know our roots. These are things we don't learn at school, so it's helped with my history subject. Afterwards, I started to see things differently and believe different things and maybe in the future I'll trace my roots.

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<sup>95</sup> Okkapyp or hookah, shisha or hubbly-bubbly is a tobacco pipe with a long tube connected to a container with water.

<sup>96</sup> *When I'm with my friends, we chill at someone's house, like over the weekends they'll sit and chill with alcohol or okkapyp, and during the week we'll just sit and make jokes.*

<sup>97</sup> Glaskasteel is a sports complex in Bredasdorp.

<sup>98</sup> ...a lot of stuff like...

<sup>99</sup> *It has a good impact because I learn a lot and it's like a stress relief, it is nice.*

I am also a shop assistant at a store and work during the day. I really needed extra pocket money so I decided to get a job so my mother doesn't have to give me pocket money and can spend the money on my nephew. I buy my own clothes and data with my money and then also to have money on me so I can buy me something when I want. I didn't have to apply for the job, it was easy, a friend asked if I wanted a job and I took my ID and phone number. I started in June 2022 and had training on my first day. I thought shop work was easy but I've learnt it's actually difficult and tiring. As a shop assistant we have to clean the store, make sure the shelves are full, help the customers and also be a security guard. During the week, I focus on my schoolwork, and weekends I work Friday afternoon, whole day Saturday and sometimes Sunday morning. During the holidays I work every day. I work from 8am to 3pm, or 6pm, if the store is busy or even 8pm during festive season. Having a job has a great impact because I'm learning many things like about new people and the working life, the life after school. It's common for young people to get a job in Bredasdorp, like being a sakpakker<sup>100</sup>. All my Bredasdorp friends work, only one of my school friends work.

Being 19 and living in Bredasdorp is both amazing and difficult. It's amazing because a lot of people know you and want to see you go further, especially the teachers, they've grown a bond with you, and some neighbours are helping me with school. Die mense in die gemeenskap verwag ons jong mense moet gefokus wees, moet die regte besluite maak en ons moet 'n skool loopbaan klaarmaak<sup>101</sup>. But it's also difficult because there's other people who want to belittle me. Baie mense judge jou onnodig, vriende is vals, hulle steek jou baie in jou rug<sup>102</sup>. Everyone wants to break you down; you must act strong. Some wants to lift you up but most of them are fake.

The choices we have to make is also life depending en daar is ook baie keuses wat 'n mens moet maak met vriende, want as jy vriende ontmoet dan lyk hulle soos die regte vriende vir jou maar eintlik is hulle net daar om jou aftebreek. Die keuse wat ek praat, is van geld te hê, gaan jy jou vriende volg en doen wat hulle doen of gaan jy op jou eie is en verkies om sonder

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<sup>100</sup> ...bag packer...

<sup>101</sup> People in the community expect us young people to be focused, make the right choices and finish our school careers.

<sup>102</sup> Lots of people judge you unnecessarily, friends are false, they stab you in your back a lot.

vriende to wees<sup>103</sup>. Like are you going with your crew to do bad things or get caught in drugs, or do you just want to stay home, drink your life away and skarrel op die stoep<sup>104</sup>. In the past I've made choices that didn't benefit me, but benefitted my friends and it had a bad influence on me. Soos ek het vriende gehad wat wou hê ons moet iets van die winkel af steel. Ek het besluit ek gaan dit nie doen nie want ek was bang vir die tronk. Agterna toe besluit ek, as ek dit gedoen het, ek sal nie net tronk toe gegaan het nie, ek sal my hele lewe opgemors het, en verkeerde goed ook doen, soos drugs gebruik<sup>105</sup>.

Drugs is nou 'n main ding by ons<sup>106</sup>, and there's also a lot of merchants in Bredasdorp. It impacts the community a lot because they can get drugs everywhere now. Dit is alright vir my want ek is baie in die huis<sup>107</sup> and I don't care about that stuff. I'm only drinking on weekends, if I'm not working on Sunday. Some of my friends wanted me to do drugs, they're still doing it, but I didn't because I saw how they reacting. Another friend also told me that the popular drug now in town can kill you. This friend helps me to make the right choices because when he tells me about his past, I can choose if I want to make the same mistakes as him or if I want to walk on the right road. Other choices are about getting into gangs, beginning by a drug lord or poaching. A lot of youngsters goes to poaching perlie<sup>108</sup> to get fast money. In the past I also wanted to be like my friends, hulle het dingeses en is amper ryker as ek<sup>109</sup>, like they were wearing nice clothes and stuff, so I started thinking, if I am still the boy I was, then I won't get the stuff I need; I will get the stuff I want. What I want are things I only want now and in a few weeks it's boring, but what I need is the things that are important. Now, what is important to me is om goeie vriende te hê, goeie keuses te maak en my familie. Nou kies ek my vriende beter as in die verlede<sup>110</sup>.

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<sup>103</sup> ...and there are many choices people must make with friends, because when you meet friends they look like they are the right friends for you, but actually they are only there to break you down. The choices I speak of, are about having money, whether you're following your friends and doing what they do or whether you are going to be on your own and choose to be without friends.

<sup>104</sup> ...loafing/loitering/hanging out on the porch.

<sup>105</sup> Like I had friends who wanted me to steel something from the shop. I decided I wasn't going to do it because I was afraid of jail. Afterwards I decided, if I did it, I will not only go to jail, I will also mess up my whole life, and also do the wrong things, like use drugs.

<sup>106</sup> Drugs are a main thing by us now...

<sup>107</sup> It's alright for me because I'm in the house a lot.

<sup>108</sup> Slang for perlemoen, Afrikaans for abalone.

<sup>109</sup> ...they had things and are almost richer than me

<sup>110</sup> ...to have good friends, make good choices and my family. Now I choose my friends better than in the past.

Ek wil in die toekoms 'n familie huis bou vir al my familie wat hier in die dorp bly. Hulle bly ver uit mekaar uit. Ek wil dit doen om die familie saam te wees as 'n familie goede. Ons is 'n groot familie, so die familie huis moet groot wees<sup>111</sup>, it must have maximum fourteen rooms. Some of the family won't like the idea, baie kom nie by mekaar reg nie<sup>112</sup>. But it will make me very happy, to see that everyone is safe and eating and I won't have to worry because I'll know if they're home. To do this I need support from my brothers and nephews and to get my dream job so I can get a pay cheque.



Picture 4: Dream to build a big house for his family, like this one.

I want to build this family house up there on the mountain, in die boere gebied<sup>113</sup>, it's quiet and safe there. There aren't a lot of crimes, loafers, or people who bully the children there. The police are also quick to respond there, which is different to here in the coloured area, they take their own time. It will be difficult to have a house up there, because some of the people are still racist and wouldn't want us to live there. I don't know why they're still racist. One time I was walking to a friend who lives there and the cops stopped me, it was a coloured guy and a whitey<sup>114</sup>, and they asked where I was going and they wanted to see a message from my friend. When I wanted to go to the coloured guy, the whitey got aggressive. People think I'm just loafing, doing nothing good and they're scared their stuff will get stolen. The cops wouldn't let me go see my friend, so I went home. Now, I don't go there easily because I'm scared that will happen again. That only happens in the boere gebied, we can walk around freely in my area because we are surrounded by coloureds. I think it's a common experience for young people coming from my community. There isn't trust like there should be en mense maak nog steeds assumptions en hulle eie afleiding. Hulle klas jou nog steeds volgens jou velkleur<sup>115</sup>. Mostly it's white people in Bredasdorp. It impacts me because I can't meet people that can help me, because they judge you before knowing you. Like the guy from one store, I wanted to work at, didn't like me and he treated me differently to others, I could see his mood

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<sup>111</sup> *In the future, I want to build a family house for all of my family who live here in the town. They live far apart. I want to do this so that the family can be together as a whole family. We are a big family, so the family house must be big...*

<sup>112</sup> *...many do not get along.*

<sup>113</sup> *...in the Afrikaans/White area...*

<sup>114</sup> *Slang for white person.*

<sup>115</sup> *...and people still make assumptions and draw their own conclusions. They still class you by your skin colour.*

change when I came in. Even if I go into that store today, he looks at me like what's happening here. But my managers where I work now ain't racists, they're really good people and are nice to work with.

Ek wil ook in die toekoms 'n kleuterskool bou wat goedkoop is te bou, ander mense kan daar werk, ek wil net die bou sponsor. Ek wil 'n a safe place vir kinders skep en om kinders ook van klein tyd af reg te leer, want baie word nie reg opgevoed nie<sup>116</sup>. It mustn't be expensive for parents,



Picture 5: The expensive crèche in Long Street.

because the one in Long Street is very expensive. I want to build it in a safe area that's not too far for parents dropping off their children. To achieve this, I'll need a great job and stable pay cheque, workers, sponsors and the community's and municipality's support. I think the church people and others community members will support it because they'll know their children are safe. Something that may prevent me from building a creche is that baie mense gaan sê dis onnodig of hier's 'n klomp huis creche ook<sup>117</sup>. They'll think I'm doing it to take their money away, because they only want to put money on their table.

In die toekoms will ek ook 'n familie kar koop<sup>118</sup>. I want to get the BMW X Diesel because it's a big car. We don't have a car in our family, so we walk to the shops, and it's tiring my mother because if she has to go to town, she has to go with my nephew and getting a taxi home is expensive, like R15 one



Picture 6: The family car he would like to buy

way, or 30 minutes walking. Die rede hoekom ek ook 'n familie kar wil kry is omdat my ouma nie ver kan loop nie en sy struggle baie om iemand te kry wat dorp toe gaan, want my broer werk, ek is in skool of werk en as my ma by die huis kom is dit klaar laat en baie van ons se familie wil nie vir haar koop nie. So as daar 'n kar is kan sy enige plek gaan waar sy wil<sup>119</sup>.

