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Education, Employability and Imagining the Future:

A Minor Field Study of Goals and Motivations in a South African Small-Scale Development Programme

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Bachelor's thesis: SOCK10, 15 credits
Spring semester of 2023
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Abstract

South Africa is one of the most unequal countries in the world, and that shows in the distribution of opportunities amongst South Africans. In the face of political failures to deliver improvements for unemployed youth NGO projects become more important avenues for young people to acquire resources needed to improve their lives. This essay aims to centre the perspectives of the unemployed youth that make use of such projects by examining their motivations for participation and the way their participation can be understood in relation to their futures. The overarching aim is to contribute meaningfully to the understanding of how the individual youths who participate in the programme negotiate the structural inequalities in South African society. The analysis is built on qualitative data collected through interviews during 8 weeks of fieldwork in Diepsloot, South Africa during the spring of 2023 and analysed using a Bourdieusian framework. We found that the motivations for participation were largely related to employability, and that the programme was seen to fulfil several different purposes, such as compensating for a lack of economic, cultural, and/or symbolic capital. The lack of capital was concluded to be connected to the ways the tutors can imagine their futures. In this way material and immaterial circumstances affected not only what was possible, but what was imagined as possible.

Key words: Youth unemployment, Development, Education, Inequality, South Africa, Employability, Horizons of opportunity.

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1. Introduction and aim

South Africa is one of the world's most inequitable countries, despite being considered one of the most "developed" states in the Sub-Saharan region (Statista.com, 2023). The fall of apartheid has not led to a more equal distribution of wealth than before 1994 (Piraino, 2014; McCarthy et al., 2013). Studies from all over the world show how access to higher education, and opportunities in the labour market are directly affected by individuals' class background (see for example Haltia et al., 2023[1]). However, many of the studies are conducted in a Western context (see for example Reay, 2021[2]). The South African studies on access to opportunity focus mainly on labour market entry for post-graduates or have a quantitative approach (see for example Piraino, 2014[3]), so while non-governmental organisations (NGOs) which target education as a central aspect of reducing inequality in South Africa do exist, the evaluation and examination of their work is still largely underrepresented in the literature.

Edu Fun is a South African NGO, which operates within the space of education and training. It is based in Diepsloot, an informal settlement outside of Johannesburg. This thesis focuses on their newly founded tutoring programme, which employs unemployed youth to improve literacy in Diepsloot schools. The programme is funded by a Swedish company whose funding is based on a commitment to the UN Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), primarily Goal 4 of Quality Education, and increasing children's literacy. The donor focus is not primarily on the outcome of the unemployed youth, and studies show that donor-funded projects in the Global South tend to focus on donor preferences and assumptions (Harris, 2023). In light of this, and that Perold (2012) argues that experiences of participating in community-based projects, have the potential to increase the participants' chances of finding employment and contribute meaningfully to society, we wanted to centre the tutors' perspectives and experiences of the programme. The fact that small scale programmes typically lack the resources for any sort of evaluation (Steele, Dredge & Scherrer 2017), further serves as a motivation for this inquiry, as it highlights the lack

[1] See also, for example: Tovatt, 2011; Reay, 2021; Galvaan, 2015
[2] See also, for example: Haltia et al., 2023; Tovatt, 2011.

[3] See also, for example: Qakisa Makoe, 2006; Nikonen 2021; Burger & Jafta 2006; Verhaege et. al. 2015;McCarthy et al., 2013.

of resources devoted to an understanding of the motivations of participants in programmes such as Edu Fun's.

With the interest of working with SDG 4 in mind, the UN itself states that quality education is not only important for children, it also encompasses adult learning: *"To ensure equal access for all women and men to affordable and quality technical, vocational and tertiary education, including university"* and to *"/.../ substantially increase the number of youth and adults who have relevant skills, including technical and vocational skills, for employment, decent jobs and entrepreneurship"*(United Nations, n.d.-a). Equal access can be defined in different ways, and this thesis seeks to understand how the unemployed youth of the programme (henceforth referred to as "tutors") access to education and the labour market is affected by their participation in Edu Fun's tutoring programme (henceforth referred to as "the tutoring programme"). We employ a Bourdieusian theoretical apparatus to investigate this, as it enables an understanding of inequalities as reproduced by actions, and thus enables us to move beyond the actor/structure divide (Huppatz, 2012).

1.1 Research questions

Given the unique perspective on the programme that the tutors offer, this study centres these in order to contrast the motivations and goals of tutors with the understandings and goals of the programme leaders. Particularly we wish to shed light on the tutors' own experiences of navigating entry into the labour market or university, while negotiating the prerequisites for entry. In addition, the study investigates how different actors of the programme (i.e. programme leaders and tutors) understand the barriers to, and opportunities of, the tutors in relation to the tutors' social and material context. This thesis thus addresses the following research questions:

- *What are the tutors' motivations and reasons for participating in the tutoring programme?*

- *How (if at all) do the tutors experience that the programme enables them to reach their own goals ?*

- *How (if at all) do the tutors' perspectives differ from the understandings and goals of the programme leaders?*

2.Background

2.1 The post-Apartheid context

While this study is not preoccupied with South African history, nor focused specifically on racial inequality, the basic historical context must be understood in order to understand the context of the tutoring programme. South Africa held its first democratic elections in 1994, after the decades-long struggle for freedom by non-white South Africans led to formal negotiations between the African National Congress and the apartheid regime (Southall, 1994).

Today, South Africa is the country in continental Sub-Saharan Africa which ranks highest in development, measured using the Human Development index[4] (UNDP, 2022, p.273). This differentiates South Africa from other Sub-Saharan African countries (ibid.). However it also differentiates itself globally by being one of the countries with the highest levels of income inequality (UNDP, 2022, p. 282). In fact South Africa scores a 63 on the GINI index[5], placing the state first when comparing the most recent rankings (ibid.). Wealth inequality, still driven by the wealth accumulation by white South Africans before the fall of the Apartheid regime, has shown no signs of a decrease (WID, n.d.).

[4] Human Development Index is a quantitative tool for measurement of development levels that attempts to take into account other factors than economic growth (UNDP, 2023)

[5] "Gini coefficient: Measure of the deviation of the distribution of income among individuals or households in a country from a perfectly equal distribution. A value of 0 represents absolute equality, a value of 100 absolute inequality" (UNDP, 2022, p. 285)

2.2 The context of Diepsloot

Diepsloot (meaning deep ditch in Afrikaans) is an informal settlement in the far south-west of Johannesburg, South Africa. Established in 1994 at the dawn of South African democracy Diepsloot shares characteristics with apartheid-era townships designed to keep black and brown – or 'coloured', as they are referred to in the old Apartheid-era divisions - apart from white South Africans (Cahill, 2019; Mahajan, 2014). Finding information about Diepsloot is difficult, with sources giving different information about population, and even size. What is known about the settlement is that it has grown exponentially since its establishment, and although official census data calculates the population to be at 138 000, the actual number of inhabitants is unknown and is estimated to be closer to 500,000 (Cahill, 2019), and the area is densely populated. The unemployment rate in Diepsloot is estimated to be anywhere between 30% and 75% (Cahill, 2019; Mahajan, 2014), and only 2,8% of surveyed inhabitants over the age of 20 have a higher education (Statistics South Africa, n.d.). Due to its proximity to Johannesburg and other economic centres, Diepsloot attracts job-seekers from all over Africa (Mahajan, 2014).

Crime rates are high in Diepsloot, with murders reported almost every day (Chutel, 2019). In 2016 56% of surveyed men reported having raped or beaten a woman in the last twelve months (ibid.), and the high levels of criminality, and lack of opportunity and security in the settlement are the reason many of the participants in this study say they could not imagine themselves staying in Diepsloot if they had other options.

2.3 The Tutoring Programme

The tutoring programme organised by Edu Fun focuses on education, attempting to improve English literacy in children while also addressing the issue of youth unemployment. First run in 2022, the programme combines vocational training for unemployed youth (the "tutors") with English education for primary school learners. In the first nine months, 11 tutors graduated from the program, where they taught primary students as a key part of their vocational training. They teach mostly at a predominately black school in the informal settlement of Diepsloot, but also at

other schools in or near Diepsloot. The focus lies on improving literacy among primary school students in Diepsloot.

The programme aims to make the tutors certified reading therapists by training them in Phono-graphix, a phonetic-linguistic method for teaching literacy in English. The chairperson of Edu Fun also founded Read for Africa, a company that holds the rights to the Phono-Graphix teaching method in Africa, and introduced the method to Edu Fun when she took on the role in 2017. After completing the tutoring programme the tutors will receive a Phono-Graphix Reading Therapist-certificate, allowing them to tutor learners using the method. The programme also focuses on teaching skills usable in a work setting, such as time management and how to work in a group, to make the tutors employable. The tutors attend the programme every weekday, at the Edu Fun "hub"[6] which is located in a Diepsloot primary and secondary school.

Vitec Bygg & Fastighet AB[7] is the main financier of the programme, providing around 400 000 rand a year. They finance on a yearly basis, as a part of their sustainability undertaking, which is based on the UN Sustainable Development Goals. The company's main focus area is quality education, and they are financing the programme in order for Edu Fun to be able to increase the number of learners, and thus the number of primary school students with access to extra literacy learning support. The long-term goals of both Vitec and Edu Fun are to improve the overall literacy levels among young learners in Diepsloot, and thus improve their overall quality of life in the long term.

2.4 Overview of relevant literature

2.4.1 The link between education, training and youth unemployment

Youth unemployment is a widespread problem and in no way specific to South Africa but they have one of the higher rates of youth 'not in education, employment or training' (also shortened

[6] The "hub" is Edu Fun's "headquarters" and where most of their activities take place.

