



UNIVERSITY *of the*
WESTERN CAPE

Faculty of Economic and Management Sciences
Institute for Social Development

**Adulthood, Home-Leaving and Informal Settlement: A Study of the
Marikana Informal Settlement in Philippi East, Cape Town.**

A mini thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Development Studies at the Institute for Social Development. Faculty of Economic and Management Sciences, University of the Western Cape.

Maphelo Batyi
Student Number: 3122871

Supervisor: Dr. Abdulrazak Karriem

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**Adulthood, Home-Leaving and Informal Settlement: A Study of the
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Maphelo Batyi



Abstract

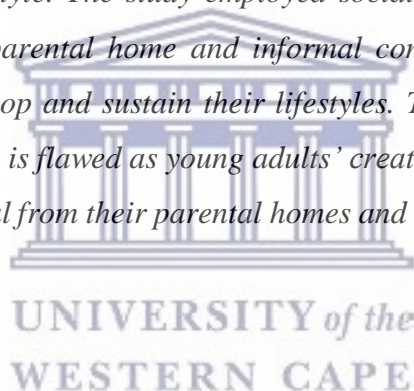
Home leaving is an important marker of the transition to adulthood for young adults. Moving out of the parental home and establishing individual residence is often interpreted as a sign of independence for young adults. By transitioning to an independent lifestyle, young adults are able to meet their adulthood endeavours such as fulfilling their maternal and paternal aspirations, pursuing marriage, having children, seeking employment, becoming sexually active, and becoming socially and economically independent.

Leaving the parental home is often associated with possessing economic resources. Young adults in urban societies usually decide to move out of their parental home when they have adequate economic resources such as income and transferrable assets. The rationale is that the more resources a young adult has, the greater possibility that he or she will establish his/her own independent residence. This is usually the case for middle-class young adults, but for lower-class young adults who come from townships, rural areas, and informal settlements, the case is very different. Lower-class young adults from disadvantaged backgrounds usually lack the necessary income and transferrable assets to establish an independent lifestyle.

Lower-class young adults from disadvantaged backgrounds are usually uneducated or semi-skilled, are without a stable income, are unemployed, work in temporary informal jobs, or are employed in low-income jobs. Currently, the unemployment rate in South Africa is 33.6%. The rate for young adults is much higher as 64% of young South Africans aged 15 to 24 years are unemployed, while 42% aged 25-34 years are unemployed. Given this economic condition, home leaving for lower-class young adults is thus severely constrained. When deciding to leave home, most lower-class young adults have limited housing options. Also given the backlog of government housing, housing for poor young adults becomes a constraint. When deciding to move out of parental homes, lower-class young adults from townships usually have the option of either building a shack in the backyard of their parental home or moving out to build a shack in an informal settlement. Most lower-class young adults in South Africa have established an independent lifestyle by building shacks and informal settlements. According to the Housing Development Agency, in South Africa, over 3 306 697 individuals live in informal settlements. Among these, more than 1, 5 million are young adults.

Informal settlements are a growing option of residence for lower-class young adults seeking to live independently. This study examined the relationship between adulthood, home leaving, and

informal settlement for lower-class young adults. The study depicted the home leaving journey of lower-class young adults seeking an independent lifestyle and how their journey differs from middle-class young adults. The focus of the study was centred on young adults living in the Marikana Informal Settlement in Philippi East, Cape Town. Marikana is one of the most controversial informal settlements in Cape Town with approximately 12 000 shacks. The informal settlement was established in 2013 by individuals coming from surrounding townships such as Philippi, Nyanga, and Khayelitsha. The study used a combination of qualitative and quantitative research approaches which consisted of semi-structured interviews and questionnaires to collect data from young adults in Marikana to ascertain how they transitioned to adulthood and independent living, why and how moving to the informal settlement enabled them to establish an independent lifestyle, and how they sustain that independent lifestyle given the impoverished nature of the informal settlement. The findings of the study revealed that lower-class young adults have limited housing options when deciding to move out of their parental homes. Informal settlements offer these young adults a cheaper entry into an independent lifestyle. The study employed social capital theory to depict how social capital from both the parental home and informal community plays a vital role in enabling young adults to develop and sustain their lifestyles. The study results also showed that the notion of independence is flawed as young adults' creation of an independent lifestyle often depended on social capital from their parental homes and the social structures they built in the informal settlement.



Key Words

Young Adulthood

Cape Town

Urban Poverty

Social Capital Theory

Home Leaving

Independent Lifestyle

Housing

Informal Settlements

Marikana Informal Settlement

Lower-Class Young Adults

Middle-Class Young Adults

Working-Class



Declaration

I declare that *Adulthood, Home-Leaving and Informal Settlement: A Study of the Marikana Informal Settlement in Philippi East, Cape Town.* is my own work, that it has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other university, and that all sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged as complete references.

Maphelo Batyi

Signed

December 2022



Dedication

I dedicate this work to all young adults living in informal settlements who are thriving for better social conditions and economic opportunities.



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I am grateful to all the people and organisations that have supported me throughout my study journey and have made the completion of my thesis successful. Special acknowledgement goes to:

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- My family, for loving me, believing in me and supporting me throughout my career journey.



Abbreviations and Acronyms

UN-HABITAT	United Nations Human Settlements Programme
SERI	Socio-Economic Rights Institute
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organizations
ALIU	Anti-Land Invasion Unit
UISP	Upgrading Informal Settlement Programme
UNOPS	United Nations Office for Project Services
UN	United Nations
CoCT	City of Cape Town
DoH	Department of Health
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development



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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

1.1. Overview and rationale of the study

This study investigated how young adulthood influences home leaving and the role that informal settlements play in enabling young adults to establish an independent lifestyle. The case study area is Marikana Informal Settlement, which is one of the prominent informal settlements in Cape Town that has not been widely studied. There are no government enumeration or census statistics about Marikana. Much of the information available about Marikana is from civil society reports, news articles, and a few academic theses. The available information is centred on the court battle between the landowner and occupants in Marikana, as well as the level of basic services of the informal settlement. This study is the first academic study to focus on the lived experiences of residents living in Marikana, particularly young adults who established an independent lifestyle in the informal settlement. The study depicts the journey of young adults from their parental homes and portrays the context of where informal residents come from and why they move to informal settlements.

The study focuses on the relationship between adulthood, home leaving, and informal settlement for lower-class young adults. Home leaving for young adults is an important topic that ascertains broader social and economic topics such as reproduction, sexual experience, marriage, education, and employment. Many studies on adulthood and home leaving have focused on middle-class young adults in Western countries with very little research done on developing countries (Egondi et al., 2013). Much of the research done is usually centred on young adults moving to cities and urban areas to develop themselves. However, very little research is done on lower-class young adults who come from disadvantaged backgrounds such as townships and rural areas, who move to informal settlements to establish an independent lifestyle (Beguy et al., 2011). The dynamics of moving to informal settlements to establish an independent lifestyle are unique and require thorough study. Hence this study was vital to fill the knowledge gap.

Literature on adulthood and home leaving mainly look at income and economic resources as the factors that influence young adults to move out of their parental homes. The argument is that the higher a young adult's income or possession of economic resources, the more he or she is likely to move out to establish an independent residence (Leslie and Peters, 1996, p. 83). This argument is inapplicable to poor young adults who move from impoverished backgrounds to establish residence in informal settlements, as they usually have little to no income or

economic resources when deciding to move out. Literature on urban development shows that the reason why poor young adults move to informal settlements is due to a lack of economic resources to establish a formal place of residence (Turok, 2015). Hence it was important in this study to ascertain the dynamics of the decision to move out for poor young adults, the role of adulthood and the need for independence, as well as the convenience that informal settlements offer poor young adults.

Young adults in this study are individuals aged 18 to 35 years. The conventional age for young adulthood is 20 to 35 years. But for the purpose of this study, the criteria start from 18 to 35 years, given South Africa's dynamics and policies. In South Africa, the initial age of young adulthood is 18 years (Children's Act, 2005, p. 24). Adults older than 35 years are considered middle-aged adults. For this reason, the study focuses on young adults aged 18 to 35 years. According to StatsSA (2022), there are close to 20 million young adults in South Africa.

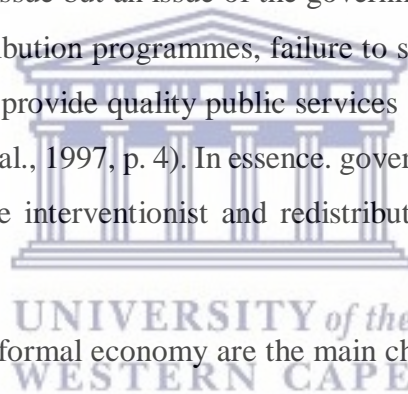
The poverty line, as measured by the World Bank is \$1.90 (R27.94) a day, which is \$57 (R838) in a 30-day month (Nicolson, 2015). Poverty in this study is measured through this baseline. Hence, poor young adults are conceptualized as those falling under this poverty line. Poor young adults are also conceptualized as those whose backgrounds, prior to moving to informal settlements, include townships, rural areas, and other informal settlements. They are also characterized as individuals who are unemployed, uneducated, semi-skilled, working class, or self-employed in small sustenance businesses. The study looked at how these underprivileged individuals established an independent lifestyle in informal settlements.

1.2. Background and contextualization of the study

Informal settlements are one of the growing issues facing governments in developing countries. Informal settlements are closely associated with poverty in urban areas. According to Haferburg (2002, p. 6), urban poverty is the cause of informal settlements. Lack of income, education, employment, and business opportunities are the factors that lead to urban poverty. Rising urban poverty in the 21st Century is due to international and local migration patterns, modernization, urban growth, and the unequal distribution of income and resources.

Unlike rural poverty, urban poverty is the poverty of those with limited resources and economic opportunities within urban areas. According to Baker (2011), the daily challenges of urban poor people include insecure and poor housing, limited job opportunities and income, limited access to healthcare services and education, poor social protection instruments, and unhealthy

and violent environments. These challenges mainly apply to historically disadvantaged people, who have a history of economic exclusion, dating back from the colonial and Apartheid eras. In essence, urban poverty exists due to the structural inequalities initiated by the past and sustained through present economic systems, making it hard for a large number of historically disadvantaged people to progress economically (Mistro and Hensher, 2009, p. 333). Urban poverty however is not only a race issue, but also a structural issue that has to do with class, the economic structure, as well as the order of society. Baker (2011) states that urban poverty is characterized by two elements: class and asset ownership. Class refers to people in the middle and upper-class, and people in the lower-class. People in the lower-class are the most vulnerable since they lack adequate income to provide for their needs and do not own the resources for production. However, the limitation with Baker's (2011) characterization of urban poverty is that it focuses on individuals and their private capabilities, whilst ignoring race, history, and the government's responsibility to implement measures to address the growing number of poor urban populations. What is often misunderstood is that urban poverty is not only an individual-level issue but an issue of the government. The government's failure to put in place effective redistribution programmes, failure to stimulate economic growth and stir job creation, and failure to provide quality public services is what sustains urban poverty rather than reduce it (Masika et al., 1997, p. 4). In essence, governments all over the world have a duty to put in place effective interventionist and redistributionist programmes to counter urban poverty.



Informal settlements and the informal economy are the main characteristics of urban poverty. Informal settlements can be described as poor housing or squatter areas that lack proper housing or living facilities as well as lack of basic services such as water, sanitation, and electricity. Informal settlements are part of the informal sector where people seek opportunities to improve their living conditions using means outside the formal economy. The informal sector is characterized by informal business activities such as street trading and spaza shops, informal employment that is usually part-time or project-based, as well as informal lending and borrowing institutions such as loan sharks. Other types of trading that take place in the informal sector include manufacturing through sewing and carpentry, personal services such as bookkeeping and hairdressing, transport such as taxi services, entertainment through musicians, as well as building, crafts, art, beadwork, pottery, and bricklaying. All the activities of the informal sector are not monitored or taxed by the government (Mindset, 2013). Many activities of the informal sector are run directly inside informal settlements or in townships.

The informal sector is characterized by several features. The first one is the ease of entry, meaning that anyone who wants to enter the sector can find something to do or find work to generate a form of income (DoH, 2015). The second feature is operating at a small scale, in terms of the scale of the business or service operations. The third is the attainment of skills outside formal education. The last is inconsistent worker-employer relationships (DoH, 2015).

Informal settlements are usually known as shanty towns that lack proper electricity, water supply, hygienic streets, and other essential necessities. These settlements are usually located in public parks, near railways, rivers, or on the periphery sides of cities. The DoH (2015) describes informal settlements as areas where a cluster of housing units are built by dwellers that have no legal claim to the respective land area. The establishment of informal settlements is often conceptualized as an illegal or criminal activity rather than an act of desperation. Although informal settlements are normally regarded as acts of rebellion against the state, it cannot be ignored that informal dwellers usually have no other available housing option available considering the urban growth characteristics mentioned earlier, as well as poor housing delivery programmes by the government.

Wolpe and Reddy (2010, p. 2) criticize the role of government in informal settlements. Their argument is that informal settlements are a result of poor urban planning that is often unguided by the government, characterized by no formal numbered streets, no proper sewage system, no proper rainwater drainage, lack of garbage removal services, lack of safe running water, lack of disease and insect control, and limited access to transportation. For Wolpe and Reddy (2010), informal settlements should not be ignored as a reality by the government. Instead, the government should find ways to upgrade informal settlements in order to improve the living conditions of informal residents or provide alternative housing facilities that are proper. The nine largest cities in South Africa are home to 23% of households without proper shelter (Wolpe and Reddy, 2010, p. 2). In 2011, the City of Cape Town - together with Ekurhuleni and the City of Johannesburg - were the top three municipalities with the highest number of households living in informal settlements. This makes informal settlements a key priority for intervention.

1.3. Marikana Informal Settlement: The Case Study Area

Marikana Informal Settlement is an informal settlement based in in Philippi East, Cape Town. The informal settlement was established in 2013 on privately owned land by residents coming from the surrounding townships such as Philippi, Nyanga, and Khayelitsha (Knoetze, 2014). Most of the literature available about Marikana is found in newspaper articles, advocacy websites, government press releases, and a few academic theses. In 2017, the Socio-Economic Rights Institute (SERI) started a few research pilots in Marikana to gain insight into the informal settlement. One of the studies looked at the economic life of Marikana focusing on access to basic services and the political space of the informal settlement. The second study assessed tenure security and the management of land use. SERI later became an advocate for the informal settlement and represented its needs to the government.

The Marikana informal settlement is very similar to most informal settlements in South Africa. It was established forcefully and illegally by poor individuals seeking shelter and independent residence. The occupation of the land was led by the shack dwellers' movement called Abahlali baseMjondolo, which prides itself in advocating for the social value of urban land rather than commercial value (Abahlali baseMjondolo, 2016). Through the expropriation of privately owned land, the movement believes that poor citizens can build homes for themselves. So far, the movement has helped Marikana informal dwellers fight against four evictions by the private landowner, Iris Fischer, and the City of Cape Town's Anti Land Invasion Unit. In March 2014, the City of Cape Town was interdicted by the Western Cape High Court under the Prevention of Illegal Eviction and Unlawful Occupation of Land Act of 1998 to stop demolishing shacks and evicting Marikana dwellers unlawfully, especially with the absence of a court order (Sacks, 2014). Till today, Marikana residents have not received any evictions from the City of Cape Town's Anti Land Invasion Unit. A court settlement was reached with the private owner, the City of Cape Town, and the informal settlers. This meant that no further evictions can be taken with regard to the use of the land.

Today there is an estimated 60 000 people living in Marikana within estimated 12 000 households (SERI, 2019, p. 12). The naming of Marikana was to honour the mine workers who died striking for a wage increase in Marikana, Rustenburg in 2012 (Pather, 2015). The residents state that the name resembles their struggle for Marikana land through every means possible. Marikana informal settlement today continues to face issues of impoverishment and lack of basic services. There are no proper toilets, poor sanitary services, very few communal taps, no

electricity, besides illegal electricity connections from nearby Philippi township houses, and a lack of proper sewerage systems. The City of Cape Town has been reluctant in implementing any upgrading schemes to improve the conditions of the informal settlement (Damba-Hendrik, 2016). Marikana residents continue to live in the informal settlement even though the conditions are unpleasant.

In March 2020, the Western Cape Provincial Minister of Human Settlements together with the City of Cape Town purchased the privately owned Marikana land, so that it can provide for deserving populations – that is the Marikana residents. This follows after an order was made by the Supreme Court of Appeal for the land to be purchased by the government (SERI, 2020). Marikana residents, led by SERI reached an agreement on the 4th of March 2020 with the property owners of the land, the Minister of Human Settlements, and the City of Cape Town to purchase the land. This action meant that the tenure of Marikana residents on the land was secured and that a number of informal settlement upgrading activities could commence in the informal settlement.

Today, life in Marikana has improved somewhat through the provision of basic services including communal taps and toilets as well as the provision of electricity, although some households still source electricity illegally from surrounding townships. According to SERI “The municipality had provided fewer than 50 communal standpipes, which meant that there was one tap for every 240 households. To meet sanitation needs, the municipality had also provided a total of 371 chemical toilets, located on the peripheral roads of the settlement” (SERI, 2019, p. 13). The state of basic services still needs to improve. Most entrepreneurial activities in Marikana include fruit and vegetable sellers, shebeens, spaza shops, braai meat vendors, salons, and tyre shops. Residents who are employed mostly work in construction, retail, fast food, and cleaning industries.

Figure 1.1. Map of Marikana Informal Settlement



Source: [Google Maps aerial image](#) of Marikana informal settlement.

1.4. Problem Statement, Research Questions, and Aims of the Study

1.4.1. Problem Statement

Many studies explain the formation of informal settlements as a result of rural-urban migration and increased urbanization of populations. While this is true, this study discussed the establishment of informal settlements from a social perspective by depicting the need for young adults to establish independent residences using limited economic resources.

Many theorists suggest that economic resources play a huge role in young adults' decision to live independently (Avery, et al., 1992). Thus, the more resources a young adult has (e.g., income and transferable assets) the more likely he or she will decide to move to establish an independent residence. This scenario is very different for working-class, underemployed, or employed young adults. Young adults from poor backgrounds often have no stable income or are unemployed and have limited or no transferable assets (Egondi et al., 2013, p. 299). For them, the decision to move to an independent residence is not determined by having transferable economic resources as suggested by theorists. Hence it is important to study the factors that trigger home leaving and the establishment of independent residence by poor young

adults. This is where the significance of this study comes in. The study looks at why informal settlements are a viable option of residence for poor young adults wishing to establish an independent lifestyle.

Informal settlements are not decent areas to reside in. According to Malan (2016), informal settlements are no-go zones. They are deserted areas characterized by dump zones and undeveloped urban land. Hence it became critical to study why individuals move to these areas to establish their lives. Informal settlements usually have very bad conditions, conditions that are sometimes even worse than the parental home or previous residential area that a young adult came from (Mertig and Liu, 2003, p. 416). Thus, it was essential to study why poor young adults choose to live in informal settlements and to what extent the need for independence and having limited economic resources influenced this decision.

1.4.2. Research Questions

The research questions that this study addressed are:

1. How do young adults from poor backgrounds transition to adulthood and how important is an independent lifestyle?
2. What housing options are available to poor young adults transitioning to adulthood?
3. Do informal settlements offer a cheaper entry into an independent lifestyle for poor young adults and what are the trade-offs?
4. What role does social capital play in enabling and supporting poor young adults to establish and maintain their independent lifestyles in informal settlements?

1.4.3. Aims of the study

The study had four aims. The first was to briefly highlight how adulthood processes of independence for lower-class young adults differ from that of middle-class young adults. The second aim was to understand how lower-class young adults' transition to an independent lifestyle as well as why and how informal settlements offer a viable and cheaper option for them. The third aim was to understand the economic and social context of young adults establishing residence in informal settlements. The last aim was to examine the living arrangements, conditions, social capital, livelihood, and surviving strategies of young adults living in informal settlements.

1.5. Structure of the thesis

The research is divided into 5 separate but related chapters.

Chapter 1 introduces the study and provides the background of the study, highlighting the case study area. The chapter also presents the research questions at hand, as well as the aims of the study.

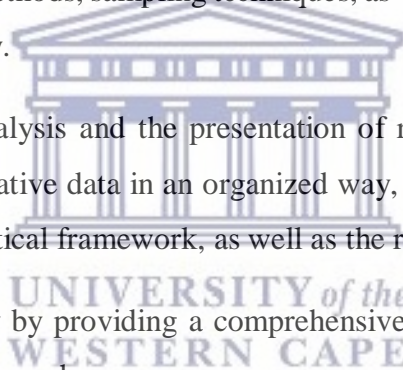
Chapter 2 reviews the literature on young adulthood, home leaving, and informal settlements. The chapter also looks at studies done on the topic as well as existing gaps. The chapter also discusses important concepts of the study.

Chapter 3 looks at social capital theory, which is the theoretical framework grounding this study. The chapter highlights prominent scholars and theorists of social capital theory as well as the merits and limitations of the theory.

Chapter 4 describes the research design of the study. The chapter describes the research methodology, data collection methods, sampling techniques, as well as data analysis techniques that were employed in the study.

Chapter 5 focuses on data analysis and the presentation of research findings. The chapter displays quantitative and qualitative data in an organized way, and triangulates this data with the literature review, the theoretical framework, as well as the research objectives.

Chapter 6 concludes the study by providing a comprehensive summary of the research and recommendations for further research.



CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Introduction

This Literature Review chapter discusses literature on adulthood, home leaving, and informal settlements. Although a large sum of the literature makes no direct connection about the relationship between adulthood, home leaving, and informal settlements; the literature thoroughly discusses these topics in their relevant intersections. The relationship between adulthood, home leaving, and informal settlements is a topic of interest in developing countries as it defines the growth of informal settlements and poverty among urban populations. This study depicts the home-leaving process of poor young adults and how their lack of economic opportunities makes informal settlements the most viable option for housing when pursuing an independent lifestyle. Housing is a key indicator of independence and a key topic in both developed and developing countries.

This chapter is divided into six sections. Section one defines young adulthood as well as the dynamics of being a young adult. The second section discusses home leaving as well as the factors that drive young adults to leave their parental home. The third section discusses informal settlements in the context of urban poverty. The fourth section describes the economic characteristics of young adults living in developing countries such as South Africa. The fifth section looks at studies done on young adulthood, home leaving, and informal settlements. The last section summarises the key point of the chapter.

2.2. Defining Young Adulthood

Young adulthood is often understood to be the middle stage between adolescence and adulthood. At this stage, individuals exit the youth phase and enter the adulthood stage. Hence, the legalization of drinking, driving, and owning assets and property is granted in many countries. In South Africa, youths become legal adults at the age of 18 (Children's Act, 2005, p. 24). In other countries, the age varies but is often close to 18 years.