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<sup>116</sup> In the future, I also want to build a crèche that is cheap to build, other people can work there, I just want to sponsor the building. I want to create a safe place for children and to teach children the right way from a young age, because many are not properly educated.

<sup>117</sup> ...many people will say it's unnecessary or there's a lot of home-based crèches already.

<sup>118</sup> In the future I also want to buy a family car.

<sup>119</sup> The reason why I also want to get a family car is because my grandmother can't walk far and she struggles a lot to find someone who goes to town because my brother works, I am at school or work and when my mother comes home it is late and many of our family do not want to buy for her. So, if there is a car she can go anywhere she wants, especially to town.

I also have a dream car and dream house. My dream car is a Rolls Royce which is a really expensive luxury car for bosses and has a TV at the back and even a cooler box for your drinks. There's only a few in South Africa because it's custom made. My dream house is a glass mansion with four garages, two pools, a jacuzzi, ten bedrooms, movie theatre, soccer pitch and gaming room for my future children. I would like to live in it with my future wife, my children, my brother and my nephew who I want to adopt. I'd like it to be on the mountain in Bredasdorp because it has a beautiful view of the town.

One day, I'd also like to travel with my family to New York because I always see it on TV, to Disneyland in America because I want to meet the characters from the movies I watched as a kid, and even sometimes watch nowadays, and also to Barcelona because they're freestylers and trick masters in soccer. I'm going to need really a lot of money and my private jet. I also really want to go to Liverpool's stadium in England to watch a game and feel the vibe. I started playing soccer when I was 12 and then I started watching English soccer and saw they make a lot of money. I started supporting it because most players are generous with their money and help to make their hometowns a better place. I make time to watch every time Liverpool plays. I only don't watch when I'm at school or I'm sleeping. I watch it alone because I'm the only soccer supporter in the family. Ek wil ook nou al begin travel in Suid-Afrika. Ek wil deel van die Kaap ontdek en uit die Weskaap ook uitgaan<sup>120</sup>. I want to visit the nature reserves, the main cities and all the rugby fields in the country to see how different they are.

I believe it will be possible for me to visit these places and get my dream car and house. I can do it if I can accomplish all my goals, keep my mind straight and don't let people influence me badly. It's the choices I make, wat dit gaan limit<sup>121</sup>, because if I make the wrong choices I might end up in jail or in the graveyard because of the bad choices, so I have to make the right choices.

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<sup>120</sup> *I also want to start traveling in South Africa right now. I want to discover part of the Cape and go out of the Western Cape as well.*

<sup>121</sup> *...that will limit it...*

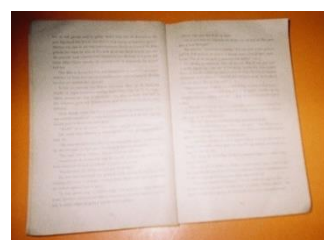
## APPENDIX M: JENAY'S STORY

### *Jenay: A life at home*

I am Jenay, I am 22 years old and I spend most of my time at home. I like being at home because too many people irritate me, I prefer being around fewer people, like I don't go to family gatherings unless it's a wedding. I don't spend much time outside the house, except when I'm going to my close friend across the road. Ek geniet om te lees, skryf, slaap en musiek luister. Die dinge wat ek nie geniet nie is te veel geraas en TV kyk. Ek weet nie hoekom nie, ek hou net nie daarvan nie<sup>122</sup>.

Om 22 jaar oud te wees, het ek verwag dat ek sou werk gaan. Maar daai het nie uitgewerk soos wat ek gehoop het nie. Ek was veertien jaar oud toe ek die skool los want ek was gebullie, dit was in Graad 8<sup>123</sup>. I didn't want to continue going to school because the bullying was getting too much and it made it more difficult, so I just left. I told my mom I didn't want to go back and she didn't say anything. The school also didn't say anything. I don't think it's common for people in Bredasdorp to drop out of school. Most of the people I know finish school. After I left school, I was just at home, doing nothing, and since then I've been home. I haven't worked either, except for babysitting my brother's and sisters' children. Looking after my little sister's newborn baby is taking most my time during the day now. I look after him from about eight in the morning when my sister goes to school. Ek doen nie niks specific nie<sup>124</sup>. When he's asleep I play with my older sister's one-year-old child, she's always hanging on me. Looking after them makes me feel mostly happy because I like children.

Die drie dinge wat ek elke dag doen is lees, musiek luister en in 'n dagboek skryf. Ek hou baie om te lees. Ek lees baie vinnig, alles wat ek kan lees, lees ek<sup>125</sup>. I read for like one or two hours a day, en ek lees meestal in my kamer want dis meer stil.



Picture 1: One of the books Jenay likes

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<sup>122</sup> I enjoy reading, writing, sleeping and listening to music. The things I don't enjoy are too much noise and watching TV. I don't know why, I just don't like it.

<sup>123</sup> Being 22 years old, I expected that I would go to work. But that didn't work out the way I hoped. I was 14 years old when I left school because I was bullied, that was in Grade 8.

<sup>124</sup> I don't do anything specific.

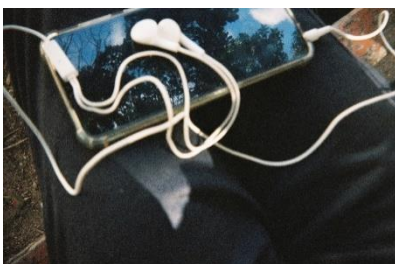
<sup>125</sup> The three things that I do every day is reading, listening to music and writing in a diary. I really like to read. I read very fast, everything that I can read, I read it.

Wanneer ek lees ek voel baie gelukkig want dit is iets wat ek tyd maak daarvoor en wat ek verkies om te doen<sup>126</sup>. What I like the most about reading is that I only focus on the book and nothing else, sometimes I even forget to eat. I mostly read Afrikaans books, because it's my home language, but I also read English books. I usually start reading around five until ten pm, want daai is die tyd wanner almal by die huis is en besig is met hulle goed, so dan het ek nie nodig om enige iets te doen nie. Dit is meestal stil en daai is my tyd vir lees<sup>127</sup>.

Ek het begin lees toe ek agt jaar oud was. Ek het al die tyd in die biblioteek kom sit<sup>128</sup>. We also have books at home, I'm not sure where they come from, my mommy just shows up with them and I take one and read it. My daddy also brings me books from the second-hand bookshop in town, sometimes I'll go there but it's very far, probably more than a 30-minute walk. Now I don't go to the library anymore, I use my phone and the Wi-Fi at home. There's about five different stuff I read on my phone, it's mostly diaries about gangster stuff and that's interesting, there's always someone dying in the story. I get it on Facebook and there's like two chapters a day. I don't know why I like it; I just started two years ago and liked it. Reading is something I do by myself. Dit is seker anders as wat ander jongmense in Bredasdorp doen, want nie baie mense hou van lees nie. My vriende lees nie<sup>129</sup>. It's something I want to do more of in the future, I won't be babysitting so I'll have more time to read.



Picture 2: Two books which Jenay read recently



Picture 3: Jenay's cell phone and earphones

The other thing I'm always doing is listening to music, even when I'm reading. With everything I do, like walking alone or cleaning the house, I'll have earphones in so that nobody can talk to me. My mommy is always skelling<sup>130</sup> because of that, but it's fine. I started listening to music a few years ago when

<sup>126</sup> ...and I mostly read in my room because it's quieter. When I read I feel very happy because that is something I make time for and that I choose to do.

<sup>127</sup> ...because that is the time when everyone is at home and busy with their things, so then I don't need to do anything. It's mostly quiet and that's my time for reading.

<sup>128</sup> I began reading when I was eight years old. I used to come sit in the library all the time.

<sup>129</sup> It is probably different from what other young people in Bredasdorp do, because not many people like reading. My friends don't read.

<sup>130</sup> ...scolding...

I didn't have a book to write in. Then, I was only listening to my favourite artist, Nicki Minaj, and now I'm listening to different kinds of music, there's a bit of everything on my phone. I download music from the internet. When I listen to music, I mostly feel happy. Maak nie saak of ek hartseer al is, gelukkig is nie, ek luister altyd musiek. Dis net daai hulp vir my om nie te dink nie<sup>131</sup>. I choose to listen to music because it's nice. What I like most about it, is probably that I'm mostly alone. I do sometimes listen to music with my friends, but only when we all have earphones. Like we'll sit in a circle and listen to the same song. We mostly do this at my friend's house across the road. Most people find it weird, because we're like five friends, we're not talking and everyone's on their phones, but it's our quiet time in the day. Listening to music is similar to what other young people in the community do. The only thing that makes it difficult is if I don't have earphones because my sisters don't like the noise and they'll be like "put it off".

The other thing I do regularly is writing in a diary. I began writing when I was twelve. My daddy bought me a diary one day and I didn't have reading books at the time, so I started writing, want daardie tyd was 'n baie moeilike tyd in my lewe, so alles waardeur ek het gegaan, toe begin ek neerskryf<sup>132</sup>. I still write in my diary now about the stuff that I go through and what I thought about during the day. I mostly write in the morning or evening, about two or three times a week. It's something I choose to do and that I do by myself, I don't share it with anyone. What I like about it is that it makes me forget where I am, I just focus on what I'm doing and I don't think about anything else. Ek skryf so om nie te dink nie. Dit help my om nie hartseer is nie, soos as iets miskien met my gebeur het wat vir my hartseer maak en ek skryf en dan is dit klaar en ek voel beter. So dit het 'n positiewe impak op my<sup>133</sup>. I don't think other young people in Bredasdorp write in a diary. Iets wat dit maklik maak is dat ek het altyd tyd daarvoor. Ek skryf meeste van die tyd buite, ek sit op 'n stoel in die yard. Ek hou van dit want dis baie meer stil<sup>134</sup>.