[7] Vitec Bygg & Fastighet AB is a branch of the Vitec Group, which provides software for the construction and real estate industry in Sweden.

to NEETs) in the world (Cieslik et. al., 2021; World Bank, 2023). This worldwide problem is highlighted in the UN's Sustainable Development Goal number 8.6 which reads: *"By 2020, substantially reduce the proportion of youth not in employment, education or training"* (United Nations, n.d.-b). However, while skill and training initiatives work towards the SDG goals, training and skills do not automatically lead to employment. The dominant focus of interventions by governments and third-party actors to achieve the goal has been on training and skills development, although research indicates that this often has a very limited effect when not coupled with wider job market policies (Cieslik et. al., 2021). Cieslik et. al. (ibid.) concludes that education and training "are not enough to solve the structural nature of the employment crisis". De Lannoy et. al. (2020) note that little research is preoccupied with the demand-side drivers of youth unemployment such as employer behaviours, instead, studies consider issues with young people themselves, such as lack of education and skills (ibid.).

There are several material factors faced by young South Africans like those in Diepsloot, when trying to enter the labour market, such as lack of quality education (Spaull, 2015), and money for job-searching. However as De Lannoy et. al. (2020) explain social factors also have a significant impact on an individual's chance of acquiring employment. Many young South Africans have high aspirations, but lack the prerequisite knowledge for job seeking (ibid.). Surveys and in-depth data indicate that informal networks, such as family and friends who are aware of employment opportunities, are a major pathway for employment (De Lannoy et. al., 2020). Lacking institutional knowledge or "contacts" can thus be considered an additional disadvantage for Diepsloot youth when entering the labour market. As Perold (2012) argues, participation in civil society organisations by volunteering can help young people to acquire skills which can enhance their chances to find employment or to enter university. Lundqvist (2010) suggests that participants in her study on young people's career narratives base their interpretations, understandings and judgements of careership on their personal experiences as well as their parents' experiences and broader social narratives (p. 307).

While it is important to establish that the complexity of the current unemployment crisis in South Africa, the fact remains that 60% of the country's youth have no educational qualifications at all (Spaull, 2015), creating further obstacles to their future employment as research shows that education has little effect on the likelihood to be employed *unless* it has led to a diploma (De

Lannoy et. al., 2020). The youth targeted in the tutoring programme are statistically more likely to have received a lower quality education than youth from more advantageous backgrounds (Spaull, 2015), and are structurally disadvantaged in job searching (Mlatsheni, 2012). As such, the evidence suggests that the youth targeted in the tutoring programme are at a severe disadvantage in a job market already failing South Africa's youth.

2.4.2 If it's not a shortage of skills, then what is it?

If skills development programs in their current iteration fulfil only a part of their desired aim, then it begs the question of what skills development programmes *should* and *could* be. Allais (2012) argues that the global blueprint for vocational training aims for employability rather than learning, further arguing that South African vocational policy is an example of a self-help paradigm, working against the possibility of achieving improved levels of education and skills. What Allais critically elucidates is that in the current way of viewing vocational training and skills development as a means to an end, the training is only instrumental in value (ibid.).

2.4.3 Under-researched

The majority of research on unemployment in the South African context focuses on a rural context and/or limits its scope to university graduates (see for example: Piraino, 2014[8]). By contrast, the situation for the urban poor, such as the people living in Diepsloot, is not given as much attention. The approach undertaken by the tutoring programme is therefore an interesting ground for exploration of how these programmes work on a small scale, and how it impacts its participants' thoughts and actions.

[8] See also, for example: Qakisa Makoe, 2006; Nikonen 2021; Burger & Jafta 2006; Verhaege et. al. 2015; Piraino, 2014; Narayan & Mahajan, 2013.

3. Theory

The theoretical standpoint of this thesis is that of understanding social action and thought as embedded in social structure, meaning that the thoughts and actions of the participants are shaped by their social context(s). The choice of Bourdieu's capital theory as a theoretical framework and analytical toolbox is based on its handling of the actor-structure divide. The focus on the conditions in which an agent acts sheds light on how one's subject position affects and informs agents' actions, and highlights how *action* serves to reproduce inequalities (Huppatz, 2012). This is operationalised with the help of Bourdieu's capital and field theory. The primary focus will be the different forms of capital and the possibilities for acquiring them within the field(s) in which the participants find themselves, and how habitus affects their navigation within said field(s). Bourdieu's theory will be complemented by the theoretical concept of *"horizons of opportunity"*[9] which captures what thoughts (and thus actions) an individual deems feasible, and highlights how this relates to a person's habitus (Lundqvist, 2010). By underlining what participants deem feasible in terms of goal setting as well as what they deem necessary and possible acts to reach those goals will illuminate the constraints and opportunities the participants perceive. This enables an understanding of the way the tutors' access to opportunities is not only affected by their direct access to capital, but also their understanding of what opportunities are available (Lundqvist, 2010, p. 51-52).

Together these theoretical concepts illustrate how the unwritten rules and expectations of the labour market and education system is something individuals learn and understand on different terms. In this thesis they will be used to illuminate how the actions and perceptions of the tutor participants (as they are framed in the interviews) are determined by their understanding of what is demanded of them. Furthermore, they serve to illuminate which kind of resources participants have or not and what they search for or wish to acquire.

[9] Translated from "Möjlighetshorisonter"

3.1 Bourdieu's capital

While Bourdieu can be interpreted in different ways the basics of his capital theory is summarised in this equation (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 95):

[(Habitus)(capital) + field] = practice.

Capital is the term that describes the quantities different actors have of "actually usable" cultural, social and economic resources and powers (Dillon, 2014, p. 429). Social capital can be defined as "individuals' ties or connections to others" (ibid, p. 449) and economic capital as the "amount of economic assets an individual/family has" (ibid, p. 448). Cultural capital however is less straight-forwardly defined. Bourdieu himself described cultural capital as existing in three forms: an *embodied* form (as dispositions; as ways of behaving and as erudition and taste), an objectified form (possession of cultural objects) and an institutionalised form (university credits, certificates etcetera) (Bourdieu, 1986; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 119; Lundqvist, 2010, p. 50). Lareau and Weininger argue that the term cultural capital is most commonly associated with "'highbrow' aesthetic culture" and understood as analytically different to concepts such as 'technical skills' or, 'human capital' (Lareau & Weininger, 2003, p. 567). To understand cultural capital as a concept that captures the "actually usable" knowledge resources one has, enables an understanding of the ways in which different individuals have different abilities to mobilise/make use of a specific skill.

The concept of cultural capital will be complemented by the term *informational capital.* In some of his later writings Bourdieu uses the term *informational capital* instead of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1992), however this is not how the term will be used in this thesis. Instead, we draw on how Lessky et al. (2021) define it in their research on transitions to university for first-in-family students. The term *informational capital* is used by Lessky et al. to refer to "the link between a student's study-related information resources and their ability to use them to successfully navigate transitioning to university (ibid.). It incorporates not only practical knowledge of study-related processes (e.g., course registration) but also the understanding and anticipation of study-related logistics (e.g., "how best to organise oneself to ensure academic success and gain access to relevant networks") (ibid., p. 29). In this thesis, this concept will be

broadened, and applied to the ability to not only navigate university, but also the labour market. This will then include knowledge of job opportunities, how to apply for jobs, and understandings of what is expected of them in a work-environment.

Habitus can be understood as: "relatively enduring schemes of perception, appreciation and appropriation of things, embodied in and through class-conditioned socialization and enacted in everyday choices and tastes" (Dillon, 2014, p. 449). It captures the ways in which individuals' perceptions, appreciations and appropriation of things are uniquely subjective while influenced by the structures and cultures that make up the context the individual lives in (Lundqvist, 2010, p.51). Bourdieu writes:

> "Because different conditions of existence produce different habitus — systems of generative schemes applicable, by simple transfer, to the most varied areas of practice — the practices engendered by the different habitus appear as systematic configurations of properties expressing the differences **objectively** inscribed in conditions of existence in the form of systems of differential deviations which, when perceived by agents endowed with the schemes of perception and appreciation necessary in order to identify, interpret and evaluate their pertinent features, function as life-styles/.../" [authors' emphasis] (n.d, p. 166).

These generative schemes, applicable to different areas, then shape an individual's understanding of their reality, and then their understanding of their own and others' actions within that reality. Habitus is a result of the life a person has led and the experiences one has had, and is thus a result of "class-conditioned socialization" (Dillon 2014, p. 449; Bourdieu 1990, p. 54-56). This makes habitus the *thought pattern* that an individual uses to understand their surroundings and make sense of others' actions, and guides individuals' actions, such as the way in which they *mobilise* their cultural capital.

Bourdieu's concept of *fields* provides an understanding of how one can know whether capital in a given situation is "actually usable" (Dillon, 2014, p. 429). Bourdieu describes a field as: "a network, or configuration, of objective relations between positions. These positions are objectively defined, in their existence and in the determinations they imposed upon their occupants, agents, or institutions" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 97). Fields are in other words relational, and different subjects hold different positions within a field; "/.../agents have points of view on this objective space which depend on their position within it/.../" (Bourdieu, n.d, p. 165). Further, fields are characterised by conflict, as different subjects within the field constantly

(re)negotiate the unwritten rules of said field (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 17-18; 101). These rules (and the individual's understanding of them, as determined by their habitus) then determine what is deemed "actually usable" capital within a specific field. This, in turn, frames the way individuals (can) *mobilise* their different capitals in a specific situation.

Bourdieu states that all forms of capital "/.../can be derived from *economic capital*, but only at the cost of more or less great effort of transformation, which is needed to produce the type of power effective in the field in question" (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 252). Economic capital is the necessary prerequisite to acquire other forms of capital, as building bonds of reciprocity (as needed for the acquisition of social capital), or studying, reading, competing, etcetera (as needed for acquisition of cultural capital) requires – if not money – *time* (ibid., p. 252-255). People with a low access to or a low amount of economic capital would spend more time than others attempting to acquire economic capital (labouring), which ultimately serves to reproduce the unequal distribution of resources (material and otherwise). This inequality is further exacerbated by the fact that other forms of capital can be transformed into each other (or lend themselves necessary in the acquisition of different types of capital), and thus also back into economic capital (ibid.). I.e. possessing economic capital can be a prerequisite for acquiring cultural capital and cultural capital (like a degree) in turn enables easier access to economic capital.

