The resilience of emerging adults inhabiting a stressed industrialized environment in Eswatini

by

NOMBUSO GAMA

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Supervisor: Professor Linda Theron

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DECLARATION

"I declare that the thesis, which I hereby submit for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Pretoria, is my own work and has not previously been submitted by me for a degree at this or any other tertiary institution."

N. Gama

Nombuso Gama

29 August 2022

ETHICAL CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE

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- No significant changes,
- Informed consent/assent,
- Adverse experience or undue risk,
- Registered title, and
- Data storage requirements.

DEDICATION

I dedicate this research to the Swazi emerging adult participants who made my study possible.

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To have achieved this milestone in my life, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to the following people:

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ABSTRACT

The aim of my study was to explore emerging adults' accounts of resilience to the challenges of a stressed industrialized environment in Eswatini. This aim relates to how Matsapha (the stressed industrialised environment) exposes emerging adult Swazis to numerous challenges, yet how Swazi young people navigate these stressors successfully has never been researched. To address this gap, I adopted a social constructivist stance and explored emerging adults' subjective meanings of the risks that characterise Matsapha and what enables resilience to those risks. To facilitate this exploration, I used a qualitative approach and phenomenological design. Thirty emerging adults (15 young men and 15 young women; aged 18-24), who had lived in Matsapha for at least a year, consented to participate in my study. Through a mix of focus group interviews and participatory research methods (i.e., photo-elicitation and mapping activities), emerging adults shared their experiences of Matsapha-related stressors and what enabled resilience to those stressors. Using inductive thematic analysis, I found that even though Matsapha was an unavoidable environment in which physical, financial, and relational stressors were rife, enabling connections, personal drive, and a resourced ecology supported emerging adult resilience to those stressors. While these relational, personal, and ecological resources fit with what has commonly been reported about resilience, they also advanced attention to its complexity. In this regard, they underscored that the resources that supported Swazi young people to adjust well to their stressed industrialised environment were developmentally apposite and contextually (i.e., situationally and culturally) responsive. Further, these resources collectively supported young people's positive adjustment, thereby showing emerging adult resilience to be co-facilitated. Even though independence is a hallmark of emerging adulthood, in stressed environments (like Matsapha) emerging adult resilience cannot be construed as a personal responsibility only. Overall, my study's findings advocate for emerging adult resilience to

be understood as a co-facilitated, developmentally and contextually responsive process. In industrialised contexts in Africa, government and other formal supports must urgently become more supportively involved in its co-facilitation.

Keywords: Emerging adulthood theory, emerging adults, industrialization, resilience, Social Ecological Theory of Resilience, stressed environment

LANGUAGE EDITOR

12 August 2022
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To whom it may concern,

I hereby confirm that I undertook the language editing for the thesis:

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by

NOMBUSO GAMA

The work was well written overall.

Cillié Swart BA (Harvard) MBA (Kuehne)
+27 (0)73 612 0278
pjcswart@transkaroo.net

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

SETR	Social Ecological Theory of Resilience
EA	Emerging Adults
SD	Eswatini
RYSE	Resilient Youth in Stressed Environments
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCING THE STUDY

1.1.   BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

Eswatini is the second smallest country in the Southern African Development Community (SADC), with a population of 1.2 million (The World Fact Book, 2022). The majority (52%) of this population is below 20 years of age, and the youth (15-35 years) constitutes 79% of the country's population (Ministry of Sports, Culture, and Youth Affairs, 2015). Eswatini holds a lower-middle-income status, with most of the country's economic sustenance coming from construction, manufacturing, and agriculture (Nindi & Odhiambo, 2015). These few sources of revenue create a noticeable demarcation between the rich and poor. This is further complicated by the fact that a huge share of businesses and industries are owned by the King and therefore do not benefit the ordinary Swazi citizen (US Department of State, 2017). The World Bank (2019) highlights this disparity and reports that 59% of Swazis live below the poverty line.

Young people are particularly vulnerable to this socioeconomic precarity (Ministry of Sports, Culture, and Youth Affairs, 2015). For instance, Dlamini (2020) reportS that Eswatini is among the worst-hit countries in sub-Saharan Africa regarding youth unemployment. Unemployed emerging adults (including graduates) constitute 46.12% of the unemployed in Eswatini (O'Neill, 2021). This growing economic precarity also jeopardizes opportunities for emerging adults to engage in tertiary education. This relates to how the unsustainable Eswatini scholarship loan system and misappropriation of these scholarship funds leave many Swazi emerging adults unable to enrol in tertiary education. For instance, scholarship funds were misdirected from the scholarship account to purchase the King's luxury vehicles in 2019, leaving thousands of Swazi emerging adult students destitute (Dlamini, 2019).

As an educational psychology lecturer in one of Eswatini's self-financing (private) tertiary institutions, my daily job involves interacting with Swazi emerging adults (i.e., young people aged 18-29; Arnett, 2000). I am constantly exposed to the challenges these young people face (such as academic difficulties, resource deprivation, high dropout rates, unplanned pregnancies, and mental health challenges). Even though some of these challenges are developmentally apposite (emerging adulthood includes numerous challenging developmental tasks; Arnett, 2000), they are heightened by the lack of equitable and reciprocal distribution of resources (Nindi & Odhiambo, 2015). Emerging adults are thus compelled to navigate life within Eswatini's unsupportive environment during a volatile stage of their lives. This vulnerability is even more pronounced for emerging adults who must contend with the challenges typically associated with stressed industrialized locations, such as Matsapha.

Matsapha is an industrial town in central Eswatini that attracts large numbers of Eswatini emerging adults because it is associated with employment opportunities. Migrating to Matsapha does not, however, always live up to the anticipated employment hopes and associated financial independence. Many emerging adults do menial jobs, are underpaid, overworked, and have unfavourable living conditions within Matsapha (Makadzange et al., 2018). For instance, many emerging adults work from dusk to dawn in the factories for a minimum of E700 (ZAR700 or US$50) per month despite the minimum wage for factory workers being E1300/ ZAR1300 (Swazi Media Commentary, 2018). This financial precarity probably also accounts for how Matsapha has the highest rates of HIV/AIDS infections in Eswatini (Ansbro, 2020; Datta & Singh., 2018), as many emerging adults living in Matsapha are forced to explore other means of income, such as sex work. As Arnett (2014) asserts, much of the stress and insecurity that characterizes emerging adulthood stems from various social and economic hindrances that young people face during this

transition period from adolescence to adulthood. This stress is pronunced when emergig adults have to further contend environmental (e.g., high levels of pollution) and security challenges (e.g., high incidence of violent crime) within Matsapha (Magagula, 2022).

Given this adverse contextual reality, a pressing question is: how do Matsapha emerging adults navigate life within an environment that is not conducive to the realization of emerging adult developmental milestones, and what enables them to do so successfully (i.e., what might support their resilience)? This question is pertinent given how emerging adulthood is one of the most delicate periods of development, where a failure to launch oneself as an independent being heightens the chances for stress, frustration, risk-taking, and mental illness (Arnett, 2014; Schwartz & Petrova, 2019). Resource constraints and other environmental risks challenge the successful transition to emerging adulthood (Arnett, 2016; Butterbaugh et al., 2020). This vulnerability is even more pronounced among emerging adults inhabiting stressed industrialized African environments (Theron et al., 2021). For instance, Alozie (2020) shows how young people inhabiting the Niger Delta continuously face unemployment, violence, and mental health challenges that stem from financial and job scarcity. This heightens their chances of engaging in criminal activities, prostitution, and substance abuse.

The aforementioned question is also pertinent within the Swazi context when juxtaposed with the little attention to the resilience of young people, including emerging adults, in Eswatini to date. Quintessentially, resilience is a person's capacity to adapt well to significant stresses that have the potential to derail normative development and other successful outcomes (Masten, 2014). While publications acknowledge that Swazi young people face many challenges (Dlamini, 2018; Makadzange et al., 2018), they generally fail to consider what might enable the resilience of this population. Some exceptions are studies reporting the resilience of Swazi children and adolescents

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exposed to adverse contexts and events (Huysmans et al., 2019; Motsa & Morojele, 2019; Motsa & Morojele, 2017; Ntinda & Nkwanyane, 2017). However, despite repeated searches, I could not find any that reported the resilience of Swazi emerging adults, let alone emerging adults in the stressed context of Matsapha. I was thus inspired to address this gap.

1.2.   RATIONALE OF THE STUDY

Industrialized environments, like Matsapha, continue to attract many people (Sheng et al.,, 2020). Research shows that rural to urban migration rises exponentially as people search for employment opportunities (Marta et al., 2020; Su et al., 2018; Ye, 2017). These industrialized environments are, however, not devoid of challenges. They are usually ecologically and socially stressed contexts that typically challenge the health and wellbeing of residents. For instance, pollution typically affects the physical and mental health of industrial residents (Afonne et al., 2020; Ahmad et al., 2021). Similarly, industrialized contexts are usually over-crowded, under-resourced, and home to many people who are financially challenged or unemployed (Akanle & Omotayo, 2020; Efiong, 2020; Pratama & Purmiyati, 2020). These challenges are also linked to high-risk behaviours such as prostitution and crime in stressed industrialized areas (Ejo-Orusa, 2020; Onwuka et al., 2020).

The risks posed by stressed industrialised environments are particularly problematic for emerging adults. Emerging adulthood is characterised by a search for long-term partners, employment opportunities, and a need to establish financial independence (Arnett, 2000). Achieving these developmental milestones can be compromised by the unavailability of jobs in industrial areas (Baggio et al., 2017), and by the migrant nature of industrialised communities (Agbofino, 2022;

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Ogele, 2020). These and other challenges typically jeopardise emerging adults' capacity to reach the developmental milestones associated with emerging adulthood, such as completing further education or training, establishing a career, committing to a long-term partner, achieving functional independence, and being hopefully oriented to the rest of adulthood (Arnett, 2000).

The disappointment when emerging adults cannot fulfil the requisite developmental tasks can potentially undermine their health and wellbeing (Germani et al., 2020). For instance, Do and colleagues (2020) report how young people working in Vietnam's industrial environments suffer from mental health challenges, such as depression, and often consider suicide and engage in substance abuse because of compromised financial opportunities. Likewise, unemployment and marginalisation in Kibera (an industrialised community in Nairobi) contribute to high HIV/AIDS rates, drug and alcohol abuse, and crime among young people (Okallo, 2017; Omondi, 2011). These negative effects are worsened when emerging adults cannot access support. For instance, many resource-deprived young people in the Niger Delta (an industrialised community in Nigeria) cannot afford the much-needed mental health care services because they are unemployed and because closely located mental health care services are not available or inadequate (Jack-Ide & Uys, 2013). A single mental health facility, Rumuigbo hospital, in Port Harcourt, services over 4 million Niger Delta residents (Gere, 2017).

The development of emerging adults in Africa is particularly worrying because they inhabit one of the world's most resource-deprived continents (Oppong Asante et al., 2021; Van Breda, 2018). Concern for this population grows when viewed alongside the fact that the African continent has the fastest-growing population of young people (15-24) worldwide (Hunt, 2019; Mitchell, 2021). The well-being of this fast-growing population of young people and their potential to contribute productively to the future of the African continent demands increased attention to their risk and

resilience (Theron, 2020). The capacity to adapt to a stressed, industrialised environment and its associated challenges will be imperative for African emerging adults' livelihood and psychological wellbeing (Amawulu & Kurokeyi, 2018). Given these realities, resilience studies that shed light on how emerging adults adjust positively to the challenges that jeopardize their normative development are important. They can produce findings that can guide service providers and mental health practitioners to support young people to adapt well and develop normatively.

Swazi young people are also not spared from the challenges associated with living in stressed industrialised environments. Even so, research on how Swazi emerging adults adapt to the challenges of stressed industrialised environments is limited. Filling this knowledge gap is imperative because, firstly, youth (15-34 years) comprise the majority of Eswatini's population (i.e., 79%) (Ministry of Sports, Culture and Youth Affairs, 2015). Secondly, most Swazi studies of human resilience focus on children or adolescents (Gosselin, 2011; Gunnestad & Thwala, 2011; Mkhatshwa, 2017; Morojele & Motsa, 2019; Motsa & Morojele, 2017; Ntinda & Nkwanyane, 2017; Thwala et al., 2015). For instance, Ntinda and Nkwanyane (2017) focus on the resilience of special needs children. Similarly, Thwala and colleagues (2015) focus on children raised in single-parent homes. Even though these studies provide valuable information on the resilience of children in Eswatini, they cannot be reliably used as a reference point for the resilience of emerging adults. Emerging adulthood is a different developmental stage compared with childhood or adolescence (Arnett, 2014), hence resources that make sense to children and adolescents might not necessarily apply to emerging adults. Attention to the potential distinctiveness of what supports resilience in emerging adulthood is imperative because people typically steer towards the resilience enabling resources that are developmentally appropriate and meaningful to them (Yoon et al., 2019). Further, given that resilience is also sensitive to situational and cultural context (Ungar, 2019),

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these pre-existing studies cannot be assumed to adequately explain the resilience of Swazi emerging adults. They generally did not consider situational and cultural determinants of resilience, including the built environment and gender norms.

Finally, as noted by others (Theron et al., 2021; Van Breda & Dickens, 2017; Zulu, 2019), resilience theory needs to prioritise young people's lived experiences or their voices. Emerging adults' voices are underrepresented in African resilience studies (Theron et al., 2021). This fits with the general marginalisation of African young people's voices in studies of youth development (Blum & Boyden, 2018). Their under-representation is concerning as resilience is complexly influenced by contextual determinants, including situational dynamics (e.g., how safe a given built environment) and cultural values and norms (e.g., gender-specific expectations or appreciation for communalism) (Masten et al., 2021; Ungar & Theron, 2020). These contextual determinants shape how resilience plays out, including which resources are more readily available or meaningful (Ungar, 2011). By providing a platform for the voices of risk-affected African emerging adults, including those in stressed industrialised communities in Eswatini, service providers would be in a better position to understand the complexity of these young people's resilience. This would allow them to meaningfully support the resilience of this population in ways that fit with African realities. When services and other supports are tailor-made to fit the population they are being rolled out to, their efficacy is heightened (Liebenberg & Theron, 2015).

Overall, given that emerging adulthood is associated with heightened vulnerability for poor wellbeing (Arnett, 2000; Shelley et al., 2020), more particularly when emerging adults are members of a stressed, industrialised environment (Theron et al., 2021), attention to what emerging adult voices can teach us about how best to support their resilience is overdue. Moreover, attention to African emerging adult voices will provide an opportunity to redress the hegemony of resilience

accounts that were developed in minority world contexts (e.g., North America and Europe; Blum & Boyden, 2018), and encourage a more contextualised understanding of what might support their resilience. A contextualised understanding of which social and ecological resources matter for the resilience of Swazi emerging adults would add to the current understanding of African youth resilience (Theron, 2020). This is likely to have more than theoretical value in that service providers should be able to support the resilience of emerging adults in industrialised contexts in Africa in contextually responsive ways.

1.3.   PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

In response to the above concerns, I conceptualised a phenomenological study. This phenomenological study aimed to explore emerging adults' accounts of resilience to the challenges of a stressed industrialized environment in Eswatini. In particular, this study was concerned with the insights of emerging adults living in Matsapha, a stressed, industrialised town in central Eswatini. The stresses that typify life in Matsapha are similar to the stresses in other industrialized towns in Eswatini (Makadzange et al., 2018) and sub-Saharan Africa (e.g., Ayeleru et al., 2020; Christodoulou et al., 2019 Madhou & Sewak, 2019; Muluneh et al., 2020;; Theron et al., 2021).

1.4.   RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The purpose of my study translated into a single main question and three associated sub-questions. The main question was: "How do Swazi emerging adults living in Matsapha explain their resilience to the challenges of this stressed, industrialized environment?" The associated sub-questions were as follows:

a) How do Swazi emerging adults explain the risks of living in the stressed environment of Matsapha?

b) Who/What enables the resilience of Swazi emerging adults living in stressed environments?

c) What do these emerging adult accounts teach us about the complexity of resilience?

1.5. MY POSITIONING AS A RESEARCHER

Qualitative research differs from quantitative research because the researcher (rather than a survey or questionnaire, for example) is the data collection instrument (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003). In so doing, the researcher could have a direct influence on how the research plays out and what meaning is made of the data (Speldewinde, 2022). The researcher must thus share relevant aspects of themselves to provide a basis for conducting their research and their role in the research.

As a Swazi citizen who has faced various personal challenges, including resource deprivation, underemployment, and now political challenges, I have a personal interest in the topic under discussion. Having also received my undergraduate and graduate degree training at a university located within the stressed industrialized environment of Matsapha, I know too well how hard it is to live within that stressed industrialized environment. Even though I only resided in Matsapha for the seven-year duration of my tertiary studies, I still have a personal reference of what Swazi emerging adults inhabiting this industrial town face. In some ways, that positions me as an insider in my study (Bruskin, 2018). However, since I no longer reside in Matsapha and surrounding areas, I could also be considered an outsider (Beals et al., 2020). I benefited somewhat from being geographically removed from Matsapha after relocating to Mbabane (the capital city of Eswatini)

in 2016 when I completed my master's studies. This outsider status fostered a more objective understanding and portrayal of participants' reality because I was no longer emotionally and physically invested in the stressed industrialized environment (Chabra, 2020).

Overall, I consider my research role to be that of an in-betweener (rather than an insider or outsider). Milligan (2016) describes an inbetweener's role as located between the outsider and insider poles of the outsider-insider continuum. I was no longer living in the community, but I understood the community and had things in common with the participants. Prominent commonalities included nationality, culture, emerging adult status (when my study commenced), and language, since Swazis only speak a single native language; Siswati. Though geographically removed, these commonalities benefited my study because they made me relatable. Participants were welcoming and willing to share their circumstances openly, because they understood that I was also once subject to the stress of being an emerging adult in Matsapha.

Given my links to Matsapha, I tried to bracket my experiences by being open to viewing the world through the eyes of the Swazi emerging adults that agreed to be part of my study. Bracketing not only implied acknowledging my personal views and working to limit how they might overly influence the research process, as is traditionally required in phenomenology (Chan et al., 2013), but it also involved an awareness of how guiding theories and resilience studies that I had read may influence my thinking. I, therefore, declared my assumptions (see 1.6). It is worth acknowledging, however, that complete bracketing is an impossible task (Finlay, 2008). For instance, I assumed that residing in Matsapha brought a lot of emotional, physical, and relational challenges and discomfort for Swazi emerging adults. I was, however, conscious of how such an assumption might impact my portrayal of participants' experience of Matsapha. Dwyer and Buckle (2009) advise that successful qualitative researchers are open, authentic, and deeply interested in

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accurately depicting participants' worlds. As part of bracketing this assumption, I tried hard to listen for participants' lived experiences and to respect that those were sometimes different from mine. Through asking probing questions and listening to participants' answers, I gained a deeper understanding of the conversations we were having. I also avoided falling prey to navel gazing. Navel gazing is when the researcher allows their emotions and experiences to gain prominence over those of participants in the study (Finlay, 2008).

Recently, Braun and Clarke (2022) suggested that a researcher's assumptions can be a strength if a researcher uses them to think reflexively and critically about the data. To that end, while I was careful not to navel gaze, I owned my assumptions. As part of owning them, I shared them with a seasoned researcher in Eswatini. I also shared the findings I identified with this researcher. They independently interrogated the findings I reported and how I interpreted them, including ways in which my assumptions had supported insight into the data without biasing my interpretation in ways that marginalised participants' authentic insights.

1.6.   GENERAL ASSUMPTIONS

At the outset of my doctoral study, I made the following assumptions:

a)   Swazi emerging adults living in Matsapha face health challenges such as respiratory diseases from prolonged exposure to contaminated air. They also suffer from auditory fatigue because of the ongoing noise from factories/ traffic and are susceptible to waterborne diseases. These assumptions relate to Makadzange and colleagues' (2018) report that unfavourable living conditions have given rise to various industry-related

diseases in Matsapha. They also relate to my having experienced some of these physical challenges first-hand when I lived in Matsapha.

b) Living in Matsapha is financially challenging. I assumed this from personal experience, but also from the literature I read when proposing my doctoral study. Many emerging adults are unemployed and undereducated/uneducated. Activities (such as drugs, criminality, and prostitution) are often used to mitigate the economic challenges of the stressed environment (Nkambule, 2019). For instance, the Eswatini Country Operational Plan (2019) showed how both young men and young women engaged in sex for financial gains in Matsapha. This was further illustrated by the Matsapha Municipal council's pledge to protect sex workers because they understood how poverty was the driver of these activities (Nhlabatsi, 2018).

c) I further anticipated that hope would drive the resilience of Swazi emerging adults in Matsapha. This is partly due to how the poverty in Matsapha seems to be a better compromise when juxtaposed with the dire poverty that characterizes rural Swazi environments (Ministry of Economic Planning and Development, 2019). For instance, research shows that poverty is more pronounced (84%) in Swazi rural areas than in urban areas (Ministry of Economic Planning and Development (2019). I assumed that what kept young people going was that they truly believed they could find jobs at any given moment. Sibbald (2013) reported that even though many people get exposed and infected with HIV and TB in Matsapha, they do not lose hope for the better future that the stressed industrialized environment could provide.

d) I also anticipated that the resilience of young people in Matsapha would be gendered in that some supports would be more, or less, available depending on a person's biological

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sex. This relates to how the Swazi culture promotes rigid forms of socialization between young men and women. For instance, young men are expected to take on the role of the material provider in their various heterosexual relationships (Motsa & Morojele, 2019), while young women are expected to adopt unpaid caretaker roles. Women must also be subservient (Brogna, 2018) and not show frustration about the lack of representation in the social, political, and economic scopes of the country (Macdonald, 2016). Even in school contexts, Motsa and Morojele (2019) show a gendered negotiation of resources among vulnerable school-going children in Swazi schools. Female school-going children are typically seen as fragile and are given resources that facilitate their lives in school, while their male counterparts are expected to negotiate their school life independently.

1.7.   PARADIGMATIC LENSES

I detail the philosophical, methodological, and theoretical paradigms that framed my study next. This helps not only situate my study but also forge an understanding of how I viewed the world of emerging adults in my research and my approach to co-generating knowledge with these young people. In short, my chosen philosophical paradigm prompted my methodological preference and played into my preferred theoretical framework.

1.7.1. *Philosophical paradigm*

Typically, a basic set of beliefs (a philosophical paradigm) guides a researcher's actions and approach to generating knowledge (Creswell, 2003; Lincoln & Guba, 2000). I subscribed to a social constructivist paradigm in my study. Working from a social constructivist stance encourages

the researcher to seek to understand participants' subjective meanings of their experiences (Andrews, 2012). It fits interpretive disciplines such as ethnomethodology, sociology, anthropological and psychological research (Kham, 2013). The social constructivist view posits that people are perpetually trying to understand and make sense of the world that they live in (Bryman, 2008). This sense-making is both a social and cultural process (Creswell, 2007). People frame their world from the perspective of the environment they inhabit and the culture, including the values, norms, and traditions that are promoted in that environment.

A practical application of social constructivism in my study took the form of in-depth discussions with study participants. With these, I sought to understand the resilience of emerging adults as constructed by the participants. This was guided by my viewing these young people as expert knowledge producers (Mitchell et al., 2018); they were the authority on what it was like to live in the stressed industrial environment of Matsapha and what supported resilience to those challenges. A rich and authentic understanding of their resilience could therefore only be ascertained by listening to their subjective accounts of how they made sense of their life in Matsapha and managed its many challenges. This was imperative given that resilience is a contextually responsive and developmentally sensitive capacity (Masten, 2014). I thus respected the personal views/ subjective accounts of participants and the contextual nature of the factors and processes that they associated with positive adjustment to the hardships of Matsapha.

It is in the process of talking to each other that meaning is constructed and deepened (Burr, 2007; Kham, 2013). This provides researchers with a rich, nuanced understanding of the phenomenon being studied, as perceived by the very people who live it (Kham, 2013). By inviting emerging adults to share their experiences of risk and resilience discursively, they could voice the meaning they had constructed of their lifeworld in Matsapha and the resources that allowed them to adapt

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successfully to this world. This gave prominence to the voices of African emerging adults, which is missing in too many resilience studies (Theron et al., 2021; Van Breda & Pinkerton, 2020).

Bringing African young people's voices and insights to the fore can draw attention to unjust circumstances (Mitchell et al., 2018). The more audible young people's voices are, the more probable that a research study will produce solution-driven responses that would benefit them and the entire community from which they come. By raising emerging adult voices (i.e., making their insights [more] audible), emerging adults could, therefore, potentially become agents of change not only for themselves but for other emerging adults inhabiting any unjust society (De Lange & Mitchell, 2014). Raising youth voices is, however, not without challenges (Bastien & Holmarsdottir, 2015). This relates to power barriers common to the research process (Flores, 2018). For instance, when young people are involved as research participants (as they were in my study) versus as co-partners in the research process, there is a danger that their insights can be muted (Balakrishnan & Claiborne, 2016). For instance, their voices, so to speak, might be limited to echoes of what they presume is expected of them by researchers (Schelbe et al., 2016)).

This places a large responsibility on the researcher to invite young people to partner in the research and to welcome contextually and developmentally appropriate insights. In that way, there is less chance that young people will provide formulaic answers or that studies about African young people will reflect typically Eurocentric concepts. For instance, Van Breda and Pinkerton (2020) observe that most South African researchers adopt European-based principles and theories in African contexts without finetuning them to adequately fit into the context under study. In African contexts, like Matsapha, contextual dynamics can also shape how young people respond to researchers, given the subtle conversational distance between young people and older people. To that end, Facca et al.'s (2020) review highlights the importance of reporting voices of young people

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in culturally sensitive ways that honour everyday dialogue patterns between young people and adults. In short, meaningfully including and drawing attention to emerging African adults' voices requires platforms and approaches that embrace cultural norms and can respectfully share their insights (Flores, 2018).

As explained in subsequent parts of this chapter, my choice of data generation techniques aimed to facilitate a research platform that welcomed emerging adults, respected their insights, and honoured African ways of being and -doing. Following Polkinghorne, (2005), I understood that my ability to establish familiarity and build rapport with them would be key to their feeling free to direct my understanding of risk and resilience in the context of Matsapha. A failure to do that would encourage surface-level interactions versus meaningful, detailed, and impactful sharing of their knowledge. I valued the discursive nature of social constructivism that encouraged participants to grapple with the complex phenomena I was investigating (risk and resilience). I wanted to work with participants to cogenerate an understanding of that complexity, which mattered to me given the under researched nature of resilience among African emerging adults and how power barriers and other disadvantages often mean these young people's insights are not reported (Blum & Boyden, 2018; Theron et al., 2021).

Data generation can also be time-consuming because researchers working from a social constructivist paradigm aim for a sophisticated and respectful interrogation of the research phenomenon (Khan, 2013). In my study this meant that once emerging adults shared the meaning they had constructed about their risk and resilience, I had to explore and co-construct their interpretations. This process of co-construction may have potentially lent itself to researcher bias (Lambardo & Kantola, 2021), not least because the researcher must make sense of participants' constructions of the research phenomenon (Duffy et al., 2021). As explained in 1.5 and 1.6, such

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biases could relate to my firsthand experience of Matsapha and the norms that inform life in Eswatini. Declaring those biases helped me become cognisant of them and guard against them shaping my interpretation of the data. In addition, once I had made meaning of participants' experiences of the stressed industrial environment and resilience to those stresses, I explored the fidelity of that meaning with an experienced researcher who was well acquainted with the context of Eswatini and emerging adults. Though time-consuming, this process supported the trustworthiness of my findings (Anney, 2014).

1.7.2. *Methodological paradigm*

The objective of my study was to explore emerging adults' accounts of resilience to the challenges of a stressed industrialised environment in Eswatini. I used a qualitative methodology to meet this objective because qualitative research is concerned with how people understand a research phenomenon, and further respects their insights (Aspers & Corte, 2019). Specifically, I used a phenomenological design to meaningfully explore emerging adults' accounts of resilience to the challenges of a stressed industrialised environment. Phenomenology is a qualitative research design concerned with generating deep or rich information regarding a real-life phenomenon (Paley, 2017; Salamon, 2022; Suddick et al., 2020). It aligns with my philosophical stance (i.e., social constructivism) as it enables researchers to co-construct deep meaning with participants to understand how they perceive their circumstances. To co-construct meaning, researchers interact with research participants to understand the research phenomenon from the participants' perspective versus surveying or testing preconceived ideas of said phenomenon (Neubauer et al., 2019). As such, phenomenology supported me in developing a nuanced understanding (e.g., one that includes the obvious and more subtle aspects) of what supported emerging adult resilience to

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Matsapha related challenges from the perspective of these young people. Although there were variations in the personal insights that emerging adults shared in relation to their backgrounds, level of education, financial status, and temperament, there were more commonalities. Their varying and overlapping insights supported a rich understanding of the complexity of resilience (Ungar, 2019).

Phenomenology elicits participant-directed accounts (Cypress, 2018; Neubauer et al., 2019; Zahavi, 2021). Participatory methods – i.e., qualitative methods that invite participants to actively co-construct knowledge – are very useful to that end (Brooks et al., 2016; Marchal et al., 2021; Wasserman et al., 2021). For this reason, I favoured participatory methods (see Chapter 4, Section 4.7 for detail). Participatory methods encouraged participants to co-produce resilience insights and provided a discursive space for me to explore with them what those insights meant. Emerging adults could account for resilience to the challenges of Matsapha as they preferred. They also controlled what/how much they wanted me (the researcher) to know about what supports resilience to a stressed industrialised environment. In so doing, the traditional power differentials between researcher and participant were probably reduced (Schelbe et al., 2016),

1.7.3. *Theoretical paradigm*

My doctoral study was guided by Michael Ungar's (2011) Social Ecological Theory of Resilience (SETR). From a social-ecological perspective, resilience is more than a personal capacity (Ungar, 2011, 2012, 2019). Instead, a person's capacity to adjust well to hardship draws on personal (e.g., biological, psychological) resources and social and environmental ones (e.g., supportive relationships, safe communities, green spaces) (Ungar et al., 2021). In other words, a social-

ecological framework brings forth the importance of resilience-enabling partnerships between individuals and their social and physical environments (Theron et al., 2021; Van Breda & Theron, 2018). In many ways, this mirrors systemic understandings of resilience that caution against understanding positive adjustment as being solely/mostly underpinned by resources within the individual (Masten et al., 2021; Masten & Cicchetti, 2016). Instead, resilience draws on a mix of resources that are found in an individual's biological and psychological systems (e.g., a healthy stress response system; the capacity to make constructive meaning) and in the social, institutional, and environmental systems that they are connected to (e.g., a supportive peer group; accessible health services; safe green spaces to relax in) (Ungar &Theron, 2020).

Further, the focus of a social-ecological perspective is on people-environment interactions across several dimensions, time spans, and scales (Masten, 2014). Such a paradigm makes it possible to comprehend the fluidity and intricate interactions between the socio-political, relational, environmental, and human components of ecosystems (Masten et al., 2021).This framework was pertinent to my study because it considers the interaction of young people's personal strengths with their social and ecological resources, with the understanding that these strengths and resources are likely to be influenced by the temporal, situational, and cultural context in which young people find themselves (Theron & Van Breda, 2021; Ungar, 2019). In so doing, SETR supports a contextualised understanding of the factors and processes that are facilitative of the resilience of Swazi emerging adults in the stressed industrialised context of Matsapha. Several studies focusing on the resilience of African young people have found SETR useful for understanding the resilience of young people (e.g., Betancourt et al., 2013; Hafeejee & Wiebesiek, 2021; Malindi & Theron, 2010; Pillay, 2019; Theron, 2020; Theron & Van Breda, 2021; Van Breda, 2016, 2018; Van Breda & Dickens, 2017; Vindevogel et al., 2015).

In addition, my study was informed by the Theory of Emerging Adulthood (Arnett, 2000). Emerging adulthood is the developmental period typically ranging from 18 to 29 years (Arnett, 2000; Arnett et al., 2014; Galanaki & Leontopoulou, 2017; Tanner, 2016). Proposed by psychologist Jeffrey Arnett (2000), emerging adulthood is described as the 'winding road' between late adolescence and adulthood (Arnett, 2007, p.112). It is psychologically and subjectively different from adulthood (Tanner, 2016). Arnett (2000) believed that even though Erickson's 1950 Lifespan Development Theory had laid the foundation for the characteristics and tasks of adulthood, a contemporary approach to understanding (1994), the transition from late adolescence to adulthood was necessary (Arnett, 2003). This is related partly to modern society's emphasis on education and a personal career path (Sawyer et al., 2018). It is also connected to contemporary expectations that young people embrace individualism, thus supporting ideologies of self-realization and self-expression (Arnett, 2000; Schwartz et al., 2015). Emerging adults typically have the opportunity to prolong the transition to adulthood and instead concentrate on themselves, especially in the fields of love, career, and education (Goldsmith, 2018). Expectations for emerging adults include finishing further education or training, starting a career, finding a lifelong partner, and achieving functional independence (Arnett, 2000). While some have questioned the relevance of the theory of emerging adulthood outside of typically American or European contexts (Côté, 2014; Syed, 2016), studies have reported its goodness of fit for African young people (McGee et al., 2021; Obidoa et al., 2019; Theron et al., 2021).

A meaningful way to demonstrate the relevance of both theories to my study is to discuss the four principles of SETR (Ungar, 2011) and how the nature of emerging adulthood (see Arnett, 2000) fits with these principles. The interaction of the two theories is also illustrated in Figure 1. This illustration shows how social and ecological resources found within the environment of emerging

adults could potentially co-facilitate emerging adult resilience. Particularly, it shows how this interaction of resources happens alongside the maturation of emerging adults. The extent to which these resources are supportive, available, and attentive to the developmental needs of emerging adults increases the possibilities of a seamless transition to adulthood and successful mastery of emerging adult tasks. I detail each next.
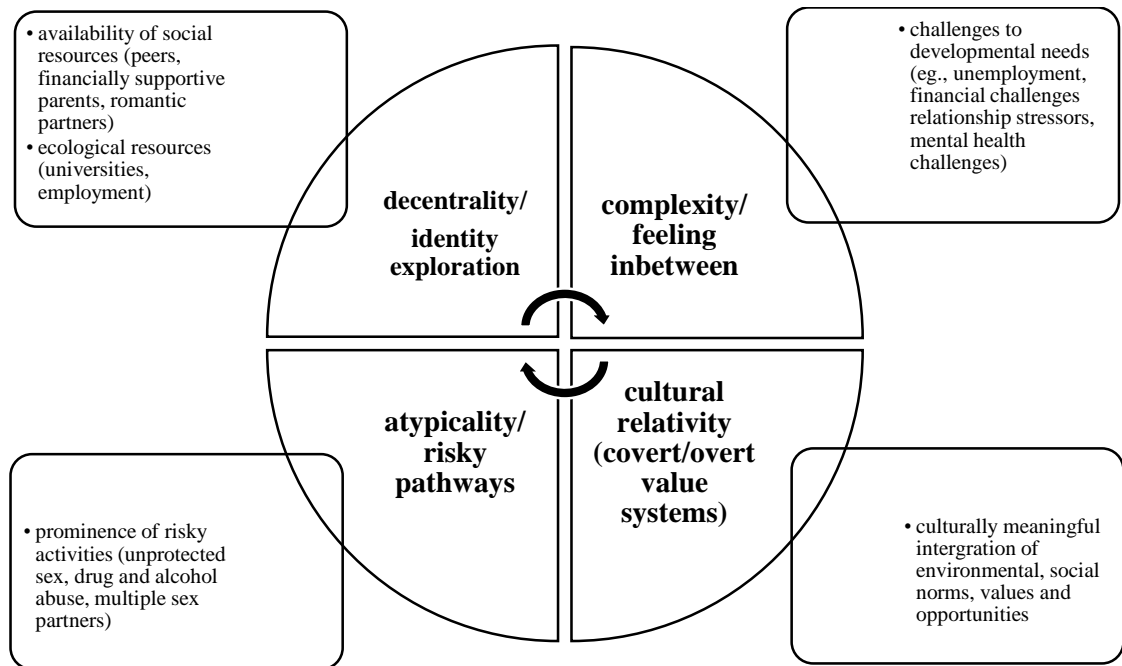
Figure 1: Interaction of SETR and Emerging Adulthood theories

1.7.3.1 *The principle of decentrality and emerging adult preoccupation with self*

Ungar (2011) theorises that resilience is a partnered process in which the social ecology supplies, or advocates for, the resources needed by the individual facing adversity to manage that adversity successfully. Unlike studies of resilience that emphasise or centre the individual's contribution to

the process of positive adjustment (e.g., Hu et al., 2015), the principle of decentrality takes the attention off the individual in accounts of the resilience process, and instead explains them as a participant in or co-contributor to resilience (Ungar, 2019). By decentering the individual, the understanding is promoted that the source of change neither lies solely in the individual nor their social or physical ecology, but in their interaction in which the ecology provides resources and the individual appropriates such resources (Masten, 2001, 2014; Ungar, 2011).