Scholars have no commonly defined age at which young adulthood begins. This is because young adulthood is an intersection of two critical stages in life that are heterogeneous. The stages have their own predefined social roles, activities, and responsibilities. Hence combining the two creates a methodological disagreement for scholars on how to conceptualize young adulthood. Much of the scholarly work however does suggest that when conceptualizing young adulthood, one has to look at a number of adulthood factors such as the legality of age, sexual

status, occupation, and social role (Levinson, 1986, p. 3). In legality, the focus is on the legalized age at which young adults can obtain a driving license, own property and assets, and are allowed to drink and get married. In sexual status, the focus is on the sexual activeness of young adults and their ability to reproduce. In occupation, the focus is on whether the young adult is employed or self-employed. Young adults as young as 18 years old are usually not expected to be employed but can be expected to be in high school or at entry level tertiary education (Jekielek and Brown, 2005, p. 7). In social role, the focus is on the role upheld by the young adult in his or her family and community. This includes whether he or she is independent or dependent, financially autonomous or financially dependent, is the breadwinner or contributes to the family to some extent, supports and mentors young siblings, and makes his or her own decisions. Young adulthood is hence measured according to the extent to which young adults are responsible and independent.

Fields of study such as Sociology and Anthropology define young adulthood as a social category in between adolescence and adulthood. Young adults embed sociocultural norms from both adolescence and adulthood. According to Klingenberg et al. (2022) young adulthood entails independence that encompasses a level of dependence as well as the creation of a social identity that encompasses a level of sociocultural expectations. Young adults often have to navigate these factors whilst leaving adolescence and progressing to adulthood. Sociocultural norms such as marriage and employment are societal expectations that young adults pursue to achieve to display their level of progression to adulthood (Cadigan et al., 2019). In essence, the pursuit of independence can be seen as adhering to social expectations and seeking validation that one is progressing to adulthood.

Simpson (2008) conceptualizes young adulthood based on physical and mental transformation. She states that young adulthood is a period of intense transformation in the brain and thinking structures of adolescents. Young adults have a mental visor that makes them see world phenomena in a rational and coherent manner that is embedded in the way they view and tackle moral problems, relationships, and abstractions (Simpson, 2008). Young adults have thinking instruments that are different to that of adolescents. According to Simpson (2008), they possess five cognitive abilities which include complex thinking, appreciation for diverse views, emotional regulation, mutual relationships, decision-making, and risk-taking. Scholars such as Gauvain and Richert (2016, p. 317) echo Simpson by stating that young adults are complex thinkers that can hold and manipulate multiple abstractions and clearly organize those abstractions into rational thoughts, values, and ideas. Young adults appreciate diverse views

and understand that there can be multiple correct answers to a situation. Young adults have a special sociable orientation that makes them form relationships with their peers based on loyalty, love, care, and trust (Gauvain and Richert, 2016, p. 318). Young adults have a high level of emotional intelligence and regulation of their emotional intensity. Young adults are also rational decision-makers who weigh the impact of their choices effectively before taking action (Simpson, 2008). In summary, Simpson's conceptualization of young adulthood is very optimistic. Although it is understandable that young adults have a more rational thinking process about life as compared to their younger peers. However, the functioning of their mental visor cannot be attributed from a general point of view but should also be looked at from an individual point of view.

Munsey (2006, p. 68) describes young adulthood as a stage of development, self-discovery, and independence for adolescents. For Munsey, young adulthood is a stage at the end of adolescence where young adults bear responsibilities, seek marriage, and seek employment and parenthood (Munsey, 2006, p.6). As such, Munsey terms young adulthood as emerging adulthood, a distinct term that was originally introduced by Jeffrey Arnett (2000). Arnett 2000 introduced emerging adulthood as a term to describe the stage of life between adolescence and adulthood. For Arnett (2000, p. 469) emerging adults are individuals who have passed the adolescence stage but have not yet entered the full adulthood stage. Hence, they are in the early adulthood stage. They are usually aged between 18-25 years. Emerging adults usually have no formal adulthood roles imposed on them, such as seeking independence and employment. "They are not constrained by any sort of role requirement" (Munsey, 2006, p. 6). Since they are in the early adulthood stage, the only concern they have is exploring their identity and trying to find themselves.

According to Munsey (2006, p. 69), there are five features of emerging adulthood. The first is identity exploration which is when individuals explore who they are, who they want to be, and what they want out of life, school, work, and love (Arnett, 2000, p. 473). The second feature is instability, where individuals change jobs, schools, and places of residence, that is, to go to college, cohabit with a lover, rent or live with friends. The third is self-focus, where individuals are free from being sheltered by their parents and contained by the rules of society. Individuals then start to decide for themselves what they want to do in life, where they want to go, and who they want to be with (Munsey, 2006, p. 68). The fourth feature is possibilities. In possibilities, individuals seek job opportunities, as well as educational and entrepreneurial opportunities. Opportunities that are far better than what their parents achieved. The last feature is the age of

feeling in between, where individuals have to cope with having to carry a lot of responsibilities but without feeling like a grown adult. Here, individuals juggle early adult responsibilities as well as their late adolescent behaviours.

Arnett (2000) conceptualizes emerging adults as individuals who have a sense of independence and responsibility but are also closely connected to their families. Some of the emerging adults may be working but still living with their parents, while some might be living on their own. Some might be working and still receiving support from their families, while some might be financially independent. There are many variations in the emerging adulthood stage. The critique to Arnett's emerging adulthood concept is that emerging adulthood is conceptualized as standing outside adolescence and young adulthood. From Arnett's (2000) description, emerging adulthood is distinct from young adulthood and adolescence. The sequence is first adolescence, then emerging adulthood, and then young adulthood, even though emerging adults (18-25 years) do fall within the age range of both adolescents and young adults. To McElhaney et al., (2009, p. 26) emerging adulthood is the same as young adulthood.

According to Erickson (2017), young adulthood is the transition from adolescence to adulthood based on mental and physical maturation. Unlike Arnett (2000), Erickson (2017) states that young adulthood is the immediate stage after adolescence. Emerging adulthood does not exist, at least not on its own. Emerging adulthood is thus part of young adulthood. To Erickson, emerging adulthood is synonymous with young adulthood, as agreed by scholars such as McElhaney et al. (2009). Erickson (2017) states that young adulthood is an emotional and physical process that is characterized by enormous cognitive, physiological, sexual, and emotional changes. Young adults become physically and sexually active, mentally independent, and emotionally autonomous. Their aspirations are to find love, seek educational opportunities, seek employment, and live independently. Erickson categorizes young adults as those aged between 20 and 45 years. Erickson's categorization is very broad. Most literature suggests that as soon as individuals reach their 40s, they are no longer young adults, but middle-aged adults. Erickson's rationale is that individuals are in their adulthood development stage until they reach 50 years, after which they can retire. To Erickson (2017), individuals are active adults beginning from their 20s to their 40s.

In this study young adulthood is categorized from age 18-35. This is an inclusive categorization of all the above-mentioned categories of young adulthood. The rationale behind this categorization is that the age of young adulthood in South Africa begins at 18 years. The

decision to end the category at age 35 is because all ages above 35 years are considered middle-aged adults. Thus, the conventional age for young adulthood is 18-35 years.

2.3. Home Leaving

Leaving home is a pivotal role in a young adult's life. Some young adults leave home at an early stage as 18 years, some later in their 30s, while others live with their parents for the rest of their lives. The decision to leave home is considered an important marker of independence for young adults. Young adults who live on their own are able to start their own families, pursue marriage, have children, and pursue economic opportunities.

Home leaving is traditionally analysed based on gender. Scholars such as Olah et al. (2018, p. 41) agree that gender roles and responsibilities play an important part in determining the timing of home leaving for male and female young adults. Female young adults tend to leave their parental home when they get married and start a new family with their male spouse. Male young adults leave the parental home to start a new job, business or career in a new city or town. Both these gender stereotypes are patriarchal and historical, referring to the 1970s when traditional societies around the world viewed establishing a home as a man's job and maintaining a home as a female spouse's responsibility (Olah et al., 2018, p. 45). A woman's decision to move out of the parental home was highly dependent on a man who has already established a home and was looking to marry. In today's society, the dynamics are different. With the advent of democracy, feminism, open markets, and a liberal world society; women are able to establish an independent lifestyle without the help of a male spouse (Anxo et al., (2011, p. 160.)). Therefore, the analysis of female home leaving can be equated to that of male home leaving. A lot of female young adults in the 21st century leave home for many pursuits other than marriage, such as jobs, education, and business.

2.3.1. Home Leaving Process

The home leaving process is challenging. Young adults, both male and female, have to adjust to an environment totally different from where they grew up. They also have to adjust to a lifestyle that is no longer sheltered by their parents and that requires them to have their own responsibilities and expenses. According to Shelter (2017), young adults must take three preliminary actions before they leave home. The first is to talk to their parents about leaving home. Young adults have to explain to their parents the reasons why they want to leave home so that the parents can help them with organizing things they will need to live alone and the

type of accommodation suitable for them (Shelter, 2017). The second is to sort out their budget and finances before leaving home. Young adults need to calculate the type of accommodation they can afford. They also need to be prepared to pay for their own living costs for things such as food, furniture, rent, water, and electricity. The last preliminary action is to find somewhere to live before leaving home. This means that young adults must find potential accommodation before leaving home. They also need to ensure that the accommodation is reliable, safe, and closer to work or to educational opportunities.

Goldscheider and Goldscheider (1993) and Egondi et al. (2013) agree that young adults in the home leaving process should possess a few of their own assets and money. These can include clothing, furniture and portable accessories such as radios, desks, chest drawers and bedroom materials. Some young adults move out of home with nothing and only acquire possessions when they already live independently. This is most common to young adults who acquire new jobs or other income-generating activities prior to moving out. But the dynamic is also similar to poor young adults who move to informal settlements with no assets and money, and only acquire these when living in the informal settlement. This dynamic will further be explored later in the research findings.

The types of accommodation that young adults usually move into when they leave home include a townhouse, an apartment, a rental flat, a hostel, a dorm, a township house or an informal settlement. Young adults usually have no security of tenure in the accommodations they move in. Most of the accommodations are occupied for rental purposes. Young adults who do not pay rent are usually those who move to the backyard of their parental house or informal settlement. Moving to a backyard apartment, garage or flat is common for young adults in both developing and developed countries. What is unique about developing countries is the element of a backyard shack. In South Africa, young adults from townships build shacks in the backyard of their parental home or move to an informal settlement. Young adults who live in a backyard shack have better access to electricity, water, and sanitation since they are connected to a good-standing brick house (Turok, 2015, p. 7). In contrast, young adults who live in informal settlements have limited access to electricity, water, and sanitation. Young adults who move to informal settlements usually have no option because of spatial constraints in backyards, family politics, or rental expectations (SERI, 2019, p. 5). Young adults who choose to stay in the parental home usually build a shack in the backyard. The backyard shack renting business is common in townships all around South Africa. Young adults who want their own space are allowed to live in the backyard by their parents just so long they can pay rent or help with

family household bills like electricity, food, and maintenance (Simpson, 2008). The backyard shack renting business has also become largely occupied by young adults who are non-family members. Young adults who come from different cities and provinces who are seeking cheap rental accommodation rent backyard shacks in the township. Those who are not willing to rent or cannot afford to rent move to informal settlements.

Young adults have different types of living arrangements when moving out of their parental home. These include single living, cohabiting, family living, student living or communal living. In single living, young adults move out to live alone in a new house, rental flat or shack. The cost of living is usually directly incurred by the young adult alone. In cohabitation, the young adult moves to live with a romantic partner. The cost of living is incurred by the partner who is the household head or by both partners. In family living, the young adult moves to live with his or her own family members such as children and spouses. With the increasing rates of teenage pregnancy and young parenting, young adults become parents while still living with their parents. Hence, at the stage of home leaving, they move with their children to establish a family-oriented living arrangement. In student living, young adults move out to live in a school residential unit usually based inside the school or in the school's surrounding area. Student living is usually temporary and is based on the period of study of the young adult (Peterson, 2006, p. 16). In student living, the young adult is usually not responsible for the full costs of accommodation. The school or funding entity (bursary, scholarship, or student loan) usually incurs the cost of accommodation.

Fundamental for this study is understanding the motives of home leaving for young adults. Different factors influence the decision to move out of home as well as the stage in which this is considered feasible. For this study, the key focus is on moving out of home in the stage of young adulthood to establish permanent independent residence elsewhere, in this case in informal settlements. This process is encompassed by a new lifestyle and a new livelihood for the newly independent young adult.

2.3.2. Factors Driving Young Adults to Leave Home

It is important to understand that some young adults leave home by choice, while others are forced. There are push and pull factors that motivate young adults to leave home. These however vary in individual cases. Some young adults leave home because there is overcrowding in their parental home, while others leave because they want to explore a life outside their family. Hutchison (2017) mentions that there are four reasons that push young

adults to leave home. The first reason includes hazardous and unsafe living conditions in the parental home. The second is young adult bad behaviour or breaking of house rules which leads the parents to throw out the young adult. The third is the existence of abuse or violence which leads young adults to find a better haven. The last is when parents die or sell the house and young adults have to resort to finding their own home. It is commonly assumed that push factors have a larger contribution in driving the home leaving process for young adults than pull factors, although a combination of both factor types are usually at play. Hutchison's analogy of the home leaving process focuses on the living conditions at the parental home that drive the young adult to move out. Specific attention is not paid on the individual aspiration of the young adult to move out.

Pull factors play a key component in the decision to move out. Most literature from Migration Studies suggests that pull factors are the enablers for young adults to action the decision to move out not only from the parental home, but also from the region they are from (Franco et al., (2020, p. 2). Pull factors allow the young adult to see moving as feasible, as possible to render a new life, and allow a young adult to envision new opportunities as attainable in the new location (Rosenberg, 2020). Pull factors present a great sense of optimism for a young adult and allow him or her to assess the positives of moving to a new area. Pull factors can include social, political, and religious freedom; employment, academic and business opportunities; as well as social mobility and building new social capital (Posel and Marx, 2013, p. 820). Pull factors put the home leaving process in perspective and allow a young adult to do due diligence before initiating the decision to move.

2.3.3. Independence and Living Alone

Independence and living alone is the last stage of the home leaving process. At this stage, the young adults are move in their new place of residence and start to build a new livelihood for themselves. In the early stages of independence, young adults are usually supported by their families and friends from their previous place of residence (Olah et al., 2018, p. 42). In essence, social capital plays a huge factor in their transition and how they build their livelihood in the new residence. Young adults also build new social capital in the new location, and this solidifies their transition to independence. In addition to building a new social lifestyle, young adults also have to build a new economic lifestyle that they have to fund. This means they have to pursue employment or business opportunities in the new location. Usually, young adults have figured out the type of opportunities (pull factors) before transitioning to the new location.

In some cases, young adults take risks and transition to a new location with uncertainty of opportunities to pursue. This is very common in rural-urban migration as well as for individuals moving from townships to informal settlements.

According to DePaulo (2020), young adults pursue the decision to live alone mainly because it is desirable for them to do so, even if it is somehow impossible. This is very common for people moving to informal settlements with very little to no assets, money, employment, or business opportunities. These young adults take the risk to establish a new lifestyle with very few resources. Studies show that although young adults' transition to living alone, they usually share their new residence with someone else like a friend, or cohabit with a lover, or live with a family member. Conceptually, this is considered living independently. Practically, there are a number of variables that suggest young adults draw their support from their social capital. Social capital plays a vital role for poor young adults who establish an independent lifestyle in informal settlements.

2.4. Urban Poverty and Informal Settlements

An informal settlement can be described as the dwelling of people on informal land, which includes unused land, isolated areas, urban-abandoned land, and even dump sites. The term 'informal' is used to display the unconventionality of the dwelling. Hence, informal settlements are understood as flawed housing structures that are usually made of corrugated iron, cardboard, plywood, and plastic. The structures are often fragile and common to tear, leak or destruct easily in cases of heavy winds and rains. According to UN-HABITAT (2015, p. 1), informal settlements are residential areas that lack proper infrastructure and the supply of basic services such as good running water, sanitation and electricity. The areas are usually geographically isolated from the rest of urban towns. These areas are often based in hazardous environments that do not comply with relevant urban planning and building principles. Governments are usually concerned about the health and safety conditions of the informal settlements. Informal settlements are common all over the world, especially in developing countries. More than one billion people in the world live in informal settlements. In developing countries, one in every three people in urban areas lives in an informal settlement (UNOPS, 2016). An estimated 26% of households in South Africa live in informal settlements (World Bank, 2018). This varies by city and province. According to the 2011 Census, almost 20% of households in Cape Town live in informal settlements (Van der Westhuizen, 2017). This makes Cape Town a focal area for studying people living in informal settlements.

Informal settlements are known as shacks, squatter camps and shanty towns (UN-HABITAT (2015, p. 2). Urban populations who are poor, homeless and lack security of tenure live in these. According to Huchzermeyer and Karam (2006, p. 1), informal settlements are the shameful feature of poverty and prolonged historical inequalities of the international world system. Sustained world economic and social inequalities have kept developing countries poor and growing at a slow rate. Although developing countries have made strides to improve their financial status and grow their GDP, this is never enough to alleviate their masses from poverty. Often this is because the redistribution of wealth in developing countries is uneven (Simkins, 2014). An elite population, consisting of a white bourgeoisie and an elite black minority, owns most businesses and has control over land, mines, and other factors of production. This hence leaves the rest of the majority as either lower-bound middle class or in the working class. In South Africa, 15% of the population is middle and upper-class (BusinessTech, 2015). The rest of the population are lower-bound middle class and working-class populations. The population living in informal settlements is mostly the unemployed and low-income working-class population (Ofori, 2020). This is because the working-class population is employed in low-skilled jobs inside the formal economy. Outside the formal economy, the working-class population is employed or self-employed in the informal economy which is mainly for subsistence living (Hunter and Posel, 2012, p. 287). In South Africa, people living in informal settlements sustain their living by becoming street vendors, running spaza shops, shebeens, car repairs, gadget repairs and replacements, tailoring, selling fast foods and running car wash businesses (Mindset, 2013). Because of the unconventionality of informal settlements, informal dwellers are limited when it comes to expanding their business and employment prospects. Formal housing remains inaccessible to people who live in informal settlements as over 30% of them are unemployed and cannot afford rental properties and housing bonds (SERI, 2018, p. 15).

In South Africa, informal settlements are usually characterised on the base of illegality, inappropriate dwelling, restricted private and public sector investment, poverty and impoverishment, and social stress (HDA, 2012, p. 12). The South African government introduced policies in 1994 to eradicate informal settlements and replace them with RDP houses and communal units based in townships. Due to resource constraints to provide such housing to a large population, the government began to realise that informal settlements are “here to stay” (Posel and Marx, 2013, p. 820). Unable to contain the growth of informal settlements, the government started to introduce policies that would upgrade informal

settlements rather than replace them. The problematic nature of these policies was that they normalized informal settlements and ignored the government's responsibility to provide proper housing for its citizens. Many debates that are pro-ANC, however, have argued that the government's upgrading of informal settlements is only an immediate intervention, which is to be accompanied by the provision of proper housing in the future (Huchzermeyer, 2011, p. 7). The slowness and ineffectiveness of the government to provide proper housing, however, has become an issue. It seems that the more government delays in providing proper housing, the more people resort to finding alternative ways to shelter themselves, through informal settlements.

As highlighted earlier, the existence of informal settlements is part of the bigger issue of urban poverty. Urban poverty is often attributed to urban growth. Urban growth is the increase of populations in urban areas. The increase is often the result of internal and external migration (Malan, 2016). Internal migration involves the movement of a country's citizens from rural areas to urban areas in the hope of better employment, education, and business opportunities. External migration involves the movement of citizens from their home countries to foreign countries, also in the hope for better employment, education, and business opportunities. Internal migration in South Africa is viewed as a dilemma as many rural populations overcrowd urban areas, leaving rural areas desolate and uninhabited (Huchzermeyer, 2003). In the Western Cape, this is most common among the Xhosa population who move from rural areas in the Eastern Cape to the Western Cape. The overpopulation of urban areas is said to create difficulty for local governments to provide adequate services for their urban populations (Groenewald, 2011, p. 641). As such some people living in urban areas end up living in informal settlements and sustain themselves through the informal economy. It is important to note that urban growth is also attributed to the increase in birth rates in populations. Teenage pregnancy is prevalent in South Africa and is one of the leading causes of population growth. Many scholars agree that informal settlements are here to stay, and policymakers have the responsibility to put in place policies that move beyond upgrading informal settlements to enabling people to graduate to better standards of housing.

2.5. The Impact of Poverty, Education and Inequality on Young Adults in Developing Countries

Young adults are the focal group for measuring a country's level of economic prosperity. Government policies, economic opportunities, and social conditions mainly impact young

adults. A country's level of development is seen through young adults' level of education, employment, and access to housing. According to Nwangu (2005, p. 38), the developmental strategy of a country lies within its young people as they encompass the necessary skills, income and production that can contribute to the overall development of the country. When young adults face issues such as unemployment, lack of education and lack of access to housing this signifies a crisis that is common to developing countries like South Africa. In South Africa, young adults aged between 18 to 34 years make up a total of 17.18 million, which is almost a third of the 58.78 million total population (StatsSA, 2019). This makes young adults a subject of interest when it comes to topics like urban poverty and informal settlements.

Sironi (2018, p. 103) state that unemployment, lack of education and poor housing are the key constraints for young adults in developing countries. These constraints mainly affect young adults in the lower-class category, who are usually historically disadvantaged individuals. Historically disadvantaged individuals continue to experience exclusion from the formal economy and remain confined in townships and rural settings. This is the key driver for the rise of informal settlements, which is explored in this study. The OECD (2020) states that developing countries will continue to face economic and social challenges, especially with the advent of COVID-19 which also brought health issues. This regresses development for those at the bottom of the economic ladder, excluding them from formal employment, quality education, good healthcare, and affordable housing.

Education is one of the key drivers for economic success. Unfortunately, in developing countries, education is poor and tends to be exclusive from lower-class individuals who cannot afford it. UNESCO (2012, p.1) states that twenty percent of young people in developing countries fail to complete primary school and lack skills for work. Poverty restrains access to education, making the large population unable to afford quality education. The lack of governments to provide quality education results in lower school retention rates, as well as an unskilled or semi-skilled labour force that is often excluded in the labour market. Tilak (2002, p. 191) states that the lack of education sustains poverty, and that education is an important instrument to break the cycle of poverty in developing countries. To break the cycle of poverty, policymakers have to prioritise education and formulate interventions that support the needs of the labour market to make it inclusive for all populations.