Lastly, Bourdieu uses a fourth type of capital in his writings – *symbolic*. Symbolic capital can be defined as: "Resources available to a social actor on the basis of prestige or recognition, which function as an authoritative embodiment of cultural value." (Oxford reference, n.d). Essentially it refers to the fact that a certain reputation within a certain space (field) is an actual resource (a capital) which can lend access to other resources (such as economic, social or cultural capital) (Miller, 2014). Hence comes the understanding of symbolic capital as something that can be transformed into other forms of capital.

3.2 Horizons of opportunity

Lundqvist (2010) utilises the term *horizons of opportunity* to describe the choices that seem available, existing and possible for an individual. Lundqvist argues that these horizons of

opportunity are determined by a person's habitus, as the habitus frames the understanding of the world, and perceptions of what is *feasible* (ibid.). This concept then functions as a way of understanding the participants' chosen goals and strategies and how these relate to the context in which they find themselves.

4. Methods

4.1 *Methodological approach*

The method and approach in this field study was overall explorative, meaning that we did not have a fixed theoretical framework in the beginning of the process. Rather we aimed for letting the field and empirical data guide our area of focus as well as the process of narrowing down our initially broad interest area. This approach was suitable for this field work as it allowed us to let the field guide us in our decision making. It also allowed us to navigate the power imbalances that could be at play in the field and not push an agenda influenced by preconceived notions we may have had before entering the field. This meant that the research questions were formulated based on an interplay between the field and theory.

4.2 Recruitment and selection

4.2.1 Selection

The selection of interviewees is most accurately defined as stratified purposive sampling, as we had already chosen an organisation, and to focus mostly on the tutors' perspectives. The participants were then selected due to their respective positions within Edu Fun. The choice to focus on the tutors was guided by the research interest, and not by chance or convenience, making it a purposive sampling (Bryman 2018, p. 496-497).

In informing the participants of the aims of the study we considered the discussion by Karnieli-Miller et al. (2009) on the power position the researcher holds in being able to disclose or withhold information from the participants, and how this impacts the aspect of informed

consent. We chose to describe the overarching interests and aims we had with the inquiry rather than go into specifics in order to be open about the fact that the specific research questions were not formulated yet, and that the project could head in several directions. This was done to make sure we had the participants' informed consent as the abductive process led to the questions constantly being rephrased.

4.2.2 Recruitment of participants

The programme leaders were contacted directly on-site to ask if they were willing to participate. The contact with the school-support teacher was established via one of the programme leaders who helped arrange the interview (which took place on-site in Diepsloot). The school-support teacher was notified of the fact that she would remain anonymous to readers outside of Edu Fun, but that we could not ensure she remained anonymous to other participants. We consider this informed consent, as she told us she understood and agreed to participate despite this.

During our second visit to the field site, the gatekeepers had set aside time for us to recruit tutors and conduct interviews. We chose to use this time to conduct group interviews. We felt it would allow tutors to let them discuss our topics naturally amongst each other and familiarise themselves with us and our project. Tutors were recruited by writing their names in one of two time slots we selected, meaning that the tutors chose their own group constellations. This was important to ensure they would feel comfortable to express themselves.

When recruiting tutors for individual interviews, we chose an opt-in recruitment system. During our visits to Diepsloot we informed the new tutors that we were looking for people to participate in individual interviews. We made sure that the tutors had easy access to our contact information, and encouraged them to reach out if they were interested in participating. We focused mostly on recruiting tutors that had already participated in the group interviews. This may have led to us getting interviews with the tutors who were more outspoken, possibly affecting the results. The former tutors were recruited on-site in Diepsloot based on them opting in, or by contact via one of the programme leaders. This means that they do not have complete anonymity, however this was explained in conjunction with the question of consent.

As results from qualitative research do not aim for generalisation we did not specifically focus on representability based on demographic characteristics, however the dispersion of such characteristics among the selection of participants was overall representative of the group of tutors as a whole in terms of race, gender and age. The tutor group consisted of ten tutors around the ages of 18-30 and was mostly female.

4.3 Data collection

Our research was carried out as a field study in Gauteng, South Africa for 8 weeks in March and April of 2023. The data collection process was aiming to be inductive, understood as a bottom-up approach guided by the empirical material (Bryman, 2018, p. 478-479). However, we found that heading into the field without an underlying thought on what theory could prove useful for analysis was largely unrealistic. The process can thus rather be characterised by interaction between empirical data and established theoretical concepts. In other words, an abductive approach that worked as an interplay between empirical and theoretical reflection where theory was developed and adapted during the collection of the empirical data (Alvehus, 2019; Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2017).

All collected recordings of interviews were stored on password-protected devices. Notebooks with written field notes were kept under constant oversight.

4.3.1 Group interviews

The group interviews were conducted during one of our visits to the Edu Fun “hub” in Diepsloot. The two group interviews, with four and five tutors respectively, were conducted during the tutors’ working hours using a semi-structured interview guide constructed on the basis of a few key themes and suggestions of formulated questions. The interviews were recorded with the consent of all participants. We took turns moderating the discussions and taking notes. The group interviews were not primarily focused on the interaction between the participants, but rather on getting a group discussion on a few selected themes

4.3.2 Individual interviews

Six individual interviews were conducted with tutors, some during our visits to the hub during the tutors' working hours. Other interviews with tutors were conducted in suburbs near Diepsloot. The interviews were recorded with the consent of the interviewees. For transportation in and out of Diepsloot, they were offered the options of taking the standard minibus taxi or taking an Uber. We also chose to share meals with the tutors if the interviews were scheduled during lunch or fika[10] hours. These meals and all transportation costs were paid for with the stipend from SIDA[11]. While this may be seen as persuasion (Eldén, 2020, 88; Karnieli-Miller et al., 2009), it was done with consideration of the tutors' financial situation.

In addition to this, three interviews were conducted with two programme leaders outside of Diepsloot, with one of them being interviewed twice. One interview was conducted with a school-support teacher to add perspective. It was conducted during her working hours at a location in Diepsloot. Two interviews were conducted over zoom with representatives of Vitec, with the first of the interviews conducted in February and the second in March.

We chose to use semi-structured interviews and constructed interview guides[12] adapted to the role they had in the programme, as we were seeking different types of perspectives and information from the participants. Though an issue with the less structured approach may be that we became too flexible, allowing interviews to go off in too different directions, making a direct comparison difficult.

During the interviews one of us was in charge of asking questions and following the interview guide while the other person focused on note-taking and asking follow up questions outside of

[10] Fika is a Swedish cultural phenomenon that entails having coffee and pastry, preferably together, at any time of the day.

[11] This field study was financed with the help of SIDA's minor field study stipend

[12] Interview guides can be found in the appendix of this essay.

the interview guide. We were both present for all interviews and alternated roles between interviews.

4.3.3 Observations

Participant observations were used in combination with the interviews during the course of the field work. They were carried out on five occasions, at the Edu Fun hub and the school at which the hub is located, during different kinds of activities that took place at the hub. These activities were such as teaching sessions with the kids at the school, and feedback sessions with the tutors. Data was collected by writing field notes in our phones or notebooks.

The data collected through the observations was not used explicitly in the analysis, but rather for our understanding of the field and to keep track of how our preconceived notions were challenged (or not), and how our experience of the field affected the theoretical and empirical focus areas. We used our observations as tools to redevelop questions that we could ask during the interviews.

4.5 Processing of empirical data

4.5.1 Operationalisation of theoretical concepts

Operationalising Bourdieu's theoretical concepts is challenging, Bourdieu sees theoretical concepts as "polymorphic, supple and adaptive, rather than defined calibrated and used rigidly" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 23). The operationalisation of the concepts was guided by the abductive research approach. We aimed to find an operationalisation of the concepts that found itself in between the abstract definitions and the way they could be understood in the empirical data, to not only use, but build on the theoretical concepts (Bryman, 2018, p. 478-479). The aim was to centre the empirical data, rather than the theory, to avoid deductive reasoning and confirmation bias.

4.5.2 Coding and conducting the analysis

All interviews that were to be used in the analysis were transcribed in their entirety. Three interviews conducted and transcribed in Swedish and quotes were translated after coding. The transcripts were then coded openly in Google docs by the two authors. Both authors coded all material independently of each other, by selecting quotes or sections of interviews considered relevant for the area of interest and labelling them in accordance with the theoretical framework, or above and beyond it. This round of coding can thus be characterised as abductive as the theoretical concepts were also used as codes. This was done by different types of capital – separating cultural capital into its three subforms embodied, objectified and institutionalised – and using the concepts of habitus, field and horizons of opportunity. This process also included selecting pieces of data that did not fall into those theoretically given categories. This led to the development of codes that both corresponded to and deviated from the capital forms. The two initial codings of the material were compared and discussed to increase the internal reliability (Bryman, 2018, p. 465).

After this stage we separated codes into those that were abductively grounded and those that were more inductively grounded. These were then crystallised and divided into themes, which were: *barriers*, *goals and motivations*, *strategies* and *ways of making use of the programme*. These themes were then separated into subcategories that formed the basis for the writing of the analysis.

5. Ethical discussion

In this section we will first present the overarching principles that guided decision-making in ethical matters. The practical choices will then be put in the context of those considerations to illuminate how these considerations guided us in practice.

5.1 Overarching ethical considerations

One of the primary ethical concerns in the research proposal and planning of the field study was that of our position as researchers in relation to the field and our participants. The specific South African context of apartheid, as well as the power relations between global North and global South would, undoubtedly impact everything from data collection to analysis. This guided the decision to devote time to "ease into" the field, and actively seek South African sources to learn about South African history. This led to several important insights that guided the choice of focus, the use of theoretical framework, and the methodology. These were that structural inequalities are still present in South African society, although no longer explicitly institutionalised along racial lines.