The principle of taking the focus off the individual raises interesting questions about how emerging adults might account for resilience, given their developmental preoccupation with their personal identity and themselves. As emerging adults endeavour to 'find themselves' in their ever-changing world, these prolonged periods of exploration and reflection make emerging adulthood the most self-focused stage of development (Arnet, 2000; 2014). Their focus on the personal (see Arnett, 2000) is potentially at odds with SETR's encouragement to take the focus off the self in accounts of resilience.

For example, identity exploration is a developmental task that encourages young people to self-focus as they explore how they want their adult lives to be (Goldsmith, 2018). While the identity crisis in the adolescent stage was about an understanding of "who am I" (i.e., identity), emerging adulthood is about delving deeper to understand what emerging adults want for themselves, their prospective adulthood careers, the kinds of partners that would suit them in their adult life (Arnett, 2015). As part of this, young people could engage in romantic relations that mirror the personal ideologies they have for their adult life. At first, such exploration is usually inconsistent and full of uncertainty (Wood et al., 2018), but eventually, relationships can become more serious and may even culminate in marriage or cohabitation (Manning, 2018).

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Similarly, to respond to questions related to what they want in life, emerging adults may travel away from home to independently explore tertiary studies, volunteering opportunities, training/employment, and novel cultures/experiences (Arnett, 2013). For instance, Yang (2017) reports a growing trend among Chinese university students to take international vacations and explore different cultures that the world offers. Exposure to various viewpoints about the world broadens emerging adults' attitudes and values and, consequently, themselves (Wood et al., 2018). However, Ravert (2009) suggests that this identity seeking and identity development could also make emerging adults prone to engaging in high-risk behaviours such as unprotected sex and drug and alcohol abuse. In this regard, Galanaki and Leontopoulou (2017) found that many Greek university students experimented with intoxicating substances. Such behaviour may be perpetuated by the fact that many emerging adults spend much time engaging with peers, where most of their socialization activities centre around entertainment, drugs, and alcohol consumption (Lansu, 2012).

Likewise, emerging adults become more focused on building a personal foundation for the adult professions they aspire to hold. They successfully do this by asking themselves what they are good at, what would bring personal satisfaction in the long-term, and what kind of job would align with their aspirations (Arnett, 2003). Such an understanding of themselves and their world allows them to successfully align themselves with their choices for tertiary studies (Tanner, 2016). Notably, while this process of exploring their self-identity in the world of work can be positive, it sometimes increases the chances of failure and disappointment (e.g., not progressing at university or not being hired for their dream job). Such instances might not be entirely negative, however, as they can lead to opportunities for increased self-knowledge (Arnett, 2014).

Emerging adults' inclination to be self-focused is further encouraged by the expectation that they become increasingly independent (e.g., live independently from their families of origin) and the fact that many emerging adults do not have commitments typical of later adulthood (Arnett, 2015; Tanner, 2016). For instance, many emerging adults are not married, do not have children, and do not live with their parents. This allows them to make independent choices that reflect what they desire in life. These personal desires could encourage them to move from one job to another or one relationship to the next, without attaching any feelings of loyalty (Arnett et al., 2014). Notably, Arnett (2014) highlights how this self-focus is not evidence that emerging adults are selfish. Instead, it fits with the exploration they must do to develop a deep understanding of themselves. Thus, such self-focus is both healthy and normal (Arnet, 2000). Still, even though self-focus helps emerging adults identify their authentic selves, it may also increase the likelihood of harmful behaviours or experiences, such as pathological relationships or substance abuse (Lanctot & Pauline, 2017).

Arnett (2015) also adds that this time of self-focus encourages emerging adults to gravitate towards the support of peers and romantic partners who share their interests. They spend time with peers immersed in various leisure activities such as drinking, smoking, and clubbing that reflect emerging adults' newfound interests. As a result, these networks become pronounced (Manning et al., 2014). Thus, in summary, although emerging adults are focused on themselves and their futures, this does not mean they are islands. Their social networks and opportunities to develop/earn a living matter to their development. The value of social and ecological resources to self-discovery and self-development fits well with Ungar's (2011) decentred theory of resilience.

1.7.3.2 The principle of complexity and the instability of emerging adulthood

The complexity principle foregrounds that resilience is not a simple process. Instead, it is dynamic and can vary across situational and cultural contexts, age groups, and time (Masten, 2014; Ungar, 2011). Given this complexity, it is possible for an individual who demonstrates resilience in one developmental phase to be vulnerable in another (Yoon et al., 2020). Put differently, what supports the resilience of an adolescent might not necessarily support the resilience of an emerging adult or senior citizen (Evans-Whipp & Gasser, 2019). In this regard, Yoon and colleagues (2020) show how differing developmental needs between adolescents, children, and emerging adults account for varying protective factors. For example, although the importance of the peer community and the school is paramount to the resilience of adolescents, the same cannot always be said for younger children. Children's development depends largely on their family and the kind of care they receive at home. For emerging adults, resources linked to their families of origin (e.g., warm parents) might become less important as peer interactions grow more protective. In other words, it's necessary to explain resilience in ways that acknowledge complexities like changes of resource importance over time or with development (Ungar, 2015).

Further, Ungar (2011) warns that one should avoid generalising findings about what enables resilience unless physical and social ecologies are held constant. This is because the process of resilience is sensitive to contextual and cultural realities (Panter-Brick, 2015), such as living in a single-parent household or a very conservative community. Ungar et al. (2007) holds that people's desire to identify relatively simple relationships between protective processes and predictable outcomes has undermined the contribution that the study of resilience can make to science. Thus, in addition to how the principle of complexity underscores my attention to the resilience of young people in a specific developmental stage (i.e., emerging adulthood), it also underscores my

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attention to the resilience of young people in a specific context namely the industrialised community of Matsapha. Following Ungar (2011) and Masten (2014), it is possible that what supports the resilience of emerging adults living in Matsapha will be sensitive to the contextual dynamics and readily available resources.

Similar to the complexity principle discouraging simplistic accounts of resilience, achieving the developmental tasks of emerging adulthood is not always a straightforward process. While emerging adults have completed adolescence, they are not yet cognitively, emotionally, and subjectively fully adult (Arnett, 2013; Croccetti et al., 2015). In short, they often feel 'in between' or in limbo. While they have a certain level of freedom to influence the trajectory of their lives, they mostly do not have sufficient means to fund most of their lifestyle choices (Galanaki & Leontopoulou, 2017). They often still depend on the financial support of their parents/ guardians, especially if they are students or engaged in start-up (low earning) employment. The high levels of youth unemployment complicate their 'in between' status (Arnett, 2014). For instance, 71.9% of emerging adults living in Greece reported living with their parents due to unemployment (Eurostat, 2018; Manalis, & Matsaganis, 2022). Similarly, a Swazi study by Mavundla et al. (2015) showed how emerging adults with tertiary qualifications still faced higher unemployment rates because the Swazi labour market had difficulties in fully absorbing the emergent Swazi population. Feeling 'in-between' is also influenced by the fact that most emerging adults have not yet fully found themselves (i.e., they are still exploring their identity) (Arnett, 2000; Kok & Lai, 2017). This could explain why they feel like they are neither here nor there.

Their preoccupation with identity exploration can leave emerging adults susceptible to encountering a lot of instability (Arnett, 2014). If their plans do not go as envisioned, this may challenge their sense of self and future and create stress (Arnett et al., 2014). For instance,

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emerging adults leave home and pursue tertiary education with the hopes of finding their independence (Arnett, 2014). Often, such a move does not yield the anticipated results as they are confronted with the harsh realities of tertiary training (Wood et al., 2018). They learn that pursuing their dreams is complex and that keeping up with the demands of their choices is not as easy/straightforward as they thought it would be (Arnett et al., 2014). This incongruity could explain why many emerging adults switch majors in tertiary institutions or even drop out of tertiary education (Ravert, 2013).

Similarly, working emerging adults may struggle to support their independent lifestyles, which may eventually lead them to return to the parental home (Burn & Szoeke, 2016). Likewise, the cohabitation typical of emerging adulthood does not always yield stability and is often characterised by emerging adults making frequent residential changes (Manning et al., 2014; Stanley et al., 2011). Further, Wildsmith and colleagues (2015) suggest that it is common for cohabiting partners not to have the same level of commitment to a relationship. For instance, while a considerable number (i.e., 67%) of cohabiting female emerging adults in the United States believed their relationship would potentially end in marriage, only 57% of young men shared similar sentiments about the stability of their relationships.

Experiencing instability and being in limbo can increase the likelihood of mental health challenges, such as anxiety, depression, and other forms of psychological distress (Tanner, 2016' Wood et al., 2018). For instance, Kok and Lai (2017) reported that 37.2% of Malaysian university students between the ages of 18 and 24 suffered from depression. Triggers were the failure to cope with university pressure and the stress, rejection and instability that accompanied being newly involved in romantic relationships. Emerging adults' disinclination to identify and seek help early further perpetuates mental health risks (Tanner, 2016). Instead of seeking help, emerging adults often

numb experiences of instability with increased alcohol and drug use and casual unprotected sex (Nelson et al., 2008; Schwartz et al., 2011). In this regard, Wrede-Jantti (2016) showed how alcohol consumption was responsible for forty percent of suicide cases among 15- to 24-year-olds living in Finland in 2013.

1.7.3.3 The principle of atypicality and emerging adult optimism

How an individual navigates to resilience-enabling resources does not always assume typical (i.e., socially sanctioned or mainstream) pathways. Ungar (2011) theorises that many different opportunities or experiences might lead to positive outcomes, and these need not necessarily mirror socially acceptable pathways of resilience. Instead, resilience supports may manifest in socially unacceptable ways, which may not be optimal but are necessary because of the social ecologies in which individuals live. Hence, there cannot be universally pre-determined judgements of what pathways of positive adjustment should be (Theron, 2012). Instead, emphasis should be on understanding the functionality of behaviour or supports when alternative or more socially appropriate pathways to positive development are blocked (Ungar, 2015). For example, some young people engage with edgework (i.e., voluntarily engaging in extremely risky activities that could lead to injury or death; Lyng, 2005) to manage emotions emanating from the difficult life circumstances they face (Garot, 2012). Though frowned at for the risk that edgework typically entails, these young people report benefits and say that these activities provide a much-needed escape from life's pressures. Paradoxically, and as explained next, emerging adults' tendency towards optimism, a socially sanctioned or typical pathway of resilience, can obstruct their resilience when social and physical ecologies are not geared to help emerging adults realise their hopes.

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More than any other stage of development, emerging adulthood presents a myriad of potential opportunities (Arnett, 2003; Galanaki & Leontopoulou, 2017). Most emerging adults believe that they have the power to influence the trajectory of their lives and realise their optimistic dreams (Arnett, 2015). For instance, a study of 1029 American emerging adults showed that 89% of these emerging adults felt optimistic about their life even though they experienced various challenges (Arnett et al., 2014). Such optimism encourages young people to pursue their goals and desires (Arnett, 2000; 2004). While this optimism may encourage agency, it may be risky if ecological circumstances prevent emerging adults from realising their optimistic dreams for the future. For instance, if an environment does not provide the necessary opportunities and supports, like quality education or decent employment, for emerging adults to realise their future aspirations, this may encourage their disillusionment and prompt mental difficulties (Theron et al., 2021).

When social ecologies do not support emerging adults to realise their developmental tasks (including hopeful aspirations for an independent future), they put emerging adults at risk for engagement in harmful activities. For example, financial precarity may motivate emerging adults to explore atypical means of financial sustenance, such as engaging in relationships with a so-called 'sugar daddy/mommy' or 'blesser' (Birkás et al., 2020; Gobind & du Plessis, 2015; Mixon, 2019). Typically, sugar daddy/mommy or blesser relationships involve a negotiation process between the older man/woman and the young man/woman in which material and/or emotional supports are traded for sexual favours (Hoss & Bokland, 2018). While this implies some agency on the part of the young person, it is typically considered "ambiguous agency" (Preble et al., 2019). Cavazzoni et al. (2021) define ambiguous agency as atypical pathways individuals use to manage hardship. It is reflective of young people's ability to manoeuvre around/attempt to gain some control over difficult social circumstances (Hoss & Bokland, 2018; Preble et al., 2019). Even

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though such transactional relationships provide immediate solutions for emerging adults, including access to material support (Preble et al., 2019), they may expose them to potentially harmful behaviours and experiences (Gobind & du Plessis, 2015; Tener, 2019), For instance, power differentials between older adults and emerging adults and/or men and women may result in risk for sexually transmitted diseases, abuse, and unplanned pregnancies (Tener, 2019). Although they provide some immediate (often financial) relief, exchange-based relationships mostly render young people powerless to negotiate safety measures in their relationships (Singh & Naicker, 2019).

1.7.3.4 The principle of cultural relativity and covert and overt cultural values that emerging adults subscribe to

Resilience-promoting processes are not culturally neutral (Ungar, 2011). Said differently, resilience is a culturally sensitive process (Masten, 2014). Culture can influence how positive adjustment is conceptualised as well as what promotive and protective resources are available (Panter-Brick, 2015). In other words, which resources matter for young people's resilience are likely to be relative to their culture.

Donald et al. (2010) define culture as the everyday practices that an individual is involved in and/or adheres to. These comprise people's belief systems, values, customs, and language preferences. The factors that enable or constrain resilience typically reflect these beliefs, values, customs, and preferences (Ungar, 2011). For instance, African cultural values such as hope and peaceful/orderly community relations were associated with resilience in South African adolescents challenged by socio-economic constraints (Mosavel et al., 2015; Theron et al., 2021). In comparison, the

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resilience of Canadian adolescents who participated in the Resilient Youth in Stressed Environments study was associated with competitiveness and self-reliance (Theron et al., 2021). In short, cultural relativity discourages generalisation of accounts of resilience to populations that are culturally dissimilar from the participants who generated those accounts (Ungar, 2019).

The principle of cultural relativity underscores my attention to the resilience of Swazi emerging adults. As detailed in Chapter 4 (see 4.3), Swazi culture values peaceful interrelatedness (Mkhatswa, 2015; Nyawo, 2018), so the participants in my study were probably socialised to respect and maintain peace. This means they would be expected to tolerate state-orchestrated injustice, economic hardship, and government ineptitude (International Federation for Human Rights, 2021). Following Ungar (2011), Masten (2014) and Panter-Brick (2015), it is possible that what supports the resilience of Swazi emerging adults will be sensitive to cultural values and practices that they have been socialised to enact. Simultaneously, culture is a dynamic phenomenon (Panter-Brick, 2015), so it is equally possible that I might find that resistance to some cultural values or practices – as found in other African studies (Theron, 2020) – might explain Swazi emerging adult resilience.

Even though the Theory of Emerging Adulthood is considered cross-culturally relevant, the detail of emerging adult developmental tasks is shaped by the values and norms of the culture that emerging adults affiliate with (Obidoa et al., 2018; Theron et al., 2020). For instance, the way Swazi emerging adults enact the developmental tasks of finding a long-term partner and positive orientation to the future fits with salient Swazi cultural norms, be they overtly communicated or covertly expected. To illustrate: as in other parts of Africa (Adegoke & Steyn, 2017; Van Breda & Theron, 2018), Swazi emerging adults are socialised to prioritise education as a way out of poverty. Widespread resource deprivation and associated forms of hardship have strengthened Swazi

appreciation for education as the major pathway to success in Eswatini and related encouragement of educational aspirations (Yan, 2019). Even though financial challenges prevent a growing number of emerging adults from attending tertiary education in Eswatini (Dlamini, 2020), a sizable number of emerging adults still enrol for tertiary education.

A caveat lies in the fact that this cultural veneration of tertiary education takes place within a broader society that generally does not favour the interests of young women (Doram, 2017). Patriarchal Swazi culture implicitly discourages women from pursuing tertiary education in favour of marriage commitments (Motsa, 2018). This compromises the extent to which young women can commit fully to identity exploration and their preferred futures. Many families and communities drive the narrative that young women's pursuit of studies beyond diploma/foundational degree levels cannot be done without compromising long-term relationships or commitments. This is because the independence and enlightenment that comes with education are believed to compromise the ability of young women to blindly submit to their partners (Doran, 2017). Submission to the husband/partner is the essence of sustaining marriages in Swazi culture (Warner & Churchyard, 2019). Such patriarchal norms somehow leave women (as emerging adults) believing in the ideology of one option or the other when it comes to commitments of education and marriage (Adebowale et al., 2010). The Swazi cultural expectations, therefore, influence the roles that young women and emerging adults explore.

Similarly, the bias towards men's rights influences the capacity of many Swazi young women to negotiate safe sex choices. Arnett (2015) reports that emerging adult mothers in lower socio-economic countries are likely to be single mothers. The same is true of Eswatini. For instance, Ntinda and colleagues (2016) report that many school-going 13- to 22-year-old Swazis are single mothers. Single motherhood is often associated with the interplay of poverty, patriarchy, and

gender (Tener, 2019). Patriarchal values and the stereotypical role of men as providers usually weakens young women's power to negotiate for safe sexual activities, particularly when these young women are financially dependent (Singh & Naicker, 2019). Further, poverty can push young people into transactional relationships where safer sex cannot be easily negotiated (Ruark & Collegues, 2019). This heightens the possibilities of pregnancy and other associated challenges. An additional problem is the insufficient sexual education of Swazi young people (discussing sex is often considered a taboo). Typically, this means that many young people will become sexually active without any guidance, thus increasing the chances of making uninformed or risky decisions (Singh & Naicker, 2019).

1.8. CLARIFICATION OF CORE CONCEPTS

Next, I briefly explain the concepts that recur throughout my study. I mentioned them in the preceding parts of this chapter, especially in explanation of the theoretical paradigms and related principles that undergird my study. The explanations that follow next, however, summarise the essence of these concepts and clarify how I used them in my study.

1.8.1. *Emerging adulthood*

Emerging adulthood is the period between adolescence and adulthood (Arnett, 2000). Emerging adulthood typically spans the ages of 18 to 29 (Hockberg & Konner, 2020). However, for my study, this age range was limited to 18-24 years. As my study is affiliated to the RYSE study, I did this so that my study's findings could be compared with those reported for emerging adults in other RYSE sites (the RYSE study excluded young people older than 24; Ungar et al., 2021).

1.8.2. *Stressed environment*

An environment can be physical and social. The physical aspects of an environment comprise the natural and built ecosystems that people inhabit (Ungar & Theron, 2020). Natural environments include the water, land, and air and the relationships between them (e.g., green spaces or waterways). Built environments encompass man-made spaces and places, among others including buildings (e.g., houses, schools or malls), roadways, and spaces (e.g., sports fields) developed for recreation (Mitchell et al., 2010). The social environment encompasses relationships/social networks and relational/social supports that are informal (e.g., family and peer relationships) and formal (e.g., health services or education opportunities) and the social capital associated with these (Lund et al., 2018). In a functional or less stressed environment, the natural and built environment is supportive of people's health and wellbeing, as are social/relational networks (Lund et al., 2018). When an environment is stressed, however, the opposite is typically true; then, the social and physical environment have the potential to undermine people's health and wellbeing (Bijlsma & Loeschcke 2005; Landrigan et al., 2018). These risks to health and wellbeing are explained in detail in Chapter 2.

For my study, the stressed environment refers specifically to Matsapha. I contextualise this environment in Chapter 4. Suffice it here to say, that Matsapha is characterised by pollution (air, noise, land, and water), structural underdevelopment, high rates of sexually transmitted diseases, prostitution, crime, and tenuous social capital (Makadzange et al, 2018; Mhlanga, 2012; Singwane & Magagula; 2014).

1.8.3. Resilience

Resilience is a system's ability to respond successfully to stressors that could potentially disrupt that system's development or functioning (Masten, 2014). The system of interest in my study is human beings, specifically emerging adults. As per current resilience science (Masten et al., 2021; Ungar, 2021), a system's ability for resilience is dependent on the availability of contextually relevant resources that are distributed across multiple systems (e.g., biological, psychological, social, institutional, and/or ecological systems). In other words, positively adapting to stressors is facilitated by the individual's strength, combined with the social, cultural, and structural/environmental resources offered by their social and physical ecology (Masten, 2014; Masten & Motti-Stefanidi, 2020; Theron et al., 2021; Ungar, 2011, 2019, 2021). African studies of human resilience confirm the importance of contextually relevant, multisystemic resources to the resilience of African young people (Theron & Van Breda, 2021).

For the purposes of my study, and following other African studies of resilience (e.g., Theron et al., 2021), resilience was inferred from participants' belief that they had adapted successfully to the hardships of Matsapha. To elicit participants' confirmation that they believed they had adapted well to Matsapha's challenges, I explained to them that resilience can be understood as the ability to function well enough despite chronic hardships (like unemployment or poverty) and/or shocks (e.g., exposure to violent crime). To help them understand what functioning well enough might mean I used examples that have been reported in African studies of resilience (see the review by Theron, 2020), including the ability to remain hopeful and be meaningfully engaged in a sports team, tertiary studies, community initiative, or contribute to the running of their household.

I used both English and Siswati (our native language) to explain resilience. There is no Siswati word for resilience. Instead, there is a phrase, 'Nikhona njani kuphila kulesimo salana', that can

be broadly translated as 'how do you survive/be OK amidst the hardship you face around here'. As in South African studies of resilience that have used African phrases that explain resilience as being/doing OK despite exposure to hardship (Theron et al., 2013; Theron et al., 2021), localising the definition supported emerging adult participants in my study to comprehend this abstract term and contribute their views of what, in their experience, enabled and constrained emerging adult capacity to adjust well to hardship.

1.9. OVERVIEW OF RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Next, I provide a brief summary of the study's participants and methodology. A complete account is proved in Chapter 4. I believe the summary is enough to orient the reader to my study.

1.9.1. Participants from Matsapha

As indicated, my study was conducted in Matsapha, a stressed industrialised environment in Eswatini. Matsapha is home to many emerging adults who are attracted to the potential employment opportunities in the industries located within this industrial hub. Even though Matsapha has many pull factors, the living conditions that characterise this industrial town challenge the health and well-being of its inhabitants (Makadzange et al., 2018). For instance, pollution (air, land, noise, water) makes this industrial town challenging to live in. Emerging adults – all of whom were well acquainted with these challenges – were purposefully recruited for my study. Participants who were eligible to participate met the following criteria: they were 18-24 years old and had lived in Matsapha for more than a year. They also considered themselves resilient

to the challenges faced in their lives. Thirty emerging adults, who met these criteria, participated. They comprised fifteen young men and fifteen young women. They were all Swazi citizens.

1.9.2. *Data generation: strategies and documentation*

As explained in 1.7.2, I favoured focus groups and participatory data generation activities. I used two different strategies: participatory mapping, and photo-elicitation. Both were used in conjunction with group discussions. The focus groups and participatory activities facilitated rich data and positioned emerging adults as knowledge producers. The conversational data that resulted from these activities was transcribed; the visual artefacts (maps, photographs) were scanned.

1.9.3. *Data analysis*

Data analysis is the systematic process that researchers use to make sense of the generated data (Sundler et al., 2019). To make sense of the data, I identified themes and subthemes using an inductive thematic analysis approach as set out by Braun and Clarke (2013). Specifically, this approach helped me to identify four main themes: an avoidable stressed environment, a resourced ecology, enabling connections, and personal drive. I detail these themes in Chapter 5 and discuss their meaning in Chapter 6.

1.9.4. *Trustworthiness*

Perhaps because the qualitative research process heavily relies on the researcher's discretion, researchers are accountable for a trustworthy research process (Bryman, 2008). This subjective

nature of qualitative research compels researchers to employ criteria that heighten the trustworthiness of the study and its findings. To that end, and following Lincoln and Guba (1986), I used the trustworthiness criteria of dependability, confirmability, authenticity, credibility, and transferability. I have detailed these in Chapter 4 (4.9).

1.9.5. *Ethical considerations*

I adhered to ethical considerations when conducting my study. Ethical considerations are the rules that a researcher must follow to ensure that participants are treated fairly and their rights are not violated during the data collection process (Arifin, 2018). My study is affiliated with the Resilient Youth in Stressed Environments (RYSE) study. RYSE originally engaged young people aged 13 to 24 in Canadian and South African communities stressed by their reliance on the oil and gas industry and related stressors (Ungar et al., 2021). Since then, RYSE has expanded to include communities stressed by other industrial activity and/or COVID-19 in other parts of South Africa, Russia, and India. My study adds an Eswatini community. The original RYSE study received ethical clearance from the Faculty of Education Ethics Committee and the Faculty of Health Sciences Research Ethics Committee (UP 17/05/01), both at the University of Pretoria. Clearance for my study was affiliated with that original clearance (Ref: UP 17/05/01 Theron 18-088) (see Appendix A). Additional clearance was provided by the Municipal Council of Matsapha, a body overlooking the stressed industrialised environment in Eswatini (Ref: MTC/CSM/14.04.18) (see Appendix B). Further, consent to conduct the research was also solicited from the emerging adults that agreed to participate. To do this, I used an informed and written consent process (see Appendix D). This was grounded in the understanding that participants must voluntarily choose to participate

in any study, and their participation should be free from coercion (Husband, 2020). Other ethical considerations are detailed in Chapter 4, section 4.10.

1.10. OVERVIEW OF THESIS

In addition to the current chapter (i.e., Chapter 1), which introduces and motivates my phenomenological study of the resilience of emerging adults in a stressed, industrialised environment in Eswatini, my thesis includes six other chapters. What follows is a brief summary of the content of each of these chapters.

Chapter 2

I review the literature that documents the risks that emerging adults face when they live, study or work in stressed industrialised environments.

Chapter 3

I review the literature that documents the factors that enable positive adaptation among young people who are stress exposed. Where possible, I reviewed studies of emerging adult resilience, but because these are quite scarce, I included literature on adolescent/youth resilience. Where possible, I report studies specific to those living in stressed industrialised environments.

Chapter 4

The methodology that informed my study is detailed in this chapter. As per the APA standards for reporting qualitative work (Levitt et al., 2018), this includes the study's context, a detailed description of the participants, an explanation of the data generation methods, how I conducted the

data analysis, steps I took to ensure trustworthiness. I comment on the ethical principles I upheld. I do not comment on my positioning again as I detailed this, and my assumptions, in Chapter 1.

Chapter 5

This chapter details the 4 themes I identified. I define each theme and use participants' words to give voice, as it were, to the detail of each theme.

Chapter 6

In this chapter, I situate the findings of my study in the relevant literature. This allows me to make meaning of the insights that emerged from my study and to consider potential contributions of my study.

Chapter 7

I reflect on my study by revisiting my research questions and the answers that I identified. I critically consider how those answers contribute to the resilience literature and potentially to the praxis of those who work to champion young people's resilience. I also reflect critically on my study methodology and my journey as a PhD candidate.

1.11. Conclusion

My study was designed to better understand the resilience of emerging adults inhabiting a stressed industrialised environment in Eswatini. While there is robust resilience literature (Masten et al., 2021), the developmentally and contextually responsive nature of resilience cautions against the blind generalisation of what is currently known about human resilience to specific groups of people in specific contexts at a specific point in time (Ungar, 2019). As mine is the first study of the

resilience of emerging adults in Eswatini, there is strong potential for my study to contribute insights that will advance how this tiny, resource-constrained country's sizeable youth population can be better supported to achieve/sustain wellbeing regardless of the apparently relentless hardships that challenge Eswatini youth (Dlamini, 2020).

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CHAPTER 2

STRESSED INDUSTRIAL ENVIRONMENTS: THE RISKS TO EMERGING ADULTS

> "*One hundred and fifty years ago, the monster began, this country had become a place of industry. Factories grew on the landscape like weeds. Trees fell, fields were up-ended, rivers blackened. The sky choked on smoke and ash, and the people did too, spending their days coughing and itching, their eyes turned forever toward the ground. Villages grew into towns, towns into cities. And people began to live on earth rather than within it*"- Patrick Ness

2.1.   INTRODUCTION

Industrialization is one of the prevalent pathways used by most countries to attain economic dominance (Rasieh & Nazeer, 2016). While industrialization is good for increasing countries' turnovers, environments where industrialization occurs usually face several risks (Alvarado & Toledo, 2017; Capps et al., 2016; Fashola et. al, 2016). Most of these industrial proximity risks are predominantly felt by the inhabitants of the stressed industrial communities (Chen et al., 2016; Frantal, 2016; Zhang, et al., 2015). Such effects manifest themselves in many aspects of their lives, affecting them physically, socially, economically, psychologically, and otherwise (Barca & Bridge, 2015; Shahbaz et al., 2018).

In this chapter, I draw on studies of the various risks facing environments that are challenged by industrialization. I particularly show how living in stressed industrialised communities challenges the health and wellbeing of emerging adults living in these communities. In my reading of the literature, four outcomes were prominent: compromised physical health, limited opportunities for

financial independence; emotional distress; and high-risk behaviours. While I discuss them individually, I am aware that they often overlap. For example, limited opportunities for financial independence can prompt emerging adults to be despondent or engage in sex work that compromises physical health (e.g., Lockwood et al., 2019). Likewise, poor physical health can disrupt opportunities to seek work and challenge emotional wellbeing (e.g., Aidoo, 2017; Mazza, 2020). I use the challenges to emerging adults' health and wellbeing to structure my chapter, rather than the stressors that are typically associated with stressed, industrialised environments (e.g., high levels of pollution, high incidence of poverty, or sub-standard infrastructure; Cobb, 2019; Yakubu, 2018). I do so as my review of the relevant literature showed that the four challenges I identified are complexly informed by multiple stressors.

2.2.   COMPROMISED PHYSICAL HEALTH

Industrial environments are an undeniable health hazard (D'Amato et al., 2010; Ballester et al., 2010; Lelieveld et al., 2015; Muidi, 2017; Ponce et al., 2005; Yakubu, 2018). These hazards are often associated with the pollutants from industrial processes, including air, water and noise pollution (Jalandra & Joon, 2017; Jariwala et al., 2017; Lanzi, et al., 2016). They also relate to the poverty, overcrowded conditions, and poor infrastructure that characterise stressed industrial environments (K'oreje et al., 2020). As detailed next, stressed industrialised communities compromise the physical health of inhabitants as they suffer from respiratory problems, adverse pregnancy outcomes, and premature deaths. In addition, there is also evidence that ongoing exposure to pollution can worsen pre-existing health conditions, such as diabetes, hypertension, or cardiovascular disease (Matoone, 2004; Mazza, 2020; Yakubu, 2018).

2.2.1. *Respiratory difficulties*

Respiratory illnesses are a direct result of air pollution (Jalandra & Joon, 2017), which is the accumulation of dangerous and unwanted chemicals in the environment that results in unfavorable changes in air quality (Cobb, 2019; Sciaraffa et al., 2017). Air pollution is possible both indoors and outdoors. Outdoor pollution, also known as ambient pollution, is basically particles in the air that are harmful to human health, whether they are solids, liquids, or gases (Seinfeld & Pandis, 2006). The primary causes of ambient pollution are inefficient fuel combustions from commercial and industrial operations, car exhausts, and other air-emitting activities (Odhiambo et al., 2010). In industrialized towns in Sub-Saharan Africa, transportation is responsible for 70–80 percent of the pollution (UNEP, 2016). One in eight deaths are thought to be caused by exposure to ambient pollution, according to the BBC News (2020). For example, Dey and collegues (2017) cross-sectional study in Jamalpur Sadar and Hatia districts in Bangladesh reported a 77% prevalence of respiratory diseases among 2900 randomly sampled young and old women. Participants reported difficulty in breathing, dry cough, and night sweating. Similarly, Mustapa et al., (2011) were concerned that young people in low socioeconomic communities in the Niger Delta (i.e. Africa's biggest oil-producing region) are more susceptible to respiratory-related infections emanating from outdoor (i.e., traffic-related) pollution.

Respiratory illness is also associated with indoor pollution, particularly in poorer industrial contexts where houses and buildings are poorly ventilated (UNEP, 2014). To make matters worse, inhabitants of stressed, industrialised communities often utilize indigenous cooking methods indoors or do not have access to electricity (Upadhyay et al., 2015). In such cases, they often use coal, paraffin, charcoal, wood, crop residues, or dung – all of which can contaminate the air – for cooking and heating purposes (Omole & Ndambuki, 2014). In Sub-Saharan Africa, women who

rely on these methods are the most susceptible to indoor pollution (Mpofu, 2013). For instance, Muidi's (2017) Kenyan mixed-method study showed how indoor pollutants associated with cooking with wood and charcoal were directly linked to respiratory infections among pregnant women and other adults. In the Swazi context, Manchisa et al.,'s (2013) cross-sectional study revealed how relying on biomass cooking methods contributes to anaemia and stunted growth among children aged between 3-36 months in Eswatini. These children are exposed because they spend time with their parents in smoke-filled kitchens (Chan, 2016). Although the dangers to Swazi emerging adults were not included by this study, it is difficult to think that their respiratory health was unaffected given that they were also exposed to indoor pollution. This is particularly given how emerging adult women are expected to cook for Swazi households.

While the links between respiratory-related diseases and pollution cannot be denied, Norman and collegues (2007) showed that such a link was mismatched in South Africa. Using a sample of Black African, Coloured, White and Indian participants, this study concluded that Black African households were the most vulnerable to respiratory infections in South Africa. Socioeconomic and structural disadvantages increase their chances of living closest to industrial areas. Results from this study fit global conclusions of how health effects vary according to race as different racial groups are exposed differently (e.g., O'Neill et al., 2003). This could be attributed to the fact that most individuals who live closest to industrial areas are usually resource-deprived (Neumark & Kolko, 2010). Black households in South African industrial areas are among the most resource-deprived population (Cheteni, 2019).

2.2.2. *Adverse pregnancy outcomes*

Even under normal circumstances, pregnancy is a delicate period for both the expecting mother and the developing baby. Exposure to air and water pollutants causes more risks in pregnancy (e.g. Olsson et al., 2013; Morello-Frosch et al., 2010; UNICEF, 2017). Pan et al., (2016) showed how particulate matter (i.e. dangerous solids and liquids suspended in the air) affects the foetus by disturbing the functioning of the placenta. Similarly, Ponce et al.'s (2006) Los Angeles study suggested that traffic-related pollution within industrial confines caused negative pre-term birth outcomes. It appears that the environment in which the expecting mother lives is significant in predicting the success of that pregnancy (Ballester et al., 2010). The significance is heightened when expectant mothers working in industrial areas are compelled by financial and other hardships to endure the harsh working conditions that typically characterise working in industries. For instance, Akhter et al. (2017) showed how expectant mothers working at a clothing factory in Bangladesh were often sick, suffering from stress and hypertension. Having to endure long working hours, where they were denied maternity benefits, put these mothers at risk of miscarriages.

2.2.3. *Premature death/ early mortality*

Air pollution mortalities are often classified as premature deaths (Caiazzo et al., 2013; Guo et al., 2013; Lelieveld et al., 2015). Studies have consistently signified such deaths as years that one has been robbed of (Cohen et al., 2006; Leksell & Rabl, 2002; Rabl, 2012; Roosli et al., 2005), hence the term 'years of life lost' (YLL). Such a cause of death is thus distinguished from death occurring due to natural causes. UNICEF (2017) holds that a person who dies from air pollution-related

causes dies ten years prior to their normal/ natural lifespan. In other words, that person has been robbed of a decade that they would have lived had they not been exposed to an environment filled with pollutants. For instance, the UN Environment Programme shows air pollution-related deaths claim one in five people. Ritchie and Roster (2019) estimated these early mortality figures to be 3.4 million in 2017.

Guo et al.'s (2013) analysis of the costs associated with air pollution in China showed that the country's growing population had to pay a price for China's industrial success. Using a retrospective regression analysis, this study revealed 80 515 premature deaths among emerging adults and other adults under 65 in Beijing. These deaths could not be explained by any natural causes. Similar to this, Cheng, Lin, and Chan's (2014) longitudinal study in Taiwan found that male youth who lived in Taiwan's heavily industrialized districts had lower expectancy rates than those who did not. Due to the polluted air they were exposed to, these young men developed a susceptibility to opportunistic illnesses.

Many premature death cases in industrial communities in Africa emanate from indoor pollution-related causes (Bailis et al., 2005; Ezzatiet al., 2008; UNEP, 2014). For instance, 5249 premature deaths were recorded in the year 2010 in Mpumalanga, as 26% of households relied on coal as an energy source (Stats SA, 2010). These deaths are further exacerbated by the low immunity to infectious diseases such as Tuberculosis of most South African industrial inhabitants (Altieri & Keen, 2016). Owing to the already compromised economical standing that characterises most African countries, additional effects (such as pollution) on people's health often reduce their resistance to diseases, hence rendering them more vulnerable to pollution effects (O'Neill et al., 2003; Shahid, 2018).

Furthermore, industrialised communities are often overcrowded and poorly developed (Tembe, 2013). Living in overcrowded, poorly developed communities is associated with exposure to diseases that can result in premature death. For instance, overcrowding and the lack of access to amenities like clean water supplies encourage the spread of infectious diseases, including life-threatening diseases (Kher, Aggarwal & Punhani, 2015; Philip & Rayhan, 2004). Similarly, Joshi et al., (2014) linked hypertension and cardiovascular diseases to the substandard living conditions of people (including emerging adults) in low socioeconomic, industrialised neighbourhoods. Likewise, the industrial population in Africa typically lives in informal settlements (Zimmermann et al., 2017). UN-Habitat (2015) highlighted how 72% of the Sub-Saharan African population living in slums is exposed to unfavourable living conditions. Waterborne-related diseases are one of the leading causes of mortality in African slums (Aketch, 2017). For instance, Mahira, an informal settlement in Nairobi, had 322 households sharing one communal block of 10 toilets and two bathrooms (UN-Habitat, 2007). Various studies (e.g. Cornburn & Hildebrand, 2015; Kamau & Njiru, 2018; K'oreje et al., 2020. Herman, 2017) allude to how inadequate sanitation is one of the leading causes of years of life lost among Kenyan women between the ages of 15-49 living in Nairobi slums.