Picture 4: Jenay's diary

<sup>131</sup> *It doesn't matter if I'm sad or happy, I always listen to music. It's just that it helps me not to think.*

<sup>132</sup> *...because that time was a very difficult time in my life, so everything I was going through, I started writing down.*

<sup>133</sup> *I write so as not to think. It helps me not to be sad, like if something happened to me that makes me sad and I write and then it's done and I feel better. So, it has a positive impact on me.*

<sup>134</sup> *Something that makes it easy is that I always have time for it. I write outside most of the time. I sit on a chair in the yard. I like it because it's much quieter.*

I also love sleeping and I sleep a lot in the afternoon. When I sleep at like 5 or 6pm, then I'll sleep through the night until the next morning. That's not every day, maybe two or three times a week, otherwise I sleep late, like 11 or 12pm. Over the weekend, I'm always sleeping, even during the day. My ma hou nie daarvan nie. Sy altyd skel. Wanneer ek wakker word, voel ek moody en dan is ek honger<sup>135</sup>.

Ek kom uit 'n groot familie, ek is in die middle van my vyf susters en twee broers. By die huis is my ma, pa, twee susters, twee broers en hulle twee kinders en die baba. Die huis is nie groot nie, dis baie eenvoudig<sup>136</sup>. There's an open plan lounge and kitchen and two bedrooms, one for my parents and I share the other room with my sisters and their children. I want my own room and my own space, because my sister's children are always walking around and scratching in my things. My broer bly lanksaan in a wendy<sup>137</sup> en my ander broer woon in die huis. In die yard daar is my ma se tuin en nog 'n wendy van iemand anders<sup>138</sup>. I sometimes spend time in the yard, like in the afternoon I sit outside far from everyone and listen to music. I don't do that much with my sisters. They always talking about baby stuff and I can't talk with. Sometimes we go to town together, maybe two or three times a month, to buy stuff like toiletries. Wanneer my familie saam sit, is ek nie by nie, ek lê altyd, want hulle sal lag en van my jokes maak, ek lag soms self maar nie altyd nie. Dit is irriterend en ek raak baie gou kwaad<sup>139</sup>.

What I like most about where I live is the quietness, because I like silence. There's not much noise in my street. Some areas of Bredasdorp are very noisy. In my area it's just the houses, two shops and the church. There's always people on the street in my area. We don't have fields or parks; they're like five minutes walk from our house. The library is about 15-20-minute walk and to town it's about a 30-45-minute walk, depending on how fast you walk. Ek

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<sup>135</sup> *My mother doesn't like it. She always scolds. When I wake up, I feel moody and then I'm hungry.*

<sup>136</sup> *I come from a big family, I am in the middle of my five sisters and two brothers. At home are my mother, father, two sisters, two brothers and their two children and the baby. The house isn't big, it's very simple.*

<sup>137</sup> A wendy is a dwelling made out of timber usually erected in a backyard as an addition to the existing house.

<sup>138</sup> *My brother lives alongside in a wendy and my other brother is living in the house. In the yard there is my mother's garden and another wendy belonging to someone else.*

<sup>139</sup> *When my family sits together, I'm not by them, I'm always lying down, because they will laugh and make jokes about me, I sometimes laugh but not always. It is irritating and I get angry very quickly.*

stap baie vinnig as ek nie saam met my vriende stap nie, maar ek hou nie om alleen te stap nie<sup>140</sup>. When I'm walking around my area I only go to the shop and to my close friend across the road.

I spend most my time with my close friend. We've been friends for about twelve years. She's most of the time at our house with the baby, she's always in my face. I spend a lot of time at their house also, during the day when I don't have to babysit. Beside that we don't do anything else, want as hulle loop dan gaan ek huis toe. Ek hou nie daarvan om rond te loop nie, is net ek kan nie met almal meng nie en hulle vriende is anders as wat ek is, soos naweke, hulle party, ek nie. Even though ek gaan nie loop nie, sien ek baie goed en ek weet van alles, ek is baie nuuskierig<sup>141</sup>. My close friend tells me everything, she's the social one. I have other people that I sometimes spend time with, maar ek sal nie sê hulle is my vriende nie, net mense wat ek ken<sup>142</sup>. My close friend is meer soos 'n suster, die jonger sisstertjie wat ek soek, en die anders is nie so nie<sup>143</sup>. I'll sometimes do things with the others; they also live in my road, so we'll sit outside in front of my house and mostly talk about school. I am also part of a youth group. It probably has a good impact on me because we're always together, finding out new things about each other and stuff you didn't know.

Mense in Bredasdorp verwag dat jongmense van my ouderdom moet werk en nie kinders het nie, unless hulle getroud is<sup>144</sup>. There's lots of young people in Bredasdorp that have children, it happens a lot. Mense verwag meeste al dat jongerlinge nie moet party of drink nie, maar ek bedoel jy's een keer jonk<sup>145</sup>, it's not like you do it every day, it's mostly weekends, jy mag moet maar doen wat jy wil en ouer mense hou nie van daai nie, like as hulle sien iemand 'n jongelinge met a glassie en dan is dit like jy het nie respek for my nie, even though jy voor daai person gedrink nog nie<sup>146</sup>. For me being 22 in Bredasdorp is nice because I'm different from people my age, like they always party and drink and I don't do that. I don't think there's

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<sup>140</sup> *I walk very fast when I'm not walking with my friends, but I don't like to walk alone.*

<sup>141</sup> *...because if they walk then I go home. I don't like to walk around, it's just I can't mix with everyone and their friends are different from me, like weekends they party, I don't. Even though I don't walk around, I see lots of things and I know about everything, I am very nosy.*

<sup>142</sup> *...but I wouldn't say they are my friends, just people that I know.*

<sup>143</sup> *My close friend is more like a sister, the younger sister I am looking for, and the others aren't like that.*

<sup>144</sup> *People in Bredasdorp expect young people my age to work and not have children, unless they are married.*

<sup>145</sup> *People mostly expect young people not to party or like drink, but I mean you're young once...*

<sup>146</sup> *...you can do whatever you want and older people don't like that, like if they see someone young with a glass and then it's like you don't respect me, even though you didn't drink in front of that person.*

other young people like me who aren't drinking and partying. I don't know why I don't do that, I kinda made a promise to my granny that I'm never doing that. I was close with her before she died, so I'm still keeping my promise. It's also nice being a young person in Bredasdorp because you're not so little anymore. I used to have lots of friends when I was little and now, I'm mostly alone, which I prefer. The other thing is that when I was younger, I was more happy. As jy klein is, is jy baie gelukkig want jy het nie worries nie. Nou, om 'n jong mens te wees is jy worry oor werk kry en sulke goed. Ek voel baie frustrated want ek het letterlik geld nodig<sup>147</sup>, but the work is very hard to get. I've tried to get work in shops here, but it's difficult without a matric.

I actually wanted to be a psychologist and a photographer, I don't know what will help me to do those things, I must probably go back to school or something. I wanted to go back to school in the past. I don't know why I didn't, probably because I'm scared of being bullied again. Ek wil net hê kinders moet ophou ander kinders boelie, dan sal alles makliker wees<sup>148</sup>. I would still like to go back to school just to finish my matric. I can probably go in the beginning of next year. I think it's possible for me to finish matric in the future, but I'm not sure if it's possible for me to go back to school. I just don't think it will be easy, I mean I'm 22. If I could go back, I would do the work from home, like online or get the work from school, do it at home, then take it back to school. I don't know if that's possible or if there are any other options to finish matric. I would probably need to speak to the school principal, but that may be difficult because they have a new principal that I don't know, the old principal is only at the school sometimes.

I want to go back to Albert Myburgh High because it's a state school, so they don't ask for school fees and because Bredasdorp High is not so cheap. Albert Myburgh is a nice school but most of the children aren't so nice. There's not really anyone else in the community that I can go to for support about going back to school. As ek matriek klaarmaak dan wil ek graag studier. Ek wil na college gaan, daardie een by Caledon, Boland College. Ek is nie seker wat ek

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<sup>147</sup> *When you are small, you are very happy because you have no worries. Now, being a young person you worry about getting a job and stuff like that. I feel very frustrated because I literally need money...*

<sup>148</sup> *I just want kids to stop bullying other kids, then everything will be easier.*

wil studeer nie<sup>149</sup>. I'm not sure what kind of college it is or what subjects they do there. To go back to school, finish matric or get to college I will probably just need support from my parents, net dat hulle vir my kan miskien motivate, om vir my net te sê gaan doen dit, of hulle gaan praat met die skool. Ek is nie een vir baie praat nie<sup>150</sup>.

My droom vir die toekoms is dat ek graag 'n fotograaf kan word, want ek hou van fotos vat. Ek wil die tipe fotograaf wees wat net foto's van mense vat, daai's waarin ek goed is. Ek wil dit net hier in Bredasdorp doen. Dit is iets wat ek sonder college kan doen. Ek wil geldmaak deur dat mense vir die fotos my betaal, maar nie baie nie<sup>151</sup>. I'm already taking photos now, like when my sister asks me to take pictures of her baby. I have a camera on my phone but there's not enough space, so I use her cell phone. Taking photos makes me feel very happy. Apart from the photos looking good, seeing the smiles and joy in people's faces when I show them the photos is what I like the most. What I don't like is that they always complain like it doesn't look right but then it looks fine to me. I think it will be possible for me to become a photographer because it's my dream and ek sal letterlik begin geld spaar vir 'n camera, om die droom waar te laat word<sup>152</sup>. I can buy a camera in Bredasdorp or online. But first, I need to get work, so that I can save. I'll probably need like R3000 to R4000. Saving money is going to make becoming a photographer harder for me because I can't just save all my money I get from my parents. I only get money like once every two months and it's not much. I'll only be able to save a little bit because I need to spend it on like toiletries, or sometimes on clothes.