Unemployment is one of the key indicators of poverty and economic exclusion. Young adults living in Africa are the most vulnerable to poverty and unemployment. Donkor (2021) states

that Africa has a vibrant youthful population that can be converted into an energetic workforce, but faces dire unemployment and economic exclusion. Young adults in Africa are talented and have potential, but do not have access to employment opportunities as compared to young adults living in western countries. The earliest record of unemployment was recorded by the African Development Bank in 2015, where one-third of Africa's then 420 million young people between 15 to 35 years old were unemployed. The number has since grown, making young adults further excluded from the economy. South Africa has the highest unemployment rate compared to other African countries. According to Saleh (2022), South Africa had the highest unemployment rate in Africa in 2021, with 34% of the workforce unemployed, followed by Djibouti with a 28% unemployment rate and Eswatini with 26%. This means that some young adults living in South Africa do not have the spending power to participate in the economy, making them unable to access quality education, good healthcare and affordable housing.

Poverty and inequality in developing countries is a serious issue that continues to rise. Alvaredo and Gasparini (2015, p. 697) state that poverty and inequality in developing countries will continue to accelerate and affect young adults in the lower working class. With inflation, increased living costs, and declining economic opportunities, poverty continues to hit poor populations hard. COVID-19 made global poverty increase even further. Peer (2021) states the number living under \$1.90 a day was declining for the past 25 years but then increased in 2020. This is due to COVID-19 which pushed an additional 75 million to 95 million people into poverty (World Bank, 2022).

In the context of global poverty, affordable housing remains denied to many populations, especially in developing countries. Housing is a basic human need as stated by the World Health Organization. On a basic level, housing is defined as:

A residential environment which includes, in addition to the physical structure that man uses for shelter, all necessary services, facilities, equipment and devices needed or desired for the physical and mental health and social well-being of the family. (Habitat for Humanity, 2022).

Housing is vital for all populations but remains denied to historically disadvantaged populations who, because of colonialism and apartheid, come from rural areas and townships. Jaiyeoba and Asojo (2020) agree that urban-rural segregation laws made formal housing exclusive from historically disadvantaged groups. The post-segregation era also failed to make housing inclusive for historically disadvantaged groups. Ofori (2020) did a study on the

challenges and implications of housing in developing countries and found that housing in developing countries is scarce as the majority of the population cannot afford it and the government has poor housing interventions which leads people to resort to self-help housing options such as informal settlements.

Jaycox (1977, p. 305) states that the lack of an urban strategy in developing countries leads to poor populations becoming displaced and resorting to informal housing. Jaycox (1977) highlights migration patterns from rural to urban areas and how overpopulation in urban areas creates a housing deficit that excludes poor populations from formal housing. According to Saal (2022), the South African housing backlog currently sits at an estimated 2.6 million houses, meaning that 12 million people are out of decent housing. Unhoused populations usually resort to self-help strategies such as the formation of informal settlements, which are becoming a norm in urban areas where there is a lack of an urban housing strategy. The UN-Habitat (2015) states that over 25% of the world's population resides in informal settlements. In South Africa, 26% of households live in informal settlements (World Bank, 2018, p.5). While informal settlements represent poverty and exclusion from the formal economy, they have housed young adults who cannot afford formal housing.

2.6. Young Adulthood, Home Leaving, and Informal Settlements

There are various studies on adulthood, home leaving and informal settlements. Most of the studies are however disjointed. They either focus on adulthood development and independence or informal settlements and the livelihoods of informal dwellers. They do not connect all the topics together. For this reason, this section is divided into two parts. The first part looks at studies on adulthood home leaving and independence. The second part looks at the establishment of informal settlements as well as the livelihoods of people who establish their lifestyles in informal settlements, drawing on how they build and sustain social capital.

2.6.1. Adulthood Home Leaving and Independence

The topic of adulthood, home leaving, and independence has been widely studied by psychologists, sociologists, social workers, and scholars in migration and humanities, notably by Egondi et al. (2016), An et al. (2003), as well as Franco et al. (2020). The focus is usually on the psychosocial behaviours of young adults, home living arrangements or push factors that prompt young adults to leave home, as well as the pull factors that make young adults see an independent life as desirable. An et al.'s (2003) study, *Adolescent Leaving Parental Home: Psychosocial Correlates and Implications for Conservation*, evaluated the psychosocial

backgrounds of adolescents' decision to move out of parental home in China's ecological Wolong Nature Reserve. The study analysed whether parental behaviours and attitudes, peer influences and perceived availability of material and non-material resources influenced adolescents' decision to move out of their parental homes. After interviewing 220 households in the Wolong Nature Reserve, the study found that parents and peers have a significant influence on adolescents' decision to move out. If parents approve of the adolescent's decision to move, the adolescent has proven that he or she can take care of him or herself without the help of their parents, and has demonstrated a level of freedom and self-reliance necessary to be independent, then the decision to move out becomes stronger (An et al., 2003, p. 430). The perceived availability of land, wood, and other resources to establish independent residence was found to also influence the adolescents' decision to move.

O'Connor et al. (1995) also looked at the role parental relationships influenced leaving home for young adults. Their study, *Adolescent-Parental Relationships and Leaving Home in Young Adulthood*, looked at how the transition to young adulthood affects parent-young adult relationships regarding issues of autonomy, independent thought and behaviour, and relatedness. O'Connor et al. (1995) used questionnaires and interviews to collect socio-economic and demographic information from 146 adolescents and their families. The findings showed that parents and young adults' relationships are likely to be sustained even when young adults reach a level of independence. However, the lack of fully establishing autonomy and relatedness in some young adults displays difficulty in separating from their parents. Young adults who display limited contact with parents prove the readiness of a fully independent lifestyle.

Giving essence to O'Connor et.al.'s study, Kraemer (1982) investigated how young adults cope when separating from the parental home. The study analysed the psychiatric problems of young adults when leaving home and depicted how young people break down; in the form of academic failure, unwanted pregnancies, and drug-use; when separated from the parental home. The study showed that young adults need support, guidance and therapy when transitioning to an environment outside their parental home. Parents, with the support of a therapist, must instil developmental confidence and strength in young adults during the transition period to independent living in order to prevent the above-mentioned psychiatric problems.

It is clear that leaving home and establishing an independent lifestyle is not an easy transition. Hence, Peterson (1999) researched the internal and external constraints and challenges that

surround the home leaving process. The article looked at constraints and challenges such as emotionality and reactivity of the family and young adult, self-discovery and identity creation of the individual, the development of independence and autonomy, as well as anxiety in both the parent and individual. The study showed that such constraints and challenges can disrupt the home leaving process in a manner that the transition of the young adult becomes slower and delayed. Young adults transition to an independent residence at a later stage of their adulthood (Goldscheider and Goldscheider, 1993). Young adults transitioning to an independent residence must hence be willing to face these constraints and challenges and must communicate and discuss these issues with their families and friends in order to make the process easier.

Merrill (2016) provides solutions for how young adults can simplify their home leaving experience. She suggests 10 critical skills for home leaving and independent living. These are good social skills and manners, money and budgetary management skills, basic cooking skills, essential domestic skills, personal healthcare knowledge, auto-maintenance skills, the ability to discern between love and infatuation, being a good judge of character, being aware of mistakes and starting over, being responsible, and having basic work skills (Merrill, 2016). Possessing such skills enables young adults to transition easily to an independent lifestyle that is maintainable and independent from parental support or intervention (Mulder and Clark, 2000, p. 42). The limitation to Merrill's proposed skills is that they mainly apply to middle-class young adults coming from educated and economically stable backgrounds. Poor young adults from impoverished backgrounds such as those living in Marikana hardly possess such skills given their poor economic and educational background. Hence, it is interesting to see how such young adults build an independent lifestyle whilst lacking such critical skills mentioned by Merrill.

2.6.2. Independent Residence and Informal Settlements

The issue of informal settlements has been studied from a variety of perspectives. This section looks at informal settlement from the perspective of adulthood and the need for independent residence. Egondi et al. (2013) studied adolescent home leaving and the transition to adulthood in the slums of Nairobi, Kenya. The study analysed how psychosocial behaviours influence home leaving for adolescents. The study used a people-centred cross-sectional analysis and predictive analysis from a three-wave study conducted from 2007-2010 by the African Population and Health Research Centre (APHRC). The Problem Behaviour Theory was used as the theoretical framework to examine the association of home leaving with psychosocial and

behavioural variables such as drug and alcohol consumption, risk behaviours, sexual initiation, and marriage. The study found that adulthood home leaving is related to other adulthood transition factors such as childbearing, marriage, sexual experimentation, and involvement in income-generating activities. The study also found that sexually active youth tend to leave home in the hope for extended freedom.

Beguy et al. (2011), in a study on young adults in the slums of Nairobi, Kenya, examined the timing and sequencing of four key indicators of adulthood namely sex, marriage, birth and independent living. The study sampled 3 944 adolescents in two informal settlements in Nairobi. Event history analysis techniques were used to examine the timing and sequencing of events. The findings showed that adolescents usually have their first sexual encounter outside marriage. In essence, the sequencing of events starts with sex, then parenthood, and then independent housing. Marriage occurs either during the period of parenthood or when adolescents live independently.

Both studies by Egondi *et.al* (2013) and Beguy *et.al* (2011) try to associate informal settlements with the transition to adulthood. This association is at the core of this study. Both studies were conducted in Nairobi, Kenya. Hence, this leaves room for similar studies to be done in other parts of Africa such as South Africa. This study thus fills this gap.

Mpanje et al. (2018) used social capital as an analytical framework to describe urban resilience as a way in which people from poor urban areas form structures to support each other. “Urban areas can be rendered vulnerable due to multiple exacerbating factors such as rapid and unplanned development, environmental degradation, precarious livelihoods and resource pressures” (Mpanje et al., 2018, p. 3). In the case of informal settlements, people who are excluded from the formal economy come together as strangers to create social systems, namely informal settlements, to create survival strategies and navigate their economic needs. To Mpanje et al., the creation of social capital is the essence of informal settlements. The limitation of Mpanje et al.’s argument is that they only recognise social capital once someone has established residence in an informal settlement. They disregard social capital from the informal resident’s previous place of residence, his or her relationship with friends and family, how they have influenced the decision to move, and if they continue to support the informal resident in his or her new place of residence.

Khorasani-Moghadam et al. (2015) researched how social capital improved the quality of life for residents living in informal settlements. Their argument was that social capital is the factor that binds sustainable development and livelihood in informal settlements. In their study, they used descriptive analytical methodologies to identify indicators supporting their argument. According to their findings:

The outstanding indicators of the quality of life in informal settlements turn out to be trust, norm orientation, as well as network connections in direct evaluation and participation, the attitude of voluntariness, social cohesion, a sense of security, informal social relations, as well as adherence to values in indirect evaluation. (Khorasani-Moghadam et al., 2015, p. 2).

The study concluded that these indicators play a major role in the solidity and sustainable development of informal settlements.

As mentioned earlier in the literature review, the only formal research done on the Marikana Informal Settlement was by the Socio-Economic Rights Institute (SERI) in 2017. SERI (2019, p. 8), produced a site-based research report about Marikana titled, *Our Place to Belong: Marikana Informal Settlement*. The aim of the report was to outline the conditions of basic services in Marikana, particularly focusing on the use of the Upgrading of Informal Settlements Programme (UISP). The report also details land tenure status as well as general social life in Marikana. The report gives a good description of the informal settlement for someone who wants to find out basic information about Marikana. The report however fails to give demographic information about Marikana residents, their households as well as their economic livelihood strategies. These components are covered in the research findings of this study.

2.7. Summary

In this chapter, literature on adulthood, home leaving, and informal settlements were discussed. The existence of informal settlements was mapped from the journey of young adults coming from poor backgrounds wishing to establish independent lifestyles for themselves. Much of the literature attributed the growth of informal settlements to urban poverty, migration, as well as the lack of economic resources for young adults living in South Africa. The first section of this chapter defined young adulthood as well as the dynamics of being a young adult. The second section discussed home leaving as well as the factors that drive young adults to leave their parental home. The third section discussed informal settlements in the context of urban poverty.

The fourth section described the economic characteristics of young adults living in developing countries such as South Africa. The last section analysed studies done on young adulthood, home leaving, and informal settlements. Marikana Informal Settlement is a classic case study that depicts how historically disadvantaged South Africans are still excluded from the formal economy and have to find alternative survival strategies to fulfil their housing needs.



CHAPTER THREE: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 Introduction

The theoretical framework grounding this study is Social Capital Theory. Social capital refers to the ability of people to form, organise and use networks to improve their personal, economic, political, and social status. This chapter provides a comprehensive discussion on social capital theory. The formation of informal settlements exercises social capital through the creation of a social structure that is outside the formal sector. The society-centred perspective of social capital helps to explain the way in which informal residents build a social and economic community that governs and sustains their livelihood. Bonding social capital helps to explain the role that social capital from the parental home plays in supporting the journey to independence for young adults. For this reason, social capital is the most appropriate theoretical framework for this study.

The first section of this chapter outlines the history and origins of social capital theory. The second section discusses the fundamentals of social capital. The third section describes how social capital theory can be applied in real life scenarios. The fourth section discusses the advantages for using social capital theory. The fifth section discusses the limitations of social capital theory. The last section describes how social capital theory is applied in this study.

3.2. Social Capital Theory

Social Capital is a concept that was developed in the 1890s. The concept was officially theorised in the 1990s (Lollo, 2011). The concept originated from American politics, where it resembled democracy and participation by ordinary citizens in American politics. The increased social participation of Americans in the socio-economic issues of their country resembled social cohesion and thus social capital. According to Ferragina (2010, p. 73) the presence of communities, groups and networks with a collective aim is what resembled social capital in Western countries during the 1990s. Thus, social capital resembled social life, democracy, and social cohesion in pluralist political systems that were inherent in Western countries. This view of social capital assumed that every state had a high level of social cohesion and national identity, thus, a high level of social capital. The problem with this conceptualization, however, was that it was hard to measure social cohesion and to conceptualise what a national identity is given migration issues, history and native-settler relationships within states. The focus of the debate then moved towards the extent to which a

nation becomes integrated. The focus was now on generalized trust and unity within given communities. Nel and McQuaid (2010) came up with a simple definition that was accepted by many scholars. They defined social capital as a society that promotes cultural differentiation and accepts certain features of disorganization at both social and individual levels. Such as society acknowledges the flawed nature of individual interests within the society but tries to merge these in order to establish mutually beneficial relationships.

According to Qi (2013, p. 314), the term social capital originated from scholars like Pierre Bourdieu, Robert Putnam, Lewis Feldstein, and Jane Jacob who used the term in the early 1960s to highlight the value of networks. Bourdieu (1972) used social capital in his book titled, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, to clarify how it was different from traditional economic and symbolic capital. Putnam (2000) used social capital in his book, *Bowling Alone*, to describe the decline of social engagement in America during the 20th Century. Feldstein (2003) used social capital in his initiative, *Better Together*, to foster unity among American citizens in the 20th Century through social activism, social institutionalism, and civic renewal.

The emergence of social capital has renewed an old academic debate in the social sciences about the relationship between society, trust, and networks. The theory of social capital however continued to gain prominence through the incorporation of classical sociological theory together with the description of intangible forms of capitals. In this way the classical definition of capital had been overcome, thus allowing governments, institutions, and agencies to address social issues in a new way, by using social capital. Social capital theory in contemporary discourse is used to illustrate the decline of generalized trust and civicism in the state, to show the importance of traditional community norms and values, to describe the integration of social networks to the functioning of individuals, to outline social immobility and social class perpetuation, and to formulate policies for local development (Ferragina, 2010, p.73). In essence, social capital is used to show the connection between generalized trust in society, the state, as well as the establishment of actively functional institutions.

Now that the history and origins of social capital theory have been explained, it is now important to shift to the definition of social capital. There are various definitions that explain the concept of social capital is. The first is by Glaeser et al. (1999, p. 2) who define social capital as neighbourhood networks or as characteristics of social life consisting of norms, trust, and networks. For Glaeser et al. (1999), social capital enables people to act together effectively to pursue their shared goals. Social capital involves group level associations which are a result

of historical incidents of individuals spending time and energy with each other (Glaeser et al., 1999, p. 2). In essence, social capital exists as a result of social interactions maintained over a period of time. Similar to Glaeser et al. (1999), Portes (1998) defines social capital as the anticipated collective benefits, economic or social, that are gained through the preferential treatment and cooperation of individuals and groups. According to Portes (1998), people create social capital by entering groups that will derive them a future social or economic benefit. This then raises the idea of reciprocity, which is the cooperation of individuals for the exchange of favours and benefits, which (Grootaert and Van Bastelaer, 2001) discuss a lot in their book, *Understanding and Measuring Social Capital*. Grootaert and Van Bastelaer (2001, p. 4) define social capital as the interaction of individuals and groups to build up relationships, formal and informal, of trust and norms of reciprocity that will secure rewards and benefits for the members. Social capital is therefore the accumulation of privileges and obligations from a group/network through the notion of reciprocity. Grootaert and Van Bastelaer (2001), however do not thoroughly discuss the two-way relationship of reciprocity. They fail to discuss the dual relationship between how group members' retrieval of a benefit from the group or network will result in a future obligation, and how the fulfilment of an obligation today will result in a pending future privilege, and how the trade-off is made or controlled by the group or network.

Nel and Mcquaid (2010, p. 62) on the other hand define social capital as mutual sympathy, goodwill, fellowship, and social intercourse between groups of individuals in families, communities, formal networks and other social units. They define social capital from an optimistic view: where people voluntarily do good service for other people without expecting an explicit or tangible reward. People do good to others as they would want done to them. Nel and Mcquaid's (2010) conceptualization of social capital is very common among social activists, religious leaders, and social scientists. The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD, 2014) similarly defines social capital from an altruistic view: where the shared values, links, and understandings of a society enable its groups and individuals to work together and trust each other. The OECD (2014) states that through the process of socialization and integration, members of a single unit can solve all the issues that affect them and their society. The OECD, however, fails to describe the manner in which the units organize themselves to become a unit even before they can work together. The OECD overlooks the homogenous characteristics that make the people to become a unit, or the heterogeneous characteristics that are compromised in order to form a single unit to fight for a particular goal.

However, it does mention that units do unite towards a common goal despite individual or fractional differences.

Sen and Cowley (2013, p. 416) define social capital from an economic perspective. They define social capital as a form of capital other than physical, financial, natural, and human capital. Social capital denotes connections and networks that enable continued and future access to privilege, depending on the network (Sen and Cowley, 2013, p. 416). In this view, individuals and groups can increase the other forms of capital by using social capital. Sen and Cowley's (2013) definition of social capital, however, depicts an economic view. More specifically, their view of social capital is based on how economists can capitalize on their profits through the networks they build and the type of business alignments they engage with in order to increase production and assets.

3.3. Fundamentals of Social Capital Theory

The fundamentals of social capital theory include social capital motives, social capital approaches as well as the types of social capital. The two motives of social capital are called consummatory motivations and instrumental reciprocity. Consummatory motivations are general motivations that are internalised within individuals to form social capital without expecting a direct reciprocal return (Portes, 1998, p. 7). Reciprocal gains are gained over time without being envisaged. In contrast, instrumental reciprocity means the accumulation of obligations from a network or social unit in conjunction to the norm of reciprocity (Portes, 1998, p. 7). Favours and benefits accumulated today must be paid back in the future.

There are three approaches to social capital formation. These include the society-centred perspective, the structural/institutional-centred perspective, and the network perspective. The society-centred perspective states that individuals and groups, through their interactions, establish connections and relationships of trust and norms of reciprocity that bring them substantial rewards and benefits (OECD, 2014). Trust, through associational communication, is the core of social capital formation. Thus, a society that interacts together in numerous associations and groups will demonstrate a high level of social capital, which in essence improves their social, political, economic, and psychological condition (Hean et al., 2013, p. 12). The structural/institutional-centred perspective to social capital formation states that social capital is created through the combination of institutional rules and norms. Institutional frameworks within organizations prescribe rules and norms for interaction that are reliable and

trusted (Hean et al., 2013, p. 12). Increased trust in such norms and values increases social capital formation. The network perspective posits that social capital is created through the virtue of individuals becoming members in networks or social structures (OECD, 2014). Thus, the size of the network or social structure becomes important. The increased size of a social structure means a larger social capital for individuals within it, and a larger social capital means a larger resource base.

According to Woolcock and Narayan (2000, p. 5), there are four perspectives in viewing social capital: the communitarian perspective, the network perspective, the institutional perspective, and the synergy perspective. The communitarian perspective equates social capital with local level associations like local organisations, civic groups, clubs, and movements (Woolcock and Narayan, 2000, p. 5). Social capital is thus measured according to the density and number of groups existing in a particular community. The assumption is that the more such groups are present in a community, the more the community will prosper and achieve its welfare needs. The communitarian perspective is usually used to measure poverty and participatory issues in government. The network perspective, on the other hand, states that horizontal and vertical networks between people, organisations, communities, and firms are important in securing mutual benefits. The working together of such groupings enables society to become dynamic: creating a great amount of prosperity for individuals and groups through their cooperation, information-sharing, redistribution of resources and unity (Woolcock and Narayan, 2000, p. 7). This perspective is very normative and optimistic about social capital formation.

The institutional perspective also shares some of the goals of the network perspective, but according to institutional arrangements. The institutional perspective states that the importance of civil society and community networks lies in the existence of vibrant legal, political, and institutional environments. As such, institutional arrangements are what make social capital structures stronger and sustainable (Woolcock and Narayan, 2000, p. 11). The institutional perspective thus views social capital as a dependant variable and institutions which foster social capital as independent variables. The ability of social groups and networks to organise together and act in accordance with their collective interests is dependent on the existence of strong and formal institutions (Woolcock and Narayan, 2000, p. 11). Thus, institutions act as enablers and monitors of social capital. The synergy perspective states that social capital is the result of synergies, relationships, or professional alliances within and between state institutions as well as civil society actors. When civic groups, governments and corporations come together, they can attain their collective gains. The assumption is that states, communities, and firms cannot

achieve their goals in isolation. They do not individually possess all the resources necessary for their own prosperity (Woolcock and Narayan, 2000, p. 12). They thus must work together by forming partnerships and mergers that will promote sustainable development and mutual prosperity for all. The synergy perspective is very multi-dimensional and views social capital formation as a result of group formation from pluralist groups.