Living in slums is also linked to the spread of HIV/AIDS – and premature death – in many African communities (Dellar, et al., 2015). For instance, Kibera, a slum community near an industrial area in Nairobi, has among the highest HIV/AIDS prevalence rates in Sub-Saharan Africa (African Population and Health Research Centre, 2014; Michael & Wamalwa, 2020; Nganda et al., 2020). Likewise, Thomas and Mahlangu's (2011) study showed how the nationwide HIV/AIDS prevalence rates in South Africa were predominantly accounted for in industrial slums. The spread of HIV/ AIDS is also perpetuated by high rape incidents in African slums (Swahn et al., 2016;

Swahn et al., 2015). For example, Kibera, a Kenyan slum, has the highest rape incidents in Africa (Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and labour, 2010).

2.3.   LIMITED OPPORTUNITIES FOR FINANCIAL INDEPENDENCE

Industrialization is linked to increased unemployment and poverty rates among residents of industrial communities (Adonteng-Kissi, 2017), including emerging adults (Bertolini, 2019). There are multiple reasons for this, including too few employment opportunities, an influx of migrant labour, inadequate qualifications, and/or industry-related land degradation for farming or other subsistence activity (Beatty & Fothergill, 2020; Qianqian, 2014). For example, Adibaje and Awomuti (2009) associated poverty with Nigeria's oil-producing industries and related environmental costs. Like other Nigerian studies (e.g., Atanda & Nyong, 2018; Oviasuyi & Uwadiae, 2010), they showed how oil-producing industries had become a source of poverty and hopelessness for many young people in the Niger Delta. Given that communities in the Niger Delta typically rely on subsistence farming, oil spillage and other pollutants degraded the quality of land and water and threatened most communities' livelihood.

Emerging adults are sometimes vulnerable to unemployment. In Africa, for example, the unemployment rate among emerging adults has been as high as 77% (Nyingi, 2019). Emerging adults in the Global North are not exempt either. For example, the Statistics Finland Labour Force Survey of 2015 reported an unemployment rate of emerging adults in industrial and urban areas of 17.4% (Official Statistics of Finland, 2015). Similarly, Arnett et al. 's (2014) review showed how the global recession that hit the world between 2007-2008 left most European emerging adults between the ages of 15-25years struggling to navigate their way into various jobs. This contributed

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to the high unemployment rates faced by these emerging adults, also in industrialised communities. Even those with tertiary education were mostly underemployed, hired on a contractual basis or given salaries that were not commensurate with their level of education.

Unemployment and related challenges to financial impudence can constrain emerging adults' capacity to form/maintain romantic relationships. For instance, Naafs (2013) demonstrated how unstable work opportunities in Indonesia's industrial regions also prevented emerging adults living in the industrial town of Cilegon from reaching developmentally appropriate relationship milestones. Naafs used interviews and ethnographic research to demonstrate how unemployed young Muslim men (aged 18 to 30) from lower- and middle-class families were disproportionately affected by the absence of jobs. Along with reporting having difficulty making ends meet, many also mentioned relationship difficulties. Due to their inability to provide for children and support themselves, they dared not even consider getting married. In Indonesia, getting married requires you to be financially secure. Similary, Obidoa et al., (2019) African study on markers of emerging adulthood within the African context found that Ghanaian and Nigerian emerging adults were expected to be financially independent to successfully manage the responsibilities of adulthood (regardless of the many obstacles to financial independence in stressed, industrialised communities). Young women seem to be even worse off.

Many emerging adults in African industrial areas experience unemployment even if they have the necessary education and skills to make their transition to adulthood easier (Irwin et al., 2018). For example, the mismatch between the level of education and employment opportunities makes it hard for young people in Port Harcourt, Nigeria, to survive in this oil-producing delta. Even though most young people in Port Harcourt were honours graduates, they still experienced dramatic levels of unemployment (Adesola et al., 2017). The absence of viable employment opportunities in

industrial communities also influenced Tunisia's emerging adults to take up any available low-skilled jobs in industries (Assaad & Krafft, 2016). This was amidst being university graduates and having the knowledge and understanding that such employment opportunities would not provide stability and potential to improve their lives. For other emerging adults, obtaining an education is far-fetched due to financial constraints and because schools cannot accommodate the whole Niger Delta school-going population. For instance, Bayelsa, Bori and Omuku State youth are challenged by the lack of educational resources in the Niger Delta (Price, 2019).

Finally, due to limited financial opportunities, many emerging adults have limited choices regarding where they live and so find themselves living in informal settlements. The Slum Almanac (2015/2016) showed how one billion of the world's population live in slums (UN-Habitat, 2015). Lower socioeconomic areas are also often close to industrial activity, where exposure to ambient and noise pollution is prevalent (Deguen et al., 2009; Mohai et al., 2011; O'Neill et al., 2003). Shubhangi and collegues (2003) note that people living in lower socioeconomic or informal settlements are often stigmatised instead of being afforded the much-needed help. For instance, Agrawal et al. (2015) shows how young migrants who inhabit Indore's industrialised formal settlers are disenfranchised, helpless and invisible.

Likewise, in Eswatini, Menne and Carrere's (2007) study highlighted how the presence of major industries like the timber industries had not significantly benefited Swazi communities. Swazis continue to face high unemployment rates, where even the employed are mostly underemployed (Dlamini, 2021). As a result, most Swazis live on an income of less than US$1 a day. For instance, the World Bank (2021) posits that the unemployment rate for young people is 47.5% in Eswatini. Tembe (2013) showed how this underemployment was linked to the proliferation of informal settlements often known as 'titimela' (attached one-room houses) in Swazi industrial areas. The

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lack of financial stability also accounts for the rise of high-risk behaviours like prostitution along the Matsapha- Ezulwini corridor (Nkhambule, 2015). Due to these high prostitution rates, diseases such as HIV/ AIDS have risen, further reducing life expectancy rates among Swazis in industrial communities (Chipamaunga, Muula & Mataya, 2010).

2.4. EMOTIONAL DISTRESS

Emerging adults who live in industrialised communities often report emotional distress (Travasso et al., 2014), including high levels of depression and anxiety (Lima & Marques, 2017). This usually emanates from the perpetual frustration of living in environments that are physically, emotionally, and financially unsupportive. A case in point is emerging adults in Asian industrialised communities (Kim et al., 2012). Relying on industrialization has dismantled Korea's family-oriented lifestyle and resulted in a hardworking, competitive, individualistic and capitalistic society (Min, 2017). Such a drastic change has led to high depression and suicide rates among Koreans. Emerging adults are even more at risk (Suh et al., 2017; Zhong et al., 2018). This could be traced to the challenges of feeling in between that characterise the emerging adulthood period. Similarly, Rath (2022) alluded to high suicide rates among young people working in Chinese industries. The major cause of stress for these Chinese emerging adults was the unfulfilled expectations of finding employment and belonging in their industrialised community.

A considerable number of emerging adults in stressed industrialised communities are labour migrants. Park & Park, (2020) showed how migrating to new environments also causes mental health challenges. Similarly, adapting to a new environment, culture and health-threatening challenges (such as pollution) were linked to psychological distress among Nepalese migrant

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workers who work in South East Asian industries (Adhikary et al., 2018). Likewise, adapting to the demands of the textile industry and related challenges caused anxiety, sleep deprivation, depression and stress among labour migrants in Indonesia, Thailand, Malaysia and Vietnam industries (Ratanasiripong et al., 2016).

Sankoh and colleagues (2018) have expressed concern about rising levels of psychological distress among African young people and the tendency for their wellbeing to be marginalised by researchers. They fear that the lack of employment in Africa and related competition for jobs in industrialised areas will result in even more psychological distress, particularly as the African youth population is a fast growing one. Relatedly, a study that focused on industry support for workers' mental health in Ghana showed that management generally did not consider support for workers' mental health to be a priority. In addition, men were expected to be stoical and so male workers generally did not seek help when they experienced industry-related psychological distress (Asare-Doku et al., 2022). I assume that many other young Africans in stressed, industrialised communities will experience a similar lack of support for the emotional distress associated with their residence of those communities, given how scarce mental health support is in Africa (Sankoh et al., 2018).

2.5.   HIGH-RISK BEHAVIOURS

Some emerging adults resort to high-risk behaviours, such as drugs and alcohol, to numb the stresses associated with living in industrialised communities (Andrews et al., 2016; Hoffman, 2016). For instance, Fergusson et al 's (2015) New Zealand study showed high alcohol and drug consumption rates among young factory workers between the ages of 16 and 21 in New Zealand.

This alcohol/drug consumption was also linked to risky sexual behaviours. Findings drew attention to how by the time these emerging adults reached the age of 25years, more than 20% had developed acute substance abuse problems. Substance abuse rates are further exacerbated by the youth culture promoted in emerging adults' social networks (Swist et al., 2015). Living independently in industrial environments has been associated with increased social media consumption, which leaves emerging adults susceptible to encouragement to use substances (Liu & Ma., 2018).

Unemployment and poverty rates in Kenya and other parts of Sub-Saharan Africa are still high because, ironically, as more young people move to industrialized urban centers in search of work, these areas can no longer accommodate these large numbers (Min-Harris, 2010). Many young African people resort to risky activities like prostitution due to the stress of having few or no economic opportunities (Sesele et al., 2021). For instance, Lockwood et al.'s (2019) phenomenological study showed how 18-27-year-olds residing in Kibera, a slum community bordering an industrial area in Nairobi, survive through engaging in sex work. Surviving through sex work is also associated with the high rates of sexually transmitted diseases among emerging adults. Similarly, Oldewage-Theron and Slabbert's (2010), South African study also showed how the lack of job opportunities in the industrialised Vaal area was associated with prostitution, crime and violence as the youth tried to attain economic independence (i.e., an expected emerging adult milestone). Sesele and colleagues (2021) reported similar risks for young people in the Free State Goldfields.

Notably, these risky sexual behaviours are not confined to emerging adults who are not engaged in tertiary education (Ezeanyido, 2016; Mukoro et al., 2013). For instance, a multistage random and stratified sampling design with 828 students from 18 universities in the industrialised Niger Delta showed that 80% of tertiary students actively engaged in sexual relations (Tobin-West &

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Yolunde, 2016). Of these students, only 66% knew the HIV status of the partners they were having sex with. Ezeonyido (2016) noted that disclosures about HIV status and/or sexual history are constrained by the stigma surrounding HIV disclosure among Niger Delta university students.

Emerging adults' high-risk behaviors in stressed, industrialised communities also present as criminal activity or violence (Barrett, 2017; Rege & Lavorgna, 2016). Usually, violence takes the form of mugging, marital abuse, or gang violence (Sesele et al., 2021). According to Jutersonke and Collegues (2009), social exclusion and poverty are associated with eventual involvement in violence and crime. These factors appear to be major sources of psychological distress for people living in stressed industrialized areas (Blackwell, 2015; Irish Penal Reform Trust, 2012; IIan, 2012). Possibly, when emerging adults are excluded from directly participating and benefiting from their industrialized environments, this lays the foundation for crime (Mkhize, 2017; Muiya, 2014; UN-Habitat, 2007). This is further reinforced by the continual compromise of law enforcement officers' integrity, leaving African city residents in highly vulnerable positions to be victims of crime (Totaro, 2016). For instance, research shows how most issues of violence and kidnapping go unpunished in Niger Delta, perpetuating feelings of helplessness among the Nigerian citizenry (e.g. Aghedo, 2015)

2.6.   CONCLUSION

This risk focused chapter has shown how stressed environments have strong potential to compromise young people's physical, emotional, and socio-economic well-being. Emerging adults inhabiting these environments must contend with these risks daily, eventually putting a lot of stress on their lives. These risks are likely to jeopardise the hoped-for benefits of inhabiting stressed

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industrialised environments (e.g., opportunities to gain financial independence). This is particularly worrying in Africa, given the high rates of youth migration to industrialised urban centres and the lack of supports for these young people's health and wellbeing (Min-Harris, 2010; Sankoh et al., 2018). Even more so for Swazi emerging adults who live in a low middle income country, where employment and academic opportunities are scant. Additional to navigating these challenges typical of industrial environments, Swazi young people are also navigating a political crisis in which the country is calling for democratic reforms. Matsapha young people are at the forefront of the pro-democracy protests (Ncwane, 2021). Such challenging circumstances prompt questions regarding these Swazi young people's resilience. I use the next chapter to address some of these questions.

CHAPTER 3: THE RESILIENCE OF EMERGING ADULTS LIVING IN STRESSED ENVIRONMENTS

"*Although the world is full of suffering, it is also full of the overcoming of it*" Helen Keller

3.1. INTRODUCTION

As explained in the preceding chapter, industrialization is one of the major global activities threatening the health and well-being of emerging adults inhabiting stressed industrialised communities (Barca & Bridge, 2015; Shahbaz et al., 2015). In this current chapter, I draw on studies that report how young people (where possible, with specific reference to emerging adults) from stressed industrialised environments successfully adapt to the typical challenges of these contexts. I preface this review with a brief explanation of the factors and processes that commonly inform youth resilience. This explanation is important as I use these same factors and processes to structure the review of what is currently known about the resilience of young people (including emerging adults) living in stressed, industrialised environments.

3.2. YOUTH RESILIENCE IN STRESSED ENVIRONMENTS

Youth resilience is supported by protective resources or mechanisms (Masten, 2014). These resources or mechanisms are factors or processes that minimise the impacts of the risks that young people are exposed to (Ungar, 2019). Masten and Wright (2010) identified several mechanisms that seem to be common to the resilience of young people globally, namely "attachment relationships and social support; intelligence or problem-solving skills, self-regulation skills; agency, mastery motivation and self-efficacy; meaning making; and religion and cultural

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traditions" (p. 222). These commonly occurring protective mechanisms are called "the short list of resilience factors" (Masten, 2014, p. 147). Similarly, following their study with young people from 14 communities in 11 different countries, Ungar and colleagues reported seven core protective factors and processes: "access to material resources; relationships; identity; power and control; cultural adherence; social justice; cohesion" (Ungar et al., 2007, p. 295).

While the above-mentioned resources are not identically labelled by Masten (2014), and Ungar and colleagues (2007), they overlap to a large extent. Also, although these resources are listed individually, they typically interact (e.g., access to material resources is often facilitated by young people's relational network; young people's connections to a relational network are often facilitated by cultural norms and young people's capacity to regulate their emotion and behaviour in ways that support social connections). These same resources are also commonly reported in studies of African youth resilience (see reviews by Theron, 2020; Van Breda & Theron, 2018).

I briefly explain these commonly occurring resources next, but before doing so, it is important to clarify two issues. First, the factors and processes that are common to young people's resilience are partly individual (or internal) and partly social-ecological, including relationships, cultural and religious factors, structural resources and the physical environment (Ungar, 2011; Ungar & Theron, 2020; Wright et al., 2013). In other words, an emerging adult's resilience is not restricted to their body and mind but also stems from the social and physical ecology's ability to co-facilitate protective factors and processes (Masten & Barnes, 2018; Ungar, 2021; Ungar & Theron, 2020). Typically, their resilience has multisystemic roots (Masten et al., 2021). Understanding that resilience requires multisystemic support prompts questions about notions that resilience results from some mystical or magical power that individuals possess and that helps them successfully manage significant adversity in their lives (Masten & Wright, 2010; Wright & Masten, 2015).

Second, although there are commonly occurring protective mechanisms, some may be more prominent in young people's accounts of resilience. Their prominence relates to contextual dynamics, including situational factors (like the type and level of risk exposure) and cultural factors (Ungar, 2019). For instance, even though virtually all individuals need a certain level of relationship support to adapt positively to adversity in their lives, cultural norms will determine how individuals relate to their support networks and the value they will attach to them (Gunnestad et al, 2018).

3.3. AGENCY, MASTERY AND SELF-EFFICACY (A POWERFUL IDENTITY)

Agency is about taking action or taking control (Hafeejee & Theron, 2019; Munford & Sanders, 2015). Mastery is when such action is successful (Figuereido & Ipiranga, 2017). Taking action and experiencing that it leads to positive outcomes is integral to a sense of oneself as efficacious, competent or powerful (Bremner & Schwartz, 2021; Masten & Wright, 2010; Ungar, 2015; Ungar et al., 2007). These beliefs about the self frame young people's sense of purpose, hope and self-appraisal of strengths (Ungar, 2008). The ensuing identity of oneself as powerful (or not) also influences young people's capacity to persevere and be confident in their pursuit of goals.

Importantly, emerging adults' agency and capacity for mastery are reinforced by their social and physical ecology and how resourced and enabling this ecology is (Bremner & Schwartz, 2021; Evans, 2007; Hafeejee & Theron, 2019). Ecologies can limit agency. Experiences of limited or "bounded agency" (Tamanovic, 2012; p. 66) have ramifications for young people seeing themselves as competent or powerful. When young people exert some form of control over negative situations, they are more likely to experience a powerful identity (Munford & Sanders,

2015). Similarly, when their environment rewards them for efforts in achieving certain tasks, that sets the precedence for more success in their lives and reinforces/ reaffirms their newly formed powerful identity (Narayanan & Cheang, 2016).

3.4. MEANING-MAKING AND A SENSE OF COHESION

Meaning-making encompasses processes that young people use to make sense of their lives, including adverse life circumstances (Park, 2010). How emerging adults interpret or appraise adverse circumstances influences their ability to constructively navigate hardship (Feder et al., 2011). When young people sense that life has a meaning that far extends their challenging circumstances, they will typically be better able to adjust to difficult circumstances (Masten & Barnes, 2018; Schok, Kleber & Lensvelt-Mulders, 2010; Ungar, 2015). Ungar and colleagues (2007) noted that young people were more likely to interpret life as meaningful when they experienced that they were part of a "greater good" (p. 295) and had a responsibility to contribute to it. This sense of cohesion often enables the youth to better understand their circumstances, find benefits in their stressful circumstances, accept the hardship endured, and hope for a better future for themselves and their collective (Hoho, 2014; Theron & Theron, 2014).

Holding on to hope is often anchored in the faith that a supernatural being will bring forth a change to their circumstances (Masten & Wright, 2010; Park & Slattery, 2013). Such faith-related meaning-making will be concomitant with the culture that young people affiliate with (Raghavan & Sandanapitchai, 2020). For instance, African young people's making sense of adverse circumstances is likely to be affiliated with Christian/other religious and ancestral beliefs (Gureje et al., 2020; Mhaka-Mutepfa & Maundeni, 2019). For instance, Ojagbemi and Gureje (2020a)

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show how the mental health resilience of Africans is intricately linked to their traditional and religious practices.

3.5. INTELLIGENCE/PROBLEM-SOLVING SKILLS

The higher the youth's problem-solving ability, the more likely it will be for them to devise feasible ways of solving challenges (Amstrong et al., 2011). Young people's problem-solving skills are intertwined with their intelligence (e.g., ability to focus or think creatively) and support from their ecology (Pinar et al., 2018). Put differently, positive outcomes require young people to seek and receive social support (Wekerle, 2020). For example as shown by Newman (2002), in the face of academic difficulty, learners with high problem-solving abilities become more actively engaged in finding solutions to their challenges by asking for assistance from appropriate structures like their teachers and parents. Such action sets them apart from learners with low problem-solving abilities as these learners become passive and disengaged from their studies. Importantly, however, their help-seeking must be reciprocated by their social ecology (Wekerle, 2020).

To solve problems, young people typically need to regulate their behaviour and emotion. Self-regulatory skills enable individuals to successfully control their behavioural and emotional impulses, manage difficult situations and persevere despite the eminent setbacks in their lives (Hamby & Grych, 2017; Masten, 2007). When an individual can control their emotions, social habits and thinking, such increases the likelihood that they will successfully adapt during hard times (Aitcheson et al., 2017; Masten & Wright, 2010). Self-regulation is evident in how an individual monitors their actions, set boundaries on their emotions and channels their behaviour in ways that culminate in the desired goals (Pintrich, 2004; Wong & Leung, 2008). Such abilities are

also reinforced by the expectations that the individual's social ecology has on that individual (Masten & Wright, 2010), as well as the interactions an individual has with others alongside the institutions that teach them norms and values (Kay, 2016). For instance, Haslam and collegues (2019) highlight how collectivist and individualist cultures shape self-regulation differently. In collectivist cultures, there is a certain level of interdependence concerning decision-making (Yates & Oliviera, 2016). This could explain why young people in collectivist communities are socialised to be restrained, submissive and focused on the needs of both the family and community as a whole. In contrast, in individualist cultures the emphasis is on raising assertive, independent and autonomous young people (Haslam et al., 2009).

3.6. CONSTRUCTIVE RELATIONSHIPS

Relationships are the cornerstone of resilience (Masten, 2018). In African contexts, resilience-enabling relationships are often informal and centred around the youth's family, parents, mentors, teachers, and romantic partners (Theron, 2020; Van Breda & Theron, 2018). These people play a cushioning or ameliorating role when young people experience emotional, physical, social and cognitive stressors (Southwick et al., 2016). Formal relationships (e.g., with service providers or professionals) are important too (Ungar & Theron, 2020), but less prominent in studies of African youth resilience (Theron et al., 2021; Theron et al., 2022), possibly because youth have limited access to services in Africa (Sankoh et al., 2018).

Notably, it is the type of risk that the youth face at a given point in time that likely determines the type of relational support that they will need (i.e., psychological, physical, emotional, or material support) (Masten et al., 2011). For instance, it is highly likely that family and community support

might be solicited in times of bereavement (Mngomezulu, 2007) but not necessarily when individuals face academic difficulties- where teacher support might be more relevant in such times (Theron, 2018). Formal and informal relationships are pivotal to young people's access to material resources. This means government policies, formal service providers, and the youths' immediate relationships must ensure that the youth have the necessary access to material resources if successful adaptation is to be realised (Ungar, 2015).

3.7. ADHERENCE TO CULTURE

Research also highlights the protective role that culture and religion can play (Masten et al., 2011; Masten & Wright, 2010; Ungar, 2008; Wright & Masten, 2015). Culture is intricately linked to how an individual views their world (Raghavan & Sandanapitchai, 2020). In Africa, young people's traditional socialisation includes teaching them to embrace Ubuntu values or a sense that individuals are part of an interdependent whole and have a responsibility to the wellbeing of that whole (Sekudu, 2019; Van Breda, 2019). Cultural values and traditions impart belief systems, rituals and practices that help individuals successfully navigate/ negotiate a variety of stressors (Masten et al., 2011; Masten & Wright, 2010), and develop resilience-supporting skills (like leadership skills; Bremner & Schwartz, 2021). For example, engaging in religious acts (like prayer or meditation) and related beliefs in divine assistance/ intervention helps young people who are religious to maintain hope when they face significant stress (Gonzales & Saarman, 2014; Richmond, 2014; Wright & Diab, 2011). Similarly, the isiZulu-speaking young men (18 to 20 years old) who participated in a leadership development program were emboldened by Ubuntu values that they embraced; these values encouraged them to be leaders that could bring about positive change to their community (Bremner & Schwartz, 2021).

3.8. SOCIAL JUSTICE

Social justice is the purposeful righting of economic, health, social or other inequities (Hart., 2019). These may include, among other things, poverty; racism; marginalisation relating to religious beliefs sexual orientation or gender identity; or other forms of social exclusion. When young people witness/experience efforts by their governments or other decision-makers to be socially just, they are often more hopeful and/or experience a sense of cohesion (Theron, 2016). Simultaneously, when young people themselves take action to advance social justice, they experience a sense of power and control, and resilience is advanced (Hart. 2016; Ungar et al., 2007).

3.9. A REVIEW OF YOUTH RESILIENCE LITERATURE IN INDUSTRIAL ENVIRONMENTS

In this section, I review literature specific to stressed industrialised contexts to report what enables the resilience of young people who live in these contexts. Where possible, I report studies that were specific to emerging adults. However, as indicated by Theron and colleagues (2021) and Burt and Paysnick (2012), my literature search showed a dearth of studies specific to the resilience of emerging adults on the African continent and elsewhere. My review showed that agency and meaning-making are dominant enablers of young people's resilience in stressed industrialised contexts. Further, having a good support system (particularly in the form of supportive family and friends), social justice in the form of effective policies and monitoring systems, the support of non-governmental organizations and media advocacy are also important for the resilience of youth in stressed industrialised contexts. Typically, and as predicted by social ecological or multisystemic

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theories of resilience (Ungar, 2011, 2021; Masten et al., 2021), these resources interacted to support resilience to the challenges associated with stressed, industrialised environments.

3.9.1. *Navigating stressors using agency*

Young people take action to mediate the stress of inhabiting contexts with high industrial activity (Atari, et al., 2011). For instance, Yu et al.'s (2017) Beijing study showed how 68% of first-year students in Tsinghua University (young men, mostly around 18 years of age) took protective action, like reducing the frequency of outdoor exercise and physical activity on bad air days, to mitigate the health risks of living in this industrial area. The causes for such behaviour modifications were linked to emerging adults' beliefs that they had the power to reduce the extent of their personal pollution exposure. They believed that excessively engaging in outdoor activities placed them in a position of inhaling more toxic air, while keeping indoors meant they protected themselves from the bad air. Reams et al. (2013) suggested how an individual's confidence in overcoming environmental challenges lies at the heart of such positive adaptive behaviours.

Similarly, Yakubu (2018) demonstrated how Harcourt (Niger Delta) residents (children, younger and older adults) adopted precautionary measures for their health despite the fact that they lacked the means to stop soot (from oil refineries) from contaminating the air. For instance, they made sure windows and doors were always closed and washed their hands and faces frequently to get soot off their bodies. This cross-sectional study further added how the majority of these Nigerian citizens even wore masks to protect themselves from inhaling contaminated air produced by petroleum industry. They also routinely wiped their floors and cleansed their surfaces, sometimes

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even three times a day, to remove the soot that periodically covered windows, floors, and other household items,

Research suggests that risk-minimizing behaviours get more frequent when residents have been warned of potential hazards (Dankzker et al., 2010; Wen et al., 2005). In other words, their agency is enabled when the social ecology also takes action to keep its members safe. For instance, Atari and collegues (2011) study in Sarnia, Canada, demonstrated how media coverage was often used as a strategy to warn residents of bad air days, which encouraged the frequency of adaptive agency such as staying indoors on days when residents had been cautioned of the worst air quality. A similar trend was seen in Chicago. White et al. (2014) showed how industrial communities relied on media coverage (i.e., radio, television, and print media) for environmental health-related information. Such information included practical actions they could take to protect their health.

Adaptive agency in industrial contexts is not limited to adjusting well to health-related challenges (Beyer et al., 2016; Oldewage-Theron et al., 2006). For instance, Utomo et al. (2014) reported how emerging Indonesian adults who had dropped out of school took action to mitigate the financial hardship faced. They migrated to the Greater Jarkata to work in the processing or manufacturing industries. In doing so, they gained self-sufficiency and a sense of power and control. Similarly, Li et al. 's (2012) cross-sectional study showed how the mental health of 210 migrant emerging adults inhabiting a stressed industrialised environment in Zhejiang Province, China, was facilitated by the actions they took to mitigate retrenchment. Additional to viewing their future optimistically and relying on the few savings they had, these emerging adults found other alternative financial enhancing ways to mitigate the challenges of their job loss. Their agency increased, compared to other migrants that had experienced long-term unemployment.

The natural and infrastructural facilities available within stressed industrial environments also mediate the actions young people can take to manage financial hardship. For instance, Ifeanyieze et al.'s (2016) Nigerian study showed how even though the presence of oil industries had largely contributed to the environmental degradation that characterised this region, the presence of farmlands was proof enough that Nigerian communities were exploring other sustainable methods of living. Arable land within the industrial communities made it possible for most individuals to take such exploratory action and make ends meet (Kadafa, 2012). Similarly, the CPED Policy Brief Series (2017) added how the natural environment in the Niger Delta, which mostly consists of mangrove and freshwater swamp forests, contributes to farming, logging, livestock rearing and wood processing in this region. Even though some of these agricultural practices rely on rudimentary farming methods, they were a source of financial support for these Nigerians.

Likewise, Cardosi et al. (2015) conducted a series of interviews with 30 community leaders and 20 market vendors in Kibera to demonstrate how a newly planned market in Nairobi helped most merchants (women and the youth) adapt positively to relentless hardships associated with this stressed, urban environment. This newly built market (the Toi market) provided a sustainable place where they could sell various merchandise (fruits, vegetables) and increased the numbers of merchants given its bigger size and more durable nature. The size also made it possible for these residents to occasionally hold meetings and other activities in the market. Additionally, the durable material used in the building of the Toi Market also meant Kibera residents would benefit from the market for a long time compared to the previously demolished and unsustainable market infrastructure. The better design in terms of ventilation, structuring and security also added to feelings of safety and ease as residents went about their daily lives under the Toi Market structures.

Additionally, this market reduced congestion issues which were a constant source of stress in the old market, thus making it a livelier place to work and fend for a living among these residents.

In summary, while the examples I included point strongly to individual agency, they also direct attention to social and physical ecologies co-facilitating that agency.

3.9.2. *Meaning-making as a precursor for positive adaptation*

Despite the multiple challenges associated with stressed industrial environments various studies show that young people can benefit from their proximity to industries (e.g., Aiyar, 2013; Desgroppes & Taupin, 2011; Gruber et al., 2005). Related to this, remaining hopeful and optimistic that living in such proximity places them in a better position for job opportunities increases the youths' resistance to the many adversities faced. For instance, a quasi-experimental study by Lima and Marques (2017) showed how the psychological well-being of 402 young people inhabiting two stressed industrialised contexts depended on their perceptions of their proximity to industrial activity. In one of the industrialised environments, emerging adults suffered from anxiety and depression because they perceived their environment to be dangerous because of air pollution. While for the other industrial environment that mostly experienced water pollution, the psychological well-being of emerging adults was not that affected. They associated staying closer to a stressed industrial environment with economic development and potential employment opportunities. Their hopes for what this environment could potentially offer them financially was a buffer to their mental wellbeing.

Similarly, Aiyar (2013) related how living in Kibera, Kenya, was associated with potential job opportunities compared to the extreme poverty in rural Kenyan villages. Even though young men

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who were job migrants in Kibera industrial slum community lived uncomfortably, they still saw Kibera as a place for potential job opportunities and persevered (Desgroppes & Taupin, 2011). Sometimes, particularly when environments are patriarchal and biased towards men, it is harder for young women to make positive meaning (Sesele et al., 2021). For instance, Chouvren (2009) relates how the gendered divide in employment opportunities also influenced how Nigerian industrial youth made sense of their challenges. Young men adapted better than young women because they associated living in the confines of industrial activity with potential job opportunities, as opposed to the dangers inherent in living in such proximity placed on their wellbeing. In comparison, young women were preoccupied with the risks that living in the Niger Delta posed to their wellbeing. In addition, it was much harder for young women to find employment, given how the patriarchal culture within Nigeria negatively influences women's employment opportunities in industrial areas (Folami, 2016; Joab-Peterside, 2018; Uduji et al., 2020).

Research also shows how the positive expectations that emerging adult industrial immigrants have for the future contribute to how they persevere even when circumstances are not conducive. Instead of giving up, they nurse the hope that these circumstances would eventually pass (Beal, Crockett & Peugh, 2016). The possibility of working in industries becomes a source of hope for evading the absolute poverty that permeates rural villages and sustains their tolerance of the risks associated with the stressed, industrialised environment (Gruber et al., 2005). For instance, Luthans et al.'s (2005) findings alluded to how 272 emerging adults in three factories that were downgrading in China continued to perform well in their jobs despite a future that was in limbo. This cross-sectional study suggested that emerging adults' hope for alternative employment opportunities were determinants of why they continued to perform well even though they worked under uncertain conditions of probable retrenchment. Similarly, Viwa (2014) also highlighted how such

optimistic expectations enabled Niger Delta youth to overlook challenges faced within this stressed oil-producing delta and instead remain hopeful that life would improve for the better. Such optimistic expectations were linked to these youths' constructive adjustment to the prevailing challenges faced. Ho et al. (2010) also linked optimism to the mental well-being of Chinese emerging adult immigrants. Despite living in one of China's most polluted industrial communities, the self-reported stress and depressive symptoms of emerging adults working in Hong Kong industries were low. These emerging adults' perceptions of Hong Kong as a place of financial opportunities reduced the potential stress of their living conditions and also helped them navigate intermittent periods of unemployment they occasionally experienced.

Sometimes youth agency is integral to how youth and others make meaning of an industrialised environment. In this regard, youth living in Kibera (Kenya's largest slum and home to many workers in Nairobi's industrial sector) facilitated a change of perception about this informal settlement using social media platforms (Hagen, 2017). With the aid of researchers, they collaboratively mapped their community and in so doing redressed marginalisation by authorities, as is often the case with informal, industrialised settlements (Panek & Sobotova, 2015). Amongst others, they used media platforms to share first-hand stories of what it was like to live there, and they mapped risks (e.g., places where girls were unsafe) and resources (e.g., police stations) (Hagen, 2017). By including information on what was enabling, protective or useful about Kibera they extended typical interpretations associated with Kibera's blatant poverty, violence, and environmental degradation. This offered Kibera youth a voice to affect how the outside world views their industrial community, and in many ways empowered themselves and their community. Through the aid of maps and participatory GIS sessions, these residents added to the existing body of knowledge about life in Africa's biggest industrial slum- especially given that most researchers

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and journalists did not aim for an ethnographic understanding of this community. This strengthened Gonzalez and Saarman's (2014) claims on the potency of media coverage as a vehicle for positively influencing public opinion. It also influenced local and national government and resulted in resources to Kibera being increased (Hagen, 2017).

Again, in summary, my reading of the literature suggested to me that resilience-enabling meaning-making was part personal, and part social ecological. How emerging adults interpreted their stressed environment shaped their perseverance, but more positive interpretations were typically tied to ecological resources (like job opportunities and collaborative research studies).

3.9.3. *The role of connections in the resilience of youth in industrial contexts*

As implied in the 3.9.1 and 3.9.2, young people's social networks are instrumental in facilitating positive adjustment to the physical, economic and psychosocial stressors associated with inhabiting a stressed industrialised environment (Hombrados-Mendieta et al., 2019). With most youth migrating to industrial areas searching for job opportunities, social networks often help them secure jobs and provide accommodation during the transition (Vertove, 2002). Other forms of support can be through emotional, financial, and informational resources (CPED Policy Brief Series, 2017; Francis & Pegg, 2020; Fresle, 2010).

Kinship-based networks, which include the individual's immediate family members like parents, spouses, children, and siblings (e.g., White & Casey, 2016) and/or extended family members (Theron, 2020), are prominent resilience-enablers for African youth (Theron & Van Breda, 2021). Close family members often helps young people cope with industrial stressors (Okeafor & Chukwujekwu, 2017). For instance, an Indian multiple industrial town study by Argrawal et al.

(2015) showed how the emotional stress in the settlement period of 7076 Hindu migrants aged 18 years and above was mediated when they were later joined by a family member (such as a spouse). These family members reduced the eminent feelings of loneliness that emanated from being in an unfamiliar and stressed environment. Kin support bridged the geographical distance between their rural homes and places of work. Family was similarly important in Theron et al.'s (2021) industrial township study in South Africa, which showed how women relatives (such as grandmothers and sisters) supported the resilience of emerging adults. These relatives provided resources (e.g., material supports, advice) that made life better and contributed to the well-being of these emerging adults. This finding fit with White and Casey's (2016) assertions of how the support of family members positively influences the mental health and well-being of people in industrial contexts.

The role of family support also becomes imperative in cases where industrial residents suffer from a variety of life-threatening diseases that increase their need for physical and emotional support (Balagopal, 2009). For instance, even though HIV/AIDS can affect people in all communities, residents of industrial communities are often more susceptible to HIV infection (Mabathoana et al., 2019; Min-Harris, 2010). As explained in Chapter 2 (see 2.2), this vulnerability relates to unemployment and underemployment often being linked with sex work and gender-based violence in industrial contexts and the concomitant likelihood of acquiring sexually transmitted diseases (Chipamaunga et al., 2010; Nkhambule, 2015). Schatz and Seeley (2015) explain that familial care-work was particularly prevalent in HIV-endemic contexts such as East and Southern Africa, where a few formal systems of care exist. Family members provided varying forms of support, including transport to medical centres, administering daily medicine, feeding, and personal hygiene (e.g., helping the ill person bath).

In addition to families, friendship-based and work-related networks matter too. For emerging adults, these are mostly comprised of peers and colleagues (Okeke-Ogbuafor et al., 2017). These networks act as support systems and ultimately contribute to the young people's capacity to survive in industrial contexts. Patel et al. (2017) reported how even though living in vicinities of industrial activity potentially places individuals in vulnerable positions, the presence of strong community networks helps create a sense of community and belonging. This cohesion often emanates from the lengthy periods of time that most residents spend alongside each other (Skeard, 2015). For instance, Wong et al. (2012) showed how the perceived support of 449 Mainland China immigrants from fellow community members seemed to override the stress of joblessness when they migrated to industrial Hong Kong. These community networks often mediated the stress of employment uncertainty and related depressive symptoms by being emotionally available. Just knowing that they were emotionally cared for and could vent their frustrations without inhibitions to fellow community members helped improve the psychological health of these emerging adult immigrants.