Picture 5: The museum

The other things that I would like to do is to go to the museum, sleep at the hotel in Bredasdorp, learn to swim and get my learner's licence. Ek wou nog altyd na die museum gegaan. Ek weet nie waarom die museum gaan nie, ek kan gaan uitvind<sup>153</sup>. It's the only museum in Bredasdorp and I

<sup>149</sup> *If I finish matric then I would like to study. I want to go to college, that one in Caledon, Boland College. I'm not sure what I want to study.*

<sup>150</sup> *...just that they can maybe motivate me, to just tell me like go do that, or they can go talk to the school. I'm not one for talking a lot.*

<sup>151</sup> *My dream for the future is that I would like to become a photographer, because I like taking photos. I want to be the type of photographer who only takes pictures of people, that's what I'm good at. I want to do it just here in Bredasdorp. It is something I can do without college. I want to make money by having people pay me for the photos, but not a lot.*

<sup>152</sup> *...I will literally start saving money for a camera, to make the dream come true.*

<sup>153</sup> *I always wanted to go to the museum. I don't know what the museum is about, I'm going to find out.*

want to have a look around and see what's inside. I went when I was in Grade 5 but I can't remember anything. I don't know anybody that's been to it. I don't want to go alone, I want to go with my close friend and maybe the girl next door, but those two together are loud and they're always laughing at everything. I can't walk with them; they'll get us in trouble. I can't ask my sisters because they're always busy. So ek weet nie hoe ek gaan maak nie<sup>154</sup>. If I can get that two girls to stop laughing at everything or maybe go with one of the girls, then that would make it possible for me. The museum is very far from my house, like almost an hour's walk. Ek dink dit is oor kant die municipality<sup>155</sup>. I don't spend a lot of time in that part of town because it's always busy. Die een ding wat my kan keer om te gaan is die feit dat ek social anxiety het, daai keer vir my van baie goed af<sup>156</sup>. I don't like being around many people, so I will go in the afternoon, when it's quieter. Dit sal vir my moontlik wees om na die museum te gaan want jy het nie goed nodig om te gaan nie<sup>157</sup>, you just take yourself. I don't know how much it costs; I'll probably have to find out before I go. I'll ask my daddy to go ask because he works in town. If I don't have to pay, then I can go any time. But I will go, maybe before the year ends or on my birthday in January.

I also want to sleep at the hotel. A lot of young people go to the bar, but since I don't drink, I just want to sleep there for one night, just to experience what it's like and so I can say I've slept in a hotel, even if it's in my area. There's nothing really special about it, but I think it's the only one in Bredasdorp. It's been here since I can remember. It's close to the museum, so it's quite far from my house. I haven't heard other young people talking about sleeping there, only about the bar, probably because they live in Bredasdorp, so there's no need to sleep there. I've been to it once before a few years ago, we were visiting family. The rooms looked nice inside. I want to go there for my birthday. I don't generally do anything for my birthday, my family will wish me happy birthday but that's it. I want to go alone and I'll take my reading books. The fact that I don't have money prevents me from going to the hotel, so I'm not sure if it will be possible. I can go if I don't have to spend a lot of money, I can like only afford less than R500 but I still need to find out how much it is. I can't ask daddy for money to sleep in a

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<sup>154</sup> *So I don't know how I'm going to make it.*

<sup>155</sup> *I think it's by the municipality side.*

<sup>156</sup> *The one thing that can stop me from going is the fact that I have social anxiety, that stops me from doing a lot of things.*

<sup>157</sup> *It will be possible for me to go to the museum because you don't need stuff to go...*

hotel, he'll just say "no, stay at home". So, I'll have to save from the money mommy gives me when she sends me to the shop. That'll probably take a month or two to save the money I need.



Picture 6: A swimming costume, representing Jenay wanting to learn how to swim

I know I'm 22 but I really want to know how to swim. When we go to the beach as a family, everyone is in the water and I'm just standing there with my feet touching the water because I can't swim. Most of my family can swim and others will walk far in the water, I'm scared of that. Since I want to do photography, I'm always the one taking pictures of everyone at the beach. I also eat a lot, like slap chips<sup>158</sup>. We usually go to the beach in Arniston<sup>159</sup>, it's the closest beach. I don't go to the beach that often, maybe like three times a year, because everyone's always busy. If I could swim, I'll always go the beach, I can take a taxi and go by myself. It's just expensive, like probably R50 one way. None of my friends can swim. I would like to learn to swim with my best friend, I don't think she is able to swim, but I only see her like once a year and we don't really talk that much. So, I'll take my close friend, since she's always with me. I don't think it's common for people in Bredasdorp to be able to swim, most of the young people can't swim and I don't know if they want to swim. Die ding wat my verhoed om te leer swem, is dat ek bang is, net nou verdrink ek<sup>160</sup>. I don't think it's possible to learn to swim now or in the future because I'm already big. I would probably need swimming lessons, then I think it'll be possible to learn. I don't know if there's somebody that can help me or where people in Bredasdorp learn to swim because there's no swimming school and it's not something they teach at school. The gym is probably the only place, I think it has a pool, but I'm not sure if it has lessons. I would probably need to like pay membership every month and that's expensive. There's no other place in Bredasdorp with a pool.

Ek wil ook gaan vir my learner's, maar ek is so bang, like ek slaag nie. As ek het nie die eerste keer slaag nie dan gaan ek nie weer nie<sup>161</sup>. I think it will be possible for me to get my learner's and my driver's in the future, because I really want to do it. I want to do the learner's in

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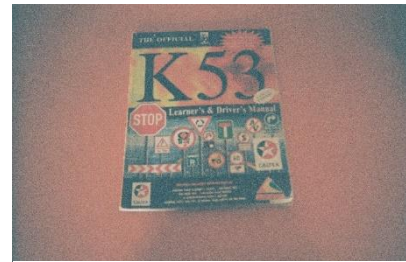
<sup>158</sup> Slap chips are fried potato chips that are crispy on the outside and soft in the inside.

<sup>159</sup> Arniston is approximately 24km from Bredasdorp.

<sup>160</sup> *The thing that prevents me from learning to swim is that I'm afraid, just now I'm drowning.*

<sup>161</sup> *I also want to go for my learner's, but I'm so scared, like I won't pass. If I don't pass the first time, then I won't go again.*

January next year. I can do it at the traffic department in Bredasdorp. All I need to do is study, book an appointment and go write. I got the book from my daddy; he wrote the answers in the book. I've started going through it a little and it's going fine, it's been nice. I study on my own, mostly in



Picture 7: Learner's license study book

the afternoon like two times a week when I get time. I think doing the learner's will be difficult, like it's not difficult to study but I'm worried that I'll go blank and won't remember when I need to write. Once I get the learner's then my daddy is going to teach me how to drive and then I can try get my driver's license a month or so afterwards. Getting that licence will probably be difficult mostly because I'm scared to learn how to drive and everybody's patience isn't so nice, but I'm sure I'll get it. In our family, my father and my brother-in-law have their licences and my brother-in-law has a car. I want to get my learner's, so that I can drive everybody's car and probably also so that I can drive my sisters back home because they're always partying and I'm the only one that doesn't drink. I don't think a lot of people in Bredasdorp have their licence, probably because everyone is walking. For young people here, wanting a licence is probably something common. I don't know any other young people who are studying for their learner's. I talk about it with my friends but none of them have done the test, I would be the first person amongst my friends to get it.

I don't think there's anything I would like to do differently from what I am already doing now, besides wanting to sleep less so that I have more time for myself and to read or write. I also want to continue listening to music, not too much but not too little. Something I want to continue doing in the future is being at home, always at home, because I like being at home.

## APPENDIX N: SASSY'S STORY

### ***Sassy: Helping myself to heal***

My name is Sassy, I have had depression and anxiety for a few years now. It's been really hard and I even ended up in hospital. I have stopped school twice and was held back a few years, because I couldn't focus because of my anxiety and depression. I received support from a psychologist which helped a little bit. Now, I decided to help myself heal and do the work on the inside.

I live with my mother, my brother and my sister. My pa was baie abusive gewees met my ma, en ek het alles gesien<sup>162</sup>. When I was in primary school, I only slept two hours because I always had to stay awake, because if my father hit my mother then I had to look after her. My marks were bad and



Picture 1: Sassy's door

I used to sleep in class. That's where my anxiety actually started. Even when I used to play outside with my friends I'd stand in the door or stay in the house to protect my mother. When he couldn't hit her, he began hitting me. Then my mother threw him out because he became too abusive. I didn't even see him as a father, because he always told me I must never allow people to hurt me, but then he was the one who hurt me. My father committed suicide a few years ago due to depression, and I was afraid that that would happen to me, want my pa is a volwasene en hy kon nie die siekte hanteer nie. Ek was net bang, ek is 'n tiener, gaan ek dit maak?<sup>163</sup>



Picture 2: Sassy's window

When I got depression a few years ago it got really bad. I couldn't even hang washing outside the window because my anxiety was also so bad. I stayed in the house for about six months, ek het slobby aangetrek, ek het nie geworry nie om na myself te kyk nie<sup>164</sup>, because I didn't feel worthy. I used to look out the window and admire people walking by, like how do they have so much confidence, I can't even make it outside. I was so scared of people and that what they'd say

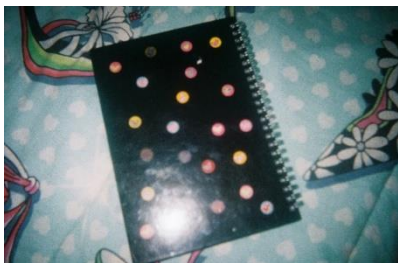
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<sup>162</sup> *My father was very abusive with my mother, and I saw everything.*

<sup>163</sup> *...because my father is an adult, and he couldn't handle the disease. I was just afraid, I'm a teenager, am I going to make it?*

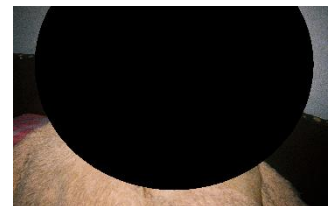
<sup>164</sup> *...I dressed slobby, I didn't worry about looking after myself...*

would break me. I ended up in hospital because of the depression and I talked to a psychologist for a few months which helped. That was near the beginning of high school. My mother and psychologist agreed that they would take me out of school. I wasn't in school for over a year then. My psychologist gave the school evidence about my progress but they didn't open it, so I had to repeat the year. Then my anxiety and depression started again. I think I basically had to repeat two different grades.