There are three types of social capital: bonding social capital, bridging social capital, and linking social capital. Bonding social capital takes place among like-minded or people with the same status or who share exclusive ties of solidarity (Woolcock and Narayan, 2000, p. 5). Examples include family, friends, religious groups, and unions to name a few. Bonding social capital is highly personalised and exhibits internal trust, voluntary efforts and values that are embedded within the network or social structure (Siisiainen, 2000). In the context of informal settlements, bonding social capital is established through the creation of a community in the informal settlement where people who operate in the informal economy come together to combine and share social and economic resources through the creation of informal settlements. The strong intra-group ties and social relations created within the network or social structure make bonding social capital very real and non-superficial as compared to other types of social capital. Bridging social capital, on the other hand, is found among heterogeneous individuals and groups who come together to create cooperative connections towards a similar goal. Examples include neighbourhood watches, social activism groups, volunteer groups and so on. Participants in bridging social capital thus establish relations that are horizontal and impersonal but grounded on volunteering action and general trust (Scheffert et al., 2008, p. 37). In general, bridging social capital is considered as the creation of extra-group networks that are in essence more fragile when compared to the networks created in bonding social capital. In contrast, linking social capital is social capital between unlike people in unlike situations. This includes people from different social classes, levels of power, and social status (Woolcock and Narayan, 2000, p. 7). In linking social capital, vertical relations are created in order to connect the people from the differing groups. Linking social capital is often used to close the gap between politicians and the public, in order to enhance politician-public interaction, enhance democracy, and establish effective public policies. The aim of linking social capital is to increase the power of the public in leveraging ideas, resources and information from formal agencies and institutions outside the community (Siisiainen, 2000). Thus, the idea is to integrate the power of those at the top with that of those at the bottom.

In summary, it can be noted that there are three important concepts or ties in social capital theory. These being reciprocity, trust, and durability. Reciprocity has to do with the mutual benefit that participants receive in a social capital network overtime. Trust has to do with the reliance and belief in the honesty, reliability and integrity of participants in the network (Scheffert et al., 2008, p. 32). Durability has to do with the maintenance of the network through a long period of time. The network must be maintained even through times of strain and changing circumstances.

3.4. Application of Social Capital Theory

Social capital theory can be applied in many different aspects of life. These range from communities, the government sector, non-governmental organisations, and civil society. Social capital theory, in many cases, is used to form, organise, and understand local associations, community ties, legal and political institutions. These include community groups, business groups, information brokers, participants within the voluntary sector, and participants within the private and public sector. The aim is to be able in the end to formulate policy options that recognize social assets, bridge social divides, create enterprise zones, and grant political and civil liberties, accountability, and transparency (Woolcock and Narayan, 2000, p. 14).

In the government sector, social capital is used to explain the tactics of social engagement and political participation between citizens and their governments. A high level of interaction with government officials, high level of social engagement and political participation resembles high social capital (Scheffert et al., 2008, p. 16). The ability of citizens to organise in groups to participate in government, and to mobilise support for their needs and concerns demonstrates high social capital. Social capital in the government sector is also used to measure the level of trust citizens have towards their government. A higher level of trust in government resembles its legitimacy and its democracy.

In non-governmental organisations, social capital is exercised through the joint effort of individuals to form community organisations, street committees, religious organisations, social movement and lobby groups. The power of these groups lies in their ability to influence government decisions and public policymaking. The activeness of such groups resembles a healthy democratic state and a pluralistic political landscape (Moosung, 2014, 458). However, such groups must also have strong internal relations and norms of trust within themselves, as well as external relations, through linking social capital, with government and politicians in order to lobby for social change.

Social capital in essence is measured according to two aspects: the embedded strength of network resources and network locations. In embedded resources, the measurement is done on the capacity of network resources available and contact statuses. The measurement indicators of network resources include the range of resources available, the variety of resources available, the availability of best resources, the composition of average resources, and contact resources (Lin, 1999, p. 37). The measurement indicators of contact statuses include the occupations of contacts, the authority of contacts, and the sectors they represent (Lin, 1999, p. 37). In network locations, the measurement is usually done on the strength of network ties and the bridge to access the network. The measurement indicators of network ties include the non-existence of structural constraints and structural holes (Lin, 1999, p. 37). The measurement indicators of access to networks include the existence of a network bridge, the intensity of the network bridge, the intimacy of the network, as well as the scope of interaction and reciprocity in the network (Lin, 1999, p. 37). A high level of network bridging resembles a healthy and open network. All the indicators, however, must be applied in order to measure the strength and efficacy of a network or any other social structure.

3.5. Advantages of Social Capital Theory

There are many advantages for using social capital as a theoretical framework. The most common is that social capitals helps to explain how investment in social relations creates expected returns: whether in the business sector, under political structures or inside social structures. According to Lin (1999, p. 31), social capital is a relevant theory because it prompts individuals in working spaces to engage in networks and interactions that enable them to increase their productivity and increase organisational profits. Social capital helps to explain how embedded resources in the networks enhance the outcome of individuals' actions. Social capital also helps to facilitate the flow of information from different individuals, groups and organisations. Thus, it can provide useful information and opportunities that were not readily available to individuals and organisations regarding market situations, demands and needs in strategic sectors, the need for organizational change, its agents and even the community (Lin, 1999, p. 31).

Social capital is a positive theory because it also helps to show how those with strong social ties are able to secure competitive advantages over those without strong networks. For example, it shows people with strong social networks are able to get membership into institutions organisations through inside contacts, how certain contracts and jobs are usually won by people

who have friends in high positions, and how students gaining support from graduate programmes are able to exceed academically than those who do not (Scheffert et al., 2008, p. 2). Social capital theory is thus used to explain such dynamics and the manner in which they influence social order.

Social capital is a comprehensive theory because it helps to understand civil relations and how these can be strengthened. Civil relations are those relations that are voluntary and are outside formal organisations, the markets, and the government. These include civil society, social movements, community organisations, lobby groups and so on. Through social capital, these organisations are able to form and sustain themselves voluntarily without seeking profits, but to provide rewards for themselves and others (BetterTogether, 2015). The forming of such organisations is important in any democratic state and is fundamental to strengthening government structures and its civil relations.

Social capital theory also helps to measure the level of social capital that exists within organisations, communities and within states. Stronger social capital in communities is measured according to number of people who spend more time in community organisations, the number of volunteers that exist, whether community members are likely to vote, and the amount of time people spend in socializing with their neighbours, friends, and family (Scheffert et al., 2008, p. 3). Strong child welfare is measured according to the number of kids who stay in school as compared to those who drop out, as well as the level of violence and other socio-economic issues that act as hindering factors (Siisiainen, 2000). Better education is measured according to the good performance of students based on a range of educational criteria, as well as the level to which individual schools outperform others (BetterTogether, 2015). Economic prosperity is measured according to the number of social connections that are available to help people find employment, the existence of ethnic communities that create economic benefits for their members through the provision of seed capital to start businesses and rotary credit associations, the communication and cooperation of business leaders to take leadership in community issues, and the ability of workers from separate firms in the same industry to interact together in order to innovate and adapt the changing business and market environment (Siisiainen, 2000). Individual well-being and public health is measured according to the social connectedness of people within a community, the people's awareness of their health and health needs, their ability to monitor and manage their health resources such as doctors and specialists, their level of social support received from their family and friends, and their ability to meet in groups and meetings that help to relieve stress and resist to disease spread (Nel and McQuaid,

2010). Democracy is measured according to the existence of effective governance and active public participation, the existence of active associations that organise to socialize, entertain, worship or engage in community projects, the existence of broader umbrellas of association that make community members able to effectively interact with government, and the existence of community organisations that allow citizens to lead, cooperate, learn, organise and establish their own coalitions (Scheffert et al., 2008, p. 3).

Lastly, social capital is a relevant theory because in academia, it enables researchers to apply a social perspective in studying human beings, organisations, as well as the norms and values of society and institutions. Social capital theory enables researchers to view the world from a relational perspective: to see how certain units of the world work together to produce a certain outcome and how certain outcomes are subjective to certain relationships built by individuals and groups (Moschetti and Hudley, 2015, p. 237). Social capital theory thus helps to understand group dynamics, social interactions, as well as organisational structures.

3.6. Limitations of Social Capital Theory

Social capital is not a flawless theory. Just like all other social science theories, social capital has its own limitations. One of the limitations of social capital is that it can produce and reproduce inequality in a manner that people in social connections and networks become unable to gain access to high positions based on the association. Thus, social capital creates the culture of exclusion. Those in the out-group of a social unit or network are excluded. According to Mathews and Marzec (2012, p. 7803), social capital is not equally available to everyone, just like all other forms of capital are not available to everyone. Limited access to other forms of capital like financial capital, physical capital and human capital leads also to a subsequent limitation to social capital. Resourceful or valuable social capital is only found among those who strongly possess other forms of capital (Lollo, 2011). Thus, those with power and resources will have stronger social capitals that will in essence maintain their level of privilege. Those with limited power and resources are likely to form social capitals that are slightly weaker and likely to remain the same, unless linking social capitals are created.

The other limitation of social capital is that even though it entails the collectiveness of individuals and communities, individuals can still exploit their networks to achieve their private objectives. Community groups can also exploit the networks to insert a set of values, behaviours and norms to members (Ferragina, 2010, p. 75). Thus, social capital can be used for individual ends as well as group fractional ends. According to De Souza Briggs (1997, p. 111)

the big critique of social capital is that the membership in networks and social units fluctuates overtime. Social capital, however, assumes that membership or affiliation in social groupings or networks remains either the same or increases overtime (Lollo, 2011). But in practice, group members may become inactive in their networks, may not be resourceful or contribute to the effectiveness of their networks, or may join other networks that are competitors of their network. In essence, membership in Social Capital fluctuates overtime.

According to Cohen and Prusak (2001, p. 14) the motives of social capital are mainly based on selfishness. When it comes to institutional authorities or those in government, there is selfish preference in the allocation of scarce resources. Social capital influences such authorities to allocate scarce resources according to their associational structures or sympathetic relationships (Cohen and Prusak, 2001, p. 15). The aim is to gain validation and belonging. This debate is very common among anti-Capitalists who claim that governments make decisions in favour of capitalists. The selfish motives of the authorities are mainly for three reasons. That is to first act in accordance with one's ideal self in order to gain validation. The second is to be validated by others in order to gain their approval. The last is to increase sympathy for them and for institutions and organisations they represent (Cohen and Prusak, 2001, p. 14). In this way, authorities satisfy their own needs of belonging and validation.

Another limitation of social capital is that it can perpetuate crime and violence through the creation of intra-group relationships. Social capital can perpetuate behaviours and attitudes among certain intra-groups to act towards common radical goals. The indoctrination of group norms to members may perpetuate negative stereotypes towards other groups, leading to out-group isolation, ethnic marginalisation, even genocide and other crimes. Contemporary examples of this include Boko Haram in Nigeria and the recent Xenophobic attacks against non-South African black people in KwaZulu-Natal.

According to Grootaert and Van Bastelaer (2001, p. 9) social capital can also lead to bad outcomes for a country's democracy and its political institutions. The existence of strong and rigorous social capital groups can weaken political institutions. Such groups, because of their varying interests can create instability in a country and even make it ungovernable. The suggestion therefore is that the political institutions must be strong enough to maintain their supremacy but must allow a platform for social capital groups to participate effectively in politics. Another limitation of social capital is that the lack of homogeneity among individuals and groups makes it hard for them to associate together. Differences across racial lines,

ethnicity, migration background as well as personal interests make it hard for individuals to participate in bridging or bonding social capital (Grootaert and Van Bastelaer, 2001, p. 9). Lack of homogeneity among individuals and communities leads to social division in such that people even withdraw from their existing relationships or groups, and even go one create atomised groupings rather than a cohesive community.

In summary, the limitations of social capital are based on its restrictions to individual freedom encompassed by prescribed group conformity, the exclusion of members outside the group or network, the imposition of excess claims to network participants, and the downward levelling of norms and values.

3.7. How Social Capital Theory is Applied in This Study

In this study, social capital is mainly used to describe how young adults enter and form social groups that enable their independent lifestyles to thrive in informal settlements. Two main social groups are analysed here: the first being the social group from the parental home the young adult is coming from, the second is the social group the young adult enters when establishing his or her independent lifestyle in an informal settlement. Both groups play a vital role in how the young adult navigates his or her livelihood in an informal settlement. As mentioned earlier, there are three types of social capital, namely, bonding, bridging, and linking social capital. In this study bonding social capital is mainly applied. Bridging social capital is highlighted to show how individuals from different backgrounds, age groups, income brackets and demographics come together to form an informal settlement. Both bonding and bridging social capital enabled a thorough analysis on how poor young adults in the Marikana Informal Settlement interact and organise each other as a community to share limited resources and opportunities to thrive in their independent lifestyles. Additionally, social capital is used to analyse the relationship young adults have with members of their parental homes, and how this relationship defines their independence.

3.8. Summary

Social capital theory enables a thorough analysis on how individuals, through social groups, can thrive in disadvantageous environments like informal settlements to build a promising livelihood. This chapter provided a comprehensive discussion on social capital theory. The first section outlined the history and origins of social capital theory. The second section discussed the fundamentals of social capital theory. The third section described how social capital theory

can be applied in real life scenarios. The fourth section discussed the advantages of using social capital theory. The fifth section discussed the limitations of social capital theory. The last section described how social capital theory was applied in this study. It is through social capital that society, political institutions, and the economy exist.



CHAPTER FOUR: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1. Introduction

Research methodology guides the researcher to frame the design of the research as well as the instruments necessary to carry it out. This chapter provides a detailed description of the research methodology employed in this study. This is done by first discussing the research design as well as the research instruments applied in the study. Secondly, by discussing the data collection methods as well as the sampling techniques used. Thirdly, by describing the data analysis process, highlighting the formats used to present the data. Lastly, by discussing the ethical considerations followed by the researcher and then summarizing the chapter.

4.2. Research Design

Research design is a vital component of the research process. Research design provides a coherent structure through which researchers can observe, investigate, test and search for data relevant to their research objectives. According to Singh (2006, p. 78), research design encompasses multiple components such as research strategy, research objectives, sampling methods as well as tools and techniques for gathering and analyzing data. The researcher has to do due diligence in order to ensure that he or she employs the right instruments for carrying out his or her research. Research design is the underlying framework that guides the research process to ensure that the research objectives are accomplished effectively and efficiently (Bhandari, 2021). Each study requires a unique and specific research design that will derive the required data and utilize relevant data analysis tools to generate the best results. In this study, descriptive research design was used to guide the collection and analysis of qualitative and quantitative data from young adults living in the Marikana Informal Settlement.

4.3. Research Methodology

Research methodology is a framework that guides the tools and procedures that will best solve a research problem (Rajasekar et al., 2006). Research methodology links the theoretical aspects of the research plan with the practical research process. In social sciences, there are two dominant approaches to undertaking research. These are quantitative and qualitative methodologies. These methodologies can be used separately or combined together to form a mixed methodology approach (Wisdom and Creswell, 2013). The purpose of using mixed methods is to combine the strength of both quantitative and qualitative methodologies in order

to meet the research objectives effectively and efficiently. The methodologies are discussed below.

4.3.1. Quantitative Research Methodology

Quantitative research is the collection of numerical data in order to quantify the findings to explain, support, or refute a phenomenon (Duffy, 1995). Quantitative research allows the researcher to analyse quantitative data to find patterns and linkages as well as test causal relationships and make predictions. The researcher can use statistical software such as STATA and SPSS to analyse the final data. Quantitative research instruments include experiments, systematic observations, surveys, correlation research, and comparative research. (Bhandari, 2021). Because quantitative research employs strict objective measures to collect and analyse data, the results are usually unchanging, numerical, and statistical. This study used quantitative research methodology in the form of self-administered surveys in order to gather demographical information about young adults living in Marikana Informal Settlement. The researcher was able to gather information on variables such as age, gender, income, and employment status of the respondents. This enabled the researcher to understand the social and economic characteristics of the respondents.

4.3.2. Qualitative Research Methodology

Quantitative research methodology often leaves out the qualitative characteristics of the respondents, such as their opinions, beliefs, perceptions, ideas, and motivations. This is where qualitative research becomes vital in filling this gap. Qualitative research employs flexible instruments to gather an in-depth understanding of social phenomena. According to Clarke and Braun (2013), qualitative research is centred on understanding belief systems and social life by generating rich qualitative data in the form of words and expressions rather than numbers and figures. In essence, qualitative research allows the researcher to understand the opinions, concepts, and experiences of the research population. Qualitative research instruments usually include interviews, focus groups, case studies, observations, ethnographic research, and content analysis (Bhandari, 2021). This study used qualitative research methodology in the form of semi-structured interviews to understand the views, and beliefs of young adults living in Marikana. The researcher was able to gain rich qualitative data on the lived experiences of the research participants.

Although this study is largely qualitative, it employed both qualitative and quantitative research methods in order to acquire the demographical information of young adults living in Marikana, as well as the qualitative data on their experiences as young adults who live independently in an informal settlement.

4.3.3. Mixed Methods Research Methodology

Mixed method research is a combination of both quantitative and qualitative research methodologies in order to gather both numerical and explanatory data. According to Wisdom and Creswell (2013, p.1), the mixed methods approach utilizes the strengths of both quantitative and qualitative methodologies, whilst eliminating the weaknesses of the methodologies when carried out separately. The purpose of the mixed methods approach is to generate both rich descriptive data as well as empirical numerical data. The advantage is that it broadens the research process to accumulate all relevant data necessary to answer intended research questions and provide a comprehensive understanding of research findings (De Lisle, 2011). Using the mixed method approach derives comprehensive data that thoroughly answer the proposed research questions.

4.4. Data Collection Methods

Data collection is the most important activity in the research process. The researcher has to carry out data collection using the most suitable instruments. There are two categories of data collection. The first is primary data which is collected directly from the participants through fieldwork, and the second is secondary data which is collected from a secondary source or publisher (Timalsina, 2007). In this study, the researcher collected primary data from the participants using quantitative and qualitative data collection methods which are discussed below.

4.4.1. Quantitative Data Collection Method

The quantitative data collection method used in this study was self-administered questionnaires. Self-administered questionnaires are a survey method that enables the researcher to ask respondents standardized questions that require multiple choice responses, dichotomous responses, semantic differential responses, Likert scale, and interval questions (Trochim, 2006). In this study, the survey questions were closed-ended and included multiple-choice questions, checkboxes, and ranking scale questions. There are several advantages to using closed-ended questions. Closed-ended questions make it easier for respondents to fill out the

surveys, are easier and quicker to complete as the answers are standardized and make the data analysis process easy to compare and contrast the findings (Bird, 2009). Self-administered questionnaires can be filled by respondents in the presence or in the absence of the researcher. The demographical information of the respondents in Marikana Informal Settlement was acquired through self-administered questionnaires. The researcher visited the respondents in Marikana to administer the questionnaires in the comfort of their homes. Forty survey questionnaires were administered to 40 young adults who were heads of households. In the context of informal settlements, a head of household is someone who built the housing structure and/or has ownership status of the housing structure. The surveys were filled in the presence of the researcher and took 10 to 15 minutes for each respondent to complete. Data from the surveys is descriptive of the sample size. Given the absence of Marikana demographic information from official government records, the data from the surveys can to a certain extent inform broader statistical information about young adults in Marikana.

4.4.2. Qualitative Data Collection Method

The qualitative data collection method used in this study was semi-structured interviews. Semi-structured interviews enable a researcher to formulate pre-determined open-ended questions for the interview, while also allowing room for the interview to continue a different, usually unplanned, dimension if the researcher wishes to follow up on the responses of the interviewees (Cohen and Crabtree, 2006). Semi-structured interviews allow for the interview process to be easier, calmer, and more conversational. The research participants usually feel free in the interview and give detailed information to the interviewer (Zohrabi, 2013). The semi-structured interviews were also held in the households of the respondents. Interviews were conducted with 15 young adults who were heads of households. The respondents requested the interviews be conducted in IsiXhosa. The researcher translated the interview questions from English to IsiXhosa and transcribed the answers back to English when doing the data analysis. With the consent of the participants, the researcher recorded the interviews in a recorder and took additional notes in order to ensure that key information does not get lost in translation. The researcher also conducted two key informant interviews with the Ward Councillor in Philippi East and a community leader in Marikana Informal Settlement. The ward councillor granted the researcher access to conduct the field research in Marikana. The community leader accompanied the researcher during the fieldwork for safety and to ensure that he meets the participants.

4.5. Population and Sampling

Sampling is a key consideration before undertaking the research process. It is impossible to research an entire population hence sampling is important in order to draw a portion of the population that is relevant for the research (Schoonenboom, 2017). The aim of sampling is to understand the dynamics of the entire population without undergoing a lengthy and time-consuming research process. Representation is a key element of sampling (Walliman, 2011). It is important to choose a sample that will best represent the dynamics of the population.

According to Acharya et al. (2013) there are two classifications of sampling, namely, probability sampling and non-probability sampling. Probability sampling is associated with quantitative research methodology while non-probability sampling which is associated with qualitative research methodology (Acharya *et al*, 2013, p. 330). Probability sampling is the random selection of the sample, while non-probability sampling is a non-random selection of the sample. Probability sampling gives each target of the population a chance to be selected in the sample and allows the sample results to make generalizations of the entire population (Lavrakas, 2008). Non-probability sampling on the other hand does not give every target of the population a chance to be selected, but rather the relevant and the sometimes-convenient sample is selected (Acharya *et.al*, 2013, p. 331). In probability sampling, there are six types of sampling methods. These are simple random sampling, systematic random sampling, stratified random sampling, cluster sampling, multiphase sampling, and multistage sampling (Callegaro et al., 2014). In non-probability sampling, there are four main types of sampling methods. These are convenience sampling, quota sampling, snowball sampling, and purposive sampling (Callegaro, *et al*, 2014). In this study, the sampling technique used is a combination of purposive and convenience sampling which are under non-probability or qualitative sampling techniques.

Purposive sampling is the deliberate selection of a sample based on similar characteristics and based on the researcher's judgment (Etikan et al., 2016, p. 2). The researcher purposively selected a sample of young adults aged between 18 to 35 years, and who moved out of their parental homes to live independently in Marikana. This sample is more knowledgeable about the topic and fits the criteria of the research. Convenience sampling is a commonly used sampling method as it enables the researcher to choose the relevant respondents for the research (Brannen, 2005). The respondents are usually at the right place and at the right time when the research is conducted. The reason for choosing convenience sampling is due to the nature of

the research location, which is an informal settlement. There are many factors to consider when conducting research in an informal settlement such as safety, access to participants, as well as the willingness of participants to participate in the research. The advantage of using the convenience sampling technique is that it is easier to select participants that meet the research criteria (Sileyew, 2019). The research process is also less expensive and less time-consuming. Purposive and convenience sampling were used for the 40 self-administered questionnaires and the 15 semi-structured interviews.