Likewise, friends supported the wellbeing of migrants to Britain. Besides providing emotional support, friendship networks made it possible for industrial migrants to devise saving schemes among themselves to help supplement their low salaries (Datta et al., 2006). Such networks were also a source of loans during trying times when migrants ran short of money.

Sometimes, this friendship support was virtual. For example, connecting with friends via social media platforms enabled Australian emerging adults inhabiting industrial areas to develop a sense of identity and community (Swist et al., 2015). These Australians could share their daily lives with their peers without being restricted by geographical constraints. This made them feel connected and part of a bigger community, which also helped bolster their emotional wellbeing. Similarly, Wang (2016) reported how social media became a space where China's emerging adult industrial

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migrants not only kept contact with their friends and made new friends but also where they had the autonomy to express identities or experience control without the interference of family members and restrictive societal and cultural norms. This was important for these Chinese emerging adult migrants as their traditional culture promotes conformity. Through social media, emerging adults had the advantage of independently creating the identities they wanted to assume in adulthood.

Peer relationships that emerging adults form in industrial settings also serve as a source of support when their lives are volatile. For instance, a survey conducted by Li et al. (2007) on 4453 industrial migrants in Hangzhou, China, showed how Chinese emerging adults solicited their friends' emotional support more often than their families' after they were retrenched from manufacturing industries This support minimised the severity of depressive and anxiety symptoms that emerging adults experienced due to this job loss. It is important to note that these emerging adults valued peer support more than professional assistance, which was also shown by the fact that only 1% of emerging adults sought professional assistance to buffer the mental health challenges from their job loss.

Within the African context, Lockwood et al.'s (2019) Kibera study showed how the support that emerging adults received from a mix of informal and formal supports (counsellors, doctors, support groups and friends) played a pertinent role in how the 18-27-year-olds accepted their HIV diagnosis. This phenomenological study revealed how the onset of emerging adults' HIV diagnosis was marked by stress and uncertainty about how long they would live. Enabling connections helped emerging adults accept their diagnosis, take their medication consistently and still be able to see positivity in their lives beyond the eminent HIV diagnosis. Emerging adults felt accepted and cared for, which buffered their physical and emotional well-being.

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In other African studies, informal social networks are prominent in the resilience of emerging adults. For instance, the support of good friends and reliable neighbours/locals facilitated how emerging adults managed the financial and psychosocial stress of living in a stressed industrial township in South Africa (Theron et al., 2020), also during COVID-19 lockdown (Theron et al., 2022). Similarly, Ojwang (2017) showed how Kenyan emerging adults residing in Nairobi industrial and urban slums relied on peer connections to survive. They devised a special slang language known as 'Sheng' to support each other via Koch FM (a radio station that reaches slums in urban and industrial areas). Sheng allowed them to disguise atypical (even criminal) acts from parents and authorities and fashion a relatable youth-driven medium to support each other through the various socio-economic challenges they faced. They also shared information about how to form clubs that could help them generate income and how best to practise safe sex and keep themselves safe from the health challenges that pervade industrial and urban slums.

3.9.4. *Cultural factors and positive adaptation in industrial areas*

I found little information on cultural values and practices that support the resilience of emerging adults in stressed industrialised environments. An exception was the Nigerian study by Ajala (2013) that examined the importance of workplace spirituality on the well-being of youth employees in the Nigerian industrial sector. It alluded to how spirituality helped workers engage in meaningful and purposeful work. This was especially paramount given that the rigorous nature of work done in these industries left workers with a lot of stress and burnout. Holding on to their faith provided these Nigerian youth with an inexplicable level of peace and comfort when they felt psychologically and mentally exhausted. It enabled them to think positively and endure the challenging work environments they were subjected to. Another exception was the study by

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Bodewes (2005). It also showed how traditional African practices facilitated the resilience of individuals in Kibera, a Kenyan industrial community. These industrial inhabitants relied on the power of traditional healers, famously known as "wagangas", to mitigate a variety of physical and social challenges. The problems included physical ailments associated with close industrial proximity, such as skin irritations, headaches, vomiting, asthma, diarrhoea, and back aches. Industrial residents used medicinal concoctions from 'wagangas' to manage the diseases above. Residents who did not believe in the power of traditional healers, used prayer and boiled local herbs to cure/manage these diseases. Young women also used love potions and spells form 'wagangas' (traditional healers) to prevent their husbands/ men from being drawn to other women and concomitantly exhaust the little money these industrial households relied on. Traditional healers were also consulted by residents for 'luck medicine' that would increase residents' chances of obtaining jobs in the neighbouring industries. Lastly, in South Africa, emerging adults living in an industrial township reported that Ubuntu values supported their resilience to the challenges of that environment and how COVID-19 lockdown exacerbated them (Theron et al., 2021). For example, continued commitment to respectful interdependence, meant that young people could trust family and community members to share material resources with them.

3.9.5. *The role of systems that advocate for socially just industrial environments*

With industrialization being an initiative that is usually governed at a macro level, external structures such as governments, NGOs and the media often advocate for policies, laws and regulations that safeguard the interests of individuals (Murali & Jaisankar, 2015). This is particularly important when individuals are marginalised and have little voice, as is often true of emerging adults living and working in stressed industrial communities. For instance, within the

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South African context, Morakinyo et al.'s (2020) Pretoria West industrial area study showed that installing air pollution monitoring systems within the city of Tswane played a pivotal role in reducing the previously toxic pollution levels emitted by industries in this region. In this way, people's rights to climate justice and health were championed, more especially the people living in Pretoria West. Similarly, in KwaZulu Natal in South Africa, the Pollution Control Support and Risk Management unit also found ways to enforce municipalities to devise air pollution and control systems so that the neighbouring industrial locations (Jacobs, Isiphingo, Clairwood, Umlazi, Amanzimtoti) were less affected by industrial pollution. Bigger oil-producing companies, such as Sasol, also pledged their commitment to ensuring that the interests of individuals were prioritised by providing intermediary pollution control measures to minimise the effects of pollution on the environment (Sasol in Society Report, 2019).

To provide more just access to basic resources, some African governments and oil-producing industries have collaborated to locate medical facilities within easy reach of industrial communities (Constitutional and Mainland Affairs Bureau, 2018; Nair et al., 2011). This includes free public health or hospital facilities, pharmacies and medicinal supplies in the vicinity of industrial activity and related settlements. For instance, in Kenya, Emina et al. (2011) showed how in the context of chronic poverty, water scarcity and overpopulation, Viwadani and Korogocho youth and older residents relied on the provision of free government hospital facilities to buffer health-related risk emanating from their stressed environment. Additionally, these residents had nearby local chemists where medication was made available to manage/ treat some air pollution-related ailments. Similarly, in South Africa, Sasol provides services such as HIV prevention and training services, testing and management services to its staff and to local communities. By providing their employees (including emerging adults) with these various HIV prevention and

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management services, Sasol tries to increase the chances for a healthier and more knowledgeable workforce (Sasol Facts, 2013). Such services are pivotal given how most industrial communities become hotspots for sexually transmitted diseases (Lockwood et al., 2019). Additionally, Sasol has used its corporate social investment program to, amongst others, provide accessible recreation facilities for young people living in resource-constrained townships adjacent to their petrochemical plants and to offer bursaries to local youth. Various emerging adults in these townships acknowledge that these socially just efforts have supported their resilience (Theron et al., 2021).

Charitable organisations and funding agencies also play a pivotal role in the resilience of young people in industrial areas. For instance, Wangari-Manjohi (2019) showed how organisations prioritised the interests of Kibera youth in socially just ways by teaching computer skills to youth graduates who were denied employment opportunities because they lacked computer skills. To redress this injustice, training institutions (such as Tunapanda and Andela) ran an intensive program that was only open to young people in Kibera. Amnesty International (2019), in conjunction with Wasanii Sanaa (a youth-led organisation), also fought for the rights of Kibera youth by equipping the community with necessary information to eliminate/reduce poverty, drug addiction and human trafficking, all of which are rife in Kibera. Importantly, the work to support resilience in Kibera has prompted attention to the importance of social justice and other interventions using multisectoral collaboration, strengthening social cohesion and increasing social capital (Mitra et al., 2017).

3.10. CONCLUSION

My review of the relevant resilience literature has shown that emerging adults' capacity to effectively navigate the challenges of a stressed industrialised environment is contingent on multiple resources. As presaged by social ecological or systemic theories of resilience, these resources were multisystemic (Ungar, 2011, 2019, 2021; Masten et al., 2021), and included personal (agency, meaning-making), relational, cultural, and structural factors and processes. Collectively, these resources supported emerging adults to positively adapt to various physical, financial, and psychosocial stressors associated with stressed industrial environments.

What stood out for me was the scant attention to situational and cultural resources in the resilience of young people in stressed industrialised environments. Further, despite resilience science's attention to the developmental (Yoon et al., 2020) and contextual (Masten et al., 2021) sensitivity of the pathways that young people will use to successfully navigate hardship, I could not find a single study explaining the resilience of emerging adults in Eswatini. In short, this means that while my review shed some light on the elements of the multi-systemic and complex nature of the resilience of emerging adults, it is insufficient to account for the resilience of emerging adults in a stressed environment in Eswatini. I trust that my study – using the methods detailed in the next chapter – is a first step in redressing this gap.

CHAPTER 4: THE METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY

4.1. INTRODUCTION

I provided a brief overview of the methods that guided my study in Chapter 1. Chapter 4 builds on that overview. It provides contextual information about Matsapha, a rich description of the participants that generously shared their insights with me, and the data generation methods that informed my study. I also show how I conducted an analysis of their insights and the steps I took to respect rigour.

4.2. PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

This study aimed to explore emerging adults' accounts of resilience to the challenges of a stressed industrialised environment in Eswatini. In other words, the purpose of my study was exploratory; it sought to provide an initial account of the risks of living in a stressed industrialised environment and resilience to those risks, as explained by a sample of emerging adults. This fits with how Mohammed et al. (2019) explain an exploratory study, namely as research that explores research problems that have not previously been adequately investigated. As explained in Chapter 1, very little is known about the resilience of Swazi emerging adults. The same is true of the resilience of emerging adults (Swazi or otherwise) living in other stressed industrialised environments (Theron et al., 2020). My exploratory research, therefore, laid the foundation for an initial understanding of Swazi emerging adult resilience to the risks of a stressed, industrialised environment and, in so doing, aimed to add exploratory insights to the fairly small body of pre-existing work on the resilience of emerging adults (Burt & Paysnick, 2012). Insights into the resilience of emerging

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adults in Africa and other majority world contexts – i.e., where most of the world's people live (Madrid Akpovo et al., 2018), is especially limited (Blum & Boyden, 2018; Theron et al., 2021). As is typical of exploratory work (Swedberg, 2018), the findings are tentative and meant to stimulate larger follow-up studies.

In addition to producing tentative results, exploratory studies are also flexible (Kalu & Bwayla 2017). The flexibility that characterises exploratory studies supports researchers in adapting their proposed methodology to various (unforeseen) constraints that might arise during the research process. This allows researchers to progress more easily and, in the process, gain more insight into the chosen research phenomenon. Flexibility also allows researchers to pursue novel insights that emerge as the research process unfolds. This is imperative given that exploratory research is usually conducted in areas of research with scant bodies of evidence (like the resilience of emerging adults in Africa).

The flexible nature of exploratory studies was advantageous in my study as I was not forced to stick to a rigid process when conducting the empirical research. This helped me explore nuances in participant accounts and engage more meaningfully with the participants. For instance, I finetuned questions to suit the contextual dynamics of the data generation process; emerging adult participants felt free to sometimes codeswitch to Siswati to better explain themselves; and I also (in a few instances) code switched when formulating questions. This flexibility facilitated the research process flow and resulted in naturalistic, conversation-like interactions between emerging adult participants and me.

Even though exploratory research can potentially yield meaningful findings and prompt substantive follow-up studies, those findings are seldom readily generalisable and often subject to bias (Swedberg, 2018). This emanates from the relatively small samples that inform exploratory

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qualitative studies (Zhao et al., 2020). For instance, my study included only 30 emerging adults –
– while this was sufficient to yield data saturation (or 'adequacy' as per Braun & Clarke, 2022, p.
17), it was too small a number to make conclusive generalisations about the emerging adult
population in Matsapha, Eswatini, or similarly stressed African contexts. I compensated for this
by providing rich descriptive information that would enable readers to understand my study's
context and make decisions about the applicability of my findings beyond the context of my study.
Similarly, I described the sampling process in detail, the steps I took to limit the bias of a small,
purposefully chosen sample, and how I managed the potential bias of my positionality and
assumptions (see 1.5 and 1.6).

4.3.   CONTEXTUALISING THE STUDY

As indicated when I introduced my study in Chapter 1, my doctoral research is affiliated with the
"Resilient Youth in Stressed Environments (RYSE)" study. As explained in detail elsewhere
(Ungar et al., 2021), RYSE investigates the resilience of adolescents and emerging adults in
stressed environments (with particular emphasis on communities affected by oil and gas
production or consumption or other extractive industries). The RYSE team was open to additional
research sites to complement what they were learning about risk and resilience from young people
in the first RYSE sites (Drayton Valley, Canada; eMbalenhle, South Africa; see Ungar et al., 2021).
Accordingly, when I approached Professor Linda Theron (co-principal RYSE investigator) about
the possibility of a PhD study, she invited me to conceptualise a study that would fit RYSE's
interest in the resilience processes of young people living in stressed, industrialised environments.
My first-hand experience of Matsapha – a stressed, industrialised environment in Eswatini –
motivated me to explore what might account for emerging adults' resilience.

Eswatini is among the smallest landlocked countries in Southern Africa, with an area of 17 000square kilometres (International Organisation for Migration, 2010). It is made of four administrative regions (Manzini, Shiselweni, Lubombo and Hhohho). Manzini region is the largest of these four regions. Matsapha, the stressed industrialised environment, is a town in the Manzini region that harbours nearly 95% of the country's textile and manufacturing industries (Jeppersoen & Bezuidenhout, 2019) (see Figure 2). Most industries in Matsapha run 24 hours a day, promoting an unending cycle of productivity. While this is financially liberating for the country, it also means that there is a 24hr emission of various toxic gases, sounds and wastes that contaminate the air, water and land surrounding this stressed industrialised town. The International Association for Medical Assistance to Travellers (2020) noted that the Swazi air quality was 17.ug/m3, which is above the average concentration of 10.ug/m3 as per WHO recommendations. Industrial inhabitants are negatively affected by these toxic emissions. For instance, Cornell (2014) reported that many workers had been hospitalised after inhaling butyl acetate, a hazardous chemical used in the garment factories in Matsapha.

Matsapha is home to 35 000 inhabitants, mostly living in informal settlements within a 1150ha radius (Makadzange et al., 2018). The inhabitants mostly comprise young women and men between the ages of 19-35 (South Africa HIV and AIDS Regional Exchange, 2015). Large numbers of the Swazi youth population search for potential job opportunities in the industrialised environment of Matsapha, adding to the growing rural to urban migration trends in sub-Saharan Africa. Additional to potential job opportunities, young people are attracted to Matsapha by educational opportunities. Eswatini's biggest university, the University of Eswatini (formerly known as the University of Swaziland), is located in Matsapha. A substantial number of the young

people who study at this university stay on campus and in rental houses located within the wider stressed industrialised environment of Matsapha.

While there are many locations that young people inhabit within Matsapha, the communities of Mbhuleni, Mathangeni, and Kwaluseni (all informal settlements) are their most frequent choices. This relates to how these settlements are closest to industries/university and rental accommodation being widely available in these communities (Makadzange et al., 2018). While this makes it easier for emerging adults to conveniently reach their respective places of work/school, it has also led to a mushrooming population of closely packed informal settlements (locally referred to as 'titimela') (Dlamini, 2018) (see Figure 3). The large numbers of people living in these 'titimela', combined with their mostly economically challenged and therefore marginalised social status, seem to contribute to these industrial communities apparently not being prioritised by the municipality. For instance, amenities such as water and electricity continue to be scarce despite the development that has taken place in Matsapha and surrounding areas (Nhlabatsi, 2018).

Mbhuleni, Mathangeni and Kwaluseni residents are further challenged by risks typically associated with densely populated, under-resourced neighbourhoods (Adams & Zamberia, 2017; Malqvist, 2014). In particular, Mbhuleni, Mathangeni and Kwaluseni are notorious for criminal/gang activity (Magagula, 2022). For instance, Dlamini (2018) showed how the Matsapha Municipality created initiatives to help Matsapha residents optimise safety given how K9 (i.e., a notorious gang movement) causes terror among residents in these industrialised and stressed settlements. Crime syndicates affiliated to K9 are known for housebreaking, as well as beating, killing, and harming residents with the intent of taking their belongings (Avert, 2020).

Linked to the overcrowding and financial challenges that young people face in Matsapha, are high rates of sex work and transmission of diseases such as HIV/AIDS. For instance, Matsapha has the

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highest rates of HIV/AIDS infections in Eswatini (Adams & Zamberia, 2017). These rates are further perpetuated by how 60% of young people in Matsapha do not have access to HIV/AIDS education and lack adequate knowledge of how to protect themselves or others against HIV transmission (The South Africa HIV and AIDS Regional Exchange, 2015). It is worth mentioning, however, that funding agencies are engaged in efforts to provide medicinal mitigation measures such as providing antiretroviral drugs for people living with HIV/AIDS in Matsapha (Doctors without borders, 2018). For instance, the recently opened AFH clinic provides HIV-related medication and services to Matsapha residents (UNAIDS HIV/AIDS estimates, 2020). Similarly, Hospice at Home, a home care facility in Matsapha, focuses on providing home-based services to Matsapha residents that suffer from AIDS.

The industrial town of Matsapha is also self-sustaining, as most of the resources people need are located within the town, including easily accessible shopping complexes. These complexes have a variety of shops located within them. The bigger supermarkets also close relatively late compared to franchises in other towns and cities in Eswatini (e.g., Mbabane and Manzini). For instance, some bigger supermarkets in Matsapha close at 9 PM, while similar supermarket franchises in other towns close at 7 PM. I suspect that this is probably because they understand that the industrial population knocks off late from the various industries that employ them.

Most importantly, these shops answer to the financial constraints that challenge most of the Matsapha population by providing various commodities at relatively lower prices compared to shops in other towns. Many big banks, like Standard Bank and FNB, filling stations and eateries are located within the stressed industrialised environment and easily accessible (i.e., conveniently located). Collectively, these resources have made Matsapha a sustainable industrial location to live in. It is worth mentioning, however, that the youth-led democracy protests/uprisings in Eswatini

(Matsapha included and ongoing at the close of my study), will change the availability of most of these resources. This relates to how major towns such as Matsapha, Manzini, and Mbabane are the centre stage of these uprisings. Most businesses, major job-providing factories such as the Brewery, and supermarkets in these towns have been targeted (e.g., vandalised) and continue to be victims of arson attacks (Ncwane, 2021).

Other resources that make life easier within Matsapha include security services. Matsapha has the biggest police training college and the busiest police station in Eswatini. Also located within this stressed industrialised environment is a correctional prison, where criminals are rehabilitated. One of the biggest army bases is located on the outskirts of Matsapha. Besides providing employment opportunities, these security services try to promote the safety of Matsapha residents.

As indicated, the initial pull factor for many emerging adult job seekers in Matsapha is the presence of industries and associated hopes of employment. However, when emerging adults typically struggle to get the jobs they anticipated, they make a living selling a variety of goods or amenities/services in temporary structures by the roadsides (U.S Mission Eswatini, 2015) (see Figure 3). The physical consequence of this roadside economy is deposits of litter that eventually lead to land pollution (see Figure 3). This is further perpetuated by the unavailability of adequate waste disposal systems within this stressed industrialised town. For instance, Shongwe (2015) reported a growing problem of hazardous waste of worn-out tyres that were mindlessly dumped within the confines of Matsapha.

Water pollution is another source of pollution within Matsapha. At Matsapha's western boundary is the Lusushwana River, a river that Matsapha residents predominantly use for various household purposes (African Development Bank Eswatini, 2018). Despite its domestic uses, the Lusushwana River is also home to unaccountable hazardous waste, believed to be the result of a considerable

number of industries disposing of toxic substances in this river (Dlamini, 2001; Mhlanga, 2012; Singwane & Magagula, 2014). For instance, Dlamini (2016) reported how residents worried that consuming fish from contaminated rivers in Matsapha exposed them to various diseases such as cholera, typhoid, and diarrhoea as the bacteria in the water had reached unsafe standards. "Kuyabhedza shem" (it is catastrophic), they wrote. This pollution is further exacerbated by the fact that by the time the river makes its way through Matsapha, it already has considerable deposits of pollutants from tributaries. When combined with the poisonous chemicals from factories, the water gets even more polluted (Matsapha Municipality, 2020; Singwane & Magagula, 2014).
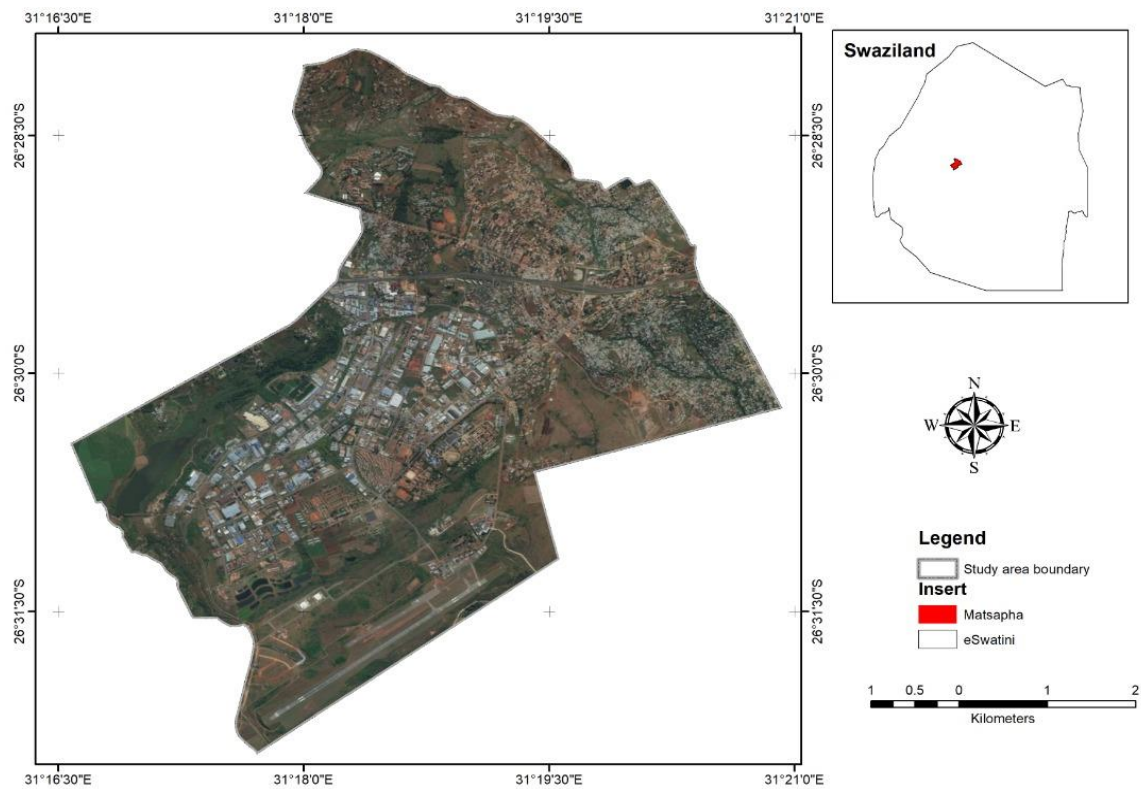
Figure 2: Matsapha aerial view (Map accessed via the Department of Geography, University of Eswatini, 2018)

Figure 3: Images of the research context: Matsapha (Researcher's own, 2019).

4.4.   RESEARCH DESIGN

My doctoral study used a phenomenological design to explore and better understand the resilience of emerging adults in the stressed context of Matsapha. Phenomenology is concerned with how individuals make sense of their world (Bryman, 2008). The basic objective of phenomenology is

to contribute to a deeper understanding of people's lived experiences of a chosen research phenomenon, including their similar and different experiences (Neubauer et al., 2019). In my study, this was achieved by inviting emerging adults to freely share experiences of the stressed environment and how they navigated/managed its challenges (see 1.7.1). Importantly, in their focus on participants' insights, phenomenological studies are not intent on generating an objective or definitive, generalisable account of the chosen phenomenon (Coyle, 2021). Accordingly, a phenomenological design was well-suited to my study's exploratory (rather than definitive) nature and its interest in giving voice, so to speak, to the insights of African emerging adults.

Further, complex phenomena – such as resilience– are better understood using phenomenology as it is a design that is powerful in exposing people's subjective experiences and, in the process, interrogating taken-for-granted assumptions and advancing theory (Creswell, 2014). By inviting emerging adult participants to share their unique lived experiences, and doing so iteratively (i.e., three times), I could delve into the complexities of what informed their resilience within the stressed environment. Phenomenology is advantageous when the study aims to explore a phenomenon (like resilience) that is sensitive to situational and cultural dynamics and when fresh or new perspectives are needed (Steeves, 2001). In my study, phenomenology enabled young people to share their lived experiences and this in turn allowed situational and cultural nuances of how emerging adults interacted with the stressed environment, and managed its challenges, to surface. My giving emerging adults the liberty to use their native language (Siswati) when they felt the need to (e.g., to codeswitch whenever they preferred), supported them to share information that linked to their cultural values and African ways-of-being that would have been hard to explain in English. In so doing, culturally and socially nuanced insights emerged, which is a crucial benefit of utilising a phenomenological design.

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I encouraged participants to elaborate on how they navigated the stressed environment and to share related feelings and thoughts. This helped for me to get in touch with the essence of their lived experiences of Matsapha and to better understand the resources that enabled them to manage its stressors constructively. This allowed a rich and complex description of resilience to emerge, and fits Giorgi and Giorgi's (2003) assertions of how phenomenology should describe what participants experience and how they experience that phenomenon. To that end, I worked hard to report emerging adults' experiences of the stressed environment and resilience to those stresses in the manner that emerging adults relayed them, not how I perceived them to be. I think it is worth mentioning that I was vigilant because this was a complex task (i.e., I knew that my social constructivist stance [see Chapter 1] meant that while I invited emerging adults' insights, I interpreted their insights and reported my interpretations). This vigilance to be true to their accounts was pivotal given that the objective of phenomenology is to expose essences of meaning characteristic to participants' experience (Finlay, 2009; Neubauer et al., 2019).

As forewarned by others (Pringle, Hendry & McLafferty, 2011), using a phenomenological design in my study included other challenges too. Given how at the root of phenomenology lies a deeper understanding of participants (Ataro, 2020), this understanding may need to be achieved through repeated sessions with participants. Facilitating multiple sessions proved difficult as a few (i.e., 4) participants struggled to attend all the scheduled sessions due to personal and family-related obligations. To manage this, I eventually consolidated two sessions (participatory mapping and the focus group discussion relating to the photo-elicitation) on a single day. I hoped this would mitigate the challenge of including all participants in multiple sessions while not compromising the research design's depth.

Furthermore, phenomenology ostensibly calls for the researcher to bracket his/ her experiences in order to meaningfully study those of the participants (Bryman, 2014). Bracketing requires that the researcher sets aside their assumptions (Dörfler & Stierand, 2018). While this sounds straightforward, it was sometimes challenging for me to guard against how my personal experiences (e.g., the fact that I had spent 7 years in Matsapha as a student) and related assumptions influenced the meaning that I was making of participants' insights. To limit how my positioning and assumptions (see 1.5 and 1.6) influenced the research process and the meaning I made of participants' insights, I asked them open-ended questions that encouraged participants to explain themselves and frame their own lifeworld and experiences. Also, when analysing the data, I allowed this process to play itself out iteratively versus manipulating the direction of the analysis to confirm my assumptions. As explained in 1.5 and 1.6, I also invited independent scrutiny of my analysis from an experienced researcher in Eswatini and used their feedback to double-check that my lived experiences of Matsapha and my assumptions about resilience were not biasing what I understood in the data, and how I was interpreting and portraying emerging adult accounts. Simultaneously, following Braun and Clarke (2022), I was aware that my assumptions or situated knowledge had the potential to support me to recognise nuances in the data and to use them to provide a rich, insightful account of what enabled emerging adult resilience in the stressed context of Matsapha. In short, acknowledging, or owning, my assumptions and inviting an audit of my interpretation enabled me to better generate an authentic account of how participating emerging adults navigated the challenges of Matsapha from the point of view of the very emerging adults I was privileged to work with in my study.

4.5. PARTICIPANT SELECTION

I used purposive sampling techniques to select emerging adult participants that would support the realisation of the purpose of my study. Purposive sampling is a non-probability sampling strategy where individuals are purposefully selected because they can inform the research question and central phenomenon under study (Creswell, 2007). It calls for the researcher to strategically sample so that those sampled are relevant to the research questions asked (Bryman, 2008). Doing so typically requires specifying recruitment criteria that participants should meet to be eligible to participate in the study.

To be eligible for participation in my study, young people needed to be emerging adults (young people between the ages of 18-24 years). While emerging adulthood spans a slightly broader period (18-29; Arnett, 2000), the RYSE study capped participant eligibility at 24 years. As my study was intended to complement the RYSE study, I did not include emerging adults aged 25-29. A second criterion was the length of residence in Matsapha. To be eligible, participants should have stayed in Matsapha for a minimum of twelve months before my study. This was under the assumption that they would have a greater depth of knowledge to share about living in this stressed industrialised environment if they had lived there for at least a year. The depth of their knowledge was paramount, given how qualitative studies are designed to provide rich detail (Creswell, 2014). By sampling a group of emerging adult participants directly involved with the phenomenon under study, I increased the chances that valuable experiential information could be solicited.

Qualitative researchers must also consider sites that will yield the most information about the phenomenon under study (Benoot et al., 2016; Bryman, 2008). Therefore, a third criterion related to where participants resided in Matsapha. To be eligible, they needed to stay in Kwaluseni, Mbhuleni or Mathangeni. These sites were not only located closest to industries/tertiary

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institutions, but they were also populated by larger numbers of emerging adults. As explained in 4.3, they were also prone to the typical challenges associated with stressed environments, such as crime, overcrowding, pollution, infectious diseases and poor service delivery, to name but a few (Dlamini, 2018; Dlamini, 2021). Participants needed to identify as someone who could share their experiences --be they negative or positive – of living in these areas. They also needed to be English literate as my consent forms were in English.

In a phenomenological study, participant recruitment involves finding participants who are eligible for a study (Watson et al., 2018). It includes the researcher's efforts to limit participants to persons who truly fit the eligibility criteria (Wermuth, 2020). For ease of reaching participants in the three preferred sites, I enlisted the help of gatekeepers at each site. Gatekeepers make it possible for researchers to easily gain access to participants (Clark, 2011). They play an intermediary role between participants and researchers because they have better access to participants in research sites (McAreavey & Das, 2013). Additionally, when sites are dangerous (as in the case of my study), gatekeepers can provide researchers with the necessary advice to ensure researcher and participant safety (Sindre, 2020). It is thus important for the researcher to forge good relationships with gatekeepers and be upfront with the purpose of the study and eligibility criteria (Edwards, 2013).

There were four gatekeepers in my study. These were a member of the local residents' patrol, two landlords, and a soccer coach. Collectively, they made access to the stressed environment feasible. The patrol member was my first point of contact within the stressed industrial environment. He was familiar with various issues affecting Matsapha inhabitants, including those living in Kwaluseni, Mbhuleni or Mathangeni. He was responsible for supporting residents' safety and mitigating crime, drug abuse, and other risks. He was recommended to me as the ideal person to

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talk to when initiating entry into Matsapha. During my study, he provided preliminary information on the pressing security issues facing this industrial community. He was very supportive of my study, and I think its timing may have contributed to his positive perceptions of the research. My research coincided with scheduled community meetings intended to discuss how best to deal with local risks, including the gangs terrorising the industrial community. Nir (2018) postulated that sometimes a gatekeeper's personal priorities regarding the proposed research may either get in the way of the research or promote access to research sites. I was lucky that it had the latter effect in the case of my study.

The landlords were similarly helpful. One of them was a familiar contact I kept from my university days. I contacted him to ascertain if he could be facilitative of my study, given that he was a Matsapha resident. The other landlord from Mathangeni was recommended by one of the emerging adult participants as someone who could potentially provide accommodation in Mathangeni and would know lots of emerging adults. Additional to providing/recommending venues to conduct the data generation sessions in Kwaluseni and Mathangeni, they made some emerging adults aware of the advertised study and encouraged them to look out for the recruitment advert. This worked out well because they were familiar with the culture of the stressed environment and how best to sensitize potential participants about the upcoming study.

The fourth gatekeeper was a soccer coach in Mbhuleni. He predominantly helped in letting young men (who were soccer players) know about the proposed study. A considerable number of young men were recruited in this manner. He was a referred contact by the landlord from Kwaluseni, which was helpful because I was not familiar with Mbhuleni. Having someone with background information was facilitative. He also helped in providing information that related to how we could

gain access to the nearby primary school where the data generation activities were conducted with young people from Mbhuleni.

After explaining the purpose and value of the study to these gatekeepers, I requested their assistance in advertising the study (including the eligibility criteria) and asked that they help me recruit equal numbers of young men and women. The rationale for this gender balance was because I was also interested in understanding gendered processes (as part of the complexity) of how emerging adults managed the stressed environment they inhabited. To lessen biased recruitment, I provided an advert/ flyer for them to use (see Appendix C).

Gatekeepers took an intermediary role by advising on places most frequented by emerging adults. Accordingly, flyers/adverts were strategically placed around shops, the nearby university where there are many emerging adults, and on-street poles within the industrial community. Namageyo-Funa et al. (2014) postulated that flyers are an efficient recruiting strategy for participants who live in low socio-economic or overlooked communities as they are a cost-efficient method to grab people's attention. They were, however, not devoid of challenges (Taani et al., 2020). For instance, the adverts competed with many other adverts already on notice boards in some areas, such as the University of Eswatini. Secondly, even though simple English was used when writing the advert, there was a possibility that it eliminated illiterate emerging adults or those with poor grasp of written English and who could have potentially added depth to the study. This was particularly given how English is a second language in Eswatini. Nine interested emerging adults, who thought they met the criteria of participation in my study volunteered. I verified that they met the eligibility criteria. Fortunately, all did, so I did not need to decline any volunteers.

I was hoping for at least 30 volunteers (15 young women, 15 young men). This number is related to recommendations that phenomenological studies typically include 2-25 participants (Alase,

2017). This was further reinforced by the consideration that qualitative researchers are not interested in larger samples; instead, they focus on forging a deep understanding of purposefully selected participants' insights (Finlay, 2009). A few weeks after the flyers were dispatched, I still struggled to meet the targeted number of participants. To mitigate this, I requested gatekeepers to notify some potential participants through word-of-mouth mediums. This strategy yielded eight young men who played soccer for teams representing Matsapha. In addition, I invited participants to recruit peers who fit the eligibility criteria (i.e., snowball sampling). Snowball sampling is a recruitment strategy centred around networking and recommendation (Naderifar et al., 2017). I was able to get another 13 participants from this exercise. Parker and Scott (2019) show how the initial contacts researchers make become pivotal networks when conducting snowball sampling. Snowballing was effective in my study. This might have related to African people's culture of preferring oral sources of information over written ones (Oppenneer, 2017) or limited literacy skills among the emerging adults who flocked to Matsapha. Having someone orally transmitted information was, therefore, contextually responsive. Also, it was imperative in my study because more young women than men showed initial interest through the advert/flyer recruitment method. Markanday et al. (2013) postulate how gender differences affect research participation. Men are more likely to deny participation compared to women.

In the end, using voluteering, gatekeeper-facilitated purposive sampling and snowballing sampling techniques, 30 emerging adults were recruited for my study (15 young men and 15 young women). As shown in Chapter 5, this sample of 30 allowed a saturated (or, following Braun & Clarke, 2022, adequately rich) understanding of pertinent issues that related to the resilience of Swazi emerging adults. Data saturation is when the participants no longer report new information (i.e., they repeat what other participants shared) (Sandelowski, 2008; Saunders, et al., 2018; Walker, 2012) and is

generally considered an indication that the sample size was adequate (Creswell, 2007). Braun and Clarke (2022) encourage researchers to be less concerned with proving saturation and more concerned with determining that the data are adequate enough to allow a rich, insightful answer to the research question. On reflection, I prefer this concept and do think that my data were adequate.