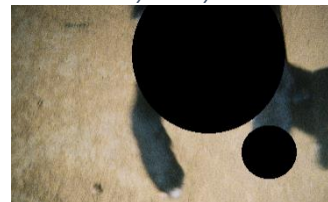


Picture 3: Sassy's diary

My psychologist gave me my diary. Voor dit ek het nie gehou van my gevoelens neer te skryf nie, ek hou nie van swak lyk nie, ek hou nie van 'n mense toe gaan vir help nie, ek is baie hardkoppig<sup>165</sup>. But then I started writing about my life and my emotions. It helped a lot because die depressie het my gemaak dat ek myself nie ken nie<sup>166</sup>, I couldn't tell you what I liked, it was really hard to get to know myself again, it was like learning about a newborn. My psychologist also told me that whenever I feel lonely or I don't have someone to talk to, I can talk to a teddy bear and pretend it's a person. So, I talk to my teddy bear every day. Even though it doesn't answer, it helps me not to keep anything in. It's almost as big as me so I also cuddle it. We also got a dog when I was really sick. I feel like God put him in my life at that moment because He knew I needed him. Whenever I'm not feeling good, he's always there, just coming and playing with me. I don't think about anything when I'm with him, I just focus on giving him attention and that's good for me. I play with him, walk him and talk to him, he also doesn't talk back but it's okay.

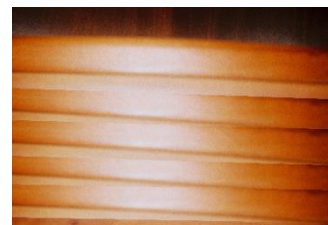


Picture 4: Sassy's teddy bear



Picture 5: Sassy's dog

My pa se as staan in ons huis. Ek het baie kwaad nog teen my pa, ek wil nie meer so voel nie want dit stop my om heeltemal te heal. Ek sukkel nog vir my pa heeltemal te vergewer<sup>167</sup>. It's also difficult



Picture 6: Sassy's father's ashes

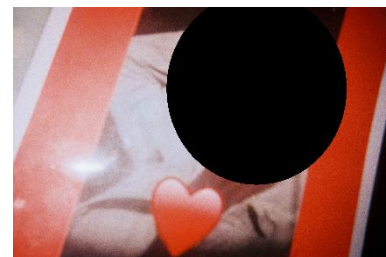
<sup>165</sup> Before that I didn't like writing down my feelings, I don't like looking weak, I don't like going to people for help, I'm very stubborn.

<sup>166</sup> ...the depression made me not know myself...

<sup>167</sup> My father's ashes are in our house. I still have a lot of anger against my father, I don't want to feel that way anymore because it stops me from healing completely. I still struggle to forgive my father completely.

to make peace with him because I didn't have the chance to say bye to him because everything happened so fast. I also expected him to have actually said sorry to me. After he died, I realized that for me to be healthy I can't hold grudges, I have to forgive him to forgive myself. So, I'm trying to heal from that so I can be healthy. A few years after my father died, my mother got another boyfriend. He's the opposite of my father; he treats her well and respects her. But I still find it difficult to trust him and I feel it's necessary for me to protect her, because what if? Ek is nog altyd reg op, en dit is partykeer moeilik vir my want ek wil nie so voel nie. Ek wil nie lê in die aand en dink ek moet vir elke geluikie hoor of my ma my gaan nodig hê, ek wil net gaan slaap maar dis moeilik van die anxiety<sup>168</sup>. We argue a lot about it because my mother says I should stop being overprotective and focus on being happy because she can handle herself. It's stressful because I want to be happy, but it's difficult not to worry about her because I feel like I should do something.

In my room, I have a photo of myself that I took when I got out of hospital to remind myself how weak I was then and that I feel much better now, I have a better mind-set and I do things differently. It inspires me to not let myself go back there. I'm so proud of how far I've come and how I carry myself these



Picture 7: Sassy's photo

days, I don't let people's negativity affect my energy, I'm balanced now and I'm grateful for that. To make the shift from where I was to now, I had to train myself to be a different person and to be happier. I think what helped me was that I just got tired of feeling that way. It was difficult because all I knew was how to be sad and to wanna commit suicide. I didn't want to do that but the depression got me thinking that dying is the only option. So, I had to make a choice to make my life better to be able to live. I had to switch my mind completely and I had to understand myself better. It was so hard switching to stay positive almost every day, because there's no one that helps you with it. You have to help yourself mentally and believe positive things about yourself. I also realised that I couldn't do the same things all over again. So, I cut off any friends or family that weren't good for me, even my best friend of eight years. I didn't go to parties or events and forced myself to stay inside, to learn more about myself

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<sup>168</sup> I am always alert and that is sometimes difficult for me because I don't want to feel like that. I don't want to lie at night and think I have to listen for every sound or if my mother is going to need me, I just want to go to sleep but it's hard because of the anxiety.

and to start loving myself. I was also really insecure about my body; I was bullied at school and it affected what I believed about myself. Even if someone said something good about me, I didn't believe it. Then I was like, "if I love myself, I don't need validation from anyone else"



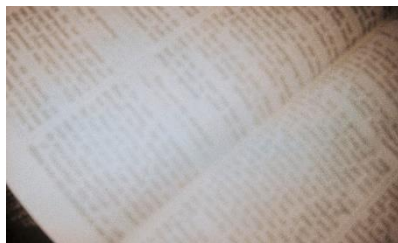
Picture 8: Picture representing Sassy's body insecurities

and I started to love myself. I also feel if I stayed in that bad place and caved into the community, I wouldn't have survived, because a lot of teenagers drink or smoke their problems away. But I like to be different, I don't like doing like a lot of people. I don't need validation of others to make me feel good about myself, I know what I'm worth.

Everything changed for me when I became religious. I grew up in a religious family but I didn't believe in God. I became religious after seeing my psychologist. I was such a different person in my last session, I was like free from anxiety and depression basically and I started to think who did all of this for me? Why did my life start to get better? Then one day I was in bed and I saw a white figure



Picture 9: Sassy's bible



Picture 10: Sassy's bible

looking over me and I felt warmth inside my body. The next day I started reading the bible for the first time. Now, I read it every day to learn about God. At first, I was so angry at God because why did He take my father away? Why do I have to have depression and anxiety? But this year, I realised that if my father didn't die from depression, I wouldn't take it seriously. It sounds bad, but I feel like God had to take my father away for me to become happy. I also think that maybe God gave me this illness to help others, because now I can talk to friends that starts to have it because I know what they're going through.

I don't go to church, because people in our church are very judgmental and my father's and mother's families don't sit well together. So, I need to find another church. There's quite a lot of churches in Bredasdorp, but I don't want to go to just any church, I want to go to a church where I actually feel good. I don't think a lot of young people go to church in Bredasdorp. Here there's this energy that you're not a cool kid, if you don't party. Many young people here

take drugs, smoke and party, even young children. I mean there's nothing wrong with enjoying your life, but do you want to be 40 and all you have is fun memories of your 20's?



Picture 11: Plants representing nature



Picture 12: Clouds representing nature

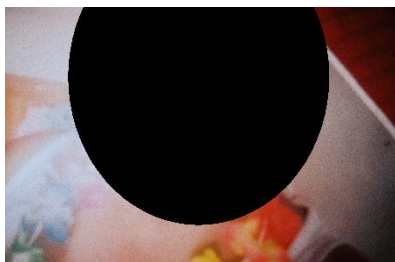
My relationship with God also grew stronger this year and I believe God is definitely real. I have a strong connection with Him that when I pray for something it literally happens. As ek 'n bietjie gestres voel, help dit om in die natuur te wees. Ek konek meer met God so. Ek hou daarvan om met dinge te wees wat ek sien wat God gemaak het, soos die plante, dan voel ek okay<sup>169</sup>. We have a big tree in the yard and when I see the wind blowing the tree or leaves or even plastic, He just heals me in a way because I like wind a lot. I don't actually do much in nature, I will just sit around the leaves, drink a cup of tea and think to clear my mind. I want to go stand in an open field and lay around the plants, just to feel. But I haven't done that yet. My mother takes me to Struisbaai or Arniston, just to drive past nature and to see the bushes and the trees.



Picture 13: The big tree in Sassy's yard



Picture 14: Sassy's cup of tea



Picture 15: Sassy's mother

My mother is very supportive, but she's not an emotional person. When I'm down she buys me snacks, as her way of caring. But what I'd like is for her to ask how I'm feeling. But she's getting there and I appreciate she's stepping out of her comfort zone and making an effort to make sure I'm okay. We've been through a lot together and this year we've started to talk about stuff and she prepares me for the future. One day, I would like to be the kind of mother to my children that my mother is to me. She is just so strong, doesn't settle for less and has so much patience. I look up to her a lot, because if she can do something, so can I. Before my father died, he was in and out of our lives and my mother just put her foot down and said she's raising us alone

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<sup>169</sup> When I feel a bit stressed, being in nature helps. I connect more with God this way. I like being with things I see that God has made, like the plants, then I feel okay.

and doesn't need anything from him. She's been working in an office job for a few years now. I can see how far she's come, she provides the best for us and makes sure we have everything we want, not only what we need anymore. I also get support from my close friends. Even though I know a lot of people, I don't trust people easily and only have two or three friends who are like family, because I know I can trust them. We don't see each other a lot because everyone has stuff to do. But when we're together we uplift each other, it's positive energy and healing vibes. We'll drink and smoke and the conversations are so good. We just talk about stuff, about God and we just let it out.