4.6. Data Analysis

Data analysis is the process of converting raw data to readable and understandable information. According to Marshall and Rossman (2006, p. 158), data analysis enables a researcher to bring meaning to data by analysing and interpreting the data to solve or describe phenomena. After collecting the data, the researcher analysed the data to check for codes and themes, which then produced the research findings. There are two methods for data analysis in social sciences. These are quantitative data analysis and qualitative data analysis. Quantitative data analysis organizes numerical data into a readable form that makes meaning to a reader (Cohen et al., 2007). Qualitative data analysis on the other hand connects patterns and themes of the experiences and ideas of respondents (Cohen, et al, 2007). Although this study is largely qualitative, the combination with a quantitative methodology makes the data more meaningful with coherent interpretations.

4.6.1. Quantitative Data Analysis

In this study, quantitative data analysis was used to analyse and present the data derived from the self-administered questionnaires. The data was first copied from the completed questionnaires to an excel spreadsheet and then organized. The data was then inspected to detect errors and clean the data. The following step was to transfer the data to STATA 12.1 to analyse it. The data was then analysed using basic descriptive statistics on all variables. The variables that were analysed included age, gender, income, employment, and marital status. Tables showing frequencies and percentages were derived for all the variables. Additional figures such as pie charts and bar graphs were also produced. The findings were presented with commentaries that explained the tables and figures and triangulated this information with the literature review and theoretical framework.

4.6.2. Qualitative Data Analysis

In this study, qualitative data analysis was used to analyse and present data derived from the semi-structured interviews. Qualitative data analysis focuses on the words, views, and experiences of research participants as well as the frequency and context in which they are expressed (Bhandari, 2020). Qualitative data analysis enables the researcher to transcribe data into codes that will form themes that give a richer meaning of the data (Doyle, 2020). The researcher followed the steps of qualitative thematic analysis as suggested by Braun and Clarke (2006).

Step One: Familiarising with Data

The researcher transcribed all the recordings and then translated them from IsiXhosa to English. The researcher read the transcriptions repeatedly and made notes to better familiarise the data. Emerging patterns of the data were noted and summarised from each transcript.

Step Two: Generating Initial Codes

After familiarising himself with the data, the researcher identified preliminary codes derived from the research questions. This enabled the researcher to categorize the data in order to compare and contrast patterns in the data. The codes were written on paper and assembled on top of a table in a presentable way. To prevent and minimise bias in the generation of codes and labels, the researcher included all data collected from the participants to ensure that all codes represent the full data set. The researcher was also guided by the research questions and objectives to ensure inclusivity in the data results. In addition to reviewing the data with his supervisor, the researcher reviewed the data with a peer to ensure objectivity and minimise bias.

Step Three: Searching and Reviewing Themes

The third step was to search and review themes. This was done by grouping the identified codes into themes. Themes were derived based on the homogeneity or heterogeneity of the codes. This was done until all the codes were grouped into themes. After the themes were formulated, they were reviewed to ensure that they were not redundant. This process enabled the identification of emerging themes which were then organized into broader themes.

Step Four: Defining and Naming Themes

The fourth step was to define and name the themes. This was done by refining the broader themes to ensure that they are comprehensive and represent the data in a meaningful way. The themes were then given names and definitions that were in alignment with the pre-established research objectives.

Step Five: Producing the Report

The final step was to produce the report. This was done by converting the themes into readable and interpretable information that triangulates the literature, the theoretical framework, as well as the research questions. The report was comprehensive and echoed the quantitative aspect of the study coherently.

4.7. Ethical Considerations

Ethical considerations are very important when conducting research involving human beings and their experiences. In this study, ethical considerations were adhered to in the best manner. Before the commencement of the study, ethical clearance was requested and approved by the Economic and Management Sciences (EMS) Higher Degrees Committee, the University of the Western Cape Senate, and the Institute for Social Development. Upon approval, the study was conducted between 2017-2020.

Ethical considerations of research participants in this study were upheld to the highest standard. The anonymity and confidentiality of participants were ensured (Biber and Leavy, 2011) who state that participants must consent to participate in a study and their information should be kept confidential and used for the sole purpose that is stated in the consent form. The participants were asked to participate in the research on a voluntary basis. The participants were informed that they can withdraw from the study at any stage of the research. A consent form was signed by both the researcher and each participant to tie a mutual ethical agreement. All participants were informed of the purpose of the research as well as its publication via a thesis. According to Babbie (2007), there are two categories of research ethics that researchers should adhere to when carrying out social science research. These are informed consent and voluntary participation, and protection from harm and the right to privacy. These research ethical considerations are discussed below.

4.7.1. Informed consent and Voluntary participation

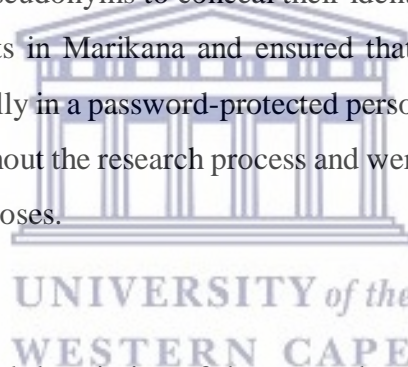
Babbie and Mouton (2008) state that researchers must disclose to participants the purpose of the research, the research tools that will be used, as well as the final outcomes of the data. This enables participants to be well informed about the research and participate voluntarily. When conducting the surveys and interviews in Marikana, the researcher informed the participants about the research and showed them the consent letter from the University of the Western Cape that details the objectives of the research and the supervisor's contact details that could be used to gain further details. The participants were also informed that their participation was voluntary and that their data was going to be published in the researcher's thesis.

4.7.2 Protection from Harm and Right of Privacy

The researcher ensured that the participants suffered no physical or psychological harm from partaking in the research and that they can exercise their right to privacy. According to Schutt (2009), the researcher must protect the participants throughout the research process and protect their confidentiality by using pseudonyms to conceal their identities. The researcher protected the identities of the participants in Marikana and ensured that the interview transcripts and surveys were stored electronically in a password-protected personal computer. The participants were made comfortable throughout the research process and were assured that their data would be used only for academic purposes.

4.8. Summary

This chapter provided a detailed description of the research methodology used in this study. This was done by first discussing the research design as well as the research instruments applied in the study. Secondly, by discussing the data collection methods as well as the sampling techniques used. Thirdly, by describing the data analysis process, highlighting the formats used to present the data. Lastly, by discussing the ethical considerations followed by the researcher when conducting the study. The following chapter presents the data analysis and interpretation of findings.



CHAPTER FIVE: DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

5.1 Introduction

This study analysed the relationship between adulthood, home leaving, and informal settlements. There is extensive literature that investigates middle-class young adults and their home-leaving journey (Egondi et al., 2016; Beguy et al., 2011; O'Connor et al., 1995). However, there is limited literature on the experiences of working-class young adults and even less literature on the experiences of young adults living in informal settlements. The focus of this study is on working-class young adults who come from poor backgrounds such as townships and rural areas. The goal is to assimilate how they transition to an independent lifestyle when reaching the age of adulthood and how informal settlements offer them a cheaper entry into an independent lifestyle. The context of the study reveals that people who grew up in poverty are likely to stay in poverty even in their adulthood stage. People from disadvantaged backgrounds continue to be excluded from the formal economy and are deprived access to basic services. They have to operate in the informal economy to support their livelihood. In urban areas, the historical structures of segregation continue to displace historically disadvantaged groups. This means that they have to find refuge in townships and increasingly in informal settlements. In essence, poverty remains sustained in both the childhood life and adulthood life of historically disadvantaged individuals.

In this study, historically disadvantaged individuals are Black Africans, who were 100% of the respondents in the field study conducted in Marikana Informal Settlement. The study administered 40 structured questionnaires and 15 semi-structured interviews. The study's overall findings are presented in a way that highlights the wider context of informal settlements in South Africa and triangulates the empirical data with the literature review and the theoretical framework. This chapter is organized into 5 sections. The first section describes Marikana Informal Settlement in the context of South African informal settlements. The second section describes young adults who live in informal settlements, looking at why an independent lifestyle is important for them. The third section describes the economic characteristic of young adults living in informal settlements. The fourth section analyses housing options available to poor young adults, and why informal settlement are the most viable option for them. The last section looks at the role of social capital in enabling young adults to establish an independent lifestyle in informal settlements.

5.2 Informal Settlements in South Africa

Informal settlements are the cheapest form of housing in South Africa. Unlike conventional houses that are made of bricks, cement, wood, and glass; informal settlements are made of corrugated iron, cardboard, plywood, and plastic. This makes informal settlements susceptible to damage in the event of heavy winds, fires, and rainstorms. According to the World Bank (2018), 26% of households in South Africa live in informal settlements. Informal settlements represent poverty as well as social and economic exclusion.

5.2.1 Marikana Informal Settlement

Marikana informal settlement was established in 2013, two years after the national census in 2011. For this reason, there is no available demographic information about Marikana in government records. The Western Cape Department of Human Settlements, which usually conducts an enumeration study on informal settlements in the Western Cape, has not conducted an enumeration study on Marikana. This means that the only available information about Marikana is from public interest groups like the Socio-Economic Rights Institute and news agencies like GroundUp.

The earliest population estimate of Marikana Informal Settlement was made by GroundUp, a South African human rights news agency. In 2017, GroundUp estimated the number of shacks in Marikana to be between 7 700 to 11 000 shacks. This estimate is based on a shack count done on the aerial map of Marikana in Figure 1.1. On average, the number of people per shack is three on the lower bound scale and just under five on the higher bound scale. This then brings the population count of people living in Marikana to be between 23 000 to 44 000 people.

The latest population count of Marikana was reported by the Socio-Economic Rights Institute (SERI) in 2019 in a report titled, *Our Place to Belong: Marikana Informal Settlement*. In the report, SERI shows that the population of Marikana consists of 60 000 people living in approximately 12 000 households. These figures are derived from a court-instructed enumeration that was conducted in 2017 by the City of Cape Town and Iris Fischer, who was the private land-owner of Marikana (SERI, 2018, p. 12). The enumeration was conducted as part of the litigation process which stemmed from the evictions carried out by the land-owner and the City of Cape Town's Anti-Land Invasion Unit. In September 2017, the Western Cape High Court ruled that the evictions of Marikana occupants were illegal and ordered the City of

Cape Town to purchase the land from Iris Fischer so that the occupants can continue living in Marikana. The area map below, titled Figure 5.1 was also derived from court documents.

Figure 5.1. Marikana Area Map



Source: Socio-Economic Rights Institute (2019)

Figure 5.2. Image of Marikana Informal Settlement

The below image shows the clear structure of the shacks in Marikana.



Source: GroundUp (2018)

Much of the data presented in this study is primary data collected by the author. A head of household was surveyed and interviewed. All heads of households were young adults who had moved from their parental home to establish an independent lifestyle in Marikana.

5.3. Young Adults Living in Informal Settlements

Young adults are the focal group of study in this thesis. As mentioned in the literature review chapter, young adults in this study are aged between 18-35 years. In South Africa, young adults comprise almost a third of the population. According to Statistics South Africa (2019) people aged between 18 to 34 years make up a total of 17.18 million, which is almost a third of the 58.78 million total population. This makes it vital to study young adults, especially in the context of informal settlements.

5.3.1 Age

The age distribution of the study respondents can be seen in Table 5.1 where most of the study respondents are aged between 18-25 years, which is the lower age category. This shows that young adults living independently in the Marikana informal settlement are as young as below 20 years old. The smallest proportion of respondents in the study is aged between 30-35 years, which is the higher age category. People in this age category are expected to be independent and live on their own as compared to those in the lower age category. Understanding why young adults, especially those in the lower age category, are motivated to leave home and live independently in informal settlements, is the core of this study. Egondi et al. (2013, p. 299) had similar findings in a study titled, *Adolescent home-leaving and the transition to adulthood*, where the majority of adolescent home-leavers were in the lower age category, which is 14 to 22 years. It is evident that young adults in low, middle, and upper age categories are able to live independently.

Age	Frequency	Percentage
18-25	19	47.5%
26-29	12	30%
30-35	9	22.5%
Grand Total	40	100%

Source: Author's compilation based on field data

5.3.2. Gender

Gender is an important variable when it comes to studying people living in informal settlements. According to the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (2012), women are often denied property rights when it comes to conventional housing, making it important to study if the same dynamic exists in the ownership of informal settlements. From the study, it was vivid that women do own shacks in informal settlements and act as heads of households. All the women surveyed in the study were young adults aged between 18-35 years old. Since purposive and convenient sampling methods were employed, an equal number of both men and women were sampled. Table 5.2. shows that 20 males and 20 females were surveyed in the study. Sampling an equal number of each gender allows a thorough understanding of the experiences of young adults from both gender perspectives.

Gender	Frequency	Percentage
Female	20	50%
Male	20	50%
Grand Total	40	100%

Source: Author's compilation based on field data

5.3.3. Race

Race is an important variable when studying informal settlements and people living in informal settlements. Since informal settlements depict a country's level of poverty, race represents the group of people that are disadvantaged and excluded from the economy. According to Ndinda and Ndhlovu (2020), the existence of informal settlements in the 21st century signifies the structures of colonialism and Apartheid in South Africa. Informal settlements represent urban poverty and spatial segregation that is inherent from the past. This means that historically disadvantaged groups, particularly Black Africans, are more susceptible to living in informal settlements. Table 5.3. shows that 100% of the respondents are Black Africans. From the researcher's observation during the data collection process, the majority of the young adults living in Marikana are African. Townships and other informal settlements surrounding Marikana like Philippi East and Old Crossroads are also predominantly African.

Table 5.3. Race Distribution of Young Adults in Marikana		
Race	Frequency	Percentage
African	40	100%
Grand Total	40	100%

Source: Author's compilation based on field data

5.3.4. Ethnicity

In Cape Town, the majority of Black Africans are Xhosa speaking. According to the Western Cape Government (2021), IsiXhosa is the second most widely spoken language in Cape Town, with Afrikaans being the first and English being the third most spoken. The 2016 City of Cape Town Community Survey stipulates that 42.6% of the Cape Town population identifies as Black African, 39.9% identifies as Colored, 16.5% identifies as White and 1.1% identifies as Asian. Table 5.4. shows that 100% of the respondents in the Marikana informal settlement are Black Africans who are Xhosa speaking.

Table 5.4. Ethnic Distribution of Young Adults in Marikana		
Ethnicity	Frequency	Percentage
Xhosa	40	100%
Grand Total	40	100%

Source: Author's compilation based on field data

5.3.5. Marital Status

Marital status is one of the key indicators for adulthood and independence. Previously cited literature suggested that marriage is one of the motivators for independence for young adults (O'Connor *et.al*, 1995). People move out of home to establish an independent lifestyle, and that usually entails starting their own families. Table 5.5. shows that 12.5% of the young adults in the survey are married, while 87.5% are unmarried. In the survey, it was found that, although some respondents are unmarried, some of them reside with their romantic partners and have dependents. Cohabitation is a common living arrangement in informal settlements. Young adults tend to share their space with lovers and live in an arrangement that can be seen as similar to marriage.

Table 5.5. Marital Status of Young Adults in Marikana		
Marital Status	Frequency	Percentage
Married	5	12.5%
Never Married	35	87.5%
Grand Total	40	100%

Source: Author's compilation based on field data

5.4. Economic Characteristics of Young Adults Living in Informal Settlements

The existence of informal settlements represents urban poverty and economic exclusion of historically disadvantaged groups. According to Tunas (2008, p. 2), informal settlements play an important role in urban areas as they offer housing to people who cannot afford private housing or have no access to public housing. Informal settlements allow disadvantaged groups to reside in cities where they can access economic opportunities. These opportunities however tend to be outside the formal economy, meaning that they require a lower level of education, lower skills, lower income, and lower tenure. Below are the economic characteristics of young adults living in Marikana.

5.4.1. Education

Living in informal settlements is mainly attributed to poverty. One of the factors for measuring poverty is the level of education. It is often conceptualized that people who are poor are poor because they are uneducated and uneducated because they are poor. This is described as the cycle of poverty by scholars such as Jandhyala Tilak. Tilak (2002, p. 191) in an article titled, *Education and Poverty*, states that the lack of education sustains poverty, and that education is an important instrument to break the cycle of poverty in developing countries. This means that the cycle of poverty is inherent to lack of education, making education an important variable to measure in this study. Table 5.6 shows that the majority of the respondents (55%) entered secondary school but did not complete their studies. Almost 33% of respondents indicated that they completed or are currently completing Grade 12/Matric. Close to 8 % of the respondents indicated that they pursued tertiary studies in college or university. Exactly 5% of the respondents indicated that they only completed primary school and did not go further in their studies. From the results, it can be seen that 92.5% of the respondents do not have post-matric education, which is essential to thriving in the economy. Post-matric qualifications are considered important in order to compete and thrive in the economy. The scarcity of jobs has made it difficult for people to be employed when they are uneducated or when they do not meet

the minimum requirements to secure a well-paying stable job. According to Hunter and Posel (2012), the lack of education and unemployment continues to exclude historically disadvantaged groups from the formal economy. What is evident in the study results is that most of the respondents in Marikana are excluded from the formal economy due to their lack of adequate education and qualifications.

Table 5.6. Education Level of Young Adults in Marikana		
Education	Frequency	Percentage
Grade 12	13	32.5 %
Primary School	2	5%
Secondary School	22	55%
University	3	7.5%
Grand Total	40	100%

Source: Author's compilation based on field data

5.4.2. Occupation

Similar to education, occupation is an important variable to measure the level of poverty. Occupation is more definitive as occupation stipulates whether people are earning an income or not, ultimately revealing the level of poverty. Table 5.7. below shows that majority of the respondents (45%) are unemployed, while 25% are employed. The unemployment rate in South Africa is 33.9% (STATSA, 2022). According to race, 39% of black people are unemployed while only 8.3% of white people are unemployed (BusinessTech, 2015). This shows that unemployment highly affects black people, who comprise 100% of the respondents of this study. Almost 13% of the respondents indicated that they are self-employed, meaning that they sustain their livelihoods by running a business. Self-employed young adults in Marikana usually run small businesses like a tuck shop, a shebeen, and a hair salon to mention a few. Almost 18% of the respondents indicated that they are students. Students usually do not bring an income but usually have some form of student financial support to sustain their livelihood. The results show that 37.5% of the respondents (employed respondents and self-employed respondents) have a stable income, while the rest of the respondents 62.5% who are a majority do not have a stable income. Some of the respondents who do not earn an income have indicated that they receive financial support from their parental home.

Table 5.7. Occupation of Young Adults in Marikana		
Occupation	Frequency	Percentage
Employed	10	25%
Self-Employed	5	12.5%
Student	7	17.5%
Unemployed	18	45%
Grand Total	40	100%

Source: Author's compilation based on field data

5.4.3. Income

There is a huge disparity in the income levels of the young adults living in Marikana. This is mainly because of the different occupations of the respondents. Table 5.8. shows the income brackets of the respondents per month. Some of the brackets go as far as below R500 per month, while others go as far as R5000 per month. The majority of the respondents (60%) indicated that they earn R500 or less per month. The respondents indicated that this is a fixed income that they earn via government grants or donations from relatives per month. They did not disclose additional income that they earn as they claimed that it is not fixed and does not come every month. Five percent of the respondents indicated that they earn an income that is over R5000, which is very high amongst all respondents. Another 5% of the respondents indicated that they earn between R4100 to R5000. Another 5% of the respondents indicated that they earn between R2100 to R3000. Ten percent of the respondents indicated that they earn between R3100 to R4000. Almost 8% of the respondents indicated that they earn R1100 to R2000. Another 7.5% of the respondents indicated that they earn between R600 to R1000. The lower bound poverty line per person per month is R890 (BusinessTech, 2021). This means that over 65% of the respondents are within the lower-bound poverty line. The higher bound poverty line is R1335 per month (BusinessTech, 2021). This means that over 71% of the respondents are within the higher bound poverty line. In essence, the results show that the majority of young adults living in Marikana live in poverty.

Table 5.8. Income of Young Adults in Marikana		
Income	Frequency	Percentage
Less than R500	24	60%
Over R5000	2	5%
R1100-R2000	3	7.5%
R2100-R3000	2	5%
R3100-R4000	4	10%
R4100-R5000	2	5%
R600-R1000	3	7.5%
Grand Total	40	100%

Source: Author's compilation based on field data

5.4.4. Dependents

All respondents in this study are young adults who are heads of households in their shacks in Marikana. When asked if they had dependents living with them, the majority of them said they do have dependents. Table 5.9. shows the number of dependents living with young adults. The description of the dependents includes children, spouses or lovers, friends and/or relatives. Almost 43% of the respondents indicated that they have at least one dependent living with them. Another 43% of the respondents indicated that they have no dependents living with them. Almost 13% of the respondents indicated that they have two dependents living with them. 2.5% of the respondents indicated that they have over three dependents living with them. In essence, the results show that the majority of the respondents (57.5%) live with dependents, while 42.5% of the respondents do not live with dependents. The respondents living without dependents did indicate that they have regular visitors living in their shacks. Regular visitors can live up to a week, a month, or more in the shack. What doesn't constitute them as dependents is their lack of permanency in the shack.

Table 5.9. Dependants of Young Adults in Marikana		
Dependants	Frequency	Percentage
0	17	42.5%
1	17	42.5%
2	5	12.5%
3 +	1	2.5%
Grand Total	40	100%

Source: Author's compilation based on field data

5.4.5. The Importance of an Independent Lifestyle for Young Adults

Independence is a keyword that is directly linked to adulthood. Young adults view independence as the first step to entering adulthood and claiming their freedom. The link between independence and adulthood is a topic of interest to scholars such as An, Mertig & Liu (2003) who did a study titled, *Adolescent Leaving Parental Home: Psychosocial Correlates and Implications for Conservation*, where they evaluated the psychosocial backgrounds of adolescents' decision to move out of parental home in China's ecological Wolong Nature Reserve. Socially, young adults are considered adults by their peers if they are independent. In the context of this study, independence means living on your own and having financial independence as well as social autonomy. Most respondents in the study attributed their independence to living on their own and having autonomy over their financial and social life. One of the respondents, who is a female in her early 20s, stated that "If you still live with your parents, you cannot be independent because you have to follow their rules. This is why I had to move out when I turned 21" (Respondent 1). Respondent 1 mentions that independence is being free from living under the rules of others and living life according to your own rules and aspirations. In this context, the respondent is referring to living in a parental home where one has to abide by the rules of their parents and ask for permission if he or she wants to do something outside the rules. The respondent highlights that she had to move out of home at the age of 21 because she considers herself as an adult and needed to break away from parental rules and live on her own. O'Connor et al. (1995) states that the aspiration to move out of the parental home is shared by both lower-class young adults as well as middle and upper-class young adults. The purpose of this study is to highlight how this journey is different for lower-class young adults as well as the challenges they face in the process.