Even though Matsapha is an area densely populated with emerging adults, no further emerging adults were recruited after the hoped-for number of 30 participants was met, also not to be placed on a waiting list for possible future inclusion should data saturation/adequacy not have become evident. The rationale for this was that I wished participants no harm. I believe that the uncertainty of being kept on reserve for possible participation in a study could be psychologically challenging for emerging adult participants. To that end, I took down the advertisements once I had 30 volunteers and advised the gatekeepers accordingly. It is worth mentioning, however, that recruiting the exact number of participants did come with participant retention challenges. For instance, due to various reasons, four participants struggled to attend all sessions. Some attended two. Others attended one session instead of the expected three sessions.

Emerging adults responded to recruitment flyers/adverts/ word-of-mouth invitations directly to me or via their gatekeepers. Incorporating gatekeepers was viable because not all participants had the financial means to contact me. I followed up with a telephonic screening. I also used this screening to verify eligibility criteria, establish preliminary rapport, and ascertain if emerging adult participants understood the study's purpose. I also explained that the study was resilience-focused and asked if they were confident that they were resilient (doing OK despite facing many challenges and risks). This was to ascertain if emerging adult participants had developed functional ways to navigate the various stressors in their lives. They all concurred. I also explained that the study would utilize various data collection methods and inquired if participants would be available to

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attend all three sessions (at scheduled times). Afterwards, I invited them to complete the formal consent and agree in writing.

4.6.   PARTICIPANTS

As summarised in Table 1, my participants (n =30) were all Swazis, and their native language was Siswati. They ranged from 19-24 years of age. The young men (n = 15) who participated in my study had an average age of 22. Young women (n = 15) had an average age of 21.

Most of the young men were unemployed (n =10). Of these, some made a living by selling merchandise along the streets, while others stayed at home without any means of making money. One young man was employed as a factory worker and one was a self-employed musician. Three young men were upgrading their Form 5 studies (final year of schooling) during the time of the research. All the young men socialised by playing sporting activities, such as soccer.

In contrast to the young men, most young women were pursuing their tertiary studies (n =8). Compared with the young men, fewer young women in my study were unemployed (n =3). Three were upgrading/completing high school qualifications and one was employed in a factory.

Most participants who were engaged in tertiary education stayed alone but were still financially supported by their families. Most young people who were not engaged in education stayed with family members such as parents or siblings. Only two young women had children. Both women had teenage pregnancies, and their pregnancies coincided with their school-going years. None of the young men mentioned the presence of children.

Table 1: Demographic characteristics of emerging adults

Pseudo-nym	Sex	Age	Home language	Employment status	Highest level of education	Engaged in tertiary studies	Has child-ren	Research activities attended
P1	M	21	Siswati	Unemployed	Form 5			All
P2	M	20	Siswati	Unemployed	Form 5			All
P3	M	23	Siswati	Unemployed (studying)	Form 5 student (in progress)			All
P4	M	23	Siswati	self-employed (musician)	Form 5			F.G Mapping
P5	F	23	Siswati	Unemployed (university student)	3^{rd}yr university student	✓		All
P6	F	19	Siswati	Unemployed	Form 5			All
P7	F	23	Siswati	Unemployed	Form 2 (school leaver)		✓	All
P8	F	20	Siswati	Employed in factories	Grade 5			F. G
P9	M	24	Siswati	Employed (petrol attendant)	Form 5 (upgrading)			All
P10	M	24	Siswati	Employed (factor worker)	Grade 4 (i.e. primary school)			All
P11	M	19	Siswati	Unemployed	Form 5			All
P12	M	19	Siswati	Unemployed (soccer coach)	Form 5			All
P13	M	23	Siswati	Unemployed (volunteering soccer coach)	Form 5			All
P14	M	23	Siswati	Unemployed	Form 5			All
P15	F	19	Siswati	Unemployed (university student)	2nd year university student	✓		All
P16	F	22	Siswati	Unemployed	Form 4			All

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				(completing high school)				
P17	F	23	Siswati	Unemployed	Preferred to not disclose			F. G
P18	F	20	Siswati	Unemployed completing high school)	Form 2		✓	All
P19	F	19	Siswati	Unemployed (upgrading form 5)	Form 5 student			All
P20	F	19	Siswati	Unemployed (university student)	1st year	✓		All
P21	F	19	Siswati	Unemployed (university student)	1st year	✓		F. G
P22	F	20	Siswati	Unemployed (university student)	1st year	✓		All
P23	F	23	Siswati	Unemployed (university student)	1st year	✓		All
P24	F	20	Siswati	Unemployed (university student)	2nd year	✓		All
P25	F	20	Siswati	Unemployed (university student)	2nd year	✓		All
P26	M	22	Siswati	Unemployed (volunteering soccer coach)	Form 5			F. G
P27	M	23	Siswati	Unemployed	Form 5 (upgrading)			All
P28	M	19	Siswati	Unemployed	Form 5			All
P29	M	19	Siswati	Unemployed	Form 5			All
P30	M	19	Siswati	Unemployed	Form 4			All

4.7. DATA GENERATION

My doctoral study drew from both conventional qualitative data generation methods (focus group interviews) and participatory research methods (photo-elicitation and participatory mapping) to identify and understand the resources that enabled the resilience of Swazi emerging adults challenged by the stressed industrialised environment of Matsapha. Table 2 summarises the dates and locations of these activities.

Table 2: Data generation summary according to industrial location

Data generation method	Kwaluseni	Mathangeni	Mbhuleni
Focus group	18/11/2018	17/02/2019	6/04/2019
Mapping	02/12/2018	14/03/2019	14/04/2019
Photo elicitation	13/01/2019	14/03/2019	14/04/2019

Through the liberal use of artefacts (photos, maps) as talking points, participants had an opportunity to view and interpret their world differently. This offered invaluable benefits that could have been potentially neglected if I had only relied on conventional data generation methods. Combining conventional and participatory methods was complementary to my study's exploratory purpose because they provided different facets to my understanding of the resilience of Swazi emerging adults. Honorene (2017) shows that triangulation of data generation methods is pivotal in qualitative research as it helps corroborate data and strengthen understanding of the research phenomenon. In my study, focus group interviews were a foundational data generation method. They fostered robust discussions pertaining to how emerging adults successfully navigated their stressed industrialised environment. The addition of photo-elicitation enabled emerging adults to further communicate their views, perspectives, and experiences in pictorial form. Harper (2002)

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shows how using photographs becomes helpful in capturing nuanced information. Participatory mapping, on the other hand, enabled emerging adult participants to locate places that were facilitative to their resilience within the stressed industrialised environment. Again, these visual responses strengthened my growing understanding of the research phenomenon. Collectively these data generation methods supported a fuller response to questions about the what, where, and how of my participants' perspectives of resilience.

Implicit in the above is that participatory research is an approach that values localised knowledge and emphasizes collaborative activities with the people who have rich knowledge of the chosen research phenomenon (Bergold & Thomas, 2012). Participatory research is premised on the belief that the views, opinions, and insights of people – also people, like African emerging adults, who are typically marginalised – that are intimately acquainted with a particular research phenomenon are paramount to providing better understandings of the phenomenon and/or solutions to related problems (van de Vaart et al., 2018). Participatory research is thus committed to providing a voice, so to speak, to communities of people that are disenfranchised and to minimising or redressing the injustices that these communities face (Jull et al., 2017). My participants – Swazi emerging adults – are not typically listened to (Mavundla et al., 2015). Utilising participatory methods in my study was responsive to their marginalisation and sought to redress that. Using participatory methods also enabled me to bring to the fore local perspectives about neglected and overlooked issues within their stressed industrialised environment. This allowed emerging adult participants to represent, explore and analyse their perspectives of life within the stressed environment of Matsapha and how they resiliently managed that life in ways that made sense to them (Forrester & Cinderby, 2011). Doing so resonated with Jull et al.'s (2017) assertions of how participatory

methods have a strong potential to empower research participants, not least because they have control of how much of their lives they want to share.

Participatory research methods provide other benefits too. This relates to how they motivate researchers to explore real-life issues from the point of view of the people affected by or acquainted with those issues (Macaulay, 2016). This increases researchers' understanding of research communities and, ultimately, the authenticity of research findings and enhances the effectiveness of solutions that could be used to mitigate challenges faced by participants (Jagosh et al., 2015). Participatory methods are, however, not free of challenges. The research process, goals and benefits of the participatory research being undertaken may sometimes be misunderstood, potentially damaging working relationships between researchers and communities (Ross et al., Nelson, 2011). For instance, not all participants can effectively execute an activity when given a specific brief. To mitigate this in my study, I sometimes did follow-ups to ensure that participants understood (e.g., took photographs as per the brief), which was a time-consuming exercise.

A brief description of how each of the three data generation methods ensued (i.e., focus groups, photo-elicitation and mapping) follows. As a preface to that, I should point out that in keeping with qualitative research and its naturalist agenda (Creswell, 2007), all of these activities were held in the most immediate part of the stressed environment that participants inhabited (i.e., Kwaluseni, Mathangeni and Mbhuleni), with no manipulation of that everyday environment. All activities were done in groups. Two of the three data generation groups held their sessions in rental houses that I rented from the landlords (who were also gatekeepers) for the duration of my study. I did so because there were no other safe, accessible places for me to meet with the participants in those communities. The third was held in a local primary school classroom. Participants chose and/or endorsed these venues for their proximal convenience and because they were familiar with them.

This familiarity enabled participants to feel at ease, thus providing a platform where they could freely interact with each other and make sense of the phenomenon under study. Even though Matsapha is generally a noisy place, I tried by all possible means to limit noise and interruptions by specifically requesting venues that were farther from busy roads. This allowed participants to freely share their insights with minimal disturbance and enabled me to successfully audio record interviews.

4.7.1. *Focus group interviews*

Focus groups are an interviewing strategy where the researcher invites participants to collectively share views of how they perceive a particular phenomenon (Adler et al, 2019). To that end, the researcher elicits a focused conversation by putting a question to the group and/or inviting them to respond to a statement (O Nyumba et al., 2018). By providing guiding questions, the researcher increases chances that questions of interest get answered, while also allowing for spontaneity through the use of open ended questions (Adler et al, 2019). Typically, focus groups accelerate the natural process by which individuals compare opinions and experiences with each other (Cohen et al., 2017). Choosing focus group interviews over individual interviews is often premised on the belief that a group of interacting participants is likely to yield more information than would have been the case had they been interviewed individually (Bryman, 2008).

Because my study participants were in the same age bracket (emerging adults between ages 19-24), using focus groups was especially appropriate. Research shows how in their transition to emerging adulthood, emerging adults gravitate toward and prefer to spend time with their peers (Cimirand & Pauline, 2019). The focus group interviews fit this developmental preference while

also understanding the pertinent issues relating to the stressed industrialised environment they inhabited. The unthreatening nature of talking in a focused way with other emerging adults allowed participants to discuss, debate, interpret and reconcile their collective insights.

There were three focus groups in all, with ten participants in each group (each with 5 young men and 5 young women). The rationale for grouping participants into groups of ten was firstly in consideration of the understanding that the most effective number of participants in a focus group is 4 to 10 participants (Creswell, 2007). Group members generally knew one another to a greater or lesser extent. They were friends, acquaintances, or recognised from living in the same distant community. This familiarity added to the ease of interaction among participants. Cohen and Manion (2012) show how the benefit of focus groups lies in the ease with which participants can blend with each other. This creates a relaxed environment that closely resembles the natural interactions that participants have in their lives. Given my study's interest in understanding the processes that facilitated the resilience of emerging adults living in a stressed environment, such familiarity was beneficial as it reduced awkwardness and enabled emerging adult participants to easily dissect their lives, including the risks of their stressed environment and their responses to those risks.

I began the interviewing process (which was audio-recorded) by reminding participants of the purpose of my study. Refreshing participants with the purpose of my study also gave participants the liberty to consent once again to continue with the study procedures. I began with a broad introduction: 'I am interested in understanding how living in Matsapha has impacted your lives and how you manage those impacts. Your accounts matter to me so please feel free to share your experiences'. Then I asked a series of open-ended questions (see Table 3). I probed participants' responses using prompts such as "please share with me your experiences on…", "may you describe

to me how…", "do you want to further explain to me how…", "please help me understand why…", "are there any examples that you can use to elaborate on this…". This enabled emerging adult participants to share their risk and resilience perspectives in more detail. The phenomenological approach I used meant that I valued their insights and was keen to support participants to express their insights extensively without feeling rushed and restricted.

Even though focus groups offer multiple benefits, discussions could lose their focus if not managed well (O Nyumba, Wilso, Derrick & Mukherjee, 2018). To mitigate this, I occasionally steered participants back to the topic under discussion during times when their conversation in response to my questions took them away from the phenomenon (risk and resilience) being investigated. I was also vigilant of participants who dominated conversations. To minimise such, I encouraged participants who seemed reticent to voice their opinions and make sense of what was being discussed.

Each focus group lasted for a period between 60-70 minutes. Focus group interviews were recorded with participants' explicit permission and the aid of a recording device. Focus group interviews were predominantly held in English (a second language in Eswatini). My choice to facilitate the groups in English is related to English being a language used in formal and group-related settings in Eswatini (this was the same reason for using English in the flyers advertising my study and in the consents). Even in personal and/or informal settings, Swazi citizens generally gravitate towards a mix of both English and Siswati. As I had covertly expected, knowing that they were speaking to a researcher (someone associated with a university) reinforced participants' inclination to communicate in English during formal settings. Even so, I communicated that I was fluent in Siswati and that either language or a mix of the two could be used. My primary concern was for participants to feel comfortable and easily communicate their insights. During the

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interviews, emerging adult participants did sometimes code switch to Siswati. This was generally

only when they felt they could better explain a point in Siswati compared to English. I transcribed

the focus group interviews and translated them. Afterwards, I invited a peer (a teacher fluent in

English and Siswati) to independently verify my translations by listening to the audio recordings

and comparing their content with my translated transcription. The peer found no inconsistencies.

Table 3: Interview protocol

Main question	Sub questions
What are the biggest challenges that Swazi emerging adults face in Matsapha?	o How have these risks affected your community? o Do young men and women experience different stresses while living in this industrial area? If yes, what are the differences? What do you believe is the reason for these differences?
Resilience is about overcoming challenges or doing ok when life is hard. When do you think someone who has a hard life is doing OK?	o What actions or attitudes might show you that they are doing OK? o In what ways, if any, might these indicators of doing OK be different for young men and young women?
What gives you or other young people you know the strength to do well/be OK despite the challenges of living in Matsapha?	o From your experience, what do you think is the most important factor or resource that helps Swazi emerging adults adapt well to the stresses caused by living in an industrialised area like Matsapha? o Do young men and young women adapt differently to these stresses? If yes, what are the differences? What do you believe is the reason for these differences?

4.7.2. *Participatory mapping*

Participatory mapping is a data generation method that helps communities or groups of research participants co-construct knowledge with the aid of maps (Forrester & Cinderby, 2011). Participatory mapping is grounded in social constructivist and phenomenological theory, emphasising the importance of how individuals interpret, navigate, and understand their environment (Dennis et al., 2009). Similarly, how individuals interpret, navigate, and understand their environment is important to their resilience and how their resilience is accounted for (Ungar et al., 2021). Participatory maps usually include social and cultural landscapes that are not ordinarily included in a formal map or afford participants the opportunity to introduce social and cultural landscapes. Through participatory mapping, researchers learn more about the participants' environment and help participants clarify focus on practical realities in their environment (Forrester & Cinderby, 2011). They can be either self-created (Scorgie et al., 2017) or make use of existing aerial maps that are then self-annotated (Ungar et al., 2020). Participatory mapping fit my doctoral study's purpose because it enabled emerging adults to identify spaces and places that enabled and constrained their resilience. It also prompted a discussion that allowed participants to explore how they successfully navigated the stressed industrialised environment of Matsapha and provide spatial reference to their experiences and the resources they used to manage the risks they reported.

Participants worked in sex-specific groups to complete the participatory mapping. Although the group members were the same as for the focus group interviews, participants gravitated towards peers of the same sex at the start of this activity. They said they preferred same-sex groups to discuss locations and explained that they were more comfortable talking about their lives with relatable peers. Thus, instead of three larger groups (as in the focus groups), the mapping activity

took place in 6 smaller groups (3 with 5 young men each; 3 with five young women each). This was beneficial in my study because being comfortable during the data collection process yields quality participant responses (Creswell, 2012).

I provided the groups with samples of location maps of Matsapha (see Figures 4 and 5). These maps provided an aerial view of Matsapha. I had a short informal discussion/orientation to help participants brush up on their map reading skills and, in so doing, facilitate emerging adults' understanding of the map. For instance, I requested them to locate the exact location we were on the map and a few other places they were familiar with. Once I had ascertained that participants understood how to read a map, I requested them to identify places/spaces that contributed to the risks they experienced and to mark them on the maps. I also asked them to identify places/spaces that contributed to how they managed those risks and mark them on the maps. In other words, they were asked to annotate the maps, much as was done by RYSE participants in Canada and South Africa (see Ungar et al., 2020). The following prompts guided the participants' engagement with and annotation of the maps:

- Please mark the places/spaces that cause you/emerging adults to stress in red.
- Rank these places/spaces from the most stressful to the least stressful.
- Please mark in green the places/spaces that support you/emerging adults to successfully manage the stresses associated with living in the stressed industrial area.
- Rank these places/spaces from the most helpful to the least helpful.

Once participants felt they had exhausted marking these maps, they signalled that I might join them for a discussion. This discussion aimed to give me more information about the places/spaces they had marked. I used the following prompts to encourage the discussion:

- What is stressful about the places/spaces you identified as risky/stressful?
- What makes the top-ranked ones more stressful?
- What makes the others less stressful?
- What is helpful about the places/spaces that you identified as helpful to your management of the risks of Matsapha?
- What makes the top-ranked ones more helpful?
- What makes the others less helpful?

Through this process, emerging adult participants collectively explored the places/spaces that caused them challenges and those that enabled them to find strategies/resources to mitigate them. During discussion, the social and cultural aspects of these spaces came to light too. This activity had the added benefit of solidifying and/or extending emerging adults' awareness of places that could be relied on within their stressed industrialised environment and which places to avoid around Matsapha and how to successfully do so. This was beneficial in my study because participatory research methods are designed with the intent of empowering participants and helping them better understand the communities they inhabit (Smith, Ibanez & Herrera, 2017).

Discussions were again predominantly held in English, with some instances where participants codeswitched to Siswati. These discussions ran for around 50-55 minutes. I used an audio recorder to record the participants' comments during the mapping activity and the follow-up discussion. With the participants' agreement, I kept the maps they had marked to have a pictorial reference

when transcribing the participatory mapping interviews. These maps were also photographed for backup purposes. I transcribed the discussion and translated the Siswati parts. The same peer (a teacher fluent in English and Siswati) verified my translations and found no inconsistencies.

young men engaged in mapping

a section of participants engaged in mapping activity

Figure 4: Emerging adults marking locations during the mapping activity
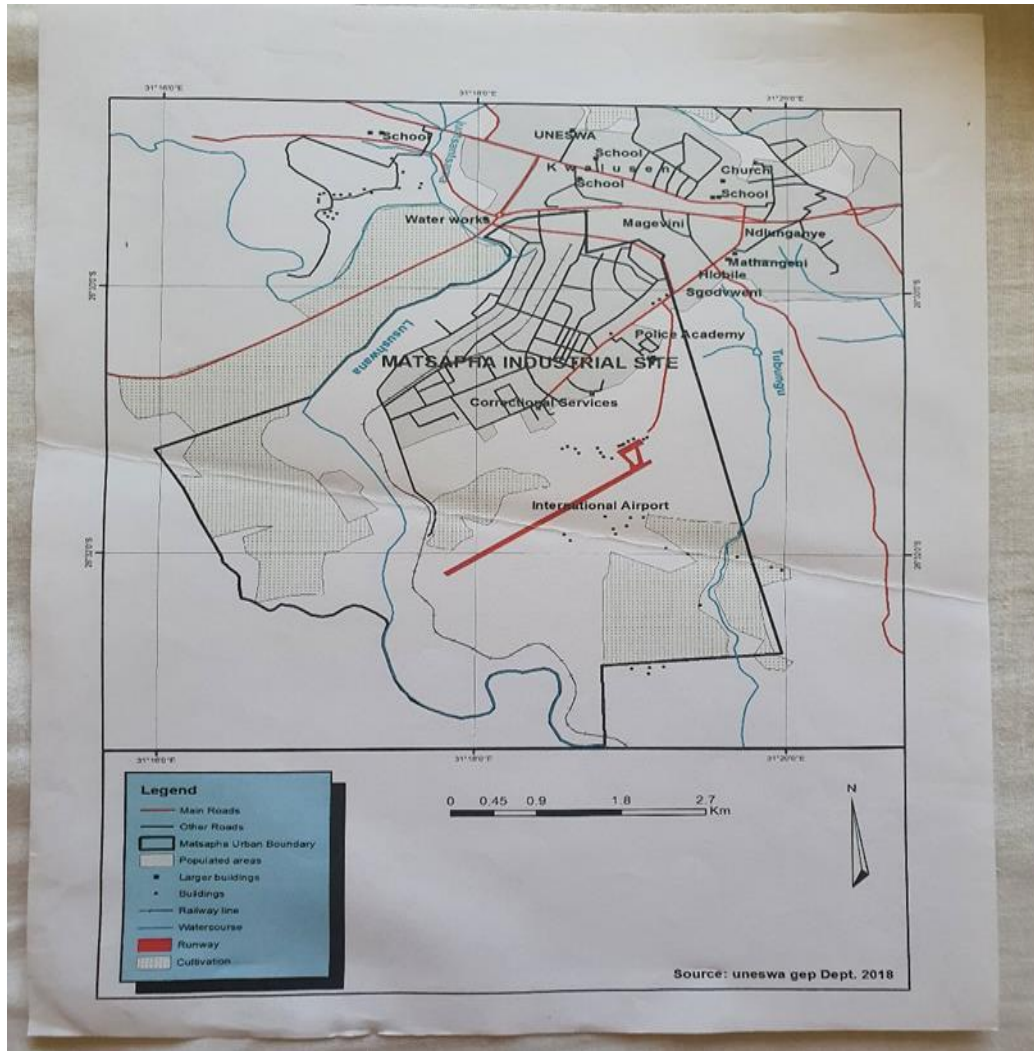
Figure 5: Location map of the stressed industrialised environment

4.7.3. *Photo elicitation*

Photo elicitation is a participatory research strategy that uses images to facilitate conversations about research-related phenomena (Shaw, 2021; Sutton-Brown, 2015). Explained differently, it is a data generation method that relies on images to encourage (elicit) and support an interview process (Bugos et al., 2014). Using photos to elicit information is useful because they help participants remember subtle information that could otherwise have run the risk of being

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forgotten/not considered (Harper, 2002). Among other uses, photo-elicitation can create a nuanced awareness and engagement about community-related challenges/issues among participants in research studies (Shaw, 2021). Further, the rationale for using this method lay in the power of images to communicate and leave a lasting impression (Forrester & Cinderby, 2011). It enabled emerging adult participants to retrieve, capture and/or document information that they considered instrumental/facilitative to navigating the stressed industrialised environment of Matsapha. This facilitated depth in my study as interesting and unconventional conversations began to emerge as participants discussed their chosen images (e.g., reference was made to using sex work to survive the stressed environment; such references were not as apparent in the original focus groups).

Photo elicitation encourages participants to either use their own images or use those provided by the researcher (Glaw et al., 2017; Shaw, 2021). I asked participants to capture/bring their own images because that opened possibilities for emerging adult participants to interpret their lives in ways that made sense to them. This autonomy and creative licence also provided emerging adults with a sense of ownership of their story or risk and resilience within the stressed environment of Matsapha. This was imperative given my understanding of how participatory methods intend to give power and a voice to typically voiceless populations (McCalaulay, 2017). With various ways for individuals to capture images nowadays, participants used their own smartphones for this exercise. They were invited to take 10 "photos" representing the risks they faced within the stressed environment of Matsapha and what helped them positively adapt to/manage those risks and to share these images (in electronic form) with me in time for me to print them for our next discussion group (as per agreed on date). Participants were encouraged to document their lives on their own terms and represent this life to me (Hatten, Forin & Adams, 2013). Their images constituted recognisable and accessible photographs that fit their life experience and their insights (Edmonson

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et al., 2017). The initial focus groups (as discussed previously) provided a platform for robust discussions about the risks and resilience of young people within the stressed environment of Matsapha. Photo elicitation went a step further by providing a visual representation of the risks and the resources that enabled positive adaptation to/management of those risks; the group discussion that followed was enriched by the power of these images to communicate volubly about risk and resilience. That fostered an engaged discussion and sophisticated understanding of how young people navigated their stressed environment. Thus, I could have a more nuanced understanding of risk and resilience as viewed first-hand by the participants.

The following brief was used to guide participants' generation/sharing of images: "What typically makes Swazi emerging adults living in Matsapha feel at risk within this environment? What typically helps emerging adults overcome/manage these risks? Please take/share pictures that will help me to understand this better." Before the emerging adult participants embarked on this activity, I made them aware of a few ethical issues surrounding taking photographs. Harper (2002) points out that taking or using images could potentially be intrusive to other people's privacy. I requested emerging adults not to coerce people into being photographed and to check that those represented in their photos were comfortable with their inclusion. I also requested that they respect people's privacy by not capturing humiliating/embarrassing images.

Most importantly, I reminded emerging adults that photos were to represent their lives, which means they should indicate their routine within the stressed environment, both the risks they routinely experienced and the typical ways in which they dealt with those risks. I also informed participants that they were welcome to use existing images if those represented important risk/resilience aspects of their lives. This was due to my understanding and acknowledgement of how some of the people/places that formed an integral part of how emerging adults managed their

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stressed environment might not be readily accessible (e.g., family members or friends not living in Matsapha). The participants sent their set of 10 photos to me via the WhatsApp medium prior to the agreed-on date for a discussion about the images. This allowed time for me to print the images for use during the discussion part of the photo-elicitation activity.

Even though photo-elicitation interviews are usually conducted on an individual basis (Shaw, 2021), I opted to discuss the images in groups (see Figure 6). Participants worked in the same sex-specific groups as during the participatory mapping activity. The rationale for my choice was grounded in my knowledge of the communal nature of Swazis and, by extension, most African people (Shabangu & Madida, 2019). My choice also related to how Swazis are generally a reserved population (Golomski, 2017). I anticipated that a group format (particularly the same group as in the mapping activity) would scaffold and encourage robust participation. Dennis et al. (2009) postulate that when participants are more similar, they are more comfortable collectively sharing their experiences using participatory methods.

> I used the following prompts to guide the discussion:
>
> - What do your pictures show about the risks that you or other Swazi emerging adults routinely face in the stressed environment of Matsapha and how they adjust well to those risks?
> - If you had to choose three pictures that give important information about how you or other Swazi emerging adults adjust well to those risks, which ones would you choose and how come?

The rationale for requesting participants to take more photos than would be discussed was the assumption that a wider variety would allow them to capture different facets otheir lives without

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feeling restricted. This range provided a detailed account of the risks and how they were managed. Encouraging emerging adult participants to choose specific images from this range supported them to be even more intentional in their discussions. This was beneficial because it elicited rich content that was deep enough to allow a nuanced understanding of the risks and resilience of their lives within the stressed industrialised environment of Matsapha. As necessary, I used prompts (in English) to encourage further depth (e.g., "please help me understand why you have chosen these 3 photos", "how do you feel they adequately explain your or other emerging adults' experiences in the stressed environment of Matsapha", "help me understand why these photos have particular meaning for you"). Participants' responses were a mix of English and their native language, Siswati. This varied with participants' preferences and comfort in articulating themselves in their second language. Once again, I audio recorded how participants made sense of their images. Our conversation lasted for a period of between 40-50 minutes. Once again, I transcribed the discussion and translated the Siswati parts. The same peer (a teacher fluent in English and Siswati) verified my translations and found no inconsistencies.

young woman discussing images

Young men engaged in photo elicitation activity

Figure 6: Emerging adults discussing their images

4.8. DATA ANALYSIS

Data analysis is the systematic procedure used to identify essential features and relationships in data (Groenwald, 2004). I used thematic data analysis in my study. Thematic analysis is a qualitative data analysis method that seeks to organise, analyse, and report themes that typify a dataset and answer the research questions (Braun & Clarke, 2019). Thematic analysis is pivotal in understanding the various views of research participants, bringing attention to their similarities and different points of departure (Nowell et al., 2017). Such an analysis was beneficial in my doctoral study because it facilitated a thorough exploration of emerging adults' accounts of what enables resilience to the challenges of a stressed environment. It also allowed exploration and interpretation of the dynamics involved in how they navigated Matsapha-related risks resiliently (Davidsen, 2012).

The flexibility that characterises thematic analysis makes it one of the most appealing data analysis methods (Javadi & Zarea, 2016). This flexibility gives researchers the freedom to interpret the

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patterns in the data and to report them in ways that provide a coherent answer to the research questions (Braun & Clarke, 2014). Typically, both specialists and novice researchers can use thematic analysis to arrive at meaningful answers to the questions directing their research (Creswell, 2014). Thematic analysis is, however, also laden with challenges that qualitative researchers must be on the lookout for to enhance the credibility of their findings. For instance, it involves the researcher's interpretation of the data, which makes it susceptible to researcher bias (Creswell, 2014). Also, given the descriptive nature of the thematic analysis, it has been criticized for lack of sophistication. Its descriptive nature also makes other researchers doubt its interpretive depth (Braun & Clarke, 2014).

Brawn and Clarke (2006) suggest that qualitative researchers must follow six steps in thematic analysis. These, and how I implemented them reflexively (Braun & Clarke, 2022), are discussed next.

4.8.1. *Familiarising yourself with the data*

After completing the data generation process, I began the active data analysis process by immersing myself in the data to the point where I had a good grasp of what emerging adult participants were articulating. Lyod and Antonino (2021) suggest that meaningful thematic data analysis rests on researchers' ability to familiarise themselves with their data. Likewise, Braun and Clarke (2006) note that immersing oneself in the data enables researchers to be familiar with the depth and breadth of the collected dataset. In my study, this immersion or familiarisation took the form of listening and relistening to audio recordings of all the data generation activities, transcribing them, browsing through images obtained and familiarising myself with maps that

emerging adult participants had marked on. This enabled me to have a preliminary feel of the life lived by emerging adults in Matsapha and what supported resilience to that life's challenges. This immersion also let me take initial notes of potentially interesting information, particularly regarding my research questions.

It is worth commenting that I experienced the transcription (which was verbatim) as pivotal to my immersion in the data, even though it was very time-consuming. It was a pivotal process because it enabled me to put emerging adult participants' ideas on paper and fostered a deep familiarity with the data as I listened more than once to ensure accurate transcription and translation. During this process, I was aware that I brought assumptions to the research and that these could bias my attention to specific parts of the data and related initial notes. Still, I took courage from Braun and Clarke's (2022) assertion that using these assumptions reflexively could strengthen how I made meaning of the data.

4.8.2. *Generating initial codes*

Javadi and Zarea (2016) define codes as the labels that researchers assign to data, which become the foundation of themes. In my study, codes were systematically assigned using the information in the data. I typically paraphrased to form the codes. This started with me reviewing the data and highlighting parts that were relevant to my research questions (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). Then I paraphrased what I had highlighted using a few words or a phrase that potentially answered my research questions.

I began by coding a delimited portion of the data (see audit trail in Appendix E), which comprised the transcriptions of the first group's focus group, participatory mapping data and photo-elicitation

data. I did not code the actual maps and images because emerging adults referred to the maps and images in their discussion and so the transcripts of these activities sufficed. I took regular breaks so that I could distance from the data and think reflexively about the codes I had assigned, as advised by Braun and Clarke (2022). I then revisited this data, which allowed me to refine some of my initial paraphrased codes.

I repeated this process with the remaining data until all the data was coded. Focusing on the relevant parts of the data (data that responded to questions about the risks and resilience-enablers reported by Matsapha emerging adults) allowed me to reduce the vast data set and advance insight into the phenomenon that directed my study (Nowell et al., 2017). It was also important to keep reminding myself what my research questions were, as this supported me to keep my focus on the purpose of my study and what I needed to understand via the analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2022). Attaching labels that were responsive to the research questions helped me to identify essential information in the data. Assigning data-informed codes, taking breaks, and revisiting the codes was a gradual process and required several iterations. Although I appreciated how this step supported insight into the potential answers that the data set would provide to my questions, it was time-consuming.

4.8.3. Searching for themes

Themes are aspects of the dataset that blend a series of similar codes to answer research questions (Ibrahim, 2012). Lyod and Antonino (2021) suggest that researchers should ensure that the themes advanced are clear enough to answer the research questions meaningfully. Themes must contain a central idea whose meaning can be further explored using subthemes (Braun & Clarke, 2013). It

is important the themes 'should form a coherent overall "story" about the data' (Braun & Clarke, 2022, p. 20).

As part of the search for themes, I reconsidered the many codes I had previously formulated. I conflated codes that were related in that they shared meaning or a central idea (see Appendix E, audit trail). For example, I initially grouped relational problems and economic and physical problems into the theme of a stressed environment. Again, this was an iterative process. In taking breaks while identifying similar codes and combining them, I could reflect on the thematic meaning I was beginning to make and how my assumptions (theoretical and relating to my personal experience of Matsapha; see 1.5 and 1.6) could be playing into the meaning I was making. In instances where I thought this resulted in an inauthentic account of participants' experiences, I was careful to revise the initial themes. For instance, early on I thought that what enabled emerging adult resilience related to a theme that revolved around avoiding the risks of Matsapha at all costs, but when I reflected I realised that this related to what I had tried to do rather than what most emerging adults in my study were reporting.

4.8.4. *Reviewing the themes*

Refining the themes identified in the previous step involved deciding which themes represented nuanced information from the data (Lyod & Antonino, 2021). This meant ensuring that main themes and sub-themes were in sync (Braun & Clarke, 2006) and assessing the extent to which each theme provide a rich, insightful account of emerging adult risk or resilience in the context of Matsapha. Braun and Clarke (2022) emphasise the importance of reporting themes that are rich enough to provide compelling insights into the chosen research phenomenon. Consistently asking

myself whether the themes I was proposing were advancing rich insight into the risks of Matsapha and emerging adult resilience to these risks allowed me to reassess which themes had to be further refined. For instance, my initial understanding of emerging adult experiences of Matsapha was that it was a stressed environment. Hence, I proposed this as a theme. However, on revisiting the data, I realised that this was an incomplete thematic interpretation. What young people were in fact communicating was their experience of these stressors as unavoidable in the sense that they believed they had to live in Matsapha to realise employment or education aspirations. This prompted me to revise the thematic meaning I had made and to report a theme that was true to this nuance, namely that Matsapha was an unavoidable stressed environment from the perspective of the emerging adults in my study. I revisited the resilience-focused themes too and finetuned them. Under the theme of enabling connections, for example, I added a subtheme that detailed interpersonal connections that advance safety and health-promoting resources.

Once I was satisfied that the themes I was proposing fit the data and communicated rich insights, I re-read the transcripts critically and considered how authentically the themes represented the data collected. When I was satisfied that they did, I enlisted the services of a RYSE team member who considered the data and the themes I had identified and helped me further refine my themes. This was helpful in that they helped me to recognise that I had not considered the resilience supporting role of security services in Matsapha. In response, I added a related sub-theme to the theme about the resourced ecology.

Lastly, I considered the number of themes I was proposing. Braun and Clarke (2022) advise two to six themes, along with the advice that too many themes suggest that the analysis was not yet well enough developed. On reflection, I concluded that the four themes (and related sub-themes) signalled that my analysis was probably well enough developed.

4.8.5. *Defining and naming themes*

Having developed more authentic and richer themes (including refined or additional sub-themes), I then finalised the names and definitions of the themes. For instance, as already alluded to above, I changed the naming and definition of the theme of a stressed environment to an unavoidable stressed environment. The renamed theme showed more clearly that emerging adults in Matsapha perceived that they had no way of evading this stressed environment. Even though Matsapha had risks, the very environment was unavoidable because of the potential opportunities for employment and education it provided. Likewise, in refining the theme relating to enabling connections, I was able to show that these connections provided not only instrumental, spiritual and emotional support but also facilitated safety within Matsapha. By renaming the themes and extending their definitions to encompass all sub-themes, I was better able to let the themes tell 'the "story" about the data' (Braun & Clarke, 2022, p. 20). On reflection, I believed this story was a rich, nuanced account of the resilience of emerging adults in the stressed industrialised environment of Matsapha.

4.8.6. *Producing the report*

The final step in the analysis process involves writing up the themes in a coherent, logical report, providing vivid examples from the data as evidence to support the themes to develop an argument that answers the research question (Braun & Clarke, 2012). I completed this step by consolidating each theme and the evidence to support it, and then compiled Chapter 4 using this information. In so doing, I was mindful of Braun and Clarke's (2022) advice that the order of the themes should be arranged to best tell the story that the data communicated.

In addition to reporting the themes in Chapter 4, I lead-authored a journal article reporting a more succinct account of the themes I developed and submitted it to *Emerging Adulthood*. My co-author is my study's promoter. This lead-authored article is part of the prerequisites that the University of Pretoria sets for doctoral candidates. It is included as Appendix F.