I made the decision to drop out of school this year because I was so unhappy and started having horrible anxiety again. I couldn't take it and one day I just told my mother like "I'm not going to make it". She informed the teacher and they said that I could take a break if I needed. I had already been thinking about not going back and to rather start working, so I left school. My mother was supportive of that decision and didn't want to see me in the place I was in before. Earlier in the year, she had got me an office job and for a young person, it paid good money. I feel like that would be something I would want to do, but at the time, I wasn't sure yet about dropping out of school, so my mother was like, "when you're ready, you'll have the stability to come to".

Now that I'm over 18 and not in school, I've been struggling a lot with whether I should go back or start working. But being my age and still in school feels like I'm wasting my own time. So, I was figuring out what matters most, education or money? Because you can have a matric and not get a good job. So, I decided I'm not going back to school, I'm going to start making money. I want to work for myself, I don't want to be afhanklik van my ma se geld<sup>170</sup> because how will I cope if she isn't here anymore? So, I want to start getting uncomfortable and making money. I can always finish school online. A lot of people, like some of my family, finished school online. I'm not sure how I'll do it next year, but I will. The only thing I'll need for online school is Wi-Fi, which we have at home, a laptop, which my mother is going to get me next year, and your report. The only reason I would get a matric certificate is to keep my options open, maybe get better opportunities, and as a backup if a job requires a matric. So,

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<sup>170</sup> ...dependent on my mother's money...

if I finish school online while working, then when I get my matric, I am already working, financially stable and self-able.

What I've learned about depression is once you have it it's not easy to not have it anymore, it's like an illness that sticks with you. Even a few months ago, I felt like I'm not going to make it to the end of the year. I was just so tired of fighting this illness. The thing that has helped me now is if I'm busy then I'm not thinking too much. But I'm at home at the moment, so I don't have a lot of things to keep me busy, I'm actually looking for things to do. One thing that does keep me busy is rugby. In Bredasdorp, rugby is mostly for boys, but it's changing. Even the primary school has started a girl's team. I feel like rugby also keeps lots of young women off the streets doing meaningful things. I initially didn't want to play because I thought "I'm skinny, how will I tackle one of those big girls". But after joining a practice one day I started playing. Now the team is like family.

Rugby is definitely a good way to release my anger and takes a lot of my stress and anxiety away. It makes me feel stronger than I actually am and makes me feel alive and that I'm living in the moment, which is nice, I like that. The practices and workouts aren't easy, I have to push myself and it's exhausting. It's not getting easier, but now I enjoy it. We practice almost every day and have matches every second week against teams from all over. We don't get a lot of support or sponsorships. Getting money for transport is our biggest challenge, even when we want to do something fun as a team, the money must come from our parents which is difficult. There's opportunities in rugby like playing for WP<sup>171</sup> where you actually get paid. Next year, I want to try out for Boland<sup>172</sup> and WP. My sister also plays rugby and we also watch it together on TV or YouTube to get tips. It's inspiring and empowering because there's players that came from around here and I see they're taking women seriously now. I'm not in love with rugby, I'm just trying stuff that I wouldn't normally do to see what I really like, how hard I can push myself and where I can take myself. I've been thinking about whether I continue with rugby in the future



Picture 16: Watching rugby on TV

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<sup>171</sup> Western Province rugby club.

<sup>172</sup> Boland rugby club.

because it needs all your attention and energy and next year, I'm trying to be more serious and push myself harder. So, it depends if I get better opportunities.

I'm trying not to stress about having my future all together. I'd like to firstly be completely happy, have peace of mind and make others happy. I'd also like to have lots of money and give people everything that they gave me, especially my mother. I also really want to help girls feel good about themselves from the inside because I know how hard it is to struggle with anxiety. I also want to do this for men, like my father, because it's hard for men to feel like they can't talk to anyone because they'll look weak. So, I want to make people realise that mental health is important and there's no shame in it, if you have the illness, you can make it, because I'm a living proof. I believe God sent everyone to earth with a purpose and I think my purpose is to make people feel good and confident about themselves and be someone they can go to if they need support. I don't know how I'd like to do that because I am a really shy person, but I definitely want to do that. I recently started posting things on my status, and people told me I helped them and gave them something to hold onto. So, one of my goals for next year is to see if I can be an influencer. I'll need a platform to achieve this because if you're well-known on social media, you'll reach the world. It's easy these days to have a platform, because everyone has TikTok, Facebook and WhatsApp. But being an influencer is something I want to do on the side-lines.



Picture 17 and 18: Pictures representing Sassy wanting to model

My main thing is to be a model, maybe on TV, helping people feel good about themselves and promoting body positivity. Having a platform on social media may help me get opportunities, like modelling for a shop. It's difficult to begin because many people do it but it's easier if you have lots of connections. My anxiety may make it a bit difficult for me but I have something that's burning inside of me, that tells me I'm gonna be rich, be on TV and be where I want to be. I just have to work hard because nothing is impossible. A few months ago, I had an opportunity at

a modelling agency in Cape Town. A friend sent me the link and I applied. I was one of 20 girls chosen for an interview but my mother and I decided it wasn't the best time for me because I was taking a break from school because of my anxiety and I would try again next year. One

option now is to go to this modelling school in the Cape Winelands District next year because it increases your chances of getting into a modelling agency. It's like for two years, so that's also why I don't think I can continue with rugby. I don't think you need a matric, you just have to be over 18, have an ID and provide a motivation letter. If I go, I can live with family there. I don't know if making the move will be easy or difficult, but I want to push myself and be in uncomfortable situations because then I'm growing. If it doesn't work out, I'll be able to say I did it, rather than living with regret.

I also want to work now so I can have my own place by my early twenties, I so badly want it because I crave stability. I want to live in a place that's peaceful, but where can you live in Bredasdorp that's safe? That's just the reality. I feel like all areas in Bredasdorp are unsafe for us. I think it's also got to do with my anxiety, because I always expect something bad to happen and prepare for the worst. My comfortable side wants to stay here because of my family and I know everyone, but the uncomfortable side of me wants to leave Bredasdorp, but I don't know. I'll move if I get a job in like Cape Town.

I wish I could be 17 forever, so not like 18 and an adult yet but not fully a teenager. The thing that changes is responsibilities, because all I had to do at 17 was school, but now that I'm older, I need to start getting stable. At this age, I expected myself to have everything together. I thought the older you get, you don't worry about things, but you actually worry more. Before, your mother used to make choices and worry for you, because that was her responsibility, but after 18 you have to worry and make choices for yourself which is scary because if you don't make the right choices, you'll have to live with it forever. Being an over thinker helps me make the right choices because I think about stuff a lot before I make a decision. I also think you stop being a teenager when you become a mother. Even though I'm over 18, I have the heart of a 13-year-old and feel like I'll be that person in their mid-twenties that's still doing fun things like singing aloud or drunk nights with friends, but once you're a mother then you have responsibilities.

As a young person in Bredasdorp there's pressure to be successful and it's also difficult to stay focused. The most important thing to stay focused is choosing the right friends because they'll affect how you think, you'll be affected by their decisions, and they can influence you to do

things you don't want to do because you want to make them happy and not let them down. You are basically what your friends are and your friends are what you are. Like, if your friends go to church or take their schoolwork seriously, you'll do that. But if they like doing drugs, partying and drinking on weekends, then you'll do that. It's very difficult to live in Bredasdorp as a teenager and not focus on bad things and on what's happening, because there's like a party every weekend, people drink and smoke every day, people also get raped or killed here. This place is definitely damaged for sure. I also live in an area where there's a lot of gangsters. It's kind of safe, but also not so much anymore. There's also like skollies<sup>173</sup> standing by the shop with knives and smoking weed, some of us grew up with them so they won't hurt us but it's getting worse. We definitely need to know not to walk late outside and stuff. I want to leave because it's not safe to grow up here. My brother and sister are growing up now and it's actually a bad area for them to embrace their teenage years and I don't want them to be influenced by gangsters because that's all we know living here, like all you see is people doing wrong things and I don't want them to get into that stuff. There's also people using tik<sup>174</sup> around here, and I'm scared they'll see it and want to try. So, as a teenager, it's difficult not to turn your head into those things. Another thing is that preventing teenage pregnancy is hard, because everyone you know is pregnant or has a baby already and there's a lot of people, like even 15-year-old girls, getting pregnant on a daily basis. People are so proud to have a baby, there's nothing wrong with it but I feel like it also stops you from doing things that you truly want to do.

Staying in the house helps me to stay focused. I'm more than happy to be home on a Friday or Saturday night, my phone is fully charged, I can drink my coffee, eat my favourite food, smoke a cigarette and watch TV or the stars outside. It's the best feeling ever. As opposed to going out and getting into trouble or being somewhere you're not supposed to be or in the wrong place at the wrong time. I also feel like as teenage girls we are targets now for like boys or men. If I hear people shouting, screaming or drunk, I just get the inner peace and tell myself I'm at home, I feel safe, and I can do whatever I want. There's nothing more peaceful than to be comfy. So, staying inside prevents me from a lot of trouble.

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<sup>173</sup> *Skollie* is an Afrikaans term of abuse for layabouts, criminals and gangsters (ESAT, 2018).

<sup>174</sup> Tik is a colloquial name for the drug methamphetamine.

People in the community expect young people to not make it in life, to be a failure and to not make it out of Bredasdorp, because not a lot of people make it out of Bredasdorp. I know lots of people get many opportunities outside of Bredasdorp but it kind of feels like if you're from here you're stuck here. I also think people are influenced by what is already happening here and they expect all teenagers to be the same. The older generation expects us to stay here and do the exact same thing that they did at their age, they just don't understand how the times have changed.