According to Rosenberg (2020), cohabitation is one of the factors that drive young people to live independently. Young adults seek a private space that they can share with a romantic partner. This attributes to marital aspirations. Two respondents, who are both males, stated that the reason they moved to Marikana is because they did not have a private space in their parental home to share with their romantic partners. For example, Respondent 2 states that "Having your own space is very liberating. You can live your life the way you please with no one telling you what to do. Plus, you can live with your partner." Respondent 3 similarly states "Now that I live by myself, I do not have to sneak my girlfriend in like I did in my parents' house. We now live together in peace."

Respondent 2 echoes the statement mentioned by Respondent 1 by saying that moving out of the parental home and having your own space gives one the liberation that is necessary for being an adult. Respondents 2 and 3 state that when they moved out of home, they were able to live with their partners. Young adults view cohabitation and sexual activeness as key motivators for moving out of home and living on their own.

Starting a new family is one of the motivators for young adults to build their own households. This is known as one of the pull factors for independence (Hutchison, 2017). Respondent 4 said that becoming a mother is the reason that motivated her to build her own household. “I have a baby, so I had to create my own household. Being a mother is a huge responsibility as I am now the head of the household and have to provide for my daughter” (Respondent 4). She said that she had the desire to build a household with a set of rules and standards that she believes would be best to raise her daughter. DePaulo (2020) echoes this by stating that at the stage of adulthood, young adults develop their own outlook in life which encompasses a new set of rules and standards of living. These rules and standards tend to be different from the parental home they lived in, and act as motivators for young adults to live on their own so they can apply these set of rules and standards.

Independence is often linked to financial independence. Young adults agree that being financially independent is what determines the extent of their adulthood. Having your own money and depending less on family and friends is what makes one to be recognized as an adult in society. Respondent 5 and Respondent 6 mention that making their own money is what gave them their independence. Respondent 5 is a 27-year-old male who is employed and earns a decent income which is what makes him able to sustain himself in Marikana. Respondent 6 is a 25-year-old male entrepreneur who sells fruit and vegetable in Marikana. Both respondents speak proudly about making their own money and thriving in the informal settlement independently. Respondent 5 said that “I work and make my own money. I like to think that I am independent as I depend on no one besides myself.” Respondent 6, who is also financially independent said that “Financial freedom is the best form of freedom. I am a street vendor. Yes, I make little money but that is better than doing crime. I make an honest living and I am proud of that.” Respondent 7 showed a different dynamic to financial independence. She mentioned that although she is independent in Marikana, she still receives financial assistance from home:

I live on my own, but I still receive financial support from my family back home. I do consider myself independent to some extent as I live my own life. I am in search of a job so I can be totally independent. (Respondent 7).

As seen in Figure 5.6 some young adults do seek financial support from their families back home whilst living independently in Marikana. Young adults indicate that receiving financial assistance from family does not eliminate their independence, but rather supports them to be independent and to work towards total independence. This is the role of social capital. Social capital refers to the distribution of resources, support, and cooperation inside mutually established relationships and networks (Woolcock & Narayan, 2000, p. 7). In this study, social capital can be seen at play inside a family structure, where young adults establish an independent lifestyle with the support of their parental home. Social capital is also seen in the community structure built in Marikana by young adults who come from different backgrounds.

Table 5.10. Financial Status Prior to Marikana		
Financial Status	Frequency	Percentage
No (No own income)	24	60%
Yes (Has own income)	16	40%
Grand Total	40	100%

Source: Author's compilation based on field data

When it comes to the financial status of young adults prior to living alone, there are two groups of young adults. The first group are young adults who already sustain themselves financially and move out to live alone because they can already afford it, while the second group are young adults who are financed by their families and take the risk to move out to pursue their own financial freedom (Goldscheider and Goldscheider, 1993). Both groups can be found in Marikana informal settlement. Table 5.10. shows the financial status of respondents prior to moving to Marikana. About 60% of respondents indicated that they were not financially independent prior to moving to Marikana, while 40% of the respondents indicated that they were financially independent prior to moving to Marikana. These respondents had some form of income which made their process to live alone more secure as compared to those who had no income. Respondents who had no income also highlighted that the process to live alone was challenging as they had to pursue economic opportunities while having little to no income. What is evident in these results is that young adults take the risk to live independently whether their circumstances are favorable or unfavorable. The goal is to create a new life where they are independent and become head of their households.

According to Franco et al., (2020, p. 2), freedom is one of the important variables for determining independence. Young adults view freedom as the key determinant of their independence. Freedom is exercised through choice, expression, decisions, and actions. Most of the respondents indicated that being free to choose their own path, make their own decisions, and express their personality is the basis of their independence. According to DePaulo (2020) freedom allows young adults to break out of social norms and create their own value systems, norms, and identities. Respondent 8, who is an unmarried 30-year-old female, echoes this by saying she feels free living in Marikana because she can make her own choices:

I am now in a space where I can be youthful and do what I want. There are a lot of young adults here and we hang around together in taverns and braai corners. We always have a good time. (Respondent 8).

The respondent also highlighted that young adults in the informal settlement all enjoy doing the same activities, such as going to taverns and bars to enjoy themselves. Going to taverns is usually restricted or prohibited when living in the parental home, hence young adults feel free doing this when living independently. Here, it can be seen that the young adults are exercising bonding social capital.



5.4.6. How Young Adults from Poor Backgrounds Transition to an Independent Lifestyle

Young adults from poor backgrounds experience transitioning to adulthood differently than young adults from advantaged backgrounds. Young adults from advantaged backgrounds refer to middle-class young adults, who in Cape Town reside in areas like the CBD, the Northern Suburbs, and the Southern Suburbs. The common characteristics of middle-class young adults include access to quality secondary and tertiary education a stable income derived from family, a business, or employment, as well as access to formal housing in urban areas. According to McWhinney (2021), middle-class young adults are distinguished from lower-class young adults based on their history of financial wealth, access to the formal economy in terms of jobs and businesses, access to formal housing, access to healthcare, as well as access to opportunities. Middle-class young adults do share a similar aspiration of independence with poor young adults, such as living alone, owning assets, starting a family, and having dependents. However, because middle-class young adults do not come from poverty-stricken

backgrounds, they are able to attain these aspirations much more easily due to their social and economic access (Bonnie et al., 2015, p. 36; Donkor, 2021). Lower-class young adults on the other hand struggle to become independent or become independent at later stages in their lives. In cases where lower-class young adults live independently at an early stage, it is because they moved to poverty-stricken areas like townships or informal settlements, which are similar to the neighbourhoods they come from. Lower-class young adults experience the same level of poverty in their new place of a residence that is similar to the parental home they come from. However, lower-class young adults are usually optimistic and hope to make a better living for themselves to improve their economic and social prospects.

Two respondents moved to Marikana when they received jobs as security guards in a local mall. They both came from Nyanga township and moved to Marikana to establish an independent lifestyle. The respondents mentioned the difficulties of becoming independent coming from a poor background and still moving to a poor area. Both respondents are male and are in the R2100-R3000 income bracket. Respondent 9 states that “Being independent is difficult when you come from a poor background. You have to start from scratch and build yourself with little resources.” Respondent 10 describes the challenges faced by young adults who want to be independent:

Unlearning dependency is rare for people my age. Society expects us to be adults, but we are still trying to figure out our careers and our goals. We still need direction from people older than us.



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Unlike middle-class young adults, home leaving for working-class young adults is often a challenge as they do not possess the necessary assets and income for an independent lifestyle (Tilak, 2002). Respondent 9 indicates that it is difficult for young adults coming from poor backgrounds to establish an independent lifestyle because they must start from scratch with nothing. Young adults from poor backgrounds come from poverty-stricken areas, which makes them unlikely to inherit the wealth, assets, or financial support necessary to establish an independent lifestyle. This also limits their prospects. Unlike middle-class young adults, lower-class young adults take a risk when moving out of parental homes to establish an independent lifestyle. The goal is to create a new life for themselves. Respondent 10 says that in the journey of entering adulthood there is a lot of pressure to be mature and take ownership of your life. The respondent also highlights that young adults do not have their journeys figured out, they need support and direction from those older than them. This relates to Woolcock and Narayan's

(2000) communitarian perspective of social capital in the form of support from the parental home and the community values established in the informal settlement. Support from the parental home shows the durability of social capital as the parent-adult relationship is maintained through changing circumstances (Scheffert et al., 2008). The sense of community and support that is established in the informal settlement shows bonding social capital, which is rooted in internal trust and voluntary efforts and values built within the community.

Respondent 11 below is an unemployed female in her late 20s who has struggled to get a job in the past two years. Respondent 11 states that “There are very few opportunities in South Africa. This makes it difficult to become independent as you need to become economically stable to do so.” One of the limitations of becoming independent is the lack of economic strength in the form of income. In the case of young adults from poor backgrounds, the lack of income does not hinder their transition to living independently in informal settlements. This can be attributed to the cheapness of informal settlements as compared to other housing options. Royston and Ebrahim (2019) state that it costs very little to build a shack as it requires pre-used materials and is built on illegal land which can be seen as free. Informal settlements have offered housing to a lot of unemployed young adults in urban areas.

According to Statistics South Africa (2021), the unemployment rate in South Africa is 33.9%. This rate is 46.3% among young people aged 15-34 years (STATSSA, 2021). This shows that young adults have fewer chances to thrive in the economy and secure job opportunities. Respondent 12, who is an unemployed mother, echoes this by saying that it is difficult to become economically independent in South Africa because there are very few economic opportunities. “I am not entirely independent as I still receive support from my family. Independence is a journey that is continuous and requires support from social capital” (Respondent 12). Independence for young adults can be seen as incremental and occurring over a period of time. Young adults do not become instantly independent, they embark on a journey to become independent which usually takes a number of incremental steps that include moving out of home, becoming financially secure, and ultimately becoming independent. Respondent 2 and Respondent 13, below, state that independence goes beyond economic resources. For them, independence is about social awareness and how society views them in terms of maturity and level of responsibility:

Becoming independent is not a decision, it is a life stage based on age. At a certain point in my life, I had to spread my wings and find my own nest. I have been independent for 2 years now. (Respondent 2).

When I finished Matric, I knew I was no longer a child and had to fend for myself. At this point, I was considered an adult, and it became embarrassing for me to ask for handouts. I had to depend on myself, I had to build my own livelihood. (Respondent 13).

In the study, the respondents agree that adulthood is a life stage that comes with expectations such as independence. The expectations are intrinsic as well as socially constructed by society. This means that they personally desire to become independent and are also pushed by social expectations to become independent. This expectation is usually from their parents, friends, and society. For young adults, this is a push factor for independence as described by Hutchison (2017). The intrinsic values are pull factors of independence. These pull factors are usually linked to the young adult's career aspirations and life goals, which motivate them to become independent.

5.5. Housing Options Available to Young Adults

There are very few housing opportunities available for young adults seeking to live independently in South Africa. The literature review and study data show that young adults from poor backgrounds are usually unemployed and have no income to afford rent and have no collateral to secure a house via a bond. The first available form of housing for young adults moving out of home is to build a shack in the backyard of their parental home.

The growth of informal settlements in urban areas also represents migration patterns from rural to urban areas. According to Clark et al. (2007, p. 36) circular migration is common in South Africa and relates to post-Apartheid activism where historically disadvantaged groups who were segregated out of urban areas and are now able to move to urban areas to pursue economic opportunities. The essence of circular migration is that people born in historically segregated areas move to urban areas to seek economic opportunities and establish co-residence between the urban area and the area of birth. Circular migration is provincial, making predominantly urban provinces like the Western Cape lucrative migration areas.

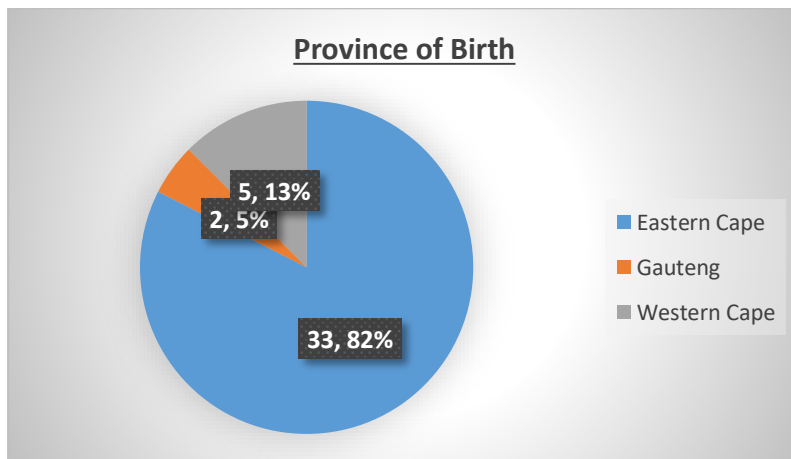
5.5.1. Province of Birth

In this study, respondents were asked about their province of birth in order to establish migration patterns and how they link with the rise of informal settlements in urban areas. Province of birth is an important variable to consider when studying informal settlements. Literature by Cross et al. (1994, p. 85) shows that the growth of informal settlements is attributed to migration patterns which lead to population growth in urban areas. People who move from rural areas to cities often struggle to find housing in cities and resort to informal settlements because they are cheaper and offer easier access to opportunities in urban areas. The province in which respondents were born is shown in Figure 5.3. below. The majority of the respondents (82%) indicated that they were born in the Eastern Cape. Thirteen percent of the respondents indicated that they were born in the Western Cape, the same province Marikana informal settlement is based in. Five percent of respondents indicated that they were born in Gauteng province.

Respondent 14 moved to Marikana in 2018 to look for a job. She moved from Mthatha in the Eastern Cape. The first 3 months she lived in Cape Town, she was renting a backyard shack in Nyanga township. After exhausting her savings, she could no longer afford rent and had to move her shack to Marikana informal settlement. Respondent 14 says that living in Marikana is cheaper and close to public amenities like public transport and supermarkets:

I came to Cape Town in 2018 from Mthatha to look for a job. I had no place to stay so I had to rent behind a family friend's home in Nyanga for R350 a month. I could no longer afford rent, so I moved my shack to Marikana. I am happy that I do not pay rent here. Even though I work now, it saves me money to live in Marikana, plus it is not far from the train station and Shoprite. (Respondent 14).

Figure 5.3. Province of Birth

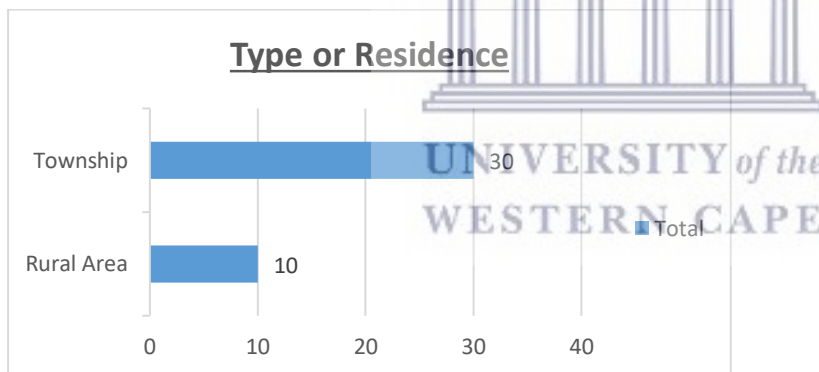


Source: Author's compilation based on field data

5.5.2. Type of Residence

Below are categories of the type of residence the respondents lived in before moving to Marikana. The majority of the respondents (30) come from townships which are usually based in urban areas, while 10 of the respondents come from rural areas.

Figure 5.4. Type of Residence



Source: Author's compilation based on field data

Respondent 15 mentions that he was planning to build a shack in the backyard of his parent's home to get his own privacy. Due to overcrowding in the yard, the respondent moved out to build his shack in Marikana. He states that "Before I moved to Marikana Informal Settlement I was planning to build my shack in my parents' backyard but there was no space since my brother already built one there." Respondent 5, who was mentioned earlier, describes his home-leaving journey as initially wanting to rent an apartment. Although he works, he could not

afford rent prices in central locations like Salt River and Observatory. He says his only viable option was to move to an informal settlement:

Rent prices in central locations in Cape Town are very expensive and are usually over R3000. Even though I have a job, it is beyond my budget to pay so much rent. I have opted to live in an informal settlement so that I do not have to pay rent and so that I can use my money to pay for other living costs. (Respondent 5).

The experiences of the respondents show that informal settlements are cost friendly and are an easily accessible form of housing for young adults seeking an independent lifestyle but cannot afford to pay rent or a bond. The young adults however take on the risk of living in precarious conditions with poor basic services such as water and sanitation. Respondent 10, who has been living in Marikana for 2 years shares his experience below:

I was renting a backyard shack, but after I lost my job, I moved to this informal settlement. I don't pay rent here, but I don't have access to good service delivery like when I did in the township backyard. (Respondent 10).

As mentioned earlier, migration patterns have a significant influence on the growth of informal settlements. Several residents in Marikana migrated from a different province to come to the Western Cape. Respondent 15 below mentions that he moved from the Eastern Cape to look for opportunities in Cape Town. After struggling to find a place to stay he found a haven in Marikana. The respondents say it is easier and cheaper to live in an informal settlement, although this poses a number of challenges related to service delivery such as water and sanitation:

Coming from the Eastern Cape with no money makes it hard to find a place to stay in Cape Town. Informal settlements offer us easier access to shelter when moving to urban areas. (Respondent 15).

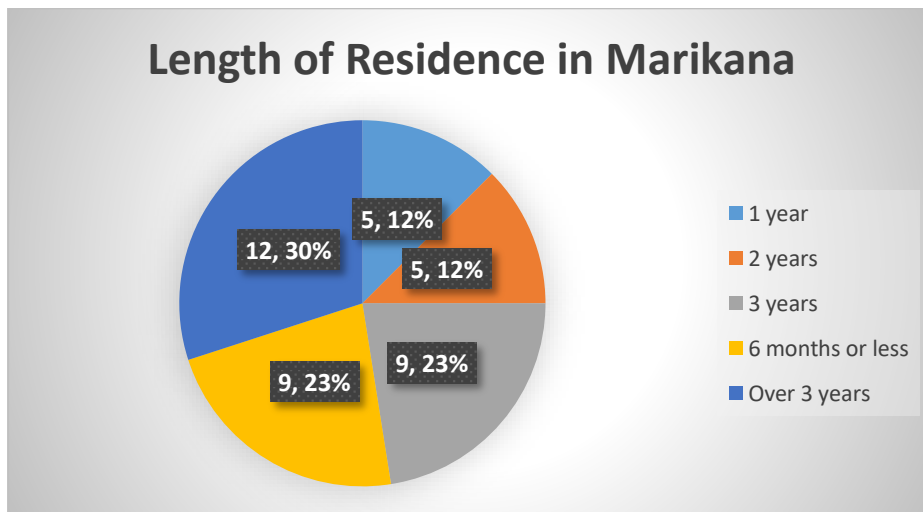
The above results synergize with scholars such as of Mpanje, Gibbons, and McDermott. Mpanje et.al (2018) did a study on urban resilience as a way in which people from poor urban areas form structures in informal settlements. In the study, they highlighted the trade-off that comes with the advantage of living freely in an informal settlement with the disadvantage of living in precarious conditions.

Young adults from poor backgrounds often feel excluded from the economy and find it hard to secure housing in the formal economy. Exclusion from the formal economy is usually because they do not have an income, even when they do, it is not enough to secure formal housing. They usually have very poor financial histories and credit scores to secure housing opportunities. The literature review showed that young adults from poor backgrounds often operate in the informal economy. This then makes it difficult for them to access housing options available in the formal economy. Respondent 2 echoes this by saying that although she has aspirations to buy a house, she does not have the income and credit profile to afford a formal house. Respondent 5 mentions that although he earns an income, it is not sufficient for him to rent a decent flat. The overall results show that young adults aspire to live in formal housing but are excluded because of their lack of sufficient income and the lack of good financial and credit ratings. Respondent 2 states that “I don’t have a job and I don’t have a credit profile to acquire proper housing.” To show further exclusion from formal housing, Respondent 4 states that “Rent is expensive, I earn below R3000 and can’t afford to rent a decent flat. I live rent-free in Marikana Informal Settlement.” Respondent 3 indicates that government-assisted housing is no longer an option for him because a lot of people who applied for government housing have not received housing. He states that “Our parents have been waiting for an RDP and they still haven’t received it. So why should we also wait? I moved to an informal settlement because there is no hope.” In developing countries, government housing is usually an alternative for historically disadvantaged individuals. However, over the years, there has been a delay in the provision of government housing. According to Saal (2022), the South African housing backlog currently sits at an estimated 2.6 million houses, meaning that 12 million people are out of decent housing. Respondents in the study showed little confidence in government-assisted housing. Respondent 3 displays moving to an informal settlement as a final resort because there were no other options available for him.

5.5.3. Length of Residence in Marikana

The figure below shows the period in which the respondents have been living in Marikana informal settlement.

Figure 5.5. Length of Residence



Source: Author's compilation based on field data

The majority of the respondents (30%) have been living in Marikana for over 3 years. These respondents were the first ones to occupy Marikana when it was first established and have experienced several demolitions of their shacks by the City of Cape Town when the settlement was still considered illegal. The informal settlement was purchased by the City of Cape Town following a court order by the Western Cape High Court in 2017 (SERI, 2019, p. 25). Occupants were then able to live freely in the informal settlement and benefitted from the Informal Settlement Upgrading Programme, which brought basic services such as tap water and communal toilets. The respondents who lived in Marikana for over 3 years have a great sense of pride and feel that they have fought for their right to live in Marikana and are considered community leaders in the informal settlement today. It can be seen that 23% of the respondents indicated that they have lived in Marikana for exactly 3 years. Another 23% of the respondents indicated that they have been living in Marikana for 6 months or less. These respondents were new to Marikana but indicated that they were well received by community members when they arrived in Marikana. Twelve percent of respondents said that they have been living in Marikana for a year. Another 12% of the respondents said that they have been living in Marikana for 2 years. Despite challenges with water, sanitation, and precarious housing structures, the respondents seemed to enjoy living in Marikana and spoke highly about the safety and unity of the community.