4.9.   TRUSTWORTHINESS

Qualitative research is often criticised for its subjective nature of relying on the researcher's discretion regarding what is important, trivial, and pertinent (Creswell, 2007). To guard against this criticism, I took steps to heighten the trustworthiness of my study. To that end, I employed five trustworthiness strategies aligned with Lincoln and Guba's (1986) and Guba's (1981) guidelines. These were credibility, dependability, confirmability, transferability, and authenticity. The following brief discussion shows how I adhered to the strategies mentioned above

4.9.1. *Credibility*

Credibility has to do with how accurately or credibly the findings of the study present the original views of participants under investigation (Elo et al., 2014). In this regard, Shenton (2004) suggests that a researcher should aspire to produce results that are congruent with the reality of what they investigated. To achieve this, I prolonged my engagement in the field and interacted with participants multiple times between November 2018 and April 2019 (see Table 2). Lengthening the time spent in the field encourages a more sophisticated understanding of the context in which the research is done and of the participants (Korstjens & Moser, 2018). This relates to how the more a researcher builds rapport with the participants in their natural setting the more this fosters

trust and openness among participants (Morse, 2015). In turn this enables researchers to produce thick and nuanced information about the phenomenon under study.

In the five-month period (November 2018 to April 2019) of my data generation process, I made efforts to not only (re)familiarise myself with the stressed industrialised environment of Matsapha but to also build rapport with emerging adults so that they felt comfortable enough to respond to questions without feeling the need to misconstrue information or impress me. I easily related with emerging adult participants, probably due to our small age gap. Our rapport was also facilitated by the assurance I gave emerging adult participants that their identities would be kept anonymous. I believe this had valuable ripple effects on their comfort levels and willingness to disclose credible information than they would have had their identities been revealed.

I also used three data generation methods and triangulated the data that resulted. Korstjens and Moser (2019) define triangulation as using more than one method or instrument to generate data. This helps researchers paint a more comprehensive, deeper picture of the phenomenon under study than if they had solely relied on a single data generation method (Heale & Forbes, 2013; Morse, 2015). In my study, triangulation helped minimise biases that could have potentially emerged from the use of a single data generation method. Instead, it promoted my confidence in findings as they could be corroborated across the diverse data sets. I also triangulated the data generated by participants from three distinct data collection sites within Matsapha, as explained in the contextualisation of my study (see 4.3). Working with young people from geographically distinct sites within the confines of Matsapha supported more credible findings (particularly as the data across the sites was consistent) and enabled a more representative feel of Matsapha emerging adults' experiences.

I also invited the input of more experienced researchers to help scrutinize the credibility of the findings (Shenton (2004). Ferero et al. (2018) suggest that having a second opinion from more experienced people in the field has the benefit of corroborating research findings. For instance, I collaborated with my promoter to interrogate how well the findings fit the data and how my assumptions and situated knowledge were playing into what I was identifying in the data. In this way, she acted as an auditor (Creswell, 2007). For instance, she invited me to present my initial themes to her and members of the RYSE team, before we engaged in lengthy, critical discussions about the meaning I was beginning to make of the data. This process helped me to become even more aware of biases on my part and manage them in ways that strengthened my analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2022). I also continuously engaged with a seasoned researcher (PhD graduate) and lecturer at the University of Eswatini, who was familiar with the research context. He broadened my thinking, and the meaning I was making of the data, by questioning and challenging my interpretations of the stressed environment. This experience facilitated my ability to continuously ask myself if I had sufficient distance from the data to be reflexive and critical. While I had been upfront about my positioning and preconceived ideas (see 1.5 and 1.6), and tried to limit how these might bias my capacity to be open to participants' lived experiences and portray these authentically, soliciting seasoned researchers' opinions also kept me on track to make credible (and authentic) meaning. It also helped me to repeatedly consider how my subjective knowledge and related assumptions could be used to recognise complexities and nuances in the data(Braun & Clarke, 2022).

4.9.2. *Transferability*

Transferability refers to the extent to which a qualitative study's findings are applicable or can be transferred to other contexts and other study participants (Korstjens & Moser, 2018). Lincoln and Guba (1989) believe that participant and contextual information enables readers to make meaningful comparisons between their studies and the reported research study. This, however, does not mean researchers have the power to force readers to transfer. It merely means they provide readers with enough information to make informed decisions about whether to transfer findings or not (Creswell, 2014; Shenton, 2004).

Shenton (2004) advises qualitative researchers to facilitate transferability by providing contextual information that is sufficient for readers to adequately understand the context where the research was conducted. Contextual information in my study included rich information about the context of Matsapha (see 4.3). In addition, and as advised by Creswell (2014), I described the participants' core demographic characteristics (see Table 1). This was done to provide readers with sufficient insights to decide whether they could transfer my findings to the participants they work with (using the descriptive detail, they should deduce how similar their participants are to mine or not).

4.9.3. *Confirmability*

Confirmability is concerned with ascertaining how far qualitative researchers reflect participants' experiences within the research report (Shenton, 2003). This necessitates that researchers demonstrate that the research report did not reflect their (researchers') personal assumptions or bias. To make my stance towards the phenomenon under study apparent, I clarified my view of and relationship with the stressed industrialised environment of Matsapha (see 1.5 and 1.6). This

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exercise was not just helpful for others wanting to ascertain the confirmability of the findings I reported. It was helpful to me too, because as Morse (2015) advises when researchers state their views and assumptions sensitizes them against approaching a research setting or topic to confirm their preconceived ideas. In addition, and as explained at length in preceding parts of this chapter, I worked to both bracket assumptions that would unduly influence the outcomes of my study (Creswell, 2012) and to use my situated or subjective knowledge of Matsapha and resilience to be sensitive to nuances and complexities in the data, thereby strengthening the meaning I made of the data (Braun & Clarke, 2022). Essentially, I worked hard to continuously remain in a state of wonder at participants' worlds without feeling the need to impose their own personal experiences (Soah, 2017).

Member checks – as in asking participants to confirm the findings – can also be helpful in determining the confirmability of findings. I, however, did not invite member checks in my study. Morse (2015) suggests that member checks are not a pre-requisite in qualitative research because most data analysis takes an interpretive lens that conflates participant inputs. In line with such thinking, I understood how my participants' ideas were combined to form a synthesized, thematic account of emerging adult resilience to the challenges of stressed Matsapha. Asking them to confirm a synthesized, thematic account could have made it hard for them to corroborate this account if they could not easily recognize the insights they personally contributed to the study. Instead, during my interaction with participants to generate data, I resorted to frequently asking participants if I had understood their ideas correctly by repeating what I understood from their statements. I believe this facilitated my ability to adequately capture their insights and report them authentically.

4.9.4. *Dependability*

Bitsch (2005) refers to dependability as the degree to which a researcher's findings can be trusted over time. Much like credibility, transparency is important to dependability (Creswell, 2007). As part of that transparency, I used this Chapter to provide a complete and detailed record of all the phases of my research process. I accounted for my research decisions, including the group-based data generation activities. The fact that these methods are well-established ones, further advances dependability (Korstjens & Moser, 2018). I also provided an audit trail to illustrate how I conducted data analysis process (see Appendix E) and provided a detailed account of this process in 4.8 and related subsections.

4.9.5. *Authenticity*

Authenticity is a criterion that focuses on the "contextual purpose of the research" (Billups, 2014: p. 4). It raises concerns about whether the researcher has endeavoured to adequately depict the contextual realities of participants and, consequently, if/how the research benefitted participants in the study (Morrow, 2005). One way to do this, it to pursue fairness. Fairness is about trying to ensure research that adequately depicts participants' differing viewpoints and values (Bryman, 2008). I pursued fairness in my doctoral study by respecting the diversity among Matsapha emerging adults. For instance, I recruited an equal number of young women and men in an effort to fairly represent gendered views on the resilience of emerging adults within Matsapha. Including equal numbers of young women was particularly important to me, given the patriarchal nature of life in Eswatini and the typical preference for men's views. My study's participants were also from three different settlements located in Matsapha to allow for a fairer representation of Matsapha's

emerging adult population. I was also cognisant of the varying views that emerging adults held and encouraged them to express these views in ways that made sense to them. As part of this, I invited participants to express themselves in the language they were most comfortable with (thereby not compelling them to speak English which is their second language). This meant participants could freely express themselves in their mother tongue if they preferred and the meaning of what they wanted to say could be authentically communicated.

I believe authenticity was further advanced by my incorporating the self-selection of participants who felt they met the study's criteria. This, and the fact that gatekeepers and participants themselves helped recruit the sample using clearly stipulated eligibility criteria, suggests that the participants were well positioned to provide insightful, contextualised accounts of emerging adult risks and resilience in the context of Matsapha. Further, the fact that their participation was voluntary probably means they were genuinely interested in the study. These sampling approaches translated into the participation of a diverse group of emerging adults concerning educational backgrounds, class, and financial status. For instance, participants were a mix of tertiary students, employed school leavers, unemployed school leavers, school dropouts and those still striving to complete high school even though they were older than high school students typically are. This diversity added complexity to the findings and enabled me to get a nuanced understanding of risk and resilience from the perspective of emerging adults.

I worked hard to report participants' voices fairly by making reference to a variety of participants when I wrote up the findings. By supporting the themes with verbatim statements of the 30 emerging adult participants in my study, I represented their ideas fairly and amplified their voices. This supported the authenticity of my study and, in the process, empowered them to have their voices heard.

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4.10. ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Qualitative research involves an investigation of human beings' lived experiences and lived realities. Research must therefore be designed and conducted in such a way that protects the rights of the participants involved, particularly when their lived reality is one of vulnerability (Gallardo, 2012). There were a lot of ethical considerations that were put in place to ensure this became a reality in my study.

As stated earlier, my study is affiliated with a bigger international project, namely The Resilient Youth in Stressed Environments (RYSE) study. The qualitative phase of the South African RYSE project received ethical clearance from the Faculty of Education Ethics Committee and the Faculty of Health Sciences Research Ethics Committee (UP 17/05/01), both at the University of Pretoria. Further clearance was granted for my affiliated study by this same committee (Ref: UP 17/05/01 Theron 18-088) (see Appendix A). With my study conducted in Eswatini, permission to conduct my study was also requested by me from the Matsapha Town Council. The letter of request detailed the extent of time, research purpose and potential impact and outcomes. This request was granted by the Matsapha Municipality (Ref: MTC/CSM/14.04.18) (see Appendix B).

I also requested Swazi emerging adults to consent to participate in my study. I asked for this in writing, using an informed consent form (see Appendix D). Gallardo (2012) postulates that the basis behind the informed consent process is respecting participants' rights, including their choice to participate or not and to be treated with respect. I respected participants' right to be treated as autonomous beings by giving them full information pertaining to the study. This information included the focus of the study, methods to be used and statements surrounding confidentiality (Creswell, 2007). Risks and benefits of partaking in this study were also explicitly stated as these helped participants make informed decisions about whether to participate. Participants were also

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made aware that even though they consented to participate in my doctoral study, that did not obligate them to commit to all research processes.

I also brought to participants' attention that they had the right to withdraw during the course of the data generation process. They did not need to explain their decisions or feel they had done anything wrong by withdrawing. This withdrawal would also not have any repercussions for them. I stated this to help participants feel comfortable and understand that they were the sole decision-makers. This was further verbally reinforced when some participants reported that they were held up for personal reasons from attending some sessions. Participants were also made aware that there was no compensation tied to attending the data generation sessions. Even though I provided refreshments after each session (such as meat, potato crisps, bread rolls and juice/water), I explained that this was not payment for participating in the study. It was merely done as a token of appreciation for their time which they would have otherwise used differently. I also thought providing refreshments was apposite because it addressed a basic need in an informal, respectful and non-coercive manner for emerging adult participants within the industrialised stressed environment that included chronic economic challenges. Marrow (2013) points out how such gestures are acceptable to participants because they do not constitute any form of bribing but merely consider that participants had spent their valuable time engaged in the study.

The following ethical considerations were paramount in my study:

4.10.1. *Anonymity and confidentiality*

Anonymity includes the precautions researchers take to ensure that responses made by participants during the data generation process cannot be connected to their identity (Creswell, 2007).

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Confidentiality, on the other hand, pertains to the participant's right to privacy (Bryman, 2008; Galardo, 2012). In my study, I tried to respect both the anonymity and confidentiality of emerging adult participants. Surmiak (2018) cautions that confidentiality among participants experiencing vulnerability has two sides. For instance, I understood that participants were at liberty to choose to have their real names presented in the final report. On the one hand, it was imperative to protect participants' identities because of the added burden of marginalisation they experience. However, sometimes having identities known is an act of defiance to the status quo of relative powerlessness. This relates to how marginalisation usually renders participants voiceless versus research representing an opportunity for them to have their voices openly heard. I communicated the risks of not hiding membership in my study and then abided by participants' preferences. These included risks of discrimination among other industrial residents, given how the Swazi culture does not promote standing up for oneself in times of discomfort (Dlamini, 2022).

Participants chose to have their identities concealed, so participants' names were kept anonymous when reporting the findings of this study. I referred to Participants 1, 2, and 3 and concealed their faces in photographs. I also did not ask emerging adult participants to share any other identifying forms of information that were not relevant to the study's objectives, so a link could not be made between participants' identities and my research findings.

For confidentiality, I encouraged participants to respect the group rules. While maintaining confidentiality as a researcher, I understood and communicated that a certain level of confidentiality could be compromised due to the use of focus groups and group discussions relating to their images and maps. I thus requested the cooperation of participants in ensuring that they keep the identities of other participants concealed by getting them to sign a declaration acknowledging that identities would not be disclosed beyond the confines of the group setting.

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However, I cannot be entirely sure of the practical extent of their cooperation in this regard. By holding all data collection sessions in secluded houses and a school within the industrial area, I tried my best to keep participants' participation confidential from other people who could have seen them and linked the study findings to participants.

4.10.2. *Harm to participants*

While I know that all participants included had consented to participate in my study, I was careful not to expose them to any harm (physical, emotional, or social harm such as embarrassment and shame). I always ensured that participants felt like valuable members of the sessions by understanding their circumstances and being empathetic to their situations. Information was also sought in a way that was not hurtful or harmful to them (Creswell, 2003). I achieved this by respecting participants' opinions and showing that their opinions mattered no matter how much they deviated from the ones predominantly shared by the group. I believe this protected participants' feelings and demonstrated how they were valuable group members.

I understood that questions posed during the data generation process could ostensibly have prompted emotional pain as participants were asked to recall challenging circumstances and risks relating to Matsapha. I was respectful of participants' feelings when there was reluctance to respond to some questions. It is worth adding that there was no evident emotional distress as participants responded about their lives in the stressed environment (e.g., nobody cried or became visibly upset). Similarly, it was not necessary for me to refer any participant for psychological support at any stage of the study, even though the consent form explained to participants that they could ask for such support at any time. Knowing that Matsapha can be an unsafe environment, I

was careful to secure a safe space for participants to convene during the data generation process. This protected participants from any disapproval that might have been associated with participating in a research study and kept them safe from criminal elements like K9 while we were working together.

As mentioned often, even though interviews were held in English - a second language in Eswatini, I respected participants' preference to respond in their native language if they chose to. It is worth noting, though, that such codeswitching was infrequent. This was likely because most participants had completed their high school education (which is English medium in Eswatini) and were comfortable responding in English. Nevertheless, with the option to respond in their native language I hoped to limit social discomfort that participants might have felt had I compelled them to respond in a language they were uncomfortable speaking in (for various personal reasons).

4.11. CONCLUSION

I used this chapter to provide a detailed account of the methods I chose to use in my study. I believe these methodological choices resulted in rich findings. These findings are detailed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 5: FINDINGS

5.1. **INTRODUCTION**

The question that directed my study was: "How do Swazi emerging adults living in Matsapha explain emerging adult resilience to the challenges of this stressed, industrialized environment?" This question had three associated questions: (a) How do Swazi emerging adults explain the risks of living in the stressed environment of Matsapha? (b) Who/What enables the resilience of Swazi emerging adults living in stressed environments? (c) What do these emerging adult accounts teach us about the complexity of resilience? This chapter answers those questions by way of four themes. As shown in Figure 7, emerging adults' accounts attested to Matsapha being an unavoidable stressed environment. As shown in Figure 1, the resilience-enabling benefits of personal, relational and ecological resources mitigated the risks associated with life in Matsapha. I detail these themes next.

In reporting these themes, I will make use of descriptors to clarify how many emerging adults' stories fit the theme. To that end, I worked as follows: All = 30; most = 25-29; many: 20-24; some: 10-19; and a few = 5-9. I report the themes in an order that fits resilience theory (i.e., lived experiences of significant risk are primary to any study of resilience; Masten, 2014) and young people's stories (i.e., personal resources were most prominent in their accounts of resilience, followed by appreciation for relational and then ecological resources).

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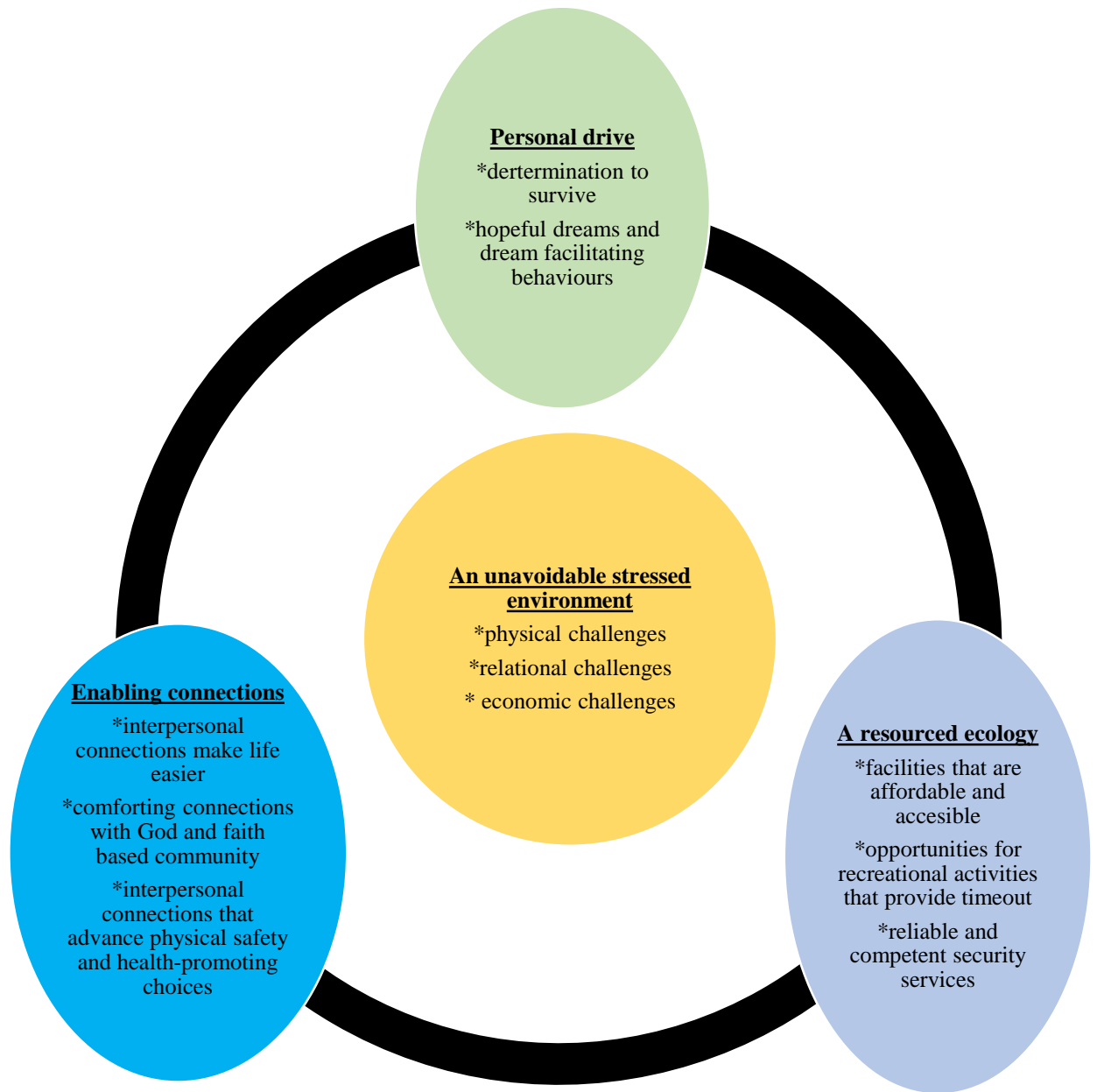
Figure 7: Summary of thematic findings

5.2. THEME 1: MATSAPHA IS AN UNAVOIDABLE STRESSED ENVIRONMENT

All emerging adults (i.e., 30) highlighted how living in Matsapha was characterised by numerous stressors. These stressors included physical challenges (e.g., pollution, overcrowding, and sanitation), economic challenges (e.g., unemployment, underemployment) and relational challenges (e.g., sexual abuse, crime, gangs). Before detailing each stressor, it is necessary to point out that the young people in my study typically reported that living in Matsapha was not optional for them. They were either there because they were engaged in further education and training or because of Matsapha's potential to facilitate economic independence. As discussed in 4.3, employment prospects in Eswatini are slim but more likely in industrialized environments like Matsapha. Young people were candid about their limited options and the need to live in Matsapha:

> The truth is we don't have a choice, but to survive here … most people are uncomfortable being here, they are just here to be paid (Participant 3, male, 20 years old).

> You see for me where I personally work, I start at 2 AM until 4 PM. I never really get time to rest. It's only on weekends, I struggle hard, because I have no other option since I do not have an education (Participant 10, male, 24 years old).

> Most managers in the factories [in Matsapha] do not appreciate the workers. They exploit them, because they know they are desperate (Participant 5, female, 23 years old).

5.2.1. *Physical stressors*

Physical stressors were inclusive of all stressors that had an impact on emerging adults' physical health. Among many others, poor sanitation, overcrowding, and pollution (i.e., air, water, sound, and land) were prominent. Most emerging adults related how these stressors negatively affected their physical wellbeing. For instance, as detailed in the excerpts at the end of this paragraph, emerging adults associated exposure to air pollution with compromised health (asthma, sinusitis, rashes, and eye irritation/infections). Similarly, poor sanitary conditions exacerbated by the overpopulation/overcrowding were associated with vulnerability to contagious diseases and diarrhoea. Overcrowding also perpetuated the poor service delivery that characterised this stressed environment, which had knock-on effects on young people's health and wellness. For instance, emerging adults said they were forced to sometimes go without water or consume dirty water. Additionally, fishing was jeopardised with most factories apparently disposing of toxic industrial waste in the main river that cuts through the stressed environment (i.e. Lusushwana River). Those who depended on this for their food and/or livelihood experienced malnourishment and/or financial stress. These physical stressors are well illustrated in the following extracts from young people's accounts of living in Matsapha:

> The area is overpopulated so it's leading to issues such as poor sanitation [see Figure 8]. The toilets are no longer up to standard because there are so many people that are using them. This emanates from the fact that there are not many rental houses available here to match the influx of people and services that are provided here. So, you find that a lot of people share one room (maybe as many as four people). Yet the houses are not designed to accommodate such a number of people- then it leads to

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issues such as land pollution because there are many people in one area than can be accommodated by the facilities. (Participant 24, female, 20 years old)

Air pollution is bad. Sometimes it smells very bad at the Brewery, the fumes are too much. Even those who have sinuses are affected and really our government is not doing anything about it. The more you get closer, it becomes unbearable. (Participant 1, male, 21 years old)

Also, here at the industrial site, the chemicals that are used in factories are disposed in drains. And these drainage systems go straight into water sources. As a result, the aquatic life is destroyed in rivers such that fishing becomes challenging because fish die in the rivers thus leaving people without food. (Participant 11, male, 19 years old).

Noise pollution is another issue we face in this area. We can't sleep because of the sound of the machines at the night. They make a lot of noise, they run all night and during the day they're even doing the same thing. (Participant 18, female, 20 years old).

I have a picture [referring to a photograph that the participant had taken] of a toilet that has no door or roofing. The toilet is falling apart and outside there's litter. Well, I didn't get inside the toilet because I was afraid of what I might find there. I'm particularly worried about how people use the toilet on rainy days because there is no way they can be shielded from the rain in such a situation (Participant 25, female, 19 years old).

This picture [see figure 8] upsets me. It's very dirty; there's a mixture of everything-water and cans that don't get rotten and cause damage to the environment. And this place is prone to swamps. Even at the back of the houses, we have all these swamps like the ones in the picture. They damage houses and cause the houses to be wet, then it becomes a breeding place for mosquitos. And when such happens, there's a free flow of mosquitos between you and neighbours yet you are unsure what diseases your neighbours have. It's frustrating. (Participant 6, female, 19 years old).

It's the factories and as a result the houses are so close together [see figure 8]. You can't go to the shops without risking being spilled over with dirty bath water (Participant 17, female, 19 years old).

There is a shortage of resources in this place' like water and electricity. So it just sometimes go off just for like three hours. It's actually worse with water, we can spend even a week without water. We are really struggling (Participant 13, male, 23 years old)

What compounded these physical stressors was the sense that related complaints and concerns would fall on deaf ears. Participants did not expect that officials or those in formal office would be responsive to their complaints. For instance, Participant 18, a 20-year-old young woman, said:

The people from Town Council are not helpful, they're not efficient at their job. You find uncollected waste dating as far back as two months. It seems like the only people who get help are the ones with connections. As for the rest of us, we are just left to suffer and who can we report them to really.

5.2.2. *Relational stressors*

This subtheme encompassed stressors that emanated from people treating each other poorly within the stressed environment of Matsapha. Most emerging adults reported this subtheme. They attributed stress to relations that were typically not respectful of people's basic human rights and not conducive to harmonious cohabitation or interdependence. In particular, they spoke about Matsapha being characterised by crime, a proliferation of gangs, peer pressure and sexual abuse (mostly aimed at young women). These relational stressors caused a lot of anxiety for emerging adults in my study. They also challenged their freedom of movement. For example, the proliferation of gangs referred to as the "K9s" contributed to emerging adults living in fear of being mugged or violated and curtailed their mobility to avoid such incidents. Similarly, young people communicated that the high crime rates forced them to always look for threats to their safety and belongings.

Emerging adults also related that the financial hardship that was common in Matsapha exacerbated the challenges to people relating respectfully and caringly to one another. Instead, they experienced pressure to solve financial problems by any means. In specific, peer pressure was high to manage their difficult financial circumstances by resorting to risky behaviours such criminal activity or to abuse substances to forget about financial stressors. These pressures further complicated social relations.

The excerpts that follow illustrate these relational challenges:

> The biggest problem here is these young gangs that are called K9's. They mug people, they steal and rape. Even now I'm scared to talk about them because I'm not

even sure if we have some of them here or not, lest I be in trouble for what I'm saying (Participant 10, male, 24 years old).

Criminals know that people earn salaries fortnightly; so, they target those times. The crime rate increases during month end which is when criminals are guaranteed that they will get some

thing, not on days when people are likely to be living on shylocks [loan sharks] as well. When people know that ah today is the 31st, then you will see a rise in rates because thieves know they will get something. (Participant 1, male, 20 years old)

There are a lot of flats around a place called Z, where most students live. So, there are many break-ins at Z. The crime rate, theft is high- you can't leave your flat opened. Even if it's hot- you can't open your flat even if you're inside, you have to find ways to protect yourself from the crime. (Participant 27, male, 23 years old)

The biggest thing that affects us is drug abuse. As you can see; the buildings are close together so it's easy for people to sell drugs. As we know that living in a congested area leads to too much peer pressure. So, if a friend comes and says let's try a cigarette around the corner, you will follow him because you also want to be part of the cool gang here in Matsapha. (Participant 6, female, 19 years old)

You see the youth here is corrupted by lots of people who engage in criminal activities. Besides, they don't have money. So, the youth is the most highly affected and thus they steal. You can't even easily hang your clothes on the washing line because they will steal them. (Participant 2, male, 20 years old)

The greatest challenge for me here was coming across a lot of friends who ended up influencing me in bad ways. I eventually dropped out from school and had a baby because of the bad influence (Participant 7, female, 23 years old)

Many young women spoke about how they were mugged and robbed by the people living alongside them in Matsapha. Some had experiences of sexual violence. As a consequence, some had even been exposed to HIV. As illustrated in the excerpts that follow, this was a cause of significant stress for young women participants in my study:

It's not easy to move around this place. There are too many gangsters and if you are a girl you are at risk of being raped and robbed- unfortunately you can't even defend yourself from these things (Participant 19, female, 19 years old).

I remember when I was doing my primary level, my friend used to travel alone to Magevini [a community within the stressed environment]. That place is woody and has a lot of guavas. Out of nowhere a man came from the forests and raped her without using a condom such that to this day she lives with HIV (Participant 18, female, 20 years old).

There's rape around Tubungu [a suburb within the stressed environment]. The place is too quiet. There's no transport, there are too many forests around that place. Yet the route is long. So, street kids live there and when they see you, they always prey on you. Even if you cry for help the people who live by those suburbs are not going to help you. Their cars are always moving fast. Those people know how to mind their own business (Perticipant 17, female, 23 years old).

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There are people who are constantly preying on unsupervised kids who swim at the Lusushwana River, and they get at risk of being raped as a result (Participant 18, female, 20 years old).

When young men tried to help young women who were being mugged or violated, they sometimes experienced that this put them at personal risk. For example:

You may be asleep and hear a girl screaming for help. When you get out to try and help her, you will find that it's the Queen K9s and they will pounce on you. They are most likely going to strip you off naked and take your clothes such that you might be only left with your BVDs [male underwear]; and if they want those BVDs as well- then you will go back home absolutely naked. We live a painful life here. (Participant 13, male, 23 years old)

5.2.3. *Economic stressors*

Most emerging adults reported economic stressors. These young people were in unison that life in Matsapha was financially challenging, even though it was associated with the potential for improved financial circumstances given the numerous factories that could potentially provide them with employment opportunities within this area. Instead, their experience was unemployment (see Figure 8) and being underpaid (getting paid less than the minimum wage). As illustrated in the excerpts that follow, young men and young women struggled to make ends meet, put food on the table, and pay for other necessities. They expressed concern about how this hardship fed into risky behaviours (e.g., substance abuse, crime, sex work):

Most managers in the factories do not appreciate the workers because they know there's a bigger pool to choose from. They exploit these people and use principles of capitalism because they know people are desperate. If for instance you can't work for E1, 200 [R1, 200] then someone else will most definitely do. So, people are paid low salaries. Some people work for as little as E800 [R800] for the whole month. This is a place where people just survive, they don't live. If you don't do well on the job, they just fire you straight away. The managers exploit people because they know if you don't want to work someone will. The working conditions are bad. A lot of people suffer economically. They can't even buy enough food for themselves. (Participant 5, female, 23 years old).

Most Swazis that live here are unemployed. The factories can only accommodate up to a certain number of people here. Then most people are left unemployed. Unemployment is the cancer that's affecting Matsapha community (Participant 27, male, 23 years old).

It's the lack of employment. There are no jobs here [as shown in figure 8]. We are many and the factories are not enough. They employ a limited number of people. They also don't pay well. Some of us are not even qualified to work there so we end up doing the bad things (Participant 13, male, 23 years old).

A lot of people suffer economically and even where they live. They can't even buy enough food for themselves. Job stresses cause most people to just drink [alcohol] and that increases violent behaviour among the people (Participant 5, female, 23 years old)

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People move from rural areas to come here and look for jobs. Some get them and some do not. On arrival, they usually squat at friends' places, cousins etc., and once they get the jobs then they move out. The problem is that not everyone manages to get the jobs, which then causes the issue of prostitution, of crime and other illegal things just to earn money. (Participant 17, female, 23 years old).

Honestly many people like my peers are not employed here and this causes trouble. Some have even committed suicide, and some have become forced to practise prostitution. The biggest challenge is some of us [i.e. young adults] then unknowingly go for these prostitutes and get diseases in the process. (Participant 2, male, 20 years old)

Given this relentless financial stress, young people communicated that they and their parents could not be choosy about the kinds of jobs or the hours they worked. They were aware that this could result in costs, such as little time to relax, be with family, or parent supportively. For instance, Participant 10 (male, 24 years old), said, "Personally, I saw that the best thing that would help me here is working in the factories. That's why I sacrifice by going to work at 2AM every day. I don't get paid much but it's better than nothing. It's just so that I don't become part of the K9s." Similarly, Participant 9, a 24-year-old young man, was concerned that the long hours that were demanded from workers had negative repercussions for family life which in turn spilled over into young people taking risks they might not have otherwise:

Our parents don't have time to teach us about what's wrong or right. For instance, they work for long periods of time in the factories and even overtime because they

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are trying to accommodate the situation. And then we end up doing things in ways that we see fit because our parents can't tell us what is good and not good to do. Factories don't give time for families to be normal and just stay with their children and that way teach them all these important things

Figure 8: Matsapha-related stressors (Participants' pictures, 2019)

5.3. THEME 2: PERSONAL DRIVE

Having a desire or drive for a better life was key to how emerging adults in my study managed the physical, relational and economic stressors associated with Matsapha. Most emerging adults' ' (i.e.25 of the 30) reported this theme. A personal drive toward a transformed life was facilitated by a determination to survive and hopeful dreams (along with dream-facilitating behaviours). These two subthemes are explained next.

5.3.1. *Determination to survive*

Most emerging adults elucidated a determination to survive the hardship of Matsapha. This determination comprised of any constructive action and/or attitude to mitigate the stressors that were part and parcel of Matsapha. As explained next, this typically included being resourceful and industrious to survive the financial challenges that seemed an unavoidable part of Matsapha. It also typically included tolerance of the physical stressors that seemed unavoidable.

Surviving Matsapha demands resourcefulness and industriousness. As illustrated in the excerpts that follow, the emerging adults in my study were not afraid of working hard. They were seldom idle. Their inclination to work hard and to try by all means to find ways to make a living related to their belief that they were personally responsible for their survival:

> We are always striving to make a living. (Participant 28, male, 19 years old)

> I never get time to rest, I'm always working. (Participant 10, male, 24 years old)

Being here has taught me that I need to go out and work for things on my own instead of expecting that they would be handed down to me. (Participant 21, female, 19 years old).

This is Matsapha, if you don't get out there and look for things for yourself no one helps you. You must find ways to survive for yourself so that you can look like any other normal person. (Participant 10, male, 24 years old)

Occasionally, emerging adults spoke about being supported to survive by having opportunities to learn a trade or a skill. For example,

The handicraft centre helps people learn skills for how to make a living for themselves that's not just tied to looking for a job [as seen in figure 9]. People learn how to make chairs, become mechanics and learn skills such as wielding, farming, carpentry etc. They make very nice things there that you wouldn't even believe they are made there. The products that they farm are organic products and they bring in a lot of money for people. (Participant 14, male, 23 years old)

Equally occasionally, there was reference to employment. Typically, that was part-time or ad hoc, but it provided remuneration. For example,

For us as guys, we are able to hold some piece jobs. For instance, such jobs could include you going out to tend people's yards for a small amount of money like maybe E100 (ZAR 100). The manpower makes it possible for us to be able to take up any hard jobs that are presented our way. (Participant 28, male, 20 years old)

You know, I play bass and piano. So, I make a living. As much as it's a gift and a talent, I get paid for it. (Participant 4, male, 23 years old).

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For the most part though, emerging adults were resourceful to survive. They utilized entrepreneurial efforts to make a living (e.g., selling food items by the roadside; fishing and selling their catch at competitive prices; tending locals' yards; upcycling/selling items from rubbish dumps). They referred to this resourcefulness as 'hustling'. Interestingly, 'hustling' was predominantly reported by the young men in my study. The following quotes (and Figure 9) illustrate this entrepreneurial resourcefulness:

> I think people around here just want to find jobs and survive, that's when they get their independence and stability. Their resilience lies in just to keep on trying hard to find ways to survive. That's why you find a lot of stalls here selling beer, roadside meat [chickens braaied by the roadside locally referred to as 'chicken dust'], and food because people just want to make money [see figure 9]. Some even sell dagga [marijuana] because they are just looking for ways to survive. (Participant 5, female, 23 years old)

> We have lots of people opening their small businesses. It's very common to find a lot of stalls around here, maybe a fruits and vegetables stall, airtime booth etc [see figure 9]. People are just trying to find ways to make a living. These small businesses keep them going. (Participant 22, female, 19 years old)

> There are people like vendors who sell food by the factories there. Even though they don't necessarily work inside the factories, they also benefit somehow. They also get a chance to make money (Participant 30, male, 19 years old)

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There's a dumpsite where a lot of food-producing factories dump food that's nearly expired down there. Because here in Matsapha we make our living in different ways, people then collect those disposed of items from the dumpsite. Sometimes they manage to also get clothes from the dumpsite which they either wash and wear or sell (Participant 14, male, 23 years old).

Let's take for instance a case where you struggle to get a job- a lot of people here have opened mini markets around here [as shown in figure 9] to provide the food and shelter as the others have already highlighted. For me that shows people's willingness to push and not sit back. They do something to make sure life continues. (Participant 28, male, 20 years old).

The scrap yard helps you trade disposed of things for a certain fee. You are able to sell them and not gamble. If you want money, you just look for scraps and it saves you from doing bad things to make money. (Participant 9, male, 24 years old).

Here at Mbhuleni [a community within the stressed environment], for instance there are people who don't have jobs. So, what they normally do is to go and fish at Lusushwana River and come back in the evenings to sell the fish. Their fish are fresh and cheap. And in the process, they also make money as well. Thus, reducing things such as the crime rate because people are pre-occupied with something. (Participant 30, male, 19 years old).