In the future I want to continue having faith, because that has brought me a long way. Like I may not have it all figured out now, but it all works out eventually by me just having faith. I think God tests me and my faith sometimes, throws a little battle in there, and throughout that battle I'm like "God, this is hard, but like I trust You, and it always comes out how it's supposed to".

## APPENDIX O: ZIPHO'S STORY

### *Zipho: Hustling*

I am Zipho, I'm 23 and I'm a hustler. You see, I'm always away from home, we say in the location<sup>175</sup> "I'm hustling a lot". I'm always about opportunities because I don't like sitting at home and asking my mother for everything, I have to be independent at some stage. That's why I grab any opportunity I get. Even if it's not the job I want for myself, I will grab it with both hands, just for some experience.

I want to work in the tourism industry. I started tourism at school in the Cape Winelands District<sup>176</sup>. I moved there for Grade 11. I was at school in Bredasdorp until Grade 10, then I decided to move because I was influenced by my friends who were very naughty at school, everything they did, I also did. So, I decided they're holding me back, let me move to another place where I don't know anyone so I can focus on myself and my studies. So, I moved and lived in the hostel and completed school there. It was very nice and my studies even improved, my mother was quite impressed. The school subjects were different from Bredasdorp, so I had to change them. I had always wanted to study tourism, I'm not sure why, but they didn't have it in Bredasdorp. When I got to the new school, I said, "now I'm going to do tourism" and passed very well in my first quarter. The teacher was quite impressed and he convinced me that I should study tourism because he sees potential in me in the tourism industry and that's how I started to like tourism.

After I finished school in 2017, I took a gap year and then in 2019 I enrolled myself at Boland College to study tourism. The application process was easy, you needed tourism in your Grade 12 qualification. It was very nice there; I passed my studies very well. At Boland, you completed a qualification every semester. So, in first year, I passed N4 and N5. I was also staying in res<sup>177</sup>. I went home on weekends or holidays. I liked everything in college. My favourite subject was travel services. We also went on excursions to see the practical stuff and experience it, like going to an airport. In my second year, my friend and I were renting a

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<sup>175</sup> Location is a word used for township.

<sup>176</sup> The Cape Winelands District is one of the districts in the Western Province. It neighbours the Overberg District.

<sup>177</sup> Colloquial term for residences at university.

place in Caledon. I was doing great in my N6 that semester and was close to writing my final exams when NSFAS<sup>178</sup> started to drop me. They didn't give a reason, they just stopped. So, I didn't have money to pay for my studies or rent. My mother also couldn't afford it because she had to take care of my sister, so I decided it's too much and I can always come back and do my studies. So, I had to drop out due to financial circumstances, that's why I'm not in possession of the N6 certificate.

After dropping out of college in 2020, I went home and started to work and have been working since then. I have had many jobs and there's also been a time when I was unemployed. When I wasn't working, I would go to the Thusong Centre<sup>179</sup> to look for opportunities, that's where all the opportunities are advertised in Bredasdorp. In 2021, I worked at a vineyard pruning grapes. It wasn't nice, but I did it because I don't like to sit at home. I also got an opportunity in a nature reserve with accommodation, but I rejected it because I had another tourism opportunity in another province for two months. At the beginning of 2022, I had a contract job for five months doing community survey work. Afterwards, I was unemployed for two months and then I started working at the bank. Before getting the job, I had to do training, which was a lot of work. I worked five days a week for eight hours a day. The job targets were very stressful. The incentives were good if I reached my targets, but if I didn't then I had an issue with my managers. I didn't like the way the managers talked with me when I didn't improve my performance and they wouldn't complement me when my performance was great. They also always compared us with other branches, which were bigger and busier than Bredasdorp. The salary also wasn't nice, they paid peanuts for all the effort I put into the job. It's not a job I want for myself; it was quite stressful and demanded a lot of my time. But I grabbed it because it was an opportunity and I was unemployed.



Picture 1: Zipho at work

While working at the bank, I saw a job advertised on Facebook for a traineeship at a five-star wine estate in Hermanus. I didn't have work experience in tourism, so I saw an opportunity to build experience and I grabbed it. I decided to leave the bank job in November 2022, move

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<sup>178</sup> NSFAS is the National Student Financial Aid Scheme.

<sup>179</sup> The Thusong Centre is a service centre providing government information and services to communities.

to Hermanus and stay with my uncle. The interview was not what I expected, it was more like an open day to apply for different jobs like waiter, barmen and wine ambassador. There was about 400 people, mostly from Hermanus. In the interview, they asked if I came all the way from Bredasdorp and I said “yes, because I want the job”. They said, “people from Bredasdorp speak Afrikaans well”, I told them I speak Afrikaans and they said I should come on Monday. There was about 100 people selected that day. It was stressful because I had resigned from my previous job and I didn’t know if I would get it. On the Monday, there was another selection process, we had to study a wine list or menu and present it to them, and I got a one-month trainee contract.



Picture 2: The wine estate

We started with one week of theory and one week of practicals. We were two groups, the restaurant and the wine side, with about eight in the wine side. In the theory, we learnt about the wines and how to present them to customers. I found it easier to study the wines in class than on my own at home, because then I would just lose focus. I enjoyed this experience, because it was something new. It was my first time to be in a class with people who are very



Picture 3: In class during the theory week

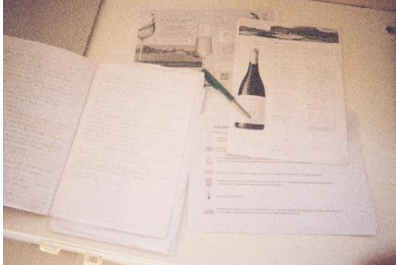
dedicated to their studies. There was one lady who sat next to me and helped me a lot. There were also people who didn’t want to participate, they thought they were coming just to get a job, and I found this difficult. The practical was quite good but at first, we were not confident enough to do tables, we were scared to make mistakes. The senior wine ambassadors told us “you should make mistakes, that’s how you’re going to learn”. We shadowed the seniors and observed what they were doing to pick up some skills. They would select a trainee to present the wines for customers, to see how we’re progressing and to master our skills. I got positive feedback from the guests.



Picture 4: Shadowing the senior wine ambassadors

When I started, I wasn’t familiar with the wines, so I studied a lot at home. We had to know their six bestselling wines, what it’s paired with and even the restaurant menus. The studying went well, but sometimes I’d come home late and tired and still need to bath and cook and

then it's load-shedding. I used a candle or my phone's flash but it wasn't enough light to study, it was very stressful. My uncle was also renting two rooms to foreigners who played loud music and talked to each other through the wall. My uncle had adapted and because they're paying rent, I couldn't tell them to be quiet. But it was affecting my studies. Not having friends



Picture 5: Zipho's study notes

in Hermanus supported me to stay focused on my studies, so on weekends I didn't go out. I only went out for work and to the mall. But in Bredasdorp, I know a lot of people and I have a lot of friends. So now, it was the same like when I moved schools in high school.

I worked Monday to Friday, 9 to 5 pm. It was very nice and I really enjoyed it. I wasn't only doing wines, I was doing everything, like cleaning windows, mopping floors and sorting the courtyard before the guests come. It was very tiring. With practice, I felt more comfortable with customers and I ended up doing tables alone. Out of all the trainees, I did the most sales, close to R90000 and my tips were about R5000. The complaints I received wasn't about my service, but that I had too many tables, so people waited to be attended to. So, I recognized my mistakes and gained a lot of experience.



Picture 6: Courtyard at the wine estate

Unfortunately, the contract ended and they didn't renew it, so I lost the job. But I'm grateful that I gained experience. It's not the end of the road; there's more opportunities and something will come. I decided to stay in Hermanus while applying for other jobs in the tourism industry. I'm done with random jobs now; I want to focus on tourism. If I go back to Bredasdorp, I'll get opportunities but not specifically in tourism. Bredasdorp doesn't have many tourism opportunities, because there's no wine estates, only few restaurants and the hotels aren't interesting like in Hermanus. The place for tourism in that area is Arniston or Cape Agulhas<sup>180</sup>. But it's too expensive to relocate or travel to Cape Agulhas, it's almost R600/week. I'd need to stay closer, like Struisbaai<sup>181</sup>, but I don't have family there. This is what's going to affect me from getting a tourism job in my area. You will definitely find

<sup>180</sup> Arniston is 24km from Bredasdorp and Cape Agulhas is 37km from Bredasdorp.

<sup>181</sup> Struisbaai is 31km from Bredasdorp and 4km from Cape Agulhas.

tourism opportunities, like waiter or wine ambassador, in Hermanus and Overstrand<sup>182</sup>, because there's a lot of restaurants and estates and Hermanus is a tourist destination. But living in Hermanus, I miss the Thusong Centre because by now I may have a job already, as there's constantly jobs advertised there. I also feel like we are more privileged in Bredasdorp having the Thusong Centre because the people working there are very supportive and you get free internet, photocopying and printing. But there's no Thusong Centre in Hermanus, so I need to pay R5 per page to print my CV, or R2 to photocopy or pay for data or R20 for 30 minutes at an internet café. It's hard to have money for these things while you are not working.

When I moved to Hermanus, I stayed with my uncle in his two-roomed place in Zwelihle, the space is very small. I slept in my cousin's bed, who was in the Eastern Cape. I spent most my time inside the house, but when I was bored, I would stand in the yard looking at the streets. I didn't want to stay at my uncle's forever, I wanted to move out in a



*Picture 7: Zipho's uncle's house with the two flats on left*

period of maybe three months. I was trying to avoid renting because of the expenses. One of my goals is to have my own place, even if it's in a backroom. I couldn't stay in one of my uncle's flats because he'd lose the rent which helps with his expenses. He had another backroom outside, but it still needed a door and roof. He said I could renovate it for myself. I thought perhaps saving for three months would make it possible. But in the beginning of 2023, my uncle decided to extend his place. I had started renovations but they were planning on knocking it down, so he said he'll replace what I had already spent. So, I decided there isn't space for me, I must move out. I had raised enough money as a trainee, to rent for maybe two months until I find another job. So now I'm renting from a friend, it's close to my uncle and similar in size. I have my bedroom, a little kitchen and an outside toilet. I've never lived on my own before, so it's quite a new experience because now I'm depending on myself for everything. I think it's part of my growth. If I feel like I failed, I would've gone back to Bredasdorp. But I feel like I'm doing good.