One of the ethical issues we discussed the most was how to avoid falling into the role of the white researcher observing and theorising on "the other". Drawing on Guhin & Wyrtzens' writings on *the violence of essentialization* we thoroughly considered our own role as researchers and producers of knowledge *about* our interviewees, from different perspectives (Eldén, 2020, p. 70; Guhin & Wyrtzen, 2013, p. 235-236). This was an attempt to dismantle our idea of the "other", and work around the assumption of likeness (and thus having to prove and argue for any potential unlikeness), rather than assuming differences. Our decision to work abductively was an attempt to avoid the danger of *epistemic violence,* where Western forms of knowing prelude and drown out the voices of the "subalterns" (Guhin & Wyrtzen, 2013, p. 235-236). The last danger, *the violence of apprehension*, argues that research that avoids the binarisms and generalisations of the epistemic and essentializing violence still can be used oppressively, and to enact violence upon "the other" (ibid.). We especially considered this as we were producing knowledge about the tutors that the person in control of their stipend would most likely take part of. This meant taking great care of the way we present the analysis, and frame the tutors' stories. To neither construct a story of the tutors as agency-less victims, nor agents capable of anything, and thus with only themselves to blame if they "fail".

We chose to aim for centering the tutors' agency, both the constraints on their agency as well as the ways in which they use their agency to negotiate their circumstances. We wanted to avoid the risks of portraying them as passive subjects. In choosing Bourdieu's theory, it was thus important

for us to centre the agency, while highlighting the circumstances shaping their room for manoeuvre. Considering the criticism his theory has received for being overly deterministic, we sought understandings of Bourdieu that centred agency and action[13].

Firstly, we considered how our own preconceived notions, and our own experiences may affect our interpretation and understanding of the tutors and their circumstances (Eldén, 2020). The qualitative nature of the inquiry centres our interpretation of the data, and the methods for gathering, processing and analysing it, and thus how we treat the data will affect the outcome. Eldén argues for spending time with the material, and trying to see the material with new eyes once gathered, attempting to set aside already made assumptions of what the data is telling you (Eldén 2020, p. 70-71). Another important aspect is to stay mindful of accurately representing the material, despite needing to reduce it and distil it (ibid.). Due to time restrictions, we had limited opportunity to let the data rest for a long enough time to be able to see it with fresh eyes. This posed a challenge in the work with the analysis, but we tried to mitigate this issue by thoroughly discussing through every one of our interpretations, trying to find different ways of interpreting the data.

5.2 (Pseudo-)anonymity and consent in observations, interviews and selection

One of the dilemmas we arrived at in the field was how to accurately convey our relationship with Edu Fun and Vitec as organisations. The contact with the programme was established via Vitec, and our gatekeeper to the field was a mentor in the programme. We thus made clear to the gatekeeper, Vitec and the tutors that the project was not affiliated with Vitec or Edu Fun in any way. Eldén (2020) highlights the need to take into consideration that a situation like ours meant that the gatekeepers knew, or at least were rather likely to figure out who the participants were (p. 80). We had no ability to completely anonymise the participants from each other due to the size and nature of the organisation. However, we chose to not connect statements to a specific person, to avoid their statements being easily identified by other participants. Furthermore we wanted to make sure the participants understood what their participation entailed in terms of

[13] See for example, p. 11 for a discussion on mobilisation of capital

level of anonymity, what kind of data would be collected and analysed and in what context this data would be portrayed. Eldén (2020) highlights the difficulty this entails, and discusses the fact that a consent form may sometimes feel unnecessarily formal. We did however choose to make and hand out a consent form to the tutors who partook in the group interviews. This was done for two reasons, one being to make sure that they would have access to our contact information in order to be able to ask questions or ask to withdraw from the study. Secondly the information sheet included written information of what they had agreed to and that they had the right to for example withdraw their consent at any time without stating reasons. This was done in order for the participant to be able to read through it multiple times, and take time to understand and process on their own.

6. Analysis

The analysis will answer the research questions by presenting the tutors' motivations and reasons for participating in the programme, how (if at all) the tutors experience that the programme enables them to reach their own goals, and present the programme leaders' perspectives in contrast to the tutors'. The factors which the tutors and programme leaders mean impede the tutors' entry into the labour market and academia will be analysed to contextualise their motivations and the way in which the tutors make use, or plan to make use, of the programme. It will present an analysis of the ways the tutors understand the programme in relation to their own goals for the future and analyse the role the programme has in setting goals for their future. It will also analyse if, and to what extent, the programme is ascribed a specific function in the setting of goals and/or imagining the future.

The first part of the analysis presents and analyses the understandings of what resources the tutors are lacking to gain easier access to the labour market and future studies, providing a context for their goals and motivations. These are divided into five barriers: poverty, motivation and support, (lack of) knowledge about university and the labour market, skills and education, and negotiating behaviour and expectations. The second part presents and analyses the tutors' as well as the programme leaders' goals and motivations for the programme, and the

understandings of the programme's role in the tutors' future. This analysis will attempt to provide an insight into what benefits the actors perceive can come from this programme, and thus how this programme is and can be used by the tutors.

6.1 Barriers

6.1.1 Poverty

Diepsloot is an economically underdeveloped area where many people live in poverty. While the situation looks different for all of the tutors, most of them have at some point in time experienced economic hardship, and still do. One participant describes: *"So I would say that it was easier when my parents were still together /.../ cause they were both working. When my mom moved in with my grandmother, that's when things got different /.../ my mother was struggling with a lot of things, because now she has to take care of myself, my little brothers, and her mother, my grandmother. Cause she's living under her roof. So yeah things got very difficult…"*. When asked whether the household has enough money to sustain themselves one tutor says:: *"/…/it's enough for surviving, but it's just not enough for our household/.../"*. So, while most of the tutors are currently getting by and are able to afford the most basic costs of living, they feel the economic situation is strained: *"/…/We run by a paycheck, only before the other month comes, it's finished"*.

This lack of economic capital available to use for things other than sustenance then constitutes an economic barrier for entry into the tertiary education system, as going to university is costly. However, most tutors see higher education as the primary way to get a secure job and procure a stable income, with one tutor saying that most people she knows who finished their higher education are independent and have stable jobs, while: *"/.../most of the people that did not go to school,* [are] *always getting a job like you, won't know that the job is temporary or it doesn't last any time,* [if] *the job lapse or, even a virus such as Corona comes, you won't have anything"*. During both group interviews the tutors discussed how (lack of) money, i.e. economic capital, impacts their ability to access university and education, i.e. cultural capital. Cultural capital in turn is seen as the primary way to get out of poverty. The groups also discussed that the social

stipends and bursaries that are available for application were conditional, and if you failed modules you could lose them and have to drop out, showing further how the lack of economic capital puts them in a precarious position even if they can secure funding. Another participant lacked the cultural capital (grades) to qualify for the programme she would like to study, and while there are opportunities to upgrade your grades, they are expensive, and thus low economic capital in combination with low amounts of institutionalised cultural capital create barriers for higher education.

Another tutor highlights the poor service delivery and its implications for the learning environment, saying: *"not to make any excuses, but it gets difficult to study when there's no electricity…"*. Power outages and loadshedding[14] contribute to serious issues with electricity in Diepsloot. Coupling this with the insight from previous studies suggest that this disadvantage in terms of service delivery serves to reproduce inequalities by making job searching more costly money and time wise, as well as rendering university less accessible (Mlatsheni, 2012).

Another tutor highlights a family member's role in motivating her for further studies: *"[h]e like, came and looked for me and told me I should apply for school /…/so I did apply to* [university] *for teaching, just to show him that I tried…"*. The family member is identified as having a key role in motivating her to apply to university as it was important for her to not let him down. Showing him that she was trying can be understood in this context as signalling symbolic capital that he valued (ambition). The family member financed her education, showing how social capital can be converted into economic capital. In this case, the ability to convert social capital into economic capital is dependent on symbolic capital, as she felt she needed to prove that she was ambitious. Using social capital to acquire economic capital means then, that the potential loss of the social capital that has a facilitating function could entail that the person cannot complete their studies. This means that whether their studies are funded through the state or through your social network, the economic capital is conditioned therefore putting them in a precarious situation of dependence.

[14] Load shedding are planned power cuts, usually lasting several hours per day, due to the ongoing South African Energy Crisis (City of Johannesburg, 2018).

6.1.2 Motivation and support

A school support-teacher who works closely with Edu Fun at a primary and secondary school several tutors attended, says that a major challenge for some of her students is their homelife: *"They will not go anywhere, because they don't have people who are motivating them from the family…"*. The support-teacher emphasises parents' role, especially in motivating their children for school. Motivation in this case is a form of inner driving force that keeps a person going despite facing barriers and hardships. The emphasis on motivation does not naturally lend itself to the Bourdieusian theoretical concepts of analysis. However, this motivation is connected to *other* people, which emphasises the importance of social capital, not only for its potential conversion into other capital, but also for stimulating agency.

The support teacher also points to the teachers' roles in motivating children for future studies: *"I have teachers to blame, because we are the ones who should motivate these learners"*. This echoes a view of the school's role as a key part in ensuring equality of opportunity for the students. The school is seen as having a *compensatory role* for the students who do not have social capital at home that can serve as a motivating factor. Teachers are also important to communicate the connection between cultural and economic capital. One tutor puts this statement in context: *"Actually, it was in Grade 9. I actually wanted to be a doctor /.../and my natural science teacher told me that I wasn't fit. And I wasn't 'good', to be a doctor. So she told me to just drop the subject /…/ Then I decided, 'OK, since I won't be a doctor or anything else, I'll just settle with the teaching'."*. Here the teacher had a significant impact, even functioning as a barrier by imposing the belief that she was not well suited to become a doctor. This closed her horizon of opportunity, leaving her to "settle" with a career path that was seen as more attainable. This shows how social capital not only facilitates the opening of the horizons of opportunity, but the closing of them too.

6.1.3 (Lack of) knowledge about university and the labour market

Continuing on the subject of having graduates in the home, one tutor says: *"And if you have graduates, lots of graduates at home like it's much easier, even if academically you're struggling,*

they'll find alternative ways of trying to uplift you, your career and all that. But if you don't have anyone who went to university at home and all that they won't be able to help, they literally won't know anything about the university and all that". The experiences of other people within the family is highlighted as a source of information about alternative routes to employment and opportunities. Social capital then becomes a resource that can be converted into informational and cultural capital.