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Street vendoring (Photo by P5)

Airtime booth (Photo by P22)

Roadside furniture sale (Photo by P14)

Mini market (Photo by P28)

Figure 9: A selection of goods sold around the industrial area (Participants' Pictures, 2019)

As alluded to in the reference to 'dagga' [marijuana] in the preceding excerpts, some emerging adults utilized less conventional means to make a living. Even though this seemed not to apply to those in my study (i.e., the activities were ascribed to other young people in the community), the young people in my study often spoke of the need for many young women to engage in sex work to make ends meet. In particular, there was a reference to penury motivating many young women to camp by the roadsides (notoriously known as 'Mahhala circle') in search of 'clients' and/or engage in consensual sexual relationships with older men ('blessers') in exchange for money. As can be seen in the excerpts that follow, there was a strong sense that these risky activities were unavoidable and/or considered 'normal' in the context of Matsapha:

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Let's say a girl comes here to visit a friend; the friend will tell her that you have go down to Mahhala to make money to put food on the table since living in Matsapha is hard. Then you will have to sleep with many men who will leave you pregnant and you will have a difficult time carrying the evidence of doing sex for nine months (Participant 6, female, 19 years old)

These are the very people that come here for job opportunities because they know this is an industrial site and eventually, they industrialise their bodies here as well (Participant 6, female, 19 years old).

Here in Matsapha, you get to understand that some people cope by having 'blessers'. Most males see females as people they can use. They know that they can always flash money at you because of your prevailing circumstances and use that to their advantage of to get you to have sex with them. (P21, female, 19 years old)

There's some lady who was victimised about prostitution, her response was that she did not care about what other people said- all she cared about was putting food on the table. This for me shows that people have become numb to the problems that they're facing and how they go about solving them. So it's more like, oh the prostitutes are here now, they are looking for money and that's become normal. (P22, female, 19 years old)

That route as you go down Mahhala there are a lot of prostitutes including students from the university. People sell their bodies in exchange for money. (P23, female, 19 years old)

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We could give you all sorts of covering words, but the truth is people sell their bodies there. There are lots of sex workers here and unfortunately, they even sleep with our boyfriends without condoms. (Participant 16, female, 22 years old)

Surviving Matsapha requires tolerance. Not leaving Matsapha, given its potential facilitate financial independence and/or further education and training, was important to the young people in my study. Continuing to live there meant that, in addition to being resourceful and industrious, they had to make peace with or tolerate its challenges. Tolerating its challenges, particularly those that young people had no personal control over, was often described as having an "it's fine" mindset. For instance, when asked how they managed to live in an overcrowded, crime-infested, and polluted area without financial resources at their disposal, some emerging adults' responses drew attention to their capacity to tolerate or accept the status quo:

> You get to a point where you accept that these challenges are part and parcel of living in Matsapha. You develop a tendency of saying, 'ah it's fine', Matsapha is doing to you what it's notorious for (Participant 1, male, 21 years old).

> Well, for me everything is fine. There's nothing that I can really change around here. (Participant 8, female, 20 years).

"We are just used to it" or 'this is how life is around here' were other phrases that emerging adults constantly used when referring to the challenges of Matsapha. As illustrated in the excerpts below, this tolerance was primarily directed at ongoing stressors, such as air or noise pollution or disruptions to the water supply:

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Like in Big bend there's always burning sugar cane smell but those people I tell you they feel like its fresh air. Same applies to here, we are just used to it. Sometimes you wake up at night and you hear the smell getting in your room- you just inhale and say to yourself 'ah, that's Brewery' and go back to sleep (Participant 1, male, 21 years old).

The noise here doesn't affect me anymore (Participant 28, male, 20 years old).

Ah, for me, I would honestly be lying if I were to say these problems are still challenges. They have become part of us, we no longer consider them as challenges. Like if my neighbour is having a party, I'll do my own things and act as if I am in my own world. Because I can't focus on what everyone else is doing. I just survive like that. I accept that these problems are part of life and learn to live with them. It no longer affects me in any way (Participant 17, female, 23 years old).

If it's been happening for a very long time, you get to a point that you accept that this is how life is around here (Participant 20, female, 19 years old)

Some people get used to the situation. They tell themselves that 'yes we don't have water, it happens. (Participant 21, female, 19 years).

It becomes a normal part of life. For instance, you just accept that Wednesdays are no water days and life continues. (Participant 21, female, 19 years old).

And we are girls, so you can just imagine what happens when it's that time of the month and all that's available is a tank of water that you all have to share around the school. You just learn to make do with what's available and limit going to the toilets. (Participant 23, female, 19 years old).

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Interestingly, Participant 20, a 19-year-old young woman, narrated how she believed that their bodies had also become accustomed to Matsapha's challenges, such as unclean water:

> The picture that I have here is a sink which has dirty water inside [participant's photograph not included]. This picture was taken in the morning. When you go to the bathrooms and open the taps in the morning, you are presented with dirty water. So, imagine you wake up in the morning and you are confronted by such an unpleasant sight. And for some of us who don't have anything to filter the water that comes from the taps, we have no choice but to drink the dirty water that comes from them. Our stomachs have even become accustomed to the fact that most times they are subjected to drinking dirty water … I have some friends who have been sick by drinking dirty water from the university… But then I guess our systems eventually got used to the water, because we are now OK… everyone falls sick when they first drink the water, but with time, you get used to it.

Some young people linked their acceptance of Matsapha's stresses to their basic needs being met there. Given that, they could tolerate Matsapha. For instance:

> It boils down to being able to put food on the table at the end of the day. So long as you've had a meal, then you're fine. (Participant 21, female, 19 years)

> If you have shelter and clothing; just the basic needs, then you're fine. (Participant 23, female, 19 years old).

For some, tolerating the challenges of Matsapha related to young people not having education or employment options outside of Matsapha. They had little choice but to be tolerant. Tolerance was also facilitated when they compared a challenge to a worse fate or worse form of that challenge:

> If you are looking for a job here, you don't have a choice but to live in that house. There is no way of staying away from this place so long as you work around here (Participant 3, male, 20 years old).

> We often have no water at all, so it's better the dirty water than having no water at all. (Participant 23, female, 19 years old).

5.3.2. *Hopeful dreams and dream-facilitating behaviours*

Emerging adults hoped for a future that was markedly better than their present reality; they dreamed of "one day when I work, there's hope that I'll also get a better pay" (Participant 7, female, 23 years old). For the most part, though, aspirations for a future that was better than their present reality was a referred to by emerging adults who were engaged in tertiary studies or had just completed their high school education. These emerging adults highlighted how even though they experienced financial and relational distress within the stressed environment of Matsapha, they envisioned a future that was better than the life they were currently living. As illustrated in the excerpts that follow, their education was key to that improved future:

> Yes, there is the University of Eswatini very close by. I'm inspired by those that go there. I wish one day I can be like them so that I can also have the allowance that they get. Even their way of life is enviable. So, it gives me hope that one day I will be like them as well. (Participant 6, female, 19 years old)

Education also helps you stay relevant and be able to find work. It's a sign of hope that one day you will get out of here and find a job. It provides hope for the community. (Participant 5, female, 23 years old)

In order for you to have a better life in future, you must be educated. You can be skilful; you can be talented, but without education you are nothing. Everyone needs education. It's very important. (Participant 1, male, 21 years old)

These job opportunities that our parents get from factories benefit us because that's how they pay for our school fees. With that little money, we are able to get an education and one day we will go to university and earn a lot of money. (Participant 28, male, 20 years old)

Achieving the life of their dreams required emerging adults to be goal-directed and adopt behaviours that would facilitate their dreams. These behaviours included being a diligent student for those in tertiary and Form 5 and a committed sportsperson for young men who had completed their high school education but could not qualify to go to university and hoped for a sports career instead. As illustrated in the excerpts that follow, dreams of a better future sometimes made it easier to tolerate Matsapha's hardships:

I'm here for school [tertiary education] and I understand that I am just here to get what I want and after I am done, I will get out of here. You must have something to look forward to after living here. Having a goal helps you adapt and keeps you going. Even if you lose your laptop to these thieves, you know that you just have

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to persevere and sooner or later you will be out of here. (Participant 5, female, 23 years old).

To take away all the negative, I just focus on my books and forget about everything that's happening around here. (Participant 24, female, 19 years old)

One has to get his priorities straight and know what goals they want to achieve in life. So I keep to my books to ensure that one day I achieve my goals. (Participant 27, male, 23 years old).

You need to be grounded. So, I ensure that I study every day. Even on weekends, I'm always found studying and all-nighting. At the university gate for instance, there's a drinking place that's been recently opened that's mostly frequented by my friends. Even if I do want to go there, I constantly keep myself in check because I understand that I have a goal that I want to achieve, and one day I'll have the time to look at the things that are offered. (Participant 23, female, 19 years old).

School [tertiary] keeps you focused. I mean; there are too many assignments, tests, and exams. So, you are mostly kept studying and thus you don't have time for too many bad things if you want to do well. (Participant 22, female, 19 years old).

What helps me here is that I stay indoors and focus on my books. (Participant 26, male, 22 years old)

Sometimes football ends up being a career for us, it opens up opportunities. So practising is good because you never know, one day a big team will recruit you and you will have a career as a soccer player. (Participant 3, male, 20 years old)

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Going to train at the Correctional Services gym gives one the possibility of being recruited as a warder one day because they can see your skill. And besides, their playground is bigger so it's good. (Participant 2, male, 20 years old)

Additionally, and as shown in the quotes that follow, being future-directed meant that emerging adults needed to avoid risky behaviours that could potentially derail them from the life of their dreams (e.g., substance abuse; relationship with a sugar daddy or 'blesser'):

I make sure I stay at home to prevent a lot of challenges that lurk around vicinities of Matsapha. In the midst of the drugs, the alcohol I have to constantly ask myself what it is that I need to do to ensure that I become a better person. That has helped frame who I am today because without such an understanding, I risk being dictated for by my environment. (Participant 28, male, 20 years old)

I cope by not being materialistic. I understand that even though others may have things that have been bought by men, my time will come as well when I will afford to buy myself those things. Then that way you stop focusing on material things that people in your environment have and focus on your books instead. (Participant 22, female, 19 years old)

Even though most students sell and drink alcohol in the very rental houses where they stay, I wouldn't personally say it directly affects me because I'm always in the house and I stay far away from all this mess. (Participant 23, female, 19 years old)

If I have nothing else to do, I just get a novel and read that way it helps me stay away from the things that will negatively affect me. (Participant 29, male, 19 years old)

5.4. THEME 3: ENABLING CONNECTIONS

While talking about how they managed life in Matsapha, participants often spoke of the benefits of having positive (enabling) connections. Such 'enabling connections' were reported by many emerging adults (24 of the 30) and were mostly with peers, relatives, faith-based communities, and God. As explained next, these connections made life in Matsapha bearable, safer, and/or provided comfort.

5.4.1. *Interpersonal connections make life easier*

Family – immediate and extended – and close friends were key to making emerging adults' life easier financially, particularly for the young women in my study. As illustrated in the following excerpts, these people were reliable sources of material support (such as food and rent). Being able to rely on them made the financial challenges associated with life in Matsapha bearable:

This is Hlengiwe [see Figure. 10], she is my friend and [like] my sister. So, every time I'm in trouble or I need money or food- I can always go to her. She is the closest person that I have at the university as my home is very far away. (Participant 5, female, 23 years old).

This picture shows me at home [see Figure 10]. It makes me feel better. I'm able to ask for things that I need from my parents. I don't always have to ask for everything from my parents though, there's more people to ask for help from. I also ask for money from my uncles. I never go to bed hungry, and it makes me feel better. (Participant 7, female, 23 years old).

Financial help from family and friends helps. Having people that you can always ask helps. And when they come through for you, you don't have to buy expensive things. Like, you know you need rice and meat and that's all. So, you buy basic things. And if you struggle with rent, you ask for help from your family. (Participant 5, female, 23 years old)

Sometimes if you don't have rent money, maybe you've lost your job, friends help you out. So, you need them to help you out sometimes. Without friends you are nothing (Participant 1, male, 21 years old).

In addition to providing material support, friends and sometimes family made life easier by providing emerging adults with advice on how to tolerate the hardships of Matsapha. The knowledge that emerging adults had friends, and in a couple of instances, family members, who were willing to listen to their Matsapha-related problems, empathize with them and advise them where necessary made daily stressors bearable. As illustrated in the excerpts that follow, among other things, having a safe relational space to share any negative feelings and humour was experienced as enabling by the young people in my study:

My friends take out the stress in my life. I love them. They help me. The talking nonstop is nice. We share our problems and most often find that we have similar issues. Then we are able to strategize on how best to solve those problems. We also in the process give each other advice like, for instance, telling each other not to rely on boys for comfort because they won't help us. Instead we do more recreational activities that will ultimately make us smile, even if what was causing you stress has not changed, you are able to see it from a different light and thus minimise the stress (Participant 18, female, 20 years old)

This is a picture of my family [referring to participant's photo]. This is my brother. When I have challenges, I'm able to share with him and he gives advice where need be. This is my child; I play with her and we laugh and do all sorts of fun things. I laugh a lot when I have my child with me. (Participant 18, female, 20 years old)

Some of us have diseases, like asthma, and the stink [of Matsapha] is too much for us to handle in our lungs. At night, the asthma causes us blocked chests and we can't breathe. I'm able to call my sisters, even though I'm here, and having them in my life makes me feel better. (Participant 7, female, 23 years old).

It also helps to have relationships with friends so that you can talk and deal with the issues. You can't successfully live alone in Matsapha. You can't make it…you just can't make it. (Participant 1, male, 21 years old)

Even though we stay in a dirty place, the people that help me cope are my friends. They understand the situation and I'm able to talk to them about things. I can relax with them. (Participant 24, female, 20 years old)

This is me out and about with my friends. We are able to take pictures and have fun (Participant 16, female, 22 years old).

A picture that [shows what] helps me do better is that of me and my friends sitting happily [see figure 10]. We were actually refreshing here because we'd just finished studying. My friends help keep my mind refreshed and right. They help me to cope with the stresses that I have. (Participant 23, female, 19 years old).

In a single instance, Participant 22, a 19-years-old young woman referred to an intimate partner connection as enabling:

Usually when I feel bored or want to keep busy, I just rely on my boyfriend. We spend a lot of time together and sometimes when it's time for studying it depends on whether we study together, or I go back to my room to study.

In a limited number of instances, emerging adult participants referred to enabling connections that were facilitated by social media:

Then there's this picture that represents social media. It makes me happy because that's where we relieve our stress here. Like maybe let's say you quarrel with someone during soccer over your team losing, you then use social media to chat with people that aren't closer to you [geographically]. Even if they laugh at you for a bit, it's never serious and that way your sadness is minimised. Others post jokes and you laugh (Participant 14, male, 23 years old).

Then there's my phone in front of me- I have a lot of social networks, music and a Bible in there. They all keep me happy and focused. (Participant 23, female, 19 years old)

What helps me do ok is social media. When I'm busy on social networks I am prevented from doing bad things. When I'm on my phone, I rarely do bad things that are done by other girls that make other people perceive them badly in the society because chatting to my friends keeps me company. (Participant 19, female, 19 years old)

A few emerging adults also highlighted how friends were instrumental in helping them access information that made their life easier. Information could be factual, experiential (how to survive on a limited budget), or referential (understanding better how to cope by observing others and mimicking their strategies). As illustrated next, young men were more likely than young women to refer to informational support:

OK, you see I personally spend a lot of time with other guys. We share information such as telling each other how we manage to look smart and dress well all the time. We give each other different strategies. (Participant 13, male, 23 years old).

Social media [as pictured in figure 10] such as Facebook helps you know what's happening around the world that you wouldn't ordinarily know. You also get a chance to see how other people make a living and what strategies they use to solve a variety of problems they are faced with (Participant 14, male, 23 years *old).*

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For me being around here has given me a better platform to pursue my sports passion. Since I have many friends around here, they give you advice on how to grow in order to perform and have a better life. (Participant 26, male, 22 years old)
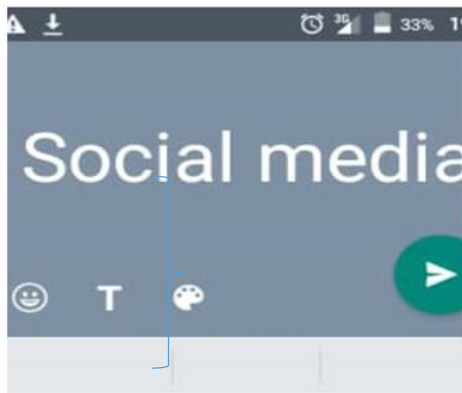
Figure 10: Images of interpersonal connections in emerging adults' lives (Participants' pictures, 2019)

5.4.2. Interpersonal connections advance physical safety and health-promoting choices

With Matsapha being a dangerous place to live in, some emerging adults reported that they relied on the support of friends and families to optimise their physical safety. As shown in the excerpts

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that follow this paragraph, emerging adults related how they moved around in groups or were sometimes accompanied by family members and friends when travelling in and around Matsapha. Friends also looked out for each other by ensuring they did the necessary background checks on people before getting into intimate relationships. Collectively, these precautionary measures minimised the possibility of being victims of criminal activity and made life easier within the stressed environment. Connections supporting personal safety are well illustrated in the following:

> When I go to school [university], I must make sure that I'm early because I always have to pass by that place [referring to the route towards Magevini; one of the crime infested areas]. If I'm late- I have to take a winding route and go to town or Mahhala. If not, my mom accompanies me. She leaves her work and makes sure she waits with me by the bus stop because she can't leave me alone there. (Participant 25, female, 20 years old)

> You have to be alert be on guard and surround yourself with friends that can help you in the event of crime around here. The crime rate here is high so you must always be careful. (Participant 30, male, 19 years old)

> I have a friend, Fela, he's dating the Queen K9. I asked him where he got this girl, and he said it's just an orphaned girl that he got. So, I asked again if he had done any background checks on her to find out where she stays. (Participant 10, male, 24 years old)

> The best way to deal with the K9s [gangsters] is not to walk at night. And if you happen to walk, then you must ensure that you walk as a group so that you can be safe. (Participant 28, male, 20 years old)

As illustrated next, a few emerging adults also related how the connections they made with church-attending others encouraged health-promoting behaviour that kept them physically safe. This was particularly useful given how the stressed environment often exposed them to a variety of behavioural risks such as sex work, substance abuse, gang membership.

> This one is a picture of my church [see figure 11]. It helps me become an upright person (P12, male, 19 years old)

> And this picture of the Bible [referring to participant's photograph] shows that as we have many churches around, it makes someone have a range of things to choose from. You either do drugs or church. So, you have an opportunity to be morally upright and this reduces the crime rate and drug use. (Participant 2, male, 20 years old)

> With Matsapha being this dangerous, it [church] helps people get integrity and make them live better with each other here (P6, female, 19 years old)

> Attending church services teaches us about morals and preserves us from engaging in the many criminal activities are happening around here. (Participant 27, male, 23 years old)

5.4.3. *Comforting connections with God and faith-based community members*

In addition to faith-based organisations and religion teaching values that protected young people from risky behaviours, some emerging adults reported comforting connections with God (via religious acts, such as prayer, church attendance, or bible reading) and with fellow church members

or peers that attended church. As demonstrated in the following quotes, feeling close to God alleviated the stress of poverty, joblessness and crime (i.e., economic and relational challenges). It gave emerging adults the confidence to believe that their challenges would be mitigated and left them feeling comforted, even when they were struggling to source support from their human connections.

> Through praying. All things are possible with God. You see we don't all come from the same backgrounds. Everyone has a story to tell, some of us are needy- we don't have people to ask for help from. We have no one to lean on. So, all we do is pray and God will answer. (P6, female, 19 years old).

> The second one [referring to participant's photograph] is about me relying on God. Because you see sometimes when you get in trouble after you've asked for help from everyone else and they struggle to help you and then you think if I can tell God my solutions can come. Although you see asking for help from God requires that you become patient and give things time. (Participant 7, female, 23 years old)

> [Attending] church gives us a sense of peace and helps us distress. The Bible makes us do better through a lot of situations [as shown in figure 11]. If you feel bad, there's always a verse that you can relate to that makes you cope and uplifts you spiritually. (Participant 7, female, 23 years old).

> Knowing God also helps against depression and makes people have a sense of belonging that you have someone who is looking out for you. Someone is there for you. Church is a place of peace. (P5, female, 23 years old).

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The other picture shows me with my Bible [see photograph in figure 5]. Sundays are a time for me to go to church, get spiritual buffering and then feel better in spite of the challenges that I face here. (P13, male, 23 years old)
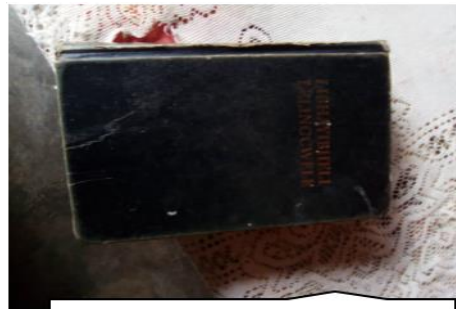
Even if you know you had a rough week, church reminds you that there's more to life than what you're facing. That's where your spirits get uplifted (Participant 22, female, 19 years old)

Emerging adult going to church (Photo by P17)

Emerging adults' church building (Photo by P12)

Bible (Photo by P7)

Figure 11: Images representing spiritual connections (Participants' Pictures, 2019)

5.5.   THEME 4: A RESOURCED ECOLOGY

Many emerging adults (24 of the 30) referred to facilities and services in Matsapha that helped them cope with the physical, financial, and relational stresses they faced. In one instance, a faith-based community facilitated these supports:

> At church, there are also organizations that help needy children. They ask church members to donate food and clothes to the needy. And, on Saturdays, many people come to eat at the church. We have 'soup kitchens' in our church. Actually, most churches around here do it here (Participant 18, female, 20 years old).

For the most part though, young people's reference to ecological resources related to facilities (like shops or hospitals). The ecology was mostly experienced as helpfully resourced because facilities were affordable and within reach; there were opportunities for recreational activities that provided time out, and reliable and competent security services were available. Each is detailed next.

5.5.1.   Facilities that are affordable and accessible

Emerging adult participants commented on the many health facilities and supermarkets that were easily accessible to them and offered quality support/goods at a reasonable price. In the financially stressed and crime-ridden context of Matsapha, the proximity and affordability of these resources were particularly enabling. For instance, young people appreciated the accessibility and affordability of public health facilities:

> There are too many hospitals around here. This is probably to keep up with the demand of people that are located in vicinities of Matsapha. So, when a person is

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not feeling well, they don't even need a car to get clinical help. It helps us because the nurses are qualified, and the medication is of a good standard and affordable. (Participant 9, male, 24 years old)

Opposite police college there's a hospital. It's where you get treated for many ailments and injuries as we know that there are two bars closer there so chances of being injured are high. Even if you get flu you go there and get free treatment. It benefits us. (Participant 27, male, 23 years old)

I remember one day when I had to take my child to the clinic, some lady went into premature labour. It was very helpful for her because they managed to rush her for delivery in the bigger hospital. Imagine if we did not have that hospital. And the fact that even if your child gets sick, you are able to rush them there. Nazarene [a bigger hospital located about 10km away from the stressed environment] is far, you can't go there for just a headache and to get a Panado [medication]. (Participant 17, female, 23 years old)

This clinic is very cheap, you just pay 5 Rands to get there, and they give you a lot of pills. (Participant 17, female, 23 years old).

They appreciated the same aspects (accessibility and affordability) about the shops in Matsapha. The fact that there were many shops to choose form, also meant that shops had to offer competitive prices. Young men and young women referred to these benefits:

[OK Foods] is closer… you can go even late at night without people mugging you because it's close to your neighbourhood (Participant 19, female, 19 years old).

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There is a supermarket nearby. It's positive for me, because I don't have to travel far for goods that I need. For instance, if I need coke, sugar – it means I no longer have to travel as far as Mahhala [main shopping complex] for those things. It just by the gate and it saves you transport money and you can actually do your whole shopping there. Which means there are less chances for you to also be subjected to too much traffic given that we have many roads and many people here. So, shops nearby is very positive for me around here. (Participant 28, male, 20 years old)

The presence of shops around Ndlungaye and Sigodvweni [local communities within the stressed environment] helps because even when you don't have money for transport you are able to go there easily and purchase whatever you must purchase. There's [OK Foods] closer where you get everything you need. (Participant 18, female, 20 years old).

This one [referring to participant's photograph] is a shopping complex in Mahhala. It excites me. You are able to get goods and services cheaper whenever you need them down there, they are countless. The place is like a town. (Participant 6, female, 19 years old)

As we are university students, we are very broke, so places like these [Spar] help us ensure that you have food on your stomach. So, you don't go to bed hungry because of such places as it doesn't take a lot of money for you to buy food there (Participant 23, female, 19 years old).

There's perfect competition in Mahhala [see figure 12]. Market access is good because we are able to compare prices here. For example, you can go to Spar,

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Shoprite and Pickn'Pay, then you are able to compare. (Participant 3, male, 20 years old)

We are able to buy things cheaper especially because we have lots of low-income earners here in Matsapha [see figure 12]. So, it's easier to get access to shops where you can afford. (Participant 2, male, 20 years old)

A selection of shops within the stressed environment (Picture by P3)

Emerging adults purchasing goods (Picture by P2)

Figure 12: Accessible and affordable shopping facilities (Participant's pictures, 2019)

Emerging adult participants who were engaged in education also commended the local educational institutions (university and high schools) for supporting them with accessible facilities that helped them advance their academic progress. In particular, there was an appreciation for on-campus residences and libraries (with associated access to WiFi and electricity). As illustrated in the excerpts that follow, these accessible facilities were safe spaces and also provided relief from noise pollution:

As a university student, the biggest thing was for me to ensure that I don't stay out of [off] campus. I asked from home that they pay more money for me to stay in campus because it is safer there. (Participant 23, female, 19 years old)

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I personally stay at school [university] till late to get Wi-Fi (Participant 15, female, 19 years old)

If we must be successful at school- we must temporarily move away from where we live because there's a lot of noise. There are too many drunkards and honestly there's nothing that you can really do in such an environment. Even the noise of factories makes it hard to concentrate, so you just go to libraries and come back late once you are done with your assignments. (Participant 9, male, 24 years old)

The presence of the University close by helps some of the students here especially the ones in Form 5 because they can also go to the university library. They are able to concentrate more because it's very quiet and safer for them to do their work. (Participant 6, female, 19 years old)

You see we do not come from the same background here. Some students stay in houses where there is no electricity and they use candles. So it's hard because other parents can ration the candle usage and as a result such negatively impacts their education as they can't stay for as late as 12 o'clock maybe. So most of those who are less privileged just go to the University library to study. (Participant 6, female, 19 years old)

5.5.2. *Opportunities for recreational activities that provide time out*

Emerging adults highlighted how opportunities for recreational activity helped provide 'time out' from the challenges of Matsapha, such as drugs and crime, that stressed them. While they were engaged in a recreational activity, they could forget these challenges. When the recreational

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activity was physical (playing sport), young people also experienced physical health benefits. Further, opportunities to be constructively engaged in sport or other pastimes helped tire participants, and so they were more likely to go home and sleep and, in so doing, avoid risky behaviours or exposure to crime or violence. These protective factors are illustrated in the following excerpts:

> Educational institutions usually provide sporting facilities, this helps distract us from all the bad that's happening around our lives. Not only does the presence of sporting facilities help us emotionally,- but also physically because we get to train. (Participant 20, female, 19 years old)

> I spend my time in the showground playing soccer and this is a picture of my soccer boots. It makes me feel better from the stress of living here. I forget all the stress when I'm playing and physically it keeps me fit and healthy. (Participant 3, male, 21 years)

> I keep myself busy by going to the soccer field to help other people with football because for now, I'm struggling with school issues. Soccer keeps me going. It helps me come back home tired and that way I just sleep on arrival. (Participant 13, male, 23 years) I just avoid everything by playing games such as cards or go and sweat in the playground. And that way I forget about the problems. (Participant 9, male, 24 years old).

> I go to the playground. I get to spend my leisure time there playing football. I can spend the whole day playing soccer and it helps me forget about all the bad things that are happening in my life. I forget about the people who do drugs. It's also a

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way of keeping busy and spending time with my friends. I think it also reduces my interest in looking at people who are busy stealing our things. It keeps us busy (Participant 2, male, 20 years old).

At the university we also have societies like chess, pool club. You also meet with a lot of people and that takes you away from thinking about bad things- because you're busy with something. You know what they say about an idle mind being the devil's workshop. So, when you're busy with something it's better than being engaged in all the self-destructive activities that people are doing outside (Participant 23, female, 19 years old)

There's a sports' field up there next to the sports emporium. We jog in the mornings around 4-5Am and in the afternoons with my roommates. When you jog in the morning, you start you day right. Your mind opens up and makes you feel healthier. And besides even though we are subjected to the dirty water situation, jogging releases digestive enzymes and process some of the bacteria and that makes you feel better, I think. (Participant 20, female, 19 years old)

What helps me cope it's playing badminton by UNESWA [University of Eswatini] with friends. Here you just play for the whole day and enjoy yourself then come home tired and just sleep. (Participant 29, male, 19 years old)

You find a lot of boys in the playground [see figure 13] and thus you get a chance to know each other. There's a lot of crime that's happening on the outer places yet at the playground it's more peaceful. No one sells drugs, we are just there to play.

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And besides there are a lot of respectable people who go to watch football, so you can't just sell drugs anyhow there. (Participant 27, male, 23 years old)

Additionally, emerging adults reported that ecology-facilitated opportunity for recreational activities was also resilience-enabling as it facilitated opportunities to strengthen/maintain enabling interpersonal connections. For instance:

I go to the game room with my friends and we bond and we see a lot of other peers that we have around this place [see figure 13]. We get away from the things outside like drugs, we just play games and after that we just go back home. So these games more or less save us from doing the many bad things that other youth do around here. (Participant 30, male, 19 years old)

This picture [see figure 13] shows me with my buddies at the showground having fun, relaxing and talking about things that will not make us think about the stress that we have in our home or environment. (Participant 11, male, 19 years)

This picture [referring to participant's picture] shows us at the Kings Super Cup last year at Somhlolo stadium. It makes me happy because soccer helps us meet a lot of people. Soccer helps us a lot here. The friendly games are meant for socialising and meeting a lot of people. Although we cannot run away from the fact that sometimes quarrels ensure there, but it's better than always being worried about robbers who always hide in some of the incomplete flats around here. (Participant 14, male, 23 years old)

There's also a safe bar [referring to a bar located at the Correctional Prison]. There's no crime involved there. People are not allowed to fight or even wear hats. So, it's

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easier for you to go there and chill. No one bothers you. There's no crime, no fighting- it's just you and your friends. There are also people in higher places [prominent people]. So, you have an advantage of meeting someone who can give you positive things in life, or even employ you, or teach you to become a better person. (Participant 28, male, 20 years old)

Male emerging adults in the sportsfield (Photo by P27)

Emerging adults playing soccer (Photo by P11)

Emerging adults watching soccer (Photo by P30)

Figure 13: Pictures representing sporting activities/facilities (Participant Pictures, 2019)

5.5.3. *Reliable and competent security services*

As reported in the first theme that detailed the risks of Matsapha, many emerging adults were unequivocal about the stress of exposure/possible exposure to gangs (K9s) and crime/violence.

Some of them relied on friends/peers and family to keep them safe (see 5.4.2). In addition, in the course of discussing the images they brought for the photo elicitation activity and their maps, many made it clear that the availability of reliable and competent local security services ameliorated this stress of exposure to crime or violation to some extent. As illustrated in the excerpts that follow, these security services comprised the police force, locals who volunteered/were selected to safeguard their immediate neighbourhood, and security organised by sponsors for sports events:

> The presence of police gives a sense of security around here. Knowing that you have people that you can report to in the event of crime or whatever happens around here is comforting. (Participant 24, female, 20 years old).

> Community police [residents who are chosen to be neighbourhood watchers] have become more proactive about guarding the community at night. If they suspect that you have ulterior motives, they always question you. The security has thus been increased to ensure that people are safe walking in the streets. (Participant 26, male, 22 years old).

> This one [referring to photograph in figure 14] shows policemen- it's very good because the police reduce crime around here and put these people such as K9s to book. They help us a lot with that. (Participant 12, male, 19 years old)

> When you are around Sigodvweni [a local community within the stressed environment], the police quickly come because they can even walk there. All you do is just direct them. It's a different story when you are far because that's when they start giving you the excuses of car shortages. (Participant 19, female, 19 years old)

Then there's the Police Academy. This is where they train police. So, people around there are protected by well-trained police officers. It's thus not easy for people to drink there and there's less crime because they know that there are police close by. So, it makes us feel safe. (Participant 28, male, 20 years old)

And that the police also sometimes do the night patrols gives you a sense of security because then you know you can't be an easy target (Participant 24, female, 20 years old)

The police provide us with safety and protection against the many criminal activities that we have here. They also help control traffic here, as often times robbers take cars during such times when there's traffic. Yet when there's police a lot of that doesn't happen. Even at night they patrol and check if everything is still safe (Participant 13, male, 23 years old).

We also hold tournaments in soccer and have sponsors that provide us with security. We play for the whole day, have fun and forget about the challenges that this place presents. And then we come back from those tournaments, we reminisce about the good things that happened during the day and in that way, we extend the day and have more things to talk about and look forward to. (Participant 14, male, 23 years old)

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Figure 14: Police rendering services within the stressed environment (Picture by P12, 2019

5.6. CONCLUSION

I reported four themes in this chapter. They show that even though life in Matsapha was 'painful' for the young people in my study, they believed that it could not be avoided. Moreover, their accounts – across the focus groups and the participatory activities – suggested that young people had resources that facilitated resilience to Matsapha's unavoidable stressors and let young people experience them as manageable. Importantly, resilience to these stressors was informed by multiple resources found within young people, their relationships, and their physical and service ecology. In short, I believe that the findings reported in this chapter reinforce that positive adaptation to adversity is a collective effort. This is discussed in more detail in the next chapter.

6.1. INTRODUCTION

I conducted a phenomenological study to explore emerging adults' accounts of resilience to the challenges of Matsapha, a stressed industrialised environment in Eswatini. The findings showed that the resilience of Swazi emerging adults was facilitated by external resources (enabling connections), ecological resources (a resourced ecology), and personal resources (personal drive). Collectively, and as discussed in this chapter, these reflected resilience enablers that were commonplace, developmentally appropriate, and sensitive to situational and cultural context (i.e., complex). Embedded in this chapter, therefore, is a discussion that answers the sub-questions that guided my study: a) How do Swazi emerging adults explain the risks of living in a stressed environment? b) Who/ what enables the resilience of Swazi emerging adults living in stressed environments? c) What do emerging adult accounts teach us about the complexity of resilience?

Taken together, the answers to these questions allow me to provide an emerging adult-directed account of how Swazi emerging adults living in Matsapha explain resilience to the challenges of this stressed, industrialised environment. The purpose of this chapter is to situate that account in what was previously known about the stresses of an industrialised environment and resilience to those stresses.

6.2. HOW DO SWAZI EMERGING ADULTS EXPLAIN THE RISKS OF LIVING IN A STRESSED ENVIRONMENT?

In my study, I expected emerging adults to report multiple stressors associated with Matsapha (see 1.6). Indeed, their accounts confirmed that they experienced Matsapha as a stressed environment. Typically, they could not leave Matsapha to avoid these risks, thereby heightening the stress they experienced. Their confirmation validates my study of emerging adult resilience in this context, as risk exposure is a pre-condition for resilience (Masten, 2014). As discussed next, their confirmation fits with the broader literature on the challenges of an industrialised environment. Importantly, their confirmation also extends that literature in the sense that it demands attention to how emerging adults often have little recourse to avoid exposure to stressed industrial environments.

Alvarado and Toredo (2017) show that while industrialization is an economically viable means to increase a country's Gross Domestic Product, it is not devoid of challenges. These challenges are particularly felt by individuals who inhabit industrial production areas. How the participants in my study described Matsapha fit previous accounts of industrial areas as stressed environments characterised by risks that broadly manifest themselves physically, relationally, and economically (Barca & Bridge, 2015; Shahbaz et al., 2015). As in these pre-existing studies (Blokhin, 2019; Kenya Engineer, 2014; Mendes et al., 2014; Quentenero et al., 2010), emerging adults reported that physical stressors (i.e., pollution, overcrowding, poor sanitary conditions) were detrimental to their physical wellbeing, including mention of asthma, skin challenges, and respiratory complaints. Emerging adults' reference to the negative effects of ingesting dirty water also mirrored previous studies' reports of contaminated water being a breeding ground for waterborne diseases (Denchak, 2018; Environment and Developmental Policy Brief, 2019; Sayal et al., 2016). As in studies about

how overcrowding and noise pollution in industrial areas are associated with negative health and wellbeing challenges (Jariwala et al., 2017; Onnu, 2006; Hoque et al., 2018), emerging adults in my study linked the continuously high noise levels from factories and traffic (motor vehicles and trains) to anxiety, hearing problems and insomnia.