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<sup>182</sup> Hermanus is the largest town in the Overstrand Municipality in the Overberg District and neighbours Cape Agulhas Municipality.

Moving from Bredasdorp to Hermanus was easy for me because I was familiar with it, I had a friend in Hermanus who I used to visit in school. But I found living in Hermanus quite scary because I didn't know a lot of people. I wouldn't go far from home; I only went out when my colleagues picked me up to chill somewhere or my uncle sent me to the mall because that's a busy route and people don't recognize you. But walking in the location people can see I'm alone and not from here. So, I wouldn't just walk for fun because I felt really unsafe. There's also a lot of shootings in Zwelihle, every weekend you'll hear that there was a guy who was shot. They're even shooting during the week as well. So, I'd rather stay home because let's say for instance, people don't know me and someone will think I look like a guy he had conflict with, and shoot me and afterwards say "no, he's not the guy", and then? That's why I didn't feel safe here in Zwelihle.

Hermanus isn't the same like Bredasdorp. I'm very comfortable in Bredasdorp, I grew up there, I know a lot of people and I feel really safe and can walk everywhere anytime during the day. It's also very quiet, not like Hermanus. Hermanus is much bigger and the location is very busy. Bredasdorp is also more integrated amongst black and coloured people, we're living together and there's no separation. But in Hermanus, there's two locations, Mount Pleasant, where coloured people stay and Zwelihle, where black people stay. There's a street separating the two communities, which I'm unfamiliar with and I don't understand the separation. There is some mix but it's very few. Something else I'm not used to is, if I'm walking with someone from Zwelihle in Mount Pleasant, they're surprised with how comfortably I communicate with the coloured people, but they're feeling like "no, you shouldn't speak to a coloured guy". I see that even the coloureds don't feel safe in Zwelihle. Also, if I decide to walk alone in Mount Pleasant, they'll see a black guy, then what's going to happen to me? So, I'm not used to these things.

I've been living here for three months now and have gotten more familiar with the area. Where I'm living now in Zwelihle, it's good and safe. I've also got more friends, but I don't like to have many friends, I like my own space. The smaller my friend circle is, the more I can focus on myself. I don't like to be in a circle where we are not sharing the same goals or perspectives of life. Also, when I have a lot of friends, they can influence me or affect me from being the person I would like to be. I'm also adjusting to being away from my family. I've been away

before for different opportunities, so we're used to it. But now, I think my mother will struggle because I'm the only one who's at home to support my sister. When I was in Bredasdorp, I supported my sister a lot, she's 13 years old. I would go to her class meetings and things. Like, before I moved to Hermanus, I went to her *diploma aand*<sup>183</sup>. I was quite proud of her. My



Picture 8: Zipho's sister's diploma aand

mother works for a company and sometimes has to work overtime so can't go to my sister's meetings. Now, I'm very concerned that she won't have someone to go to those meetings or she'll have to sacrifice her time.

The other reason why I'm still in Hermanus is that I love my family and want to give them a better life and future and I want them to be proud of me. I want my sister to be able to count on me in whichever way, financially or emotionally. At home it's me, my mother, my sister, my little cousin and my stepfather. He is my sister's father, but I respect him as my father. He stays in a town in the Cape Winelands District and comes to Bredasdorp every second weekend or fetches the family to go back to his town. I don't like to go with them because I'm always busy doing things for myself. My mother's house has two rooms, an open-plan lounge and kitchen, bathroom and a yard. It's in a small area of Bredasdorp and it's quiet and safe. It's mostly coloured people living there, but there's a few of my culture also living there and we all know and support each other. It wasn't difficult for me because I've built myself friends inside the community, so it's a nice environment. My family is very supportive and we spend time together like family dinners, going to the beach or restaurants with my stepfather's car. When we have problems and need to talk as a family, we solve it ourselves and include everyone, doesn't matter your age. Coming from a supportive family, has a good impact on me and makes me a better man.

Many of my friends don't come from supportive families, it's not common in Bredasdorp. They have families like where parents are drinking or on drugs and they have no support, or they get shouted at. They get used to that environment and rejection and feel like there's no one for them and it affects them badly, they switch to drugs or being alcoholic or giving up on their lives. Being a youth in Bredasdorp isn't easy, because we face lots of difficulties in the

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<sup>183</sup> ...awards ceremony/prize giving.

community, like being influenced by the wrong things and avoiding the positive things. For instance, alcohol abuse, drug abuse and teenage pregnancy is happening a lot in Bredasdorp amongst young people, and for some it's like a generational thing, like if your sister is pregnant by 18, then you'll also be or maybe even younger.

But then you get people, like me, who want to make a difference in the community. I can also get easily influenced. In the past, I was influenced by the people I was with and I got caught up in the fire and ended up in things that made me stop doing what I was doing and change friends. My mother also realized that something was wrong and spoke with me, she said, "one day you'll find yourself in something that even I cannot help you with." I was very scared of that, if my mother couldn't help me, then who will? So, I realized the path I was walking was wrong, and it wasn't what I planned for my life, so I stopped and walked another path. Now, I would rather go for the good things and bring it to the community. I want to make a positive influence in the community. There are people I look up to, who also did bad things but dusted themselves up and are doing good things now. Whatever you want to be, good or bad, you're influencing the community. That's why, when I was in Bredasdorp, I would go to community meetings at Nelson Mandela Hall. I like to be updated with what's going on around me, because that's how I get opportunities and I like to participate when they ask for solutions for a problem. It makes me a good member of the community so people can count on me. There's only a few young people who go to the meetings, maybe they don't find it interesting, maybe they don't care. But for me it's all about the community as one, doesn't matter how old you are, you must speak, because we are facing the same problems. People in my community are expecting us young people to be the change, to be better and make the community better because most of them didn't have the opportunities, resources or access that we're having.

I have many goals for my life but I'm focused on myself now. I must meet my personal goals first and raise lots of funds before I work on my other goals. My goals all require finances, I feel like finance is the key to everything. The money I have now is for my personal goals. My whole life I thought that by this age, I would have gotten a permanent job and be staying on my own. I've achieved the last one but my place still needs things like furniture. For work, I would like to be a senior wine ambassador. Having worked at the wine estate is an advantage because it has 5-stars and gets international guests, so even though I was a trainee it's still

very good experience. This experience and my tourism studies will support me doing a job like this in future, so I'm on the right path. I think I can go far with this because there's opportunities at a job like this. There was someone who started like me at the estate and now works for the owner overseas. That is definitely something I would like to do.

One of my goals is to extend my mother's house, because my family are sharing rooms and I'd like them to have their own rooms and also a guestroom for visitors. The money I'm earning now is on and off and isn't enough, so I'll need a stable job and to work hard to get capital or I need a passive income. I don't want to start something that I wouldn't be able to finish, so when I get a job, I will budget and save for maybe three years. It will definitely be possible; finances are the only thing I need for this goal.

I also want to finish my diploma at Boland College and then get a higher qualification at university. Finances are the only thing that is preventing me now, it will cost R16000 and NSFAS won't fund me anymore. I also don't want a loan or financial support from my parents because what if it doesn't get me a job? I also want them to focus on my sister and cousin and I'm old enough now to do my own things, I have to provide for myself. So, I will have to see how the finances go in the future.

One day when I'm successful I'd like a convertible as my private car. Getting my driver's license is part of my goals for this year. I would also like to own a house on an estate to rent to tourists. I think that's how I can make a lot of money. An estate is a good place because it's safe and people will spend



Picture 9: Zipho's dream car



Picture 10: Owning a house on an estate

lots of money for security. I wouldn't live there because it's too quiet and far from town and fuel is expensive. To get the car and house I'll need a lot of income and hard work. Unemployment is the only thing that will prevent me from achieving these goals.

I also want to have my own sports club one day to motivate and support our youth, get them off the streets, off drugs and other negative things. There's a lot of sports talent in the

community, but their backgrounds aren't very supportive, so they drop out. I played soccer when I was younger because when my friends played I had no one left to play with, but it wasn't my talent. Growing up I realized it's not for me, but there's other ways to be involved, like owning a team. It doesn't have to be soccer, I just want to be the person youth can go to for whatever they need to become who they want to be, to have a relationship and engage with them, be present and focus on them. To create a club, I will need finances, so I can support them with everything they need. Once I have a decent job, and I am settled and sorted in my life, then I can focus on the club.

Another goal is to get out of the township because there's a lot of things here that affects people from being who they want to be in life. Even me, I still get influenced by my friends, like they'll convince me to drink, even if I decided I'm not drinking this weekend, but I want to satisfy them, so I change my mind. So, I'd rather be outside than inside the township. In the future, I'd also like my own family and I'm building myself so that my family won't grow up in the township. Most of my friends have children already and I don't even have one. That's good for me as I don't have a lot of responsibilities then and because my mother and stepfather are working, I can put my family aside and focus on myself now. So, I need to settle myself first, like have my own house, and then when I feel like I have everything, I can start a family, so maybe at like 32.

So, those are my goals, but for now while I am unemployed and looking for a job, I'm starting a car wash business with my friend who I'm renting with, we are in a 50/50 partnership. It's not going to be my main source of income. It's going to be like a second or passive income. Once I get a job it will be part-time, but for now it will be my main priority while I'm busy looking for a job.