When asked about the application process to university one tutor said: *"It is confusing. I don't know yet cause my mom is the one who helped me last year. /.../ I don't think it's easy to find* [information on applying] *online. I think it's easy when you ask someone who has done it before or who is in it already"*. This highlights how cultural capital can be mobilised via social capital. Furthermore it shows how the experiences of others constitute a primary information source for the tutors. This combination of social capital and cultural capital can be understood as *informational capital*. A parent (social capital) could help her with the application process, however, this makes the capital volatile as she remains dependent on her social network to access the informational capital.

One of the groups discussed the school's role in informing about opportunities and the workings of educational institutions. One tutor stated that schools differ in to what extent they support and inform students about how their choices of subjects in secondary school impacts the future. As many of the tutors don't have parents who attended university they become more reliant on the school for social capital to acquire informational capital.

The lack of *informational capital* extends to the understanding of the labour market. During the group interviews, the tutors discussed how they find it hard to get knowledge about possible career paths. This lack of *informational capital* is partly ascribed to the type of career guidance they received in schools. One of the tutors explained: *"/.../other careers you just experience them by maybe TV, radio, somewhere. Usually they will be telling you about science, nursing, doc-, like those fancy engineering,/.../ You wouldn't know that there are those maybe bachelor of art or sociology and all that. /.../ Even if there is career guidance they don't go deep /.../"*. Informational capital is a factor that then affects the horizons of opportunity. When the tutors are not told about alternative career paths, they cannot see them as possibilities.

The possible career paths discussed during the interviews were teaching, social work, entrepreneurship and starting a business, law, psychology and medicine. Teaching, social work and medicine were jobs associated with high employability. Law and psychology were framed as hard-to-attain dreams to pursue once stability and economic security had already been established. Studying per example law was considered a risk, as it was less likely to lead to a job. The literature on self-employment and entrepreneurship suggest that it often means less job-stability and a lower income, however the tutors associated it with freedom and independence. The tutors who had ambitions to start their own businesses were younger and did not have kids, the tutors who were older and/or had kids were more inclined to see it as a Plan B. While they could be mentioning these specific professions due to their reputability, it may also point to where the horizon of opportunity ends.

6.1.4 Skills and education

The tutors describe, in group interviews as well as in individual interviews, that the government schools face structural challenges with the learning environment. One tutor, when asked about the difference between private and public schools, says: *"I'm not belittling the quality of education that is provided by public schools, but I feel like it's a bit higher /.../* [in private schools]*, cause there's less learners in the classroom, so teachers can spend more time, have more interactions with the learners"*. This is echoed by another tutor saying: *"I remember in grade ten we were like a hundred in the same class, so obviously, you cannot focus on all the children /.../"*.

Furthermore, the quality of education in government schools is considered to lead to disadvantages if one enters university: *"When it comes to the quality of the education, the government quality it's not that good, so when you go to university it's sometimes a challenge"*. In other words, it not only makes university more inaccessible, it also creates a barrier once one has been able to enter. Students from more privileged backgrounds will then need to spend less time "catching up" – leading to further reproduction of already existing inequalities.

The tutors talk about skills they identify as useful in a workplace, such as working in a group and computer skills. By naming the tutoring programme as the place they learnt them, they signal they did not get these useful skills from elsewhere. One of the senior tutors says about students who attended public school: *"Sometimes they don't even know how to use computers…"*. The under-resourcing of schools is causing the students a skill deficit in comparison with the students who are already ahead in other areas. This means that while they have the same *type* of institutionalised capital, in the form of a diploma, the actual knowledge (embodied cultural capital) is not the same. While they acquire a graduate certificate (institutionalised cultural capital), that cultural capital may not be considered as useful as a certificate from another school, due to the fact that it is a public school in a poor area. Meaning that the capital may not be valued as highly within certain fields, despite being institutionalised. One of the former tutors describes her experience transitioning from secondary school in Diepsloot to university: *"I'm used to high school where they spoon-feed you; give you notes, teach you everyday, be on top of you, on your neck: 'did you do your work?'"*. When the students are not used to structuring work themselves, time-management becomes an issue when entering university. The students are being guided by the teachers, and reminded to do their work. She describes this in relation to the change that occurred when she started studying at university, where she suddenly needed to plan her own time and work independently.

6.1.5 Negotiating behaviour and expectations

One of the programme leaders expresses frustration about the tutors' understanding of what is expected of them. She describes having to *ask* the tutors to perform tasks that seem obvious to her. This highlights how some behaviours are taken for granted by the mentor while the tutors have other frames of reference:

> *"the kids that come straight out of school, they've never been challenged to think out of the box, they just arrive, they do what they're told and they go home. Like the other day, in the hub all the chairs and tables were to the side because there'd had been a cleaner and we started quarter to 8, and I'm there writing on the whiteboard and I didn't even realise that a lot of tutors had arrived /…/and suddenly I look behind me and loads are there and not one of them, and they do it every morning, had decided to move the table and the chairs to sit. It's like you have to be asked".*

And elaborates: *"Some of our best Phono-Graphix practitioners – and they're really good with the kids – they've got the biggest attitude in terms of the other areas you know. So absolutely amazing and then sitting chewing gums, wearing headphones, while they're teaching children"*. She describes her expectations as: "*nothing I wouldn't expect from any employee, it's nothing that parents wouldn't expect from children. It's just about that common decency and just being employable"*. The tutors' "lack" of understanding of the implicit expectations she means are necessary for "being employable" is thus understood as hampering their ability to enter the labour market. According to the mentor, these expectations are commonplace: *"[b]ecause this is the problem, these guys aren't getting jobs because they aren't presenting in a way that a workplace would expect them to"*.

This understanding of what is expected of them in a workplace or at university, is (according to a Bourdieusan logic) understood as an important success factor. It is not only identified as such by the programme leaders, but also the tutors themselves; while the new tutors tended to highlight skills such as public speaking, computer skills and communication skills as a barrier to employment, the programme leaders and the former tutors also focused on behaviour, views and values. One of the former tutors adds that the programme teaches *"how to behave in a workplace",* implying that the understanding of the behaviours expected in a workplace might be new to them. Being able to present in a way that a workplace expects requires an understanding of those expectations, i.e. an ability to interpret the unwritten rules of the field. Having the ability to understand and adapt to the rules of the field, such as presenting in a certain way in a job interview, then becomes a matter of mobilising cultural capital. Acting in accordance with expectations of professionalism, thus becomes symbolic capital by way of "an authoritative signal of embodied cultural capital"[15].

The tutors mention the need for adaptation in a work-environment and discuss strategies to negotiate this. One tutor says *"You can lie in an interview, neh? But then you get employed, /.../ you know what is expected of you, so you have to pretend until you get used to it"*. This illustrates the tutors' understanding of the need to signal embodied cultural capital, however, the nuances of what different kinds of employers expect depending on the field may be what is missing. The lack of experience with the *specific* field means a lack of tools for interpreting its

[15] See 4. Theory

specific implicit demands, in short: a lack of mobilisation skills to mobilise cultural capital within a specific field. The understanding of the need to adapt is there, but not the "skill" of doing it. Furthermore, the tutors' understanding of "faking it" is based on covering up the fact that one does not have a certain skill. They do not express the same understanding of professionalism as a matter of symbolic capital, attributing the expectations of the employer to concrete skills, rather than what the employer would perceive as personality traits. In this way the participants' habituses, the thought schemes that affect our interpretations and perceptions of different fields, can be understood as the barrier.

6.2 Using the programme

This section will present the way the tutors understand the programme in relation to their own goals for the future, and their motivation for participating in the programme. It will also analyse the role the programme is ascribed in relation to the tutors' futures. The tutors' perspectives will be contrasted with the programme leaders' perspectives, to analyse how different actors understand the programme differently in relation to the tutors' future.

The tutoring programme's role in relation to aforementioned barriers is understood differently amongst the tutor group, and relates largely to their goals and motivations. Their motivations for attending the programme signal what is perceived as a barrier, and what the programme is understood to be contributing with. Their goals guide the view on their participation, and informs how they use the programme. One of the goals that are shared largely among the group is that of improving their and their families' lives and they go about this in different ways. However, the financial barrier is the main barrier they need to overcome in order to reach their goals and oftentimes the strategies for doing so are linked to the acquisition of *other* forms of capital that are assumed to lead to economic capital.

6.2.1 Participation as a strategy and setting yourself apart

One tutor is actively losing money by participating in the programme, as her transport fees exceed the daily stipend. When asked what about the programme that makes it worth it, she says that: *"It's the skills, the skills that's in you, no one can take it out. Knowledge that you got from the hub. It's the knowledge that no one else out there has. Many teachers don't have the knowledge or the skills"*. She motivates her participation in terms of setting herself apart from others when she does enter the labour market (she is planning on pursuing teaching). She mentions specifically the Phono-Graphix certificate and method of teaching as one of the things that would distinguish her from others. The programme is then serving the purpose of making her employable in the future, showing a supposed link between cultural and economic capital. The tutor goes on to describe her long-term goal: *"It's just to make money. /.../ to make money and then help my mom"*. To understand this goal in relation to the choice she is making to participate in the programme despite it costing her money, means understanding the time and money she spends everyday as a long-term "investment" in the unique cultural capital she receives. She makes up for the money she loses by doing small, temporary side jobs or with the help of a parent, showing the role of social capital as an enabling factor.

However the skills and education she is receiving are not understood as only instrumental, she also finds that the skills she is learning has value in itself: *"[l]ike how my teachers in high school and primary school, if they had* [these] *skills I think they'd be better people"*. This connects to another goal of hers, namely to have a positive impact on the lives of children she imagines she will teach in the future. The order in which these goals are presented during the interview, suggest that acquisition of economic capital is a goal that makes possible pursuing self fulfilment. It also highlights how the tutors can use their agency and their understanding of labour market demands to make choices based on long-term goals . In this tutor's case, the programme can help her differentiate herself on the labour market and thus increasing her likelihood of finding employment.