5.5.4 Informal Settlements as a Cheaper Entry to an Independent Lifestyle for Young Adults

The results of the study show that informal settlements offer a cheaper entry into an independent lifestyle for poor young adults. Cheaper entry means ease of access, low moving costs as well as low living costs. The literature shows that informal settlements are a haven for poor populations living in urban areas like Cape Town (Groenewald, 2011, p. 641). The respondents in the study echo this by saying that it was easy for them to move to Marikana when they could not afford other forms of housing. They also mention that they had low moving costs and it is cheaper to sustain their lifestyles in the informal settlement. Respondent 10 who is a 28-year-old employed male, and Respondent 11 who is a 29-year-old unemployed female, share their experiences. Respondent 10 states that “I used to rent R600 a month in a backyard shack, but now I don’t pay rent here in Marikana. I live rent-free.” Respondent 11 states that “When I moved to Marikana the space was empty. It was easy to set up my shack, I connected electricity from the nearest supermarket.” Respondent 10 describes living in Marikana as cheaper because he does not have to pay rent as compared to his previous place of residence. Respondent 11 describes living in Marikana as cheaper because it was easy to set up her shack in Marikana and she connected to electricity easily.

Two other respondents below emphasized the vitality of informal settlements in their home-leaving journey. Respondent 4 and Respondent 6 state that they would still be living in their parental home if informal settlements were not available. As highlighted by Abahlali baseMjondolo (2016), informal settlements offered them a cheaper entry into an independent lifestyle. Respondent 1 states that “I would still be living in my parent’s house if I didn’t move to this informal settlement. There is nowhere else to go for someone like me who is unemployed.” Respondent 5 similarly states that:

Coming from the Eastern Cape, informal settlements are the easiest and cheapest places to live in the city. It costs very little to set up and live here, plus the Marikana informal settlement is close to public transport and the supermarkets.

In relation to the literature, respondents in the study demonstrated that it is expensive to live in an urban city like Cape Town. Lower-class individuals feel displaced in the city and have no place to call their own. Informal settlements offer poor young adults a space to exist and thrive for economic progress in the city. The respondents attest that without the existence of informal settlements, they would still be living in their parental homes or in the rural areas where they

migrated from. Even though informal settlements are considered illegal and characterized by poor service delivery, as well as health and safety risks, they are still the most eligible option for poor young adults seek an independent lifestyle through affordable housing.

5.5.5. The Challenges of Living in an Informal Settlement for Young Adults

Informal settlements are key housing areas for the poor in developing countries like South Africa. However, they do pose several challenges for the people living in them. The UN-HABITAT (2015, p. 1) describes informal settlements as residential areas that lack proper infrastructure and the supply of basic services such as good running water, sanitation, and electricity. These are considered the trade-offs of living in an informal settlement. Respondents in the study mention that although informal settlements have provided a home for them, they also pose a number of challenges. Respondent 13, who has been living in Marikana for 3 years states that there is a lot of uncertainty when living in an informal settlement as it is privately owned land. He says that “The fear of our shacks being demolished by the city because the land is private property, but the government must buy this land for us.” Demolitions and evictions are very common in informal settlements, especially with the presence of the Anti-Land Invasion Unit which was established by the City of Cape Town in 2009 (Human, 2021). The role of the Anti-Land Invasion Unit is to prevent the illegal occupation of land, particularly targeting informal settlements.

Informal settlements are usually illegal because they are based on privately owned land. Privately owned land is usually reserved for commercial purposes as well as private use. As mentioned earlier, the land Marikana was built on was privately owned by Iris Fischer, who later sold it to the City of Cape Town following a court order by the Western Cape High Court. In the early stages of the establishment of the informal settlement, the City of Cape Town carried out several evictions to move settlers outside of the land (Sacks, 2014). The evictions were so violent that the shacks of the settlers were demolished, and their assets were affected. The evictions were later found to be unlawful as the City of Cape Town did not have a court order to carry out the demolitions. After a lengthy court process, the Western Cape High Court ordered the City of Cape Town to purchase the Marikana land so that it was no longer private, and that existing and new settlers can live in it.

Another challenge for people living in informal settlements includes the precarious conditions surrounding informal settlements. Scholars have a concern on how housing structures in informal settlements are fragile because they are made of cardboard, corrugated iron, wood,

and plastic. The structures are easily vulnerable to fires, heavy winds, and floods from rain. This poses risk and danger to people living in informal settlements. Respondent 7 and Respondent 2, who have had to rebuild and fix their shacks from time to time, shared their experiences below:

Rain causes floods in some areas of the informal settlement which damage our shacks and furniture. Whenever it is raining, I worry because my shack and my belongings will be destroyed. (Respondent 7).

A small fire can escalate to several shacks because they are close to each other. Also, because taps are far apart, it becomes difficult to extinguish fires quickly. It is a risk to live in a shack, but that is the price you pay when you live for free. (Respondent 2).

Health and safety are one of the compromises for living in an informal settlement. According to UNOPS (2016), informal settlements pose several health and safety risks because of the materials used to build them, the raw land they are built in, the existence of open dumping areas, as well as the lack of basic services. Respondent 14 echoes this by stating the below:

Here we have communal taps and communal toilets that we have to share with a lot of people. This sometimes compromises health and hygiene. There is also no proper waste management I wish the government can improve this. (Respondent 14).

Living in an informal settlement poses health risks due to the lack of basic services such as water and sanitation. Overcrowding of the informal settlements also compromises hygiene. Although the City of Cape Town implemented the Informal Settlement Upgrading Programme which provides communal taps and toilets in Marikana, hygiene is still compromised because a lot of people have to share these. At the moment, 10 households share 1 communal toilet, and 50 households share communal 1 tap. Respondent 9 highlights exclusion from the formal economy that comes with living in an informal settlement:

Living in an informal settlement feels like living in a foreign place inside the city. We feel excluded from development and access to the economy. But we have our own informal economy here that helps us survive.

People living in informal settlements often operate outside of the formal economy. This makes them to feel excluded from development and opportunities in the formal economy. As mentioned in the literature review, informal settlements are a form of housing in the informal

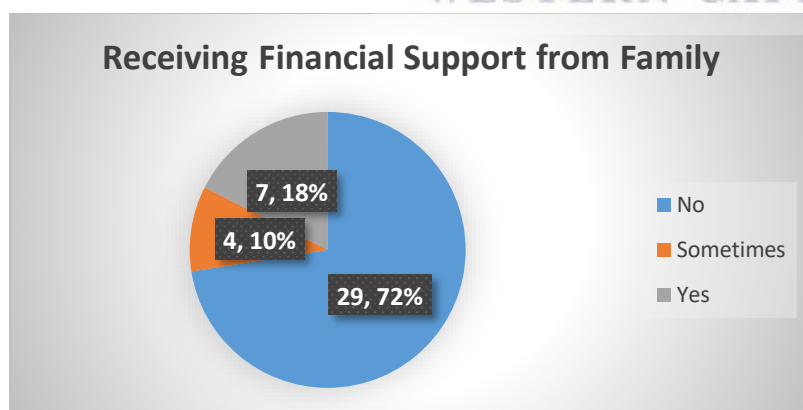
economy. People living in informal settlements are usually unemployed or employed in low-paying working-class jobs as seen in Table 5.8. below. Some are usually street vendors or entrepreneurs selling inside the informal settlement. Most of the respondents mentioned that they feel excluded from opportunities necessary to elevate them from living in informal settlements. The respondents are however optimistic about graduating from the informal economy and moving up to enter and thrive in the formal economy.

5.6. The Role of Social Capital in Enabling Young Adults to Establish an Independent Lifestyle in Informal Settlements

The results of the study show that social capital plays a vital role in enabling and supporting young adults to establish and sustain an independent lifestyle in informal settlements. Figure 5.6. and Table 5.11 show that young adults in Marikana have a strong social support system from their parental home and inside the informal settlement. This is the essence of social capital theory. According to Glaeser et al. (1999, p. 2) social capital theory defines the existence of relationships and networks that bring social and economic benefits to individuals that belong to them. In Marikana, social capital is seen in the creation of the community by young adults who share the same aspirations of independence, as well as the benefits derived through pre-existing relations from the parental home.

Figure 5.6. Receiving Financial Support from Family

Below is the number of respondents who receive financial support from their parental home.



Source: Author's compilation based on field data

Although young adults live independently, they often receive financial support from their parental home. The concept of independence is not always straightforward for young adults as

they, from time to time, turn to their families when they struggle to sustain an independent lifestyle. This is the basis of the society-centred perspective of social capital, which is one of the three perspectives of social capital as described in the theory chapter. According to the OECD (2014), the society-centred perspective infers that individuals and groups, through their interactions, establish relationships of trust and norms of reciprocity that bring them substantial rewards and benefits.

In the study, young adults were asked if they receive financial support from their families whilst living in Marikana. Figure 5.6. shows that most of the respondents (72%) said that they do not receive financial support from their families. But the respondents did highlight that from time to time they do get supplies from their families which include groceries and other household goods. Only 18% of the respondents said that they get financial support from their families. The respondents indicated that the financial support is not regular or fixed and that they only receive it when they really need it. Ten percent of the respondents said that they receive financial support from their families intermittently. This is usually on special occasions like birthdays, during emergencies, or when they need to be supplemented to buy an expensive asset. The overall results show that majority of the respondents in Marikana are mainly independent and can sustain their lifestyles with little support from their families. Respondent 12 and Respondent 7 are from the 18% of respondents who get support from their parental homes. Respondent 12 states that “I do not work; I get money from my child’s social grant and allowance from her father. My mother also sends me some money when I am short of groceries.” Respondent 7 shares the same experience by saying “My family helped me to set up my shack here in Marikana, they also provided me with a few household goods to set me up.”

Some of the respondents indicated that social capital from their parental home played an important role in enabling them to establish their independent lifestyles in Marikana. They also mentioned that having social capital builds a support structure they can lean on when life gets tough while living in Marikana. This is known as the communitarian perspective by Scheffert et al. (2008). Respondent 4 and Respondent 8 below do not receive consistent support from their parental homes but state that their families assist them under difficult circumstances:

Whenever I need additional groceries, I visit my parents in the township. They are always willing to assist. Sometimes they convince me to come back and stay with them, but I tell them I am older now. (Respondent 4).

Respondent 8 says that “It can be lonely here, but I know that my family will be willing to take me back home when things get difficult. It’s good to have a support system.”

Young adults value the support they receive from their family members whilst living in Marikana. The notion of receiving support from the parental home redefines the concept of independence instead of reducing it. Scholars agree that independence is incremental and builds up from a strong support system (An, et al., 2003, p. 431). This means that young adults who are independent can also rely on the parental home they moved from. Receiving support from the family does not minimize their independence but rather strengthens it. Independence is incremental and involves a level of dependency in each stage.

The second type of social capital that plays an important role in young adults living independently involves the people who live with them inside the informal settlement. Social capital theory defines this as bonding social capital, which is one of the three types of social capital as described in the theory chapter. According to Woolcock and Narayan (2000, p. 5) Bonding social capital is social capital among like-minded people with the same status or who share ties of solidarity. These include community members, religious or political groups, friends, lovers, and family. These groups are vital in strengthening the livelihood of young adults inside the informal settlement. Table 5.11 below shows young adults who live with other people in their households. These include their spouses, children, friends, tenants, or relatives. Young adults were asked if they lived with other people in their households as well as the frequency with which those people stayed with them. Most of the respondents (70%) said that they lived with other people in their household, while 27.5% said they do not live with other people, The rest of the 2.5% said that they live with other people sometimes. These usually are visitors who are friends, lovers, or relatives. The respondents also mentioned that they live with other people intermittently but sustain themselves independently. The additional household members sometimes contribute financially to the household.

Table 5.11. Living with Household Members in Marikana		
Living with Household Members	Frequency	Percentage
No	11	27,5%
Sometimes/Part Time	1	2,5%
Yes	28	70%
Grand Total	40	100%

Source: Author’s compilation based on field data

The third type of social capital that plays an important role in young adults living independently involves community members who live with young adults in the informal settlement. Respondent 3 and Respondent 5 below demonstrate the culture of unity that exists in Marikana. They say that community members are friendly, united, and support each other. They tackle community issues together. People come from different backgrounds and move to an informal settlement where they are all strangers (Scheffert, et al., 2008, p. 37). They build a community together and support each other. They share basic services together. They fight crime together and ensure the neighbourhood is clean and safe for all. Respondent 3 says that “Most people here don’t know each other but we are all friendly with each other and we support each other.” This shows trust and reciprocity, which are the key values of social capital (Grootaert and Van Bastelaer, 2001). Respondent 5 adds by saying “Everyone around here is friendly. Most of the people who live here are my age and I was then able to make friends.”

In Marikana, communitarian social capital inside the informal settlement is very strong and forms the basis of community values. The respondents mention that they are a homogenous group of people who experience the same social challenges and economic constraints. Because of this, they are able to connect and support each other to survive and thrive in conditions that are not favourable to them. They have built a community that is vibrant and safe, despite the challenges. Respondent 13 who lives next to a tavern, and Respondent 15 who is part of the neighbourhood watch in Marikana, share their experiences. Respondent 13 states that “We socialize together in taverns. We know each other by name in our social spots. Everyone seems to always know everyone’s business. But we always have a good time.” Respondent 15 adds by saying:

We have a collective neighbourhood watch to stop crime and robberies. Each household has a whistle. You whistle when you are in trouble and community members come to check on you or run to catch the criminal.

As mentioned earlier, people who live in informal settlements often operate in the informal economy. The strength, unity, and support that exists inside the informal economy, is what supports the livelihood of those who operate within it (Groenewald, 2011, p. 641). Respondents in the study mention that social capital enabled them to build their own informal economy inside the informal settlement to support their livelihoods. There are several businesses, churches, day-care centres, salons, taverns, and other amenities that have made Marikana become the community that it is today. Three respondents, who are part of Abahlali

baseMjondolo, a social movement for informal settlements and people who operate in the informal economy, share their experiences. Respondent 1 says that “In Marikana there are various spaza shops that sell groceries, salons, barber shops, taverns, hardware stores, creches, churches, and street vendors.” Respondent 6 adds by saying:

In order to survive here, you have to be entrepreneurial. A number of people are unemployed and have to sustain themselves by running a small business inside the informal settlement or close to the supermarkets.

Respondent 8 echoes Respondent 1 and 6 by saying “We do what we have to do to survive. It’s tough in the economy especially when you are uneducated or don’t have experience. This is our life, and we make the most of it.”

Throughout the research journey of the author, the respondents were very welcoming and spoke highly of Marikana. Young adults in Marikana possess a spirit of resilience which has made them withstand their challenges. The study results show that much of their optimism is derived from the social capital created and sustained inside and outside the informal settlement. Respondent 4 and respondent 10, who attend the St. John’s church in Marikana, share their experiences below:

You would think that people that live here are miserable, but they are actually happy. We are positive and optimistic. Yes, it is not the best place to live but we don’t complain. Life has to be lived. (Respondent 4).

There is a great sense of sharedness in our community. We understand that we share the same challenges, and we support each other. If a neighbor needs a cup of sugar, one is always willing to assist. We have learnt to support each other even when the city demolished our shacks at the beginning. (Respondent 10).

In addition to economic support, respondents highlight social support and its importance in strengthening social capital. Overall, the study shows that social capital plays an important role in enabling and supporting young adults to establish and maintain an independent lifestyle in informal settlements like Marikana.

5.7. Summary

The overall aim of the study was to analyse the relationship between adulthood, home leaving, and informal settlements. Particular focus was paid to young adults living in the Marikana informal settlement in Philippi East, Cape Town. The study results showed that the age of adulthood influences the need to become independent, and independence is translated to living alone. Young adults move from their parental homes to establish an independent lifestyle in a new area. Due to limited available housing options, poor young adults opt to live in informal settlements. Informal settlements offer young adults a cheaper entry into an independent lifestyle. Social capital from both the parental home as well as from community members inside the informal settlement empowers young adults to be resilient and thrive in the informal economy.



CHAPTER SIX: SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

6.1. Introduction

The aim of this study was to analyse the relationship between adulthood, home leaving, and informal settlements. The study showed that poor young adults who want to become independent often choose to live in informal settlements because informal settlements offer them a cheaper entry into an independent lifestyle. This chapter will summarize the research findings of the study. The limitations of the study will also be highlighted. Recommendations will be discussed. At the end, a conclusion will be presented.

6.2. Summary of Findings

The research findings sought to answer five main objectives. The first objective was to understand the meaning of independence, particularly for poor young adults coming from townships and rural areas. The second objective was to look at housing options available for lower-class young adults as well as why they opt to live in informal settlements. The third objective was to analyze why informal settlements are the most convenient place of residence for young adults, using the case study of Marikana Informal Settlement in Philippi East, Cape Town. The fourth objective was to analyse the livelihood of young adults living in informal settlements as well as the challenges they face. The last objective was to understand the role of social capital in enabling and supporting young adults to establish and maintain an independent lifestyle in informal settlements.

6.2.1. Independence for Young Adults

The results of the study show that young adults view independence as a defining factor for their adulthood. Becoming independent is how young adults demonstrate that they have graduated from dependence on their parents and family. With dependence comes living alone. Respondents in the study are young adults aged between 18-35 who have moved out of home to establish an independent lifestyle in Marikana informal settlement. The respondents indicate that establishing their own place of residence establishes their autonomy and ownership of their lives. Financial independence is also a key factor that defines independence for young adults. Young adults want to have their own money and have control of their own finances. Respondents in the study mentioned that part of their decision to move out of home was to be able to have financial autonomy and pursue economic opportunities. The study results also

showed migration patterns, where some young adults moved from rural areas to live in urban areas so that they can look for jobs, start businesses or pursue their studies. Informal settlements were highlighted as a more accessible housing option for young adults based in an urban setting looking to pursue economic opportunities. In summary, living alone, having financial autonomy and social freedom are the key elements that characterize independence for young adults.

6.2.2. Marikana Informal Settlement

Marikana informal settlement is home to a large number of young adults seeking to live an independent lifestyle. Based in Philippi East Cape Town, the informal settlements houses people who came from local townships in Cape Town, as well as people who migrated from provinces such as the Eastern Cape to pursue a new life in Cape Town. Most of the residents in the informal settlement are young adults aged 18-35. The majority of the respondents (47%) in the study were aged 18-25 years, which is the lower age category of young adults. These young adults have their own shacks in Marikana in which they are head of household. Table 5.14 shows that majority of the young adults (70%) live with household members in their shacks. Household members included children, spouses, friends, or relatives. All study respondents were African Black and Xhosa-Speaking. Informal settlements are poverty-stricken areas that draw historically disadvantaged groups like Black Africans. The respondents indicated that Marikana informal settlement was a more accessible and affordable place of residence that they could move into to establish their independent lifestyles. The respondents also mentioned that they experience a number of challenges living the informal settlement. These challenges include poor access to water and sanitation, hygiene, and health, as well as safety and security. The respondents indicate that despite these challenges, living in the informal settlement is more affordable, easier to navigate, and is a convenient setting to thrive in an urban area.

6.2.3. Informal Settlements as a Cheaper Entry into an Independent Lifestyle for Young Adults

Housing is a very sensitive topic in South Africa because of its scarcity and exclusivity. The poor population remains excluded from mainstream housing opportunities because they lack the income, credit profile and collateral necessary to acquire housing in the private sector. In the public sector, government housing is in a backlog. Government housing developments are coming at slow rate which fails to meet the demand capacity of the poor population. The poor

population has lost faith in government housing and has started to pursue other housing alternatives, which include informal settlements.

Respondents in the study were asked what housing options were available for them to pursue before leaving. The respondents indicated that they considered renting or securing a bond to get an apartment or a house. But because most of them were either unemployed or were earning a low income, they could not pursue those opportunities. The only feasible option was to move to an informal settlement. The respondents mentioned that moving to an informal settlement is easier and cheaper. The land is already available. The building material for a shack is cheaper as it consists of corrugated metal sheets, wood, and plastic. The living costs are also cheaper because they do not include rent, water, and utility costs. Although living in an informal settlement is cheaper, the respondents indicated that they do experience a number of challenges.

6.2.4. Challenges for Young Adults Living in Informal Settlements

Young adults living in informal settlements face a number a challenge. Informal settlements are usually built on illegal land which is privately owned or reserved for commercial purposes. Marikana informal settlement was built on land owned by a private development company. For this reason, occupation of the land was illegal. Residents in the informal settlement were violently evicted several times and this ended in a court case that they later won, which then allowed them to continue residing in the informal settlement.

The land in which informal settlements are build is usually not leveled or inspected. This then poses a number of dangers to anything built on top of the land. The housing structure of shacks are fragile because of the material used to build shacks. Shacks are susceptible to damage during winds and leaks during heavy rains. Fires are also easy to start and escalate to other shacks. In essence, living in informal settlements for young adults poses risk and safety challenges.

In addition to the safety challenges, informal settlements pose health challenges to residents. Shacks are usually clustered close to each other making little space for privacy. Basic services are communal and shared by a large number of households. Toilets are also communal, and this compromises hygiene. In the case of Marikana informal settlement, toilets do not have a water facility, they use a changeable bucket system that is serviced by the municipality. In addition to hazardous living conditions, young adults face health challenges while living in the informal settlement.

Informal settlements also tend to be secluded and far from central business districts where economic opportunities are based. Marikana informal settlement is based 25km away from Cape Town CBD. Marikana residents have expressed that they feel isolated from the formal economy not only because of the distance but because of the nature of their dwelling, an informal settlement. A lot of small entrepreneurs have expressed that it is difficult for them to grow because they only operate in the informal settlement and cannot grow. Other residents have expressed that they in general feel out of touch with opportunities necessary for them to enter and thrive in the formal economy. In essence, young adults feel that living in an informal settlement makes them operate in the informal economy, and this makes it challenging for them to graduate to the formal economy.

6.2.5. The Role of Social Capital in the Livelihood of Young Adults Living in Informal Settlements

The results of the study show that social capital plays a vital role in enabling and supporting young adults to establish and maintain an independent lifestyle in an informal settlement. Respondents in the study acknowledge that family members and community members have supported them in their journey of independence. Twenty eight percent of the respondents are still supported financially by their parents whilst living independently in Marikana. Moreover, 47.5% of the respondents moved to Marikana with assets that they received from their families. The respondents make reference to bonding social capital from their parental homes as well as communitarian social capital in Marikana. Social capital in Marikana refers to the community members who have played a supportive role in welcoming the respondents in the informal settlement and helping them to set up their shacks. The respondents also highlight that there is unity in the informal settlement, there is a neighborhood watch to tackle crime, and everyone shares what they have with their neighbors. Social capital has also enabled the creation of creches inside the informal settlement, churches, sporting activities, and social amenities. Respondents highlight that these that these have brought life to Marikana and have made the informal settlement a community.

6.3. Recommendations

The study looks at young adults transitioning to an independent lifestyle by living in an informal settlement. The notion of independence for young adults is flawed. Some of the young adults live on their own but still receive support from their families. Support comes in the form of financial assistance as well as social support. This highlights a new notion of independence

that encompasses some elements of dependence. It shows that independence is not always complete, but just supersedes dependence.