Another tutor also describes the opportunity to participate as something worth forgoing a job for: *"[w]ell currently, I'm looking for what this programme do /.../ it's giving me skills, and there's something to get after the programme which is the certificate, at least it's a qualification also, it's*

something… so, the job would wait". She says that even if she was offered a job, she would likely stay in the programme, as the certificate and qualifications make it worth possibly losing out on money now: *"Yes, because I mean, if I would do that on my own, I wouldn't afford it, so it's better to gain the skill and the knowledge, that I'm getting for free…"*. She uses her time to invest in cultural capital, as the programme offers to give cultural capital without demanding economic capital from the tutors.

Many tutors mention the certificate and qualifications specifically as motivation for joining and, more importantly, staying in the programme. The certificate is a *tangible* resource, as well as something that is recognised as legitimate. One tutor says one of the most important things the programme offers is the certificate and the typing skills, which constitutes as tangible cultural capital. Another tutor highlights the role the certificate had when deciding to join the programme: *"I quit my job for that, because I thought it's a great opportunity, I mean, we're gonna get certified afterwards and I'll be able to use it…, I don't need this job, I'm gonna learn something…"*. This tutor highlights how the programme is perceived to lead to some "actually usable" (cultural) capital. and how the *tangible* certificate is what makes the programme most useful in relation to their futures. Investing time in acquiring the certificate is assumed to lead to acquisition of useful cultural capital. Institutionalised cultural capital is ascribed a central role, in relation to skills without "proof". This shows the key role ascribed to *institutionalised* cultural capital in acquiring economic capital.

The certificate also functions as a back-up plan, thus mitigating the economic barrier by providing opportunities to acquire economic capital if all else fails. During the group interview, one tutor said: *"Well it's a great skill to have with you, and we can teach anyway, just not have a teacher certificate"*. Another tutor said the certificate was the primary benefit of the programme: "*I knew that even if I don't get employed, you know, like somehow I have something that I can use to get money, to tutor other learners, while I'm looking for a stable job"*. By being able to provide proof of their knowledge in the form of institutionalised cultural capital they open up possible routes for acquiring economic capital.

One of the former tutors said during the individual interviews: *"[y]ou know, when you have a skill, there's no one who can take it away from you. When you have the skills, you know that* /.../

'*I know this' and when you /.../ go somewhere knowing something, when someone see that you know that thing, they will be convinced, and automatically they will convince other people that you know that thing"*. In her understanding skills (cultural capital) can, with the help of other people (social capital) be legitimised and thus lead to symbolic capital in the form of a reputation of one as a person with a specific skill. This is described as a way to then attract clients for her potential tutoring business, showing how this in the long run is imagined to be able to lead to economic capital. In other words she describes the way in which different forms of capital can be converted and transformed into economic capital.

6.2.2 Pragmatic strategies and employability

When discussing possible career choices, many of the tutors held a pragmatic view on the role of higher education: "*You know when, when you were sitting at home, doing nothing /.../ That's when I started to check around, what can I do? Then I wanted to do something that I can get job easily, really. But then I thought teaching cause, it's in high demand, in a lot of schools…"*. Teaching was the most pragmatic choice and the likeliness of employment is what guided her in her decision. Studying teaching is a pragmatic strategy for her to acquire a decent salary and a stable job. This strategy is more pronounced among the older tutors, and especially those with children. For one tutor, this pragmatic strategy is also underlying her choice to participate in the programme: *"For me it was because it is aligned with my studies /.../. I thought it was an opportunity to gain more experience /.../ when you study at university online you don't have sort of experience, because you just come like 5 days at school/.../ I didn't get like, enough chance to work with the learners /.../"*. This way of framing her participation indicates that the programme has a *compensatory* function, by making up for the lack of practical experience she gets in her formal education. This lack of practical experience can be understood as a lack of embodied cultural capital, as she feels that she learns theory on for example how to manage a classroom, but does not get the opportunity to put it to practise, and thus embody it. This lack of practical experience can be understood as a lack of embodied cultural capital, as she feels that she learns theory on for example how to manage a classroom, but does not get the opportunity to put it to practise, and thus embody it.

Another tutor says: *"/.../ unemployment it's… cause we're just starting teaching cause it's where you find most of the job, you don't study just because 'ehh I like that job', cause then you have a degree and just stay at home, no work no nothing"*. She says that if unemployment had not been so high, she would have chosen to study something else, as teaching is not her main interest, but finding a job is the main priority. Another tutor hopes to, once she's finished her studies in teaching, be able to gather enough money to go back to studying and pursue a "dream career" in what she is passionate about. Higher education becomes a pragmatic solution to a lack of economic capital, and the programme is used as a strategy to *compensate* for the lack of skills taught in schools.

Another of the older tutors says, during the group interviews: *"I feel like since we are doing teaching, you get to be prepared, neh?"*. The tutors who are studying teaching are inclined to frame the programme as a way to further their career. Another tutor adds: *"so most of the teachers they /.../ know nothing about Phono-Graphix"*. The programme becomes a complement to their teaching degree that sets them apart on the labour market. The tutors also add that the stipend they receive is an appreciated addition to their income, serving as an extra incentive to participation. When asked however, the tutors make clear that the stipend is not their main reason for participating, and that it rather is the skill and experience that they value highest.

6.2.3 Escaping boredom and 'refreshening' your mind

However, it is important to note that most tutors, when asked about what they would be doing if they didn't partake in the programme, say they would most likely be unemployed: *"[m]aybe I would be still job-hunting, yeah… But most definitely I would be still unemployed"* – signalling that employment is not seen as a likely alternative to the programme. For some, the programme might simply be "better than nothing", or as one tutor puts it: *"'[c]ause maybe if I'm being honest the reason why I'm here is because last year I was doing my first year* [in university] */.../ I would just wake up, clean the house, study and then* [signalling nothing] *so it got boring so /.../ I thought this year I should find something to do"*. Unemployment is high, and the tutors who combine the tutoring programme with studies do remote-learning, leaving them with little

opportunities for activation. The tutors describe how this leads to feelings of hopelessness and a lack of motivation. As one tutor put it: *"/.../ I think some of us have been applying for jobs for so long… It's been from 2019 until now… no job opportunities, so this was* [an] *opportunity to go on till 23"*. The scarce opportunities for activation and learning of new skills, as well as the lack of economic capital leads to few opportunities for new experiences that can serve as motivation by opening new horizons of opportunity.

Most importantly, the fact that some of the tutors have not actively sought out the experience to further their careers does not mean that they don't frame it as meaningful. One tutor frames the activation it provides as meaningful in itself: *"I said Edu Fun refreshes your mind, cause like when you are at home when you think like lot of things and you end up being with depression. But when you're here, at least you have something to do, like, your mind is freshened up /.../"*.

For one of the tutors, the programme also functions directly to overcome the motivation barrier as well as the behaviour barrier:

> *"I was giving up, slowly giving up on my dreams slowly. So for me to volunteer here at Edu Fun was like a pick up kind of like. A place where I feel like, you know, I still have time. /…/ I still have a chance to make it. Yes. I don't have to think about things that happen. I can still make it. Because I met a lot of people. Like, the teachers also are very supportive. They will guide you when you're there, they will advise you, "you should just don't just go to school, do something while you're working to motivate you." Even* [one of the programme leaders]*, like, even the volunteers they used to like, motivate us.* [The programme leader would say]*, 'Don't just sit and do one thing. Explore. You're still young guys. You can just do whatever you want to do. There's more to life.' So for me it was where I'll find a, like, a support system"*.

The support system she found via the programme can be understood as social capital. This social capital has also increased her material living standard as her connection to the programme leaders has led to her receiving new prescription glasses, donated clothing and more. The motivation she is describing is hard to categorise as any type of capital, in fact it might rather be a case of her circumstances influencing her habitus. When exposed to a different environment, and different viewpoints she found new ways of thinking of the future, and what is possible. This kind of widening of the window of opportunity can be understood as a widening of the horizons of opportunity; the imaginable world grows. She highlights this further: *"[i]t gave me hope. /.../ Because when you are in a space where you are meeting people who have done it all, almost, they have done it all, they have achieved. You are in a good space where you are motivated every*

time. So even if you feel like I don't want to deal with [it] *anymore, but when you see them, like you're motivated again".*

The social capital that is made available at the programme, via interactions with programme leaders and the volunteers can also be converted into economic capital. One of the tutors describes her relationship with a mentor: *"OK, I used to go to her when I needed, I wanted an extra job, so that I can raise money to go to school, last year. So she was the one who was helping with how to write the CV, the motivational letter and how to approach some employers. And she was also like 'I will take you there if you wanna go there. /.../ I'll come with you. We'll go there together.' Yes, she was willing to do that."*. This shows how the social capital that the programme leaders and volunteers constitute could potentially be converted into economic capital. However, most other tutors expressed that they would not feel comfortable approaching programme leaders or volunteers, meaning that this social capital is not seen as "actually usable".

6.2.4 Accomplishing 'something' and creating a better future

Many of the tutors described their overarching goals in terms of creating a better future for themselves, and their families. One of the tutors specifically mentioned how she believed education was the way to break out of the poverty cycle. The hope is tied to her ambition to attend university and acquire a formal education (institutional cultural capital). This tutor also expressed how the values and virtues she associated with people who had attended higher education were ones she aspired to. She describes how the new status her sister got within the family after finishing her degree encourages her to go to university: *"'[c]ause everything at home when they want anything, they will call her. They respect her. Anything, because of education"*. This status as a provider, a person with the resources (capital) to help family members, increases the respect from other people. This respect can be understood as symbolic capital.

The focus on family is shared by other tutors. One of the former tutors, who is studying to become a teacher and got a learnership through her participation in the programme says: *"*[I'm] *definitely working on helping my family, so when I'm done here I'm going to work hard to save*

money for [her brother]*, to get the opportunity that I got. 'Cause I can't expect him to also get a sponsor and the opportunities that I have exactly here, /.../ the reason why I'm saying I want to save money for him is because in case this happens, where he's not getting the same opportunity, I can be able to help him go to school, to university. Yeah. And also I think I'll be connected enough to find help at the school".* This shows a commitment to using the economic capital she is expecting to receive as a result of her education to increase opportunities for other family members. This shows how she aims to use her own position and the capital she is expecting to gain to *compensate* for how scarce the opportunities are in Diepsloot.

Another tutor identifies literacy in English as a barrier to learning: *"I actually read and did things in English* [in the government school], *but I don't think I understand half of the things that I did, most of the things… until I went to a private school…"*. She identifies literacy issues as a key determining factor in passing the metric level[16], and does so based on her own experiences. Identifying these barriers has then informed her decision to use what she learns about teaching literacy to give her own child a "head start". This is an example of a *compensatory strategy*, employed to make up for the perceived shortfalls of the schooling system. She frames this in the context that she wants her daughter to have better prerequisites than she had: *"Because I mean, my mom never helped me with my homeworks, and now I'm preparing myself to help my daughter with her homeworks"*. Teaching her daughter is part of one of her overarching goals: "*I wanna bring up change to my family, and… for the next generation /.../ to bring more change…"*, and thus becomes an investment in the future.

6.3 Goals of the programme and lessons learned

The former tutors and the programme leaders provide other perspectives on the programme than the current tutors who started in 2023. The programme leaders have structured the programme based on their understanding of the tutors' barriers. This understanding can largely be traced

[16] In the South African schooling system the metric level is the last year of upper secondary education, the metric certificate is the equivalent of a high school diploma.

back to the behaviour barrier, this manifests itself in a focus on instilling certain behaviours, values and ways of thinking and acting in the tutors.

The tutors that have already finished the programme, describe the programme's benefits both as has been presented in the previous section, but also in terms of providing new perspectives, and new experiences. One of the former tutors says (about the sessions they would have with one of the programme leaders): *"[a]nd she would have talks with us on how to, like, be out* ***there****. I mean she'd make us understand that the world is not only in Diepsloot, okay there are other places out there and other different people, and you'll be exposed to a lot, and this is how you can deal with it when it happens"*. The tutor then describes this as learning life skills. She goes on to mention how she feels that the new perspectives on teaching are different from those she has known from her own experience: *"[m]y experience when I was learning in Diepsloot, the teachers were, uhm, not the teachers but the environment was more solemn, than here"*. These new and different perspectives prepared her for the learnership in teaching at a private school she got after finishing the programme:

> "*So me being exposed to all those different stories, I mean experiences on working with kids, and schools and all that, helped me here because if I didn't know that there are schools that are like this and there are kids that are like this, this is how you handle kids that are like this, /.../this is how you become a kind and fun teacher – I wouldn't cope here. Because I would be used to being a solemn teacher, like in Diepsloot, 'you do this, you listen to me, *shh* keep quiet!', you know* [she] *taught us, when you're working with a child: /.../Just be calm. And make them feel comfortable. Make the learning fun. That's all, so she helped me actually,* ***to be able to blend in here*** [authors' emphasis]*"*.

The exposure she is talking about, learning about how schools can look outside of Diepsloot and how teaching can be done differently helped her adapt to the new environment at the learnership she was offered. It can be understood as experiences that widened her horizons of opportunity, making visible a different way of teaching, and thus also rendering it possible. Learning to speak to different kinds of kids can be understood as her developing new mobilisation skills, i.e. learning how to mobilise her cultural capital (knowledge of teaching) in different fields. These mobilising skills (that become part of one's habitus as a result of practice and experience) thus helped her adapt to a different environment.

This change of perspective, as well as change in values and behaviours is a part of the programme's intended outcomes (seen from the viewpoints of the programme leaders who designed the programme). One of the programme leaders said: *"/.../ so the kids that come straight out of school, they've never been challenged to think out of the box, they just arrive, they do what they're told and they go home"*. Here she identifies schemas of thought – do only what you're told – (habitus) and behaviours as one of the key barriers for the tutors. She ascribes this largely to their socialisation: *"[t]hey don't know that they can actually participate, no one has ever treated them as a thinking adult who's got an opinion"*. These behaviours and thought patterns, and the fact that she describes them as basic, indicates a certain mismatch between what the new tutors tend to identify as their biggest barriers, and what the programme leaders identify as their biggest barriers. The mentor goes on to say that part of the skills the programme teaches are: *"[j]ust integrity, just basic things that we take for granted. /.../ Just about showing up, and not being told what to do all the time"*. Some of these things are problems that she frames as more typical of Diepsloot or areas like Diepsloot such as literacy, the ability to work in groups, and public speaking. While she attributes others to the overall South African education system, such as a lack of independent thinking, and a lack of initiative and accountability for the students. One of the tutors reflected on the fact that the practice in public speaking and working in groups has helped her gain skills she deems valuable for the future, that she did not feel she got from school. The things the mentor intends to teach through the programme, can then be understood as *compensatory*; attempting to compensate for both the barriers that are specific to Diepsloot, but also the bigger systemic failures.

While we have identified certain habitual characteristics as a barrier for employability according to the programme leaders, the overarching goal of the whole programme is on the literacy aspect, as described by the programme's initiator: *"[s]o my main goal is that 400 kids are going to learn to read in a year. So that's actually all I'm concerned about ultimately. All of the other things are just bonuses, so if these kids do become more employable that's brilliant, but it's really about the 400 kids/.../"*. Secondly, the larger purpose of teaching the "soft skills", such as mobilisation of capital, how to understand and interpret different fields to be able to convert capital etcetera, is to change Diepsloot from the inside. This is one of the biggest discrepancies in terms of goals, as the tutors overarching goal is leaving Diepsloot, and the programme leaders' goal is to make

them want to stay. The teaching and mentoring of the tutors is described as an investment, an investment they make to attempt to change the literacy situation in Diepsloot as a whole. The skills they are teaching the tutors are what they consider they need to become good leaders and role-models: *"[w]e want to move, move them to a western archetype of a leader, but at the same time be able to integrate their culture in it and express, well, find more diplomatic and pedagogic ways of lifting their followers, or /.../ those below them in the hierarchy"*. They want to encourage empathetic leadership, and an inclusive attitude. Further, they want the tutors to see the benefits of working as a group, something they mean is lacking. To some extent, the tutors agree, with most saying that one of the skills they are learning or did learn was how to work together in a team. These are skills the programme leaders teach in the hope that the tutors go on to use them within their community.

The organisational goals for teaching the tutors certain skills are instrumental, but the programme leaders state personal goals for the tutors as well. These are to increase their chances of employment, raise the tutors' confidence in themselves and their abilities, and for them to get hands-on experience where their abilities are trusted and they are treated as adults. About the difference between the tutoring programme and government project, one of the programme leaders says: *"[t]he biggest problem about the kids, they're unemployable at the end of these projects because they haven't necessarily engaged. And they don't get proper work experience when you've got a hundred.* [kids]. *That's why these projects work now because no one wants to take youth on, they're prepared to take money, but they don't want to actually mentor them through it".* Another mentor says that one of the goals is to give the tutors the opportunity for personal growth and help them make a toolbox they can apply to situations outside of the tutoring programme.

The demands and pressure they put on the tutors are framed as a way to help them help themselves by letting them make mistakes, and try again. Both programme leaders that were interviewed express that not demanding things from them, not "making them accountable", ultimately undermines them, as it is they who have to learn to mitigate their circumstances or overcome their barriers, in order to lift themselves out of poverty.

7. Concluding discussion

To conclude, the tutors' reasons for participating in the programme differed within the group. The tutors' motivations for participation were mostly linked to acquisition of skills that would increase their likelihood of finding employment, but some mostly wanted to escape the boredom and inactivity that comes from unemployment and remote learning. The programme leaders' view on the role of the programme differed from the tutors' mainly on what skills from the programme were the most useful in gaining access to the labour market and future studies. The tutors valued the cultural capital in the form of the Phono-Graphix certificate, group work skills and time management. The programme leaders on the other hand emphasised habitual characteristics and symbolic capital. Understanding the ways the different actors of the programme perceive the demands of the labour market is essential to understanding in what way the programme *can* work as a resource for the participants. It also underscores how the access to capital affects the tutors' ability to navigate the labour market and its demands, and how they can imagine their futures.

The most interesting findings were: (1) that the programme leaders understood the programme's meaning in the tutors' lives primarily as an opportunity for them to gain cultural and symbolic capital that would make them more employable – if the tutors could develop the habitual understanding of the labour market demands on symbolic capital, they would do better in job searching. This meant that the programme leaders put great emphasis on skills that the tutors themselves had not identified as important for future employment. (2) The tutors considered the certificate the most important factor to increase the access to the labour market, and thus their chances of reaching a level of relative economic security. A primary motivation for participation in the programme was the fact that it enabled access to institutionalised cultural capital (in the form of the Phono-Graphix certificate) free of charge. The institutionalised cultural capital was understood to either further their future careers, or serve as a back-up plan for acquiring economic capital. (3) The programme exposed the tutors to new ways of learning, new ways of teaching and people who had different experiences from them. These new experiences were understood as meaningful and helpful in relation to their future at large, and not *only* in relation to employability. The former tutors participation in the programme had led to acquisition of capital (symbolic, social, economic and cultural) and new understandings of the fields they

entered in and out of. This led to a new understanding of what was possible and attainable, opening *horizons of opportunity.* This shows how the acquisition of both material and immaterial resources shapes the perception of what is possible. (4) The tutors used the programme as a way to compensate for what can be characterised as systemic failures, such as low quality education in public schools, lack of meaningful skills, and lack of access to opportunities that would allow them to put learning into practice. This was in turn intended in the design of the programme, as the programme leaders had identified these same failures.

The qualitative approach of this thesis means that no large scale generalisations can be made (Bryman, 2018, p. 484-485). However, it allows for an analysis of the subjective experiences the tutors describe. As most South African studies on access to opportunity, and/or inequalities are quantitative, we find that the qualitative approach of this study enriches the understanding of the ways in which actors deal with the inequalities described in quantitative research. By describing the subjective experiences of the participants, we reach a deeper understanding of the ways they navigate the lack of opportunities. It also provides a deeper understanding of the role of civil society in the lives of disadvantaged youth when political action is lacking.