The government often views informal settlements as a threat because they are built on illegal land and under precarious conditions. Government neglects to understand why informal settlements continue to grow, where informal dwellers come from, and why they choose to live in informal settlements. The basis of this study was to answer these questions. The goal of the study was to highlight urban poverty and how it continues to cycle through the creation of informal settlements. People who live in informal settlements, which are poverty-stricken areas, already come from poverty-stricken areas like townships and rural areas. Government should view the growth of informal settlements as a wake-up call that highlights the lack of housing programmes to support the poor. Government should also see this as an indication of a failing economy that encompasses unemployment and poor service delivery and should take the necessary steps to address this.

The Western Cape Department of Human Settlements has conducted enumeration studies on majority of informal settlements in Cape Town, besides Marikana. Enumeration studies profile informal settlements to understand the demographics of the residents, their livelihoods, as well as the conditions of service delivery. The last enumeration study was done in 2016. It is a recommendation that the Western Cape Department of Human Settlements conducts an enumeration study on Marikana informal settlement. The informal settlement has been in existence for over 7 years now, making it worthy for an enumeration study.

Young adults living in informal settlements should pursue economic opportunities so that they can graduate from informal housing. The results of the study show that majority of the respondents living in Marikana are under educated or semi-educated. This means that they have very little chances to thrive in the economy. To break the cycle of poverty, people need to equip themselves with education and business skills necessary to thrive in the formal economy. The government also needs to provide programmes to encourage people to go to school and stay in school, as well as programmes that support entrepreneurship and post-matric skills. People living in informal settlements need to view living in informal settlements as temporary and should work on graduating from the informal economy and move to the formal economy.

6.4. Limitations of the Study

There is very little information available about Marikana informal settlement from government records, academic literature, and statistics. There were very few sources of information to use for this study. For this reason, there was a heavy reliance on newspaper articles and internet sources who have covered stories about Marikana informal settlement. The lack of demographic statistics also made the study challenging. There is no definitive population size of Marikana besides estimates based on a map and estimated numbers of people who can live in a shack.

The study purposefully sampled 40 respondents, 20 male and 20 female in the questionnaires. Within the 40 respondents, 15 were selected to complete the semi structured interviews. The sample size was limited but sufficient to meet the research goals of the study. Since all the respondents were all Xhosa speaking, some interview questions had to be translated to the respondents. What this meant was that the answers also had to be translated back to English because the respondents answered in IsiXhosa. With translation, some concepts can get lost, and this can be a limitation. However, the researcher ensured that all concepts were fully clarified, and answers were translated efficiently and effectively.

6.5. Concluding Remarks

In conclusion, young adults view independence as an entry into adulthood. With independence comes the need to live alone. Lower-class young adults have few housing options when deciding to move out of their parental homes to live alone. Informal settlements offer poor young adults an easier entry into an independent lifestyle. Living in an informal settlement presents a number of challenges which include poor service delivery, poor sanitation, and hazardous living conditions. Social capital from the parental home supports young adults to establish an independent lifestyle and thus redefines the notion independence. Social capital formed through community values and structures inside informal settlements enable young adults to exercise independence and activate livelihood strategies outside the formal economy. Marikana informal settlements is an under-studied informal settlement in Cape Town which has provided residence to people coming from local townships in Cape Town as well as people who migrated from other provinces like the Eastern Cape.

Informal settlements offer a cheaper entry into an independent lifestyle for poor young adults. This also depicts the cycle of poverty. Young adults who come from poor backgrounds like

townships and rural areas move to other poor areas such as informal settlements. This perpetuates the cycle of poverty, particularly for historically disadvantaged groups such as Black Africans. Informal settlements are an indication that poverty is growing instead of being alleviated. Government needs to intervene through housing programmes and economic initiatives that will alleviate poverty and allow people living in informal settlements to enter and thrive in the formal economy. In summary, informal settlements highlight the bigger issue of urban poverty that needs to be tackled to ensure economic inclusion and a quality of life for all.



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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Research Instruments

Appendix A1: Self-Administered Questionnaire



*Private Bag X17, Bellville 7535, Cape Town, South Africa
Telephone : (021) 959 3858/6 Fax: (021) 959 3865
E-mail: pkippie@uwc.ac.za*

Dear Sir/Madam

My name is Maphelo Batyi, and I am currently studying for a Master's Degree in Development Studies at the University of the Western Cape, Cape Town, South Africa. I am conducting a research project which seeks to assess the relationship between adulthood, home leaving, and informal settlement for young adults living in Marikana Informal Settlement. I would greatly appreciate it if you would participate in this study by answering the questions in the attached research questionnaire. Please be assured that the findings of this study will be used for academic purposes only. The information you give will be treated with confidentiality and you are not required to write your name for the sake of maintaining anonymity. Participation in this study is voluntary and you can withdraw if you feel uncomfortable at any stage of the study. I appreciate your time and patience to complete this questionnaire.

Thank you.

Mr. Maphelo Batyi

(Researcher)

Self-Administered Questionnaire

Please tick the appropriate box.

	Questions	Responses	
1	Please indicate your gender.	Male	1
		Female	2
2	Please indicate your race	African	1
		Coloured	2
		Other	3
3	If African, please indicate your ethnicity	Xhosa	1
		Zulu	2
		Sesotho	3
		Other	4
4	Please indicate your age.	18-25	1
		26-30	2
		31-40	3
5	Please indicate your highest level of education (tick one box)	Primary School	1
		Secondary School (Grade 9 -11)	2
		Matric Certificate (Grade 12)	3
		College	4
		University	5
		No Formal School	6
7	Please indicate your marital status	Single (Never Married)	1
		Married	2
		Separated	3
		Divorced	4
		Widowed	5
8	Please Indicate your current occupation	Student	1
		Unemployed	2
		Employed	3
		Self-employed	4
8	Please Indicate your monthly income	Less than R500	1
		R600-R1000	2
		R1100-R2000	3
		R2100-R3000	4
		R3100-R4000	5
		R4100-R5000	6
9		Over R5000	7
		Eastern Cape	1

	Please Indicate province of birth	Western Cape	2
		Northern Cape	3
		Limpopo	4
		Mpumalanga	5
		Gauteng	6
		KwaZulu Natal	7
		Free State	8
		North West	9
10	Please name city/place of residence before moving to Marikana i.e. Cape Town/ East London	Any Response	1
11	Please indicate the type of previous residence before moving to Marikana	Urban City	1
		Township	2
		Rural Area	3
		Informal Settlement	4
12	Please indicate the length of time you have been a resident in Marikana	6 months or less	1
		1 year	2
		2 years	3
		3 years	4
		More than 3 years	5
13	Where you employed when moving/before moving to Marikana?	Yes	1
		No	2
14	Did you have a stable financial income when moving/before moving to Marikana?	Yes	1
		No	2
15	Did you have any transferrable assets (i.e. furniture, electronics or household goods) when moving/before moving to Marikana?	Yes	1
		No	2
16	Do you currently receive any form of financial assistance from your family/previous home/place of residence?	Yes	1
		No	2
		Sometimes	3

Appendix A2: Young Adults living in Marikana Informal Settlement Interview Guide

1. How important do you think home leaving is for young adults?
2. Was home leaving a necessity or choice for you, why?
3. Please explain how important adulthood transition factors such as sexual activeness, childbearing and marital aspirations were in influencing your decision to move out of home and establish independent residence?
4. Please explain the role that economic prospects such as employment, self-employment or education opportunities played in influencing your decision to establish independent residence?
5. Do you think that poor young adults (like yourself) in general find it hard to leave home, why?
6. Do you think that having sufficient economic resources plays a huge role in one's potential to leave home and establish independent residence?
7. Poor young adults from poor backgrounds/with limited economic resources find it hard to establish an independent residence?
8. For an average poor young adult moving from a township, rural area or informal settlement; there are very few housing/residential options when wanting to establish his/her independent residence?
9. Informal settlements provide us poor young adults cheaper entry into an independent lifestyle? Why and How?
10. Was it easy to establish residence in the Marikana Informal Settlement? Please describe your experience.
11. How was the reception of the Marikana community upon moving into the informal settlement?
12. Do you face service problems (water, electricity, sanitation) in Marikana? And how do you tackle these?
13. What are some of the living strategies of the community?
14. Did other Marikana residents, through any form of support they possibly gave, make your establishment and adaptation of an independent lifestyle easier in the informal settlement? If yes, what kind of support did they give you?
15. Did your family, through any form of assistance, help you establish yourself in the Marikana Informal settlement?
16. Do you still receive any form of support from your family? Please elaborate.

17. How important do you think your social capital has been in enabling you to establish your independent residence and sustain your independent lifestyle?



Appendix A3: Key Informant Interview Guide (Marikana Ward Councillor)

1. Please describe the role that you play in Marikana Informal Settlement.
2. How is Marikana Informal Settlements perceived in your Ward?
3. What challenges do young adults living in Marikana face?
4. Can you please describe the level of service delivery in Marikana?
5. Are there any interventions in place to assist Marikana residents?
6. What are some of the misconceptions about people living in informal settlements?
7. Is there potential for economic and social development for people living in informal settlements?



Appendix A4: Key Informant Interview Guide (Marikana Community Leader)

1. Please describe your experience moving in Marikana.
2. What is your role as a community leader in Marikana?
3. What are the top three challenges for residents living in Marikana?
4. Please describe the dynamics of young adults living in informal settlements.
5. What are some of the misconceptions about people living in informal settlements?
6. Can you please describe the level of service delivery in Marikana?
7. What would you tell young adults planning to move to an informal settlement like Marikana?



Appendix B: STATA DO-FILE

log using marikanainfosurvey.log

doed

label define Age 1 "Under 25" 2 "25-4" 3 "45-64" 4 "65 and over"

label variable age "age"

label define natureoffoodvendingactivities 1 "Under 25 years" 2 "25-44 years" 3 "45-64" 4 "65 and over"

label variable natureoffoodvendingactivities "Streetfood variety"

label define maritalstatus 1 "single" 2 "cohabiting" 3 "married" 4 "divorced" 5 "widowed"

label variable maritalstatus "marital status"

label define educationlevels 1 "primary" 2 "junior" 3 "senior" 4 "tertiary or vocational"

label variable educationlevels "education level"

label define noyearsstreetvending 1 "less than a year" 2 "1-4 years" 3 "5-10 years" 4 "more than 10 years"

label variable no years streetvending "no years vending"

label define nopeopleinhousehold 1 "2-4" 2 "5-7" 3 "8 and more" 4 "only myself"

label variable nopeopleinhousehold "dependants"

label define typeofvendor 1 "no permit" 2 "permit"

label variable typeofvendor "licensing"

label define incomemonth 1 "less than 500" 2 "500-1000" 3 "1000-1500" 4 "1500-2000" 5 "more than 2000"

label variable incomemonth "monthlyincome"

label define transport 1 "public" 2 "private"

label variable transport "modeoftrans"

label define doesthegovernmenthelp 1 "no" 2 "yes"

label variable doesthegovernmenthelp "govhelp"

tab age

tab natureoffoodvendingactivities

tab noyearsstreetvending
tab educationlevels
tab incomepmonth
tab maritalstatus
tab nopeopleinhousehold
tab typeofvendor
tab transport
tab typeofvendor
graph pie, over(noyearsstreetvending)



Appendix C: Sample of Transcripts

Appendix C1: Transcript of Young Adult living in Marikana Informal Settlement

Location:	Marikana Informal Settlement
Respondent ID:	01
Age:	21
Occupation:	Unemployed
Gender:	Female
Date of interview:	23 April 2017
Name of Transcriber:	Maphelo
Audio file name:	Marikana_Interviewee_01
Duration of audio file:	00:15:04

Maphelo: How important do you think home leaving is for young adults?

Participant: It is very important to live on your own when you become an adult. If you still live with your parents, you cannot be independent because you have to follow their rules. This is why I had to move out when I turned 21. I have been living by myself in ever since.

Maphelo: Was home leaving a necessity or choice for you, why?

Participant: It was a mix of both necessity and choice. It was necessary because I was overcrowded with my siblings at home, and I was tired of being told what to do by my parents. It was also a choice because no one forced me. I moved out because I wanted to live by myself and do things by myself.

Maphelo: Please explain how important adulthood transition factors such as sexual activeness, childbearing and marital aspirations were in influencing your decision to move out of home and establish independent residence?

Participant: Living on your own is very important as you can start your own family and build your own social life. Now that I live by myself, i don't have to sneak out to go to my boyfriend. Actually, my boyfriend can come even here. I can explore my sexuality without worrying about my parents judging me. My boyfriend and i are planning to have a child. If I lived with my parents, they would try to stop this.

Maphelo: Please explain the role that economic prospects such as employment, self-employment or education opportunities played in influencing your decision to establish an independent residence?

Participant: There is a great level of uncertainty when moving out of home and living independently. Yes, you hope to get a job or start a business, but it is not guaranteed. I moved out so that I can chase possibilities, even though they have not happened for me. I am still unemployed, but I have a small business where I braid people's hair and receive a small income. Living by myself has forced me to explore other avenues for making money. If I still lived with my parents, I would still be sitting at home waiting for a job.

Maphelo: Do you think that poor young adults (like yourself) in general find it hard to leave home, why?

Participant: Yes, it is very hard to leave home when you have nothing. When you are home you are supported by family even when you are unemployed. I left home because I was tired of being a burden to my family and I wanted to look for opportunities. I am still looking for opportunities but at least I am not a burden anymore. I hustle on the side to support myself.

Maphelo: Do you think that having sufficient economic resources plays a huge role in one's potential to leave home and establish independent residence?

Participant: It plays a huge role. If I had the resources, I would have left home a long time ago. I would have also moved to a nicer place instead of an informal settlement. When I moved to Marikana I had nothing. My furniture was from donations and second hand items that people threw away. I fixed them and used them. A lot of people my age are afraid of moving out because they have nothing. Moving out is like taking a risk because you do not know what is going to happen.

Maphelo: Poor young adults from poor backgrounds/with limited economic resources find it hard to establish an independent residence?

Participant: We do find it hard to establish independent residence. This is because we are used to depending on our family members for support, which we still do to this day. We are used to being sheltered and not having to do things alone. Jobs are scarce and people have no money, so what is the point of living alone? Even if you have a job, the salary is very little to cover household expenses by yourself. It is hard for people my age to establish independent residence

Maphelo: For an average poor young adult moving from a township, rural area or informal settlement; there are very few housing/residential options when wanting to establish his/her independent residence?

Participant: Housing options are very limited for us who come from townships. You either build a shack in the backyard of your parent's house, or you build a shack in an informal settlement. We cannot afford rent or to buy a house. Most of us do not even know what a credit score is or how to apply for a bond. On top of that, money is scarce.

Maphelo: Informal settlements provide us poor young adults cheaper entry into an independent lifestyle? Why and How?

Participant: This is true. Without informal settlements, we would be crowded in our parents' houses in the townships. A lot of people move to informal settlements because they are easier to establish and cheaper to maintain. If the government doesn't build us houses, we will build them ourselves.

Maphelo: Was it easy to establish residence in the Marikana Informal Settlement? Please describe your experience.

Participant: It was easy to establish residence because the land is free and available. When you build a shack, you can use any material. Some of the material you can find from dumpsites or next to manufacturing buildings. My friends helped me to gather materials and buy what was needed and we built my shack in less than five hours.

Maphelo: How was the reception of the Marikana community upon moving into the informal settlement?

Participant: People in Marikana are very close and watch out for each other. I was welcomed when I came. When my shack had issues, people would come and assist to fix it. There is a neighbourhood watch to stop crime. If you ring the whistle, people come to support you. If you run out of groceries, you can ask your neighbour and he or she will assist you.

Maphelo: Do you face service problems (water, electricity, sanitation) in Marikana? And how do you tackle these?

Participant: There are a lot of service delivery issues. We knew this before coming to Marikana. We use communal toilets, and we share taps. Electricity is sourced from neighbouring

townships and sometimes it is cut because it is illegal. We wish the government could upgrade our informal settlement.

Maphelo: What are some of the living strategies of the community?

Participant: In Marikana there are various spaza shops that sell groceries, salons, barber shops, taverns, hardware stores, creches, churches, and street vendors. People either work or have a small business to make income. People support each other's businesses.

Maphelo: Did other Marikana residents, through any form of support they possibly gave, make your establishment and adaptation of an independent lifestyle easier in the informal settlement? If yes, what kind of support did they give you?

Participant: Yes. People in Marikana were very supportive to me when I entered the informal settlement. They helped me to move my furniture and to connect to electricity. They also showed me around the informal settlement to make me familiar with the place. I now have a lot of friends here. We support each other especially since we live by ourselves.

Maphelo: Did your family, through any form of assistance, help you establish yourself in the Marikana Informal settlement?

Participant: My family helped me a lot. They gave me bedding, cutlery and crockery to use in my new place. They also gave me money for groceries for the first three months. My family continues to support me even now when I need assistance they always come through for me.

Maphelo: Do you still receive any form of support from your family? Please elaborate.

Participant: Yes, I do. I receive financial support intermittently. This is usually when I am short of groceries or when I have an emergency. My parents also send me money on my birthday and during Christmas.

Maphelo: How important do you think your social capital has been in enabling you to establish your independent residence and sustain your independent lifestyle?

Participant: Social capital is very important. If it wasn't for my family, I would have not been able to sustain myself when I moved to Marikana. If it wasn't for the community in Marikana, I would have not been able to set up my shack and navigate the area. Both my family and the community assisted me to establish my independent lifestyle.

Maphelo: Thank you so much for your time. Do you have any questions that you would like to ask me?

Participant: It is my pleasure. I do not have any questions for you at the moment.



Appendix C2: Transcript of Key Informant Interview

Interview with Philippi East Ward Councillor

Location: Philippi East, Cape Town

Time: 17 minutes

Maphelo: Please describe the role that you play in Marikana Informal Settlement.

WC: I am the Ward Councillor in Philippi East, including Marikana Informal Settlement. I was involved in dissolving the demolitions that were carried out by the City of Cape Town in Marikana. I also assisted to bring basic services to the informal settlement such the taps and communal toilets. I also work with community leaders to prevent crime and ensure unity with surrounding townships.

Maphelo How is Marikana Informal Settlements perceived in your Ward?

WC: Surrounding townships such as Lower Crossroads and Philippi were not happy at first that an informal settlement was built next to them. There was a lot of tension, especially due to electricity and water being sourced from the townships to maintain Marikana. But after Marikana started receiving basic services, the tension lessened. The current concern is around crime. Residents in Lower Crossroads and Philippi believe that Marikana has increased the level of crime happening in the ward.

Maphelo: What challenges do young adults living in Marikana face?

WC: The biggest challenge is unemployed. A lot of young adults in Marikana are unemployed. They also did not finish school, which makes it challenging for them to thrive in the economy. Other challenges for young adults living in Marikana include teenage pregnancy, alcoholism, and crime.

Maphelo: Can you please describe the level of service delivery in Marikana?

WC: If I had to scale the level of basic services in Marikana, I would say it is five out of ten. There is a lot that still needs to be done. There are very few taps to share water, and the communal toilets are not in good condition because a lot of people use them. Electricity is mainly sourced illegally and is dangerous. In short, basic services are not in good par in the informal settlement.

Maphelo: Are there any interventions in place to assist Marikana residents?

WC: At the moment, the city has started implementing the Upgrading of Informal Settlement Programme. This has only been implemented at a low scale. There is still a lot to be done.

Maphelo What are some of the misconceptions about people living in informal settlements?

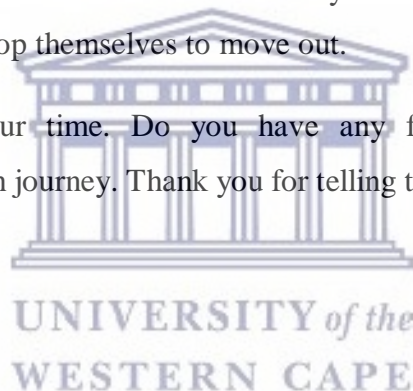
WC: The misconceptions are that they don't have dreams, that they are unambitious, and that they have given up on life. People living in informal settlements are driven, hardworking and have dreams to become successful.

Maphelo: Is there potential for economic and social development for people living in informal settlements?

WC: There is potential for economic and social development for people living in an informal settlement. However, this development is likely to happen outside the informal settlement. There are not enough resources to implement this development inside the informal settlement. This means that people living in informal settlement must work hard to thrive socially and economically to move out of the informal settlement. They should view an informal settlement as a temporary space and develop themselves to move out.

Maphelo: Thank you for your time. Do you have any final comments or remarks?

WC: I wish you a good research journey. Thank you for telling the story of our people through their eyes.



Appendix C3: Transcript of Key Informant Interview

Interview with Marikana Community Leader

Location: Marikana Informal Settlement

Time: 19 minutes

Maphelo: Please describe your experience moving in Marikana.

KI: I moved to Marikana in 2014, when the informal settlement was still new. We experienced a lot of demolitions but that did not stop us from rebuilding our shacks. We were united and determined to build the informal settlement. After winning the court case, I was dedicated to protect the informal settlement, which is my I because a community leader.

Maphelo: What is your role as a community leader in Marikana?

KI: My role is to represent Marikana to the local government and any entity that is outside the informal settlement. I help to raise awareness on the issues we experience in the informal settlement to the ward councillor. I also work with a committee that fosters development in the informal settlement and ensures that there is no crime and that there is peace in Marikana.

Maphelo: What are the top three challenges for residents living in Marikana?

KI: The top three challenges for residents living in Marikana include lack of basic services, unemployment, and crime.

Maphelo: Please describe the dynamics of young adults living in informal settlements.

KI: Young people here are either unemployed or work low paying jobs. Some have their own businesses while others resort to crime. Young people here drink a lot and some have kids a younger stage. They are not working to improve themselves in order to move out of the informal settlement

What are some of the misconceptions about people living in informal settlements?

KI: The misconceptions are often true. People living in informal settlement are poor. They do not have good education and are mostly unemployed. Some have given up on their dreams. It is so sad to see our people suffering like this.

Maphelo: Can you please describe the level of service delivery in Marikana?

KI: The service delivery is very bad. There are very few taps and toilets. There are no roads or social amenities. We do not have our own hospital or police station. We live a very isolated life.

Maphelo: What would you tell young adults planning to move to an informal settlement like Marikana?

KI: Moving to an informal settlement is not a choice, so I understand why they come here. I would advise them to not plan on staying here, but rather to work hard and improve their lives so that they can move out. They must not let their dreams die in the informal settlement.

Maphelo: Thank you for your time. Do you have any final comments or remarks?

KI: Thank you for visiting Marikana and allowing us to share our story.