For further research it would be interesting to investigate this in larger scale programmes, and especially focus on to what extent the dimension of reproducing inequalities is considered in more large-scale programmes focusing on vocational training of disadvantaged youth. A quantitative approach investigating whether a programme like this leads to a higher success rate in university or a higher employment rate for participants could also be used to see the more concrete effects of the programme and therefore complement and add nuance to the research area. Investigating the demand-side of the expectations of the labour market and university are shared by employers and university staff would further add to the understanding of the barriers for youth, such as the tutors. Understanding demand-side expectations could make for a deeper understanding of the role of symbolic capital, and the way the valuing of symbolic capital is racialised.

Considering the aforementioned danger of *essentialization* we must discuss the risk of this programme being used to understand the reason for the tutors difficulty in entering the labour market and finishing university as a matter of personal traits (Guhin & Wyrtzen, 2013, p.

235-236). We would like to point out how these findings do not suggest that the youth of this programme are at risk of unemployment due to their habituses or amount of capital, but rather due to the way their habituses and capital are valued within the labour market and academia. The new tutors' focus on institutionalised cultural capital as the way into the labour market signals an understanding of a meritocratic labour market, where one is judged by their merits, rather than a labour market that does not value the skills and experiences they *do* have. Focusing only on making unemployed youth "employable" then, risks falling into what Allais (2012) refers to as the self-help paradigm instead of shedding light on the structural inequalities that limits their access to opportunities. Not investigating the (racialised and class-conditioned) nature of the expectations of the labour market will likely not lead to meaningful structural change.

Lastly, we want to emphasise what is inherent in a Bourdieusan understanding of these matters: economic capital forms the base of these relations, as it is necessary to acquire other forms of capital that is deemed valuable (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 252). By focusing strictly on skills and education or habitus and symbolic capital, we treat the symptom and not the cause. The authors of this thesis wish to see a deeper understanding of this in dominant development agendas such as the SDGs.

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9. Appendix

9.1 Interview guide – Group interviews

With their approval, the interview will be recorded. The recording will be stored on a password locked computer.

Identifying information, such as their name and their exact age will be changed. I.e. 24 will be "between 20-25".

No wrong answers! Ask us to clarify if you feel that a question is confusing.

- Make clear we don't need them to agree – we want to hear different opinions
- Try not to interrupt/speak at the same time
- No right or wrong answers! We are very interested in all points of view
- We are not working **for or with** Edu Fun, or anyone else, this is independent

Curious about all these questions in connection to your own kids, younger siblings/cousins/family members?

Themes:

- **Diepsloot/community**
    - What do you think of Diepsloot? What do you like about it, what don't you like about it?
    - What does the political situation look like in Diepsloot? What do you guys think about it?
    - Do you think the focus should be on increasing the quality of life in Diepsloot, or to move somewhere else?
    - What changes would you like to see in Diepsloot? Politically or from the community?

- **Education**
    - Do you think it would be best to invest in education or employment initiatives? Diepsloot, and SA – why?
    - Do you feel that the university system is accessible?
    - Do you think going to university would make your future better?
        - Do you think better access to university would better the lives of young people in Diepsloot, generally?

- What do you think about the education system – what would you like to see change?

- **Employment/work**
  - What would you like to work with?
  - Do you feel worried about finding employment?
  - How did you get your latest job and/or what is the most likely way you think you will find employment? (connections? etc)
  - How does the lack of employment opportunities impact you and your lives?
  - Do you think that entrepreneurship is a viable future for you? (Starting your own company/freelancing)

- **Edu Fun**
  - Why are you participating in this project? What is your motivation?
  - In what ways do you think Edu Fun impacts the community?
  - In what ways do you think this project impacts the kids?
  - In what ways do you think this project impacts you? As a group and individually?

- **Future**
  - Do you guys see yourselves going to university? why/why not?
  - Are you hopeful or worried or both about the future – explain!
  - Do you think you will stay in touch after the project year ends?

Anything to add?

Thank for participation

Let them know how to get in touch and their rights

9.2 Interview guide – Tutors

With their approval, the interview will be recorded. The recording will be stored on a password locked computer.

Identifying information, such as their name and their exact age will be changed. I.e. 24 will be "between 20-25".

No wrong answers! Ask us to clarify if you feel that a question is confusing.

Background/Introduction

- Can you tell us your Name, how old you are, a bit about who you are
    - Where do you live right now? What does your family situation look like, i.e. do you have any siblings, any kids, do you live with your parents, other family, a partner? etc
- Did you attend Diepsloot combined school? Which is your highest level of finished education? I.e. Did you finish the metric? Have you done anything after high school training or school wise?
    - If dropout: if you feel comfortable to tell us – why?
- *Follow up questions depending on the answers*

FAMILY/UPBRINGING/SCHOOL

- Can you tell us about your background, start with where you were born and try to tell us about yourself and your life up until you became a tutor!
    - What was your family situation like?
    - Where did you live?
    - Where did you go to school?
    - How long were you in school?
    - What did you want to be when you grew up? – Were you always interested in working with kids?
    - What did you think about school? Did you enjoy it? What were your favourite subjects?
    - Have you worked before? With what?
    - Have you had any training or schooling outside of "primary and secondary education"?
    - **How have your dreams about the future changed during your childhood/teenage years up until now?**
    - **What would you say were important turning points? Are there any events that have changed you or your outlook on the future/yourself?**

LIFE RIGHT NOW

- How did you come into contact with EduFun?
    - How come you are part of this program?
    - How long have you been in the programme?
    - What do you think about it so far?
    - Have you learned anything new?
    - Do you think you're going to learn/are learning things you will use outside of the project? – In what way?
    - Have you done anything similar before?

- How Edufun works:
    - Pros and cons of the project
    - What are you learning? How are you learning it? (skills, phonographix, återkoppla till fokusgrupp)
    - In what ways do you think this project works and what could make it better?
    - Tell us about the group (the other tutors), how is cooperation working? What works, what doesn't?
    - What do you think about working with the volunteers?
    - In what ways are the volunteers working with you guys?
    - What does your interaction with the volunteers look like?
    - What does the cooperation/work with Jenny and others who are "responsible" look like for you? What would you want it to look like?

- Life outside of EduFun
    - Can you describe your social network? Who is a part of it? How are you linked?
    - What do you do outside of Edufun? Leisure or work?
    - What do you like to do on the weekends?
    - What do your friends do?
    - Do you know anyone who studies at university?
    - Are many of your friends employed? (We heard there's not a lot of jobs)
        - Is it a minority/majority?
    - How many of your friends live or come from outside of Diepsloot?
    - What did you do work/study wise before? How did you get by?
    - *If you feel comfortable: (we are gonna ask more personal questions)*
        - (Are you the main breadwinner in your household?
        - How many people in your household are currently employed?)
        - Is your household currently making enough money? Explain your thoughts about it – how does the money from EduFun play into that?

THOUGHTS ABOUT THE FUTURE

- What are your hopes/goals/plans for after the project ends? (dream big!!)
    - What role does this project have in reaching your goals?
    - What role does your social network have in reaching your goals?
    - How close are you to reaching your goals?
    - What do you need to reach your goals?
    - Do you want to stay in Diepsloot? Would you want to be able to continue living here?
- What do you think your life will look like after the project ends? (employment/school/training)
    - why?
- Has working with EduFun changed your view of your future?
    - What might be possible?
    - What you would want to do or work with etc?
    - The future of your kids/family?

If they have children

- Are your children taking part in the EduFun programme?
- What do your kids dream about? What do they wanna be when they grow up? If you know? What do you think they are gonna be when they grow up?
- What would you like for your kids?
- *Do you think your kids are gonna live in Diepsloot when they are your age? Why? Why not?*
- Do you believe in the EduFun programme?

Anything to add?

Thank for participation

Let them know how to get in touch and their rights

9.3 Interview guide – Programme Leader

- Interview will be recorded and transcribed
- You can contact us if there's something you would like to clarify, if you remember some additional information you think we should know and if you simply wish to withdraw your participation in this project. You can withdraw consent at any time without providing a reason, note however that it will no longer be possible after 17th of may.

Some questions may sound dumb or we might already know the answer, but this is a way for us to get that information into our empirical data.

Introduction:

- Tell us a little bit about yourself, how old you are, where you live. Also feel free to share any background that you think will provide an understanding of why you run this project!

- Can you tell us about Edu Fun? From how it started, where it is now?
    - What is the main focus, what are the goals?
    - How do you work with goal achievement?
    - Do your personal goals for the project align completely with the organisation's goals?

- Tell us about how this specific tutoring project started
    - Can you tell us in a bit more detail about how this project works/is designed and why?
    - What is the main focus/goal of this project?
    - What does a "good outcome" look like to you?
    - and to EduFun as an organisation?
    - If you measure results, how do you do that?
    - What does evaluation look like?
    - What do you think are important factors to consider when evaluating?
    - Have you changed anything since last year? Strategically/organisational wise? Relationally?
    - Why use tutors?
    - Why use local youth?
    - What is the thought behind that?
    - How much are the "tutors" compensated per month?
    - Why that amount?

- What does the recruiting process of the tutors look like?

    - Are there many that apply but don't get a spot in the programme?
    - Do all tutors complete the programme?
        - Why not?

- What does the agreement with Vitec look like?
    - Is money conditional?
    - How is the relationship?
    - What do you think would happen if you would stop showing measurable "results"?
    - How are results presented to Vitec?
    - Are you happy with the communication with Vitec?
    - What amount of freedom do you have to change programme structure?

- What does your relationship with the tutors look like? Describe!
    - How are they to work with?
    - How much are you personally involved in their personal lives?
    - How do you think the tutors benefit from the programme? Academically, personally, socially? In life vs in the job-market?
    - How does this align with goals for the project?
    - Are the benefits intentional or unintentional?

- Do you have any contact with last year's tutors? How?
    - Why/why not?
    - Where are they now?

- Where do you see EduFun in the future?
    - Do you wish to start other projects like the tutoring project? Or expand it?
    - What do you think is the potential of the tutoring project?
    - What would the project need to reach that potential?

Anything to add?

Thank for participation

Let them know how to get in touch and their rights