My study's findings showed how living within the confines of the stressed environment of Matsapha was also characterised by potentially traumatising events and activities. Among others, emerging adults referred to the proliferation of gangs, crime, muggings, and rape incidents. This was also shown by literature that reported how living in an industrial area increases the risk of being exposed to antisocial or negative behaviours, interpersonal violence, and/or distressing events (Abdul & Abdul, 2017; Barrett, 2017; Hoffman, 2016; Rege & Lavorgna, 2016). Further, my study showed how antisocial behaviours were often interwoven with the disillusionment of living in financially unsupportive environments (no/limited opportunities to become financially independent and the desperation that results). This mirrored Aksoy's (2017) concerns that industrial communities' financial hardship can lead to criminal behaviour.

Additionally, my study showed how relational stressors (including peer pressure) and interpersonal violence sometimes correlated with emerging adults' use of drugs and alcohol and/or risky, adrenaline-heightening activities. For instance, emerging adults in my study were frank about pressures from some of their peers to use drugs or engage in transactional sexual relationships. The YOLO (i.e. you only live once) attitude that permeates identity exploration in emerging adulthood could contribute to emerging adults' inclination towards risky behaviours (Galanaki & Leontopoulou, 2017).

Emerging adults also showed how the stress of living in Matsapha was felt economically, including the challenge of poor wages and no/limited opportunity for regular employment or paid leave.

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Their reference to economic challenges mirrored extant literature that suggests how industrialization does not necessarily translate into economic independence for all people living within industrial areas (e.g., Capps et al., 2016; Fashola et al., 2016; Mpofu, 2013; Zhang, Quiz & Chung, 2015). For instance, Adonteng-Kissi (2017) mentioned how individuals who live closest to industrial areas are among the most impoverished.

Further, job opportunities are not always enough to meet the emerging adult population's increasing demand for work in industrial areas (Adejumo, 2013; Oviasuyi & Uwadiae, 2010). This was also the case in my study as emerging adults relayed how overcrowding and large numbers of incoming people reduced their chances of finding employment in factories. Chances for employment are further limited because emerging adults are often not (yet) well educated (Atanda & Nyong, 2018; Chakraborti & Margolis, 2017). Typically, emerging adults are transitioning through the developmental task of training and career selection (Arnett, 2000). In my study, this was especially true of the young women, many of whom were still studying and so unemployed and dependent on their families for financial support.

6.3. WHO/ WHAT ENABLES THE RESILIENCE OF EMERGING ADULTS IN STRESSED ENVIRONMENTS?

As per study participants' accounts, emerging adults' resilience is related to personal, relational, and ecological factors. To a large extent, these were commonplace and fit well with previous studies' findings. To discuss them, I first categorise them into personal, relational, and ecological resilience enablers that are commonly associated with young people's resilience. After that I

acknowledge their interaction and comment on how these enablers interacted to collectively account for how emerging adults positively adapted to the stressed environment of Matsapha.

6.3.1. *Commonplace personal resilience-enablers*

My study showed how emerging adults' personal strengths were resilience enabling in the stressed environment of Matsapha. These included emerging adults' agentic determination to survive the challenges of the stressed industrialised environment, including their hope for a better future, and related regulation of their behaviour and attitude (e.g., willingness to tolerate hardships). The resourcefulness, industriousness, tolerance, and future orientation that informed their drive to survive the challenges of Matsapha are well-documented resilience enablers (Masten & Wright, 2010; Masten, 2014), also in systematic reviews of African youth resilience (Theron, 2020; Van Breda & Theron, 2018). Although there are no prior Swazi emerging adult resilience studies, studies with Swazi adolescents have reported determination (Mkhatshwa, 2017; Motsa & Morojele, 2017), acceptance/tolerance (Gunnestad, 2006) and hope (Gunnestad & Thwala, 2011; Thwala, 2018).

Perlman et al. (2018) mentioned that an individual's determination becomes the catalyst for the actions they prioritise. Determination includes efforts that an individual exerts toward achieving a particular goal, despite challenges faced (Chmitorz et al., 2021). In my study, emerging adults recounted how the determination to survive the economic challenges of the stressed environment; as part of this, most of them prioritised resourcefulness/hustling and studying hard. In line with the resilience theory's understanding that effective coping strategies typically fit a given stressor (Masten & Wright, 2010), these practical expressions of determination (e.g., hustling; striving to

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improve their educational qualifications) are well suited to the stressors faced in Matsapha, especially the financial ones.

Tolerating difficult circumstances can mitigate the stress that individuals who are undergoing hardship experience (Lindsay & Creswell, 2017; Lindsay et al., 2018). Tolerance is an emotion regulation skill that enables individuals to modulate how they respond to the challenges faced; it helps them reframe how they view/interpret negative circumstances (Chin et al., 2019). This empowers individuals to be courageous and stoical in the face of hardship (Wicksed et al., 2013). As in other African resilience studies (see reviews by Theron, 2020; Van Breda & Theron, 2018), my findings showed how accepting and tolerating the negative circumstances of the stressed environment supported emerging adults' ability to manage how they made meaning of and responded to circumstances that were mostly beyond their control.

Emerging adults' reference to how resilience enabling it was to accept the challenges of the stressed environment also aligned with research that suggests that when individuals tolerate hardship, they function better and become better placed to manage the stress and psychological distress associated with hardship (Mitmansgruber et al., 2016). Individuals who are reluctant to accept their stressors can become frustrated, live in despair, and be susceptible to living their lives depressed (Hartley, 2011; Udell et al., 2018). Tolerating negative circumstances can also enable individuals to find possible psychological solutions to their challenges (Plexico et al., 2018; Rabanser et al., 2016). Tolerance can also prompt a sense of peace; Van Breda (2019) shows how peace in the face of adversity enables resilience, particularly for individuals who have lived in an unsupportive environment like Africa.

Even though Van Breda (2019) illustrates how acceptance is a mechanism that enables individuals who have been/are subjected to lifelong vulnerability (such as is commonplace in Africa) to co-

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exist with or make peace with challenges, the tolerance that participants in my study showed requires closer scrutiny. While it seemed that emerging adults had accepted their circumstances and adopted an 'it's fine' response, there were traces of resistance or an undertone that their tolerance was an interim measure that they deemed necessary in the short term. It was necessary because they did not have the option to leave Matsapha. It was interim because their academic perseverance, industriousness, and associated hopes for a better future showed reluctance to ongoing acceptance of the status quo and orientation to an upward trajectory. Their interim tolerance fits with the conclusion of Hafeejee and Wiebesiek (2021) that resilience can sometimes take the form of resisting adversity by putting in the work that would eventually provide hoped-for outcomes while currently tolerating the adversity. Also, with the political crisis that engulfed Eswatini a year after participants and I co-generated my study's data, young people's ongoing/long-term acceptance of hardship is questionable. Emerging adults (especially Matsapha young people) were at the forefront of these riots (Dlamini, 2021); they rioted to draw attention to the untenable nature of their stressed environments and the need for radical systemic change if their hopes for financial independence and wellbeing were ever to be realised (also see Figure 15 in the conclusion of Chapter 7). As others have theorised (Singh & Naicker, 2019; Theron, 2016; Theron et al., 2021a, 2021b), it is unsustainable to expect youth tolerance and continued hopefulness when in effect, their social and physical environment continuously fails to support their needs and advance their lives. If anything, the Swazi riots illustrate emerging adults' refusal to continue to accept conditions of structural disadvantage and their recognition of the importance of social justice and that their voices mattered in this regard.

6.3.2. *Commonplace relational resilience-enablers*

My findings also highlighted the facilitative role of enabling connections in the resilience of emerging adults inhabiting the stressed environment of Matsapha. These connections were mostly with emerging adults' families, friends, spiritual beings (the Christian God in the case of my study) and their faith-based community. These enabling connections fit with studies that report that supportive, informal social networks are facilitative of the resilience of the youth (e.g., Abukari, 2018; Masten, 2014; Masten & Wright, 2010; Panter-Brick, 2015; Ungar, 2014). For instance, emerging adults in my study relied on family and friends to mitigate the physical (safety), emotional, and economic challenges common to their stressed environment. This instrumental, informational and emotional support was crucial to young people successfully navigating the many risks of Matsapha. The importance of these supportive networks reinforced that resilience is not only a personal capacity (Masten, 2020).

As in other studies of African youth resilience (e.g., Mosavel et al., 2015; Theron, 2017; Theron et al., 2021a, 2021b; Van Breda, 2015), enabling connections in my study also co-regulated emerging adults' emotions. Family, friends, and members of young people's faith-based communities listened to their problems, offered solutions, encouraged health-promoting choices, and shifted their focus away from their problems by keeping the emerging adults busy with sport. Swazi studies of adolescent resilience have reported similar findings and emphasized the value of encouraging family and friends (Thwala, 2018). Words of encouragement can change young people's perspectives about themselves and the severity of their circumstances (Abukari, 2018), encouraging greater determination and hope. These commonplace informal relational resources may have been particularly prominent in my study and prior studies with Swazi and other African

young people because formal services from mental health practitioners are typically inaccessible/unavailable in Africa (Theron et al., 2021a, 2021b).

Studies with Swazi children and adolescents have also reported the resilience-enabling value of spiritual connections (Gunnestad & Thwala, 2011; Gunnestad et al., 2018; Thwala, 2018). As evidenced in my study, the protective relationship that Swazi emerging adults had with God and church-going others (church members and peers) was protective. For instance, emerging adults were comforted when they prayed to God when the challenges of the stressed industrial environment became overwhelming. They experienced that prayer mitigated their needs for safety and comfort. Similarly, other research on African and other young people has shown that individuals who are connected to God/spiritual beings are likely to experience improved health outcomes/wellbeing because they anticipate divine help, and this makes them hopeful (e.g., Loewenthale, 2007; Masten &Wright, 2010; Theron, 2011, 2020; Thwala, Gunnestad & Dludlu, 2018; Van Breda & Theron, 2018). In my study, this expectation regulated emerging adults' emotions and reduced interest in meeting their needs for a sense of security/comfort in socially unacceptable ways. Caring others in their faith-based community strengthened avoidance of risky behaviours when they emphasized the importance of living life with integrity. Research shows caring adults can steer young people toward good behavioural outcomes (Aronowitz, 2005; Mkhatswa, 2017).

6.3.3. *Commonplace ecological resilience-enablers*

The likelihood for individuals to successfully navigate hardship is also contingent on the ability of their physical ecology (built environment and related institutions; natural environment) to provide

them with resources that facilitate resilience (Cicchetti, 2013; Masten, 2014; Masten & Cicchetti, 2016; Rutter, 2012; Ungar, 2015; Ungar, 2011; Ungar & Theron, 2020). This is because resilience is part individual, part social, and part ecological. Positive adaptation can be realised within the interaction of these resources (Ungar, 2015).

Ecological resources in my study included accessible clinics, affordable retail services, libraries, opportunities for recreation, and reliable, competent security services (related to a large local police station). Masten (2020) highlights how pertinent it is for such facilitative resources to be available in resource-deprived communities (such as the stressed industrial environment of Matsapha). As in other studies (Theron et al., 2021a; Ungar, 2008, 2014, 2021), my study associated ecological resources that were meaningful to young people's resilience with affordability, geographical proximity/accessibility, and reliability (services available most of the time). Emerging adults could freely access clinics within the stressed environment, have grocery shops within their immediate neighbourhood, and one of Eswatini's largest police stations located within the stressed environment was protective – it saved them time and expense and supported a sense of security.

The opportunities for leisure activity within Matsapha also fostered a sense of community and belonging among emerging adults. In addition to supporting constructive socialisation, these opportunities allowed young people to be physically active and exercise. Exercising has a positive correlation with well-being and health (Caldarella et al., 2019; Hegbeg & Tone, 2015). In my study, leisure time with peers also meant that young people forgot (albeit temporarily) about their stressed lives as the activity and interaction shifted their focus from their hardship. This was consistent with research that regards peers as facilitative of emerging adults' wellbeing (Arnett, 2014).

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While the resilience-enabling value of these facilities cannot be disputed, it is imperative to note that other than the police force young people in my study reported no institutional support, particularly from industry or business institutions. In that regard, their ecology was apparently not well resourced, despite industries and businesses drawing large numbers of people with employment hopes to Matsapha. The ongoing political crisis in Eswatini confirms a deficit in institutional support in Eswatini and underscores Swazi young people's struggle for decent employment opportunities (Mavundla et al., 2015). Educated and less educated people struggle to find jobs in Eswatini as businesses fail to fully absorb the growing emerging adult population (Dlamini, 2021).Young people's need for decent employment is heightened because identity exploration (a typical emerging adult developmental task) involves job acquisition and satisfaction (Mangra, 2021). Even those businesses that offer employment somewhat exploit young people. This is perpetuated by unsupportive government labour policies that minimise the needs of Swazi young people. As is, the policy level in Eswatini only provides opportunities for hustling and minimum wage. For instance, approved Government gazettes allow employees in manufacturing, textile, hospitality, and private security to earn low wages of E1,100 ($66.00) per month (Dlamini, 2022). Workers (such as Matsapha emerging adults) thus struggle to make ends meet by default. This is even worse for Matsapha emerging adults because they are mostly employed in starter-level jobs. Even those emerging adults in presumably better jobs continue to suffer from the Eswatini government's unsupportive policies as the government strategically delays civil servants' salary increments, thus further sinking residents into poverty (Silolo, 2022). This goes against principles of decent work, which advocate for adequate work opportunities, wages, healthy working conditions, participation in social dialogue and recognition of workers' rights (Rossier & Ouedraogo, 2021).

6.3.4. *Commonplace resilience-enablers interact*

Resilience theory is unequivocal that resilience is supported by multiple resources distributed across multiple systems and that work together to co-facilitate positive outcomes (Masten & Motti-Stefanidi, 2020; Masten et al., 2021; Ungar, 2021; Ungar & Theron, 2020). These interacting resources are found in young people's biological and psychological systems and the social and ecological systems they are connected to (Ungar, 2021; Ungar & Theron, 2020). In this sense, resilience requires synergistic resources.

Resource synergy was evident in my study's findings. Emerging adult resilience drew on personal, ecological (mostly built ecology), and relational resources. Importantly, these resources interacted or co-facilitated positive outcomes in the face of significant stress (Theron et al., 2021a). For instance, young people's personal agency and determination to succeed steered them towards facilitative ecological resources, such as libraries and education facilities/vocational training centres within the stressed environment of Matsapha. Van Rensburg et al. (2019) reported that these resources were collectively meaningful to emerging adults' future dreams. By making these resources accessible (close by; free to enter; open until late), the Matsapha ecology enabled emerging adults to pursue their dreams, despite the financial challenges faced.

Further, these built environment spaces supported young people to come together. Their togetherness had socialisation benefits and educational benefits (e.g., young people formed peer study groups and scaffolded each other when faced with academic difficulty). Academic/vocational engagement and thriving friendships are at the heart of successful emerging adult development (Arnett, 2014). By becoming each other's keeper against muggings when going to and from the libraries, emerging adults essentially showed how they were safer together. Thus again, within the stressed environment of Matsapha, emerging adult resilience drew on a

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combination of ecological system resources (accessible libraries), social systems (peer friendships) and personal resources (personal drive).

Another example of co-facilitative resources was in the intersection of spiritual connections, accessible places of worship and emerging adults' hopefulness and determination to survive the challenges of the stressed industrial environment. Young people spoke of turning to the Christian God for comfort to manage their challenging circumstances (e.g., praying for help; believing that God was benevolent and would not allow hardship to be infinite). In addition, the reference by a young woman to a soup kitchen and other material supports at her church suggested young people's material hardship could be mitigated by faith-based organisations donating food and clothes and serving as a hub for support organisations. Young people's capacity to manage the challenges of their stressed environment was thus partly their navigation to available relational and ecological resources that were meaningful (Ungar, 2011), partly their social ecology being generous (pre-empting what could facilitate resilience), and partly their physical ecology having built spaces (like churches) where people could come to experience solace and engage in a faith-based activity.

In short, the examples I used here show that commonplace resilience enablers lie in both external and internal capacities that co-facilitate positive outcomes (Juliano & Yunes, 2014; Panther-Brink, 2015; Theron & van Rensburg, 2018; Ungar & Theron, 2019), also when young people live in resource-constrained ecologies like Matsapha.

6.4. WHAT DO EMERGING ADULT ACCOUNTS TEACH US ABOUT THE COMPLEXITY OF RESILIENCE?

The accounts of Swazi emerging adult resilience also drew attention to the complexity of resilience. That complexity was revealed in the developmental and contextual appropriateness of the prominent resilience enablers in young people's accounts. Although they were often commonplace (as discussed in the preceding section), as discussed next their form was often responsive to the developmental stage of emerging adulthood and the situational and cultural context of Matsapha. Put differently, the detail of the resources that were prominent (e.g., friends over family for emotional support) fit what is expected for emerging adults and contextual dynamics.

6.4.1. *Resilience enablers showed developmental responsiveness*

Identity exploration is a central developmental task in emerging adulthood (Arnett, 2003). Finding independence, purpose, and authentic individuality within the everchanging world are cornerstones of the search for identity during emerging adulthood (Arnett, 2000; Arnett & Schwab; Stanley, 2011). This is typically rooted in a hopeful, future-oriented stance that influences emerging adults to vigorously pursue their goals (Arnett, 2007). In my study, a determination to survive Matsapha was a prominent resilience enabler. How this determination played out (including being oriented to a better future) fit well with the identity exploration tasks of emerging adulthood.

As per the findings I reported, Swazi emerging adults' future orientedness took academic and skill-based routes, including engaging in tertiary studies, upgrading Form 5 (Matric) results in readiness

for tertiary education, and/or pursuing vocational training. Likewise, some young men hoped that harnessing and honing their soccer skills would increase their chances of employment (being recruited as soccer players for the country's army). While many resilience studies have reported goals and dreams as important to young people's capacity for positive adjustment to significant stress (Bremner & Schwartz, 2021; Layland et al., 2018; Murphy et al., 2021; Singh & Naicker, 2019; Van Breda & Theron, 2018), my study shows how those goals are commensurate with a given developmental stage.

When emerging adults take control of their lives by formulating and pursuing constructive goals, they are less likely to engage in risky or negative behaviours (Sanu, 2012; Trible, 2015). It is, however, worth noting that formulating and pursuing constructive goals requires opportunity and support for those goals. When there is a lack of equitable opportunities, and when emerging adults' ecology, such as the stressed industrial environment of Matsapha, does not offer resources and supports that can scaffold the dreams that emerging adults hold, this can make emerging adults vulnerable to not achieving developmental milestones, experiencing psychological distress and/or engaging in risky behaviours (Singh & Naicker, 2019; Sulimn-Aiden, 2017; Theron et al., 2021a). This was evident in my study as young adults often associated the lack of equitable opportunities (such as widespread unemployment) with (peers') atypical coping behaviours such as crime, theft, sex work and substance abuse. The emerging adulthood literature warns that inadequate resources and failed dreams can give rise to such high-risk behaviours (Arnett, 2014; Arnett et al., 2014; Galanaki & Leontopoulou, 2017).

Another example of developmental responsiveness can be found in how emerging adults solicited help from families and peers. Swazi emerging adults depended on familial support (and friends) for material needs. Among other needs, these included basic needs such as food and rent. The

economic needs accompanying the transition to adulthood are usually mitigated by constructive parental/family support (e.g., Arnett & Schwab, 2012; Howard et al., 2019; Sharp et al., 2017). From a developmental perspective, such financial dependence is largely because young people typically get low-level jobs (starter jobs) as they transition into adulthood, which leaves them unable to fully fund their lifestyles (Arnett, 2003; Arnett, 2007).

However, when emerging adults in my study required psychological support, they more typically turned to their peers. For instance, they sought emotional support from friends (and in one case, a romantic partner). Turning to friends for emotional support is a typical trend in emerging adulthood (Arnett, 2007; Arnett, 2014; Arnett, 2015; Galanaki & Leontopoulou, 2017; Manning et al., 2014). The reliance of emerging adults in my study on friends for emotional support also fits Vanheusden ET AL. (2010)'s findings that emerging adults even prefer their friends over professionals when dealing with negative emotion-or psychological distress. In my study, reference to friends' support superseded the support of their romantic partners, which is different from studies that have suggested that romantic partnerships are keystone relationships for emerging adults (e.g. Gala & Kapadia, 2015; Rauer et al., 2013; Schulman & Connolly, 2016; Stephanou, 2012) The prominence of friends in my study could perhaps relate to most of my participants being engaged in tertiary studies (i.e., there was little time to engage in romantic relationships). As students, they valued not only their friends' emotional support but also opportunities to study together and support one another academically. As in other studies with emerging adults (Barry et al., 2015; Holt et al., 2018; Pettit et al., 2011; Takasaki, 2017), friends helped alleviate academic stress and the general stress of being an emerging adult (e.g., grappling with forming an authentic identity).

6.4.2. *Emerging adults' pathways of resilience were contextually responsive*

The form that commonplace resilience enablers (like an agency) take often reflects the situational context in which young people find themselves (Masten, 2014; Masten et al., 2021; Theron, 2020; Theron et al., 2021a; Ungar, 2013). This was particularly evident in the actions that emerging adults used to manage the challenges of Matsapha. While some pursued further education and training, many hustled.

Hustling, which is working hard in an informal or resourceful way to make money and/or engaging in entrepreneurship, was a means of mitigating economic challenges within the stressed environment. It stemmed from young people understanding that employment opportunities were sparse and that most jobs offered wages that could not support financial independence. Further, the ailing Swazi economy does not provide many emerging adults with the luxury of total dependence on parental support (Dlamini, 2020), coupled with the fact that HIV/AIDS has left many Swazi emerging adults as OVCs (Orphaned and Vulnerable Children) (Makufa et al., 2017; World Food Programme, 2016). Given the context of Matsapha (i.e., a densely populated urban space with large numbers of people needing inexpensive commodities or food), hustling was an apposite solution. Like many young people across Africa (Ombati & Ombati, 2016), emerging adults in my study hustled by utilising whatever resources they had at their disposal to make a living. Ironically, the chronic adversity associated with stressed African environments often prompts African youth to be creatively industrious and achieve some form of economic independence (Pswarayi, 2020).

In addition to being developmentally appropriate, young people's reliance on friendship networks for emotional support could be related to them having moved away from their family homes to pursue education or find employment. In the context of Matsapha, friends were available in person

to provide emotional support. Opportunities to connect with relatives living elsewhere were constrained by the cost of visiting or phoning home and inadequate technology access. These same challenges probably explain why so few emerging adults in my study included social media in their accounts of what supports resilience (Bobkowski & Smith, 2013). Also, the fact that therapeutic services are expensive, inaccessible, and somewhat stigmatised in Eswatini (Dlamini & Shongwe, 2019; National Psychiatric Referral Hospital, 2015 Nxumalo-Ngubane, 2016) probably played into emerging adults' reliance on peer support to deal with challenging emotions. For instance, Dlamini and Shongwe (2019) reported that most Swazis are discouraged from using Eswatini's only psychiatric hospital in Manzini because of the stigma associated with mental institutions.

Lastly, emerging adults alluded to atypical pathways of resilience, which can be related to contextual constraints. The poverty that permeates industrial communities (such as Matsapha) sometimes reduces young people's options for socially acceptable solutions to economic challenges (Burton et al., 2013). As such, some young people within the industrial community relied on prostitution and consensual, transactional sexual relationships with older men or women ('blessers') to mitigate the common financial challenges in Matsapha. Taken out of context, these agentic behaviours may not be understood as a means of managing significant stress, particularly as these behaviours are associated with heightened vulnerability. Within the context of Matsapha, this agency is ambiguous (Cavazzoni et al., 2021; Preble et al., 2019). While it certainly potentiated health and wellbeing risks, sex work/transactional sexual relationships had the potential to facilitate financial resilience. Often, sex work is more about survival in industrial areas than a lifestyle choice (Okorie, 2018). Still, emerging adults' reference to associated costs (e.g., unplanned pregnancy or HIV infection) reinforce how sex work and other exchange-based

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relationships compromise those with less power in a relationship (typically the woman) and can set emerging adults up for negative life outcomes (Singh & Naicker, 2019). The context of emerging adulthood (Arnett & Schwab, 2012; Brixton et al., 2020; Gobind & du Plessis, 2015; Singh & Naicker, 2019), coupled with a structurally unsupportive Swazi environment (Dlamini, 2022), explains the need for such ambiguous agency.

6.4.3. *Resilience enablers aligned with Swazi values*

Commonplace resilience enablers, like agency or supportive relationships, can take different forms and be more/less prominent in young people's accounts. Such dynamics typically reflect the cultural context in which young people are socialised (Masten, 2014; Masten et al., 2021; Theron & Liebenberg, 2015; Theron, 2020; Theron et al., 2021a). Swazi culture embraces the traditional African valuing of spirituality, collectivism or interdependence, tolerance, and patriarchy (Harris, 2018; Mkhatswa, 2015; Nyawo, 2018; Swaziland Intent Youth Organization, 2020). Not surprisingly then, tolerance, interdependence, spirituality/religiosity, and patriarchy were part and parcel of my findings.

The tolerance of adversity is intricately linked to the African culture (Akello et al., 2010; Camfield, 2012; Van Breda, 2019). African culture promotes a level of tolerance and forgiveness of others' wrongdoings (Phasha, 2010). Further, the cultural valuing of interdependence, peace and harmony encourages Africans to coexist respectfully with others and tolerate unpleasant circumstances, grief, or other challenges to not distress the collective (Mnyaka & Motlhabi, 2005). It is possible that the inclination of the emerging adults in my study to tolerate Matsapha's challenges, albeit in the short term while they worked to change their circumstances (see 6.3.1), was influenced by the

values of peace and harmony that are promoted by the Swazi culture (Swaziland Intent Youth Organization, 2020). These values include Swazis priding themselves on being a 'peaceful' nation (Hall, 2003). This means Swazis are typically socialised to be silent and not complain about discomfort or hardship, as complaining does not promote peaceful interdependence (Mundia, 2007). However, cultural values are fluid (Panter-Brick et al., 2015); the 2021 and still ongoing riots in Eswatini are testaments to such fluidity expressed as the younger generation's reluctance to endorse values of peace and harmony and, by default, tolerate intolerable life circumstances (such as those reported by my participants about Matsapha). Had I engaged with my study's participants over an extended period of time (see limitations reported in 7.3.2), the findings relating to tolerance might have been muted and/or replaced with explicit resistance(see 6.3.1).

Respectful interdependence encompasses humaneness (Van Breda, 2019) and treating others with dignity (Mhlonog, 2019; Mandidzidze & Kusemwa, 2018; Ramphele, 2012; Ratele, 2019). As in other studies of African youth resilience (Theron, 2020; Theron & Van Breda, 2021), respectful interdependence was seen in young people's enabling connections and how these connections facilitated access to material resources, emotional and informational support, and physical safety. Their selfless actions were grounded in the spirit of ubuntu, an African philosophy that calls for Africans to be attuned and considerate to the needs of those around them (Sekudu, 2019). Of course, emerging adult references to crime, violence, and employers taking advantage of desperate job seekers prompt questions about the wider enactment of respectful interdependence in Matsapha.

Like other African cultures (Theron & Van Breda, 2021), Swazi culture embraces extended family systems. I was, therefore, surprised that extended family members/kin were not prominent in emerging adults' accounts. This was culturally discordant because, as a collectivist culture,

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Africans are known to be raised by a village of nuclear and extended family members (Theron & Theron, 2013; Theron & Van Breda, 2021). Extended families share responsibilities and usually cater to each other's instrumental and emotional needs (Bester & Van Rooyan, 2015). They shape families' spiritual beliefs and pass on norms and values promoted within that environment. In my study, emerging adults' relative silence about extended relatives may have had something to do with the fact that chronic poverty in Eswatini makes it harder for people to make ends meet (Dlamini, 2022), let alone be able to overextend themselves to their relatives. Also, the geographical distance between emerging adults' families (in rural Eswatini) and Matsapha may have weakened extended family bonds. This is particularly possible given that traditionally, extended family members share a residential compound (Bester & Van Rooyan, 2015). Also, the high prevalence of HIV spanning from the early 90s in Eswatini (Avert, 2020) may have broken family bonds as most young people were raised in child-headed families or single-parent homes without the cushioning of extended families.

Africans value spirituality and religious practices, often facilitating resilience in African youth (Agbiji & Swart, 2015; Chitando et al., 2013; Gunnestad & Thwala, 2011; Theron, 2020). This is partly because Africans are typically socialised to be religious/ spiritual (Agbiji & Swart, 2015). For instance, relying on Divine support is regularly associated with Africans' subjective well-being, coping strategies, and quality of life (Manning, 2012; Ojabemi & Gureje, 2020; Smith et al., 2013). This was evident in my study when emerging adults referred to how religion influenced how they made hopeful meaning of Matsapha-related challenges. Through religious acts such as prayer and attending church services, emerging adults experienced comfort and were sustained despite the stressed environment. Also, the fact that emerging adults in my study seemed to not rely on African traditional religion (no participant referred to ancestral practices), even though the

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study was set within the African context, aligned with Van Breda's (2019) findings. He showed how Christianity (a Western tradition) is a more dominant pathway for well-being among Africans than their traditional religions. However, this apparent silence in my study could also reflect Africans being less likely to report practising ancestral or traditional religion, given that practising African traditional religion is understood as sacred and personal (Odozor, 2019).

Finally, patriarchy is prominent in Swazi culture (Harris, 2018; Nyawo, 2014) and shapes young men's and women's expectations. For instance, the Swazi patriarchal society expects women to stay at home, be subservient to men in the family, care for the household and, by extension, depend on individuals in their environment for their wellbeing (Shabangu & Brene, 2017). This makes it acceptable and expected of Swazi women to openly share their material needs and accept material and emotional support (Motsa & Morojele, 2019). This could explain why young women in my study typically credited supportive social networks for meeting their material needs, but young men in my study were unlikely to do so. Swazi culture promotes masculinity, toughness, and strength among young men (Fielding-Miller et al., 2016). This means young men are expected to be problem solvers (Action for Southern Africa, 2016). This likely explained why the resilience of young men in my study to financial challenges predominately involved hustling versus being dependent on social support, as in the case of young women. They possibly preferred autonomous efforts, like hustling, because they have been socialised to enact hegemonic masculinity (Sneed et al., 2006).

Varying emotional expressivity among young men and women is typically a product of conventional gender roles (Jordan, 2013). As shown in Santacana et al. (2012), young women in my study also gravitated towards seeking guidance, talking about/reassessing problems, and soliciting support to solve problems. Young men, on the other hand, typically reported using

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sporting activities to cope, possibly because of hegemonic masculinity's teachings that expressing emotional stress displays weakness (Henrie, 2019; Ratele et al., 2010). While these expressive patterns fit Swazi expectations of women and men, they are not unique to Swazi culture. Many societies socialise young men to enact hegemonic masculinity (Jewkes et al., 2015; Ratele et al., 2010; Tseole & Vermaak, 2020) and young women to be expressive (Jefferis & Theron, 2018).

6.5.   CONCLUSION

This chapter situated my study's findings about the resilience of emerging adults inhabiting the stressed environment of Matsapha within the larger resilience scholarship. It showcased how commonplace/universally reported resilience enablers also matter for these Swazi young people's resilience, but that the form/expression of these enablers is sensitive to developmental stage and situational and cultural context. While these insights are not new (Masten, 2014; Theron et al., 2021a), my study is the first to link them to the resilience of Swazi emerging adults living in a stressed environment. Particularly in the resource-constrained context of Africa, my study strengthens the call for understanding that resilience requires multiple, meaningful resources distributed across multiple systems. Unlike most previous African studies of resilience (see reviews by Theron, 2020; Theron & Van Breda, 2021; Van Breda & Theron, 2018), my study is mindful of the ecological resources that co-facilitate resilience. In so doing, it goes beyond the psychological and relational supports that most resilience studies have emphasised and advocates for more attention to resources in the built (and associated institutions) and natural environment. Until the importance of these resources is acknowledged to the same extent as personal and relational ones are, emerging adult resilience in stressed industrialised environments is unlikely to be optimally facilitated.

CHAPTER 7: REFLECTIONS ON MY STUDY

7.1.   INTRODUCTION

This chapter concludes my study. To conclude my study, I start by discussing the contributions I like to think my study has made. As is crucial to quality resilience work (Braun & Clarke, 2022), I also reflect critically on my study's methodological strengths and limitations. I make some recommendations for future research, in the hope that my study will inspire other to investigate emerging adult resilience in Eswatini and other challenged sub-Saharan contexts.

7.2.   STUDY CONTRIBUTIONS AND IMPLICATIONS FOR ENABLING EMERGING ADULT RESILIENCE

In reflecting on my study, I believe the findings I reported make four potential contributions. Each contribution has implications for how emerging adulthood resilience could be enabled/sustained. I detail each below:

First, my study advances attention to emerging adults' resilience and what is potentially developmentally distinct about their resilience. Attention to this population group is imperative because the world population of young people is an estimated 1.8 billion (UNFPA, 2022). Most of these young people live in developing countries (such as Eswatini). Inhabiting a developing country places young people at risk of not meeting developmental milestones – especially those associated with emerging adulthood. This relates to external factors typical in most majority world

contexts, such as resource deprivation and limited opportunities for growth (Desai & Burton, 2022; Hall et al., 2019).

Even though the emerging adult population is a sizeable one, they are an underrepresented group in resilience research compared to children and adolescents. This is problematic, given the understanding that what enables resilience is variable across developmental phases (see Yoon et al., 2019). Researchers' neglect of emerging adult resilience is worse for African emerging adults, although they constitute a substantial population and typically face majority world constraints (Theron et al., 2021). This oversight makes it critical for research attention to be paid to African emerging adults, particularly considering how fast-growing this emerging adult population is (UNFPA, 2022). If Africa is to reap the benefit of this youth dividend (Obidoa, 2018), a deep understanding of emerging adult resilience is needed. Swazi emerging adults are especially neglected as no published study has focused on their resilience. Instead, published studies of Swazi youth resilience have focused on children (Huysmans et al., 2019; Mkhatshwa, 2017; Morojele & Motsa, 2019; Motsa & Morojele, 2017; Ntinda & Nkwanyane, 2017; Shabangu, & Koen, 2021; Thwala, Ntinda & Nkwanyane, 2015); and adolescents (Meinck et al., 20117; Thwala et al., 2011).

My study addresses the inattention to the resilience of Swazi emerging adults. By using the theory of Emerging Adulthood (Arnett, 2000), I was able to make meaning of the developmental fit of the resilience processes the emerging adults in my study reported and in so doing, I was able to include Swazi emerging adults within the international and broader African emerging adulthood resilience literature (Balgiu, 2017; Burt & Paysnick, 2012; Leung, 2020, Theron et al., 2021). This was meaningful because emerging adulthood is a volatile developmental stage (Arnett & Mitra, 2018), meaning that information on developmentally appropriate factors enabling young people's resilience is necessary. Using the findings of my study as a starting point, we Swazis can acquaint

ourselves with the developmentally relevant processes that promote positive adaptation among Swazi young people. This would allow the government, policymakers, educational psychologists, and other mental health practitioners/service providers to support emerging adults in developmentally meaningful ways. For instance, my study encourages policy to be scripted in a way that is facilitative to the resilience of emerging adults. Young people cannot be expected to be resilient on their own. The government must understand that they are role players in young people's resilience. They should thus dialogue with emerging adults and listen and respond constructively to emerging adults' issues and hardships.

Second, emerging adult research has shown emerging adulthood is a time when emerging adults assert their independence (Salvatore, 2018). They find gainful employment, pursue tertiary education, establish long-term relationships and live independently from their families (Arnett, 2014; Arnett, Zukauskiene & Sugimura, 2014; Burn & Szoeke, 2016; Mangra, 2021; Wrede-Jantti, 2017). However, in the resource-constrained context of Matsapha, the scarcity of jobs, tertiary funds, and other structural deficiencies jeopardise emerging adult independence. Similarly, my study's findings showed that even though emerging adulthood is typically synonymous with gaining functional independence, emerging adult resilience is not a "DIY" (do-it-yourself) job (Ungar, 2019). I argue therefore, that the resilience of emerging adults in stressed industrialised environments is a co-facilitated process. Just like expectations are for resilience to be co-facilitated by families, schools, and communities in childhood and adolescence (see Yoon et al., 2019), emerging adults also need supportive families, peers and institutions (among other resources) to co-facilitate their resilience. My study thus urges families, communities, policy makers, and mental health practitioners/service providers to scaffold emerging adults' resilience in stressed environments, even if this is apparently counter-intuitive given their developmental stage and

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related independence-related milestones. Essentially, my study encourages theorists and practitioners not to allow developmental theories to blind attention to the value of an enabling or facilitative social ecology to emerging adult resilience.

Third, non-facilitative environments are implicated in young people's choice of resilience strategies (Komem, 2019; Refaeli et al, 2019). Young people are likely to adopt atypical resilience strategies when social, physical, institutional, or policy environments are not enabling (Theron et al., 2021). While these atypical strategies support young people in managing adversity, they have the potential to cause physical or psychological harm in the long run (Ungar, 2011). My study confirms this danger. Emerging adult participants in my study were unambiguous in their references to the physical and formal social ecology of Matsapha, not supporting emerging adults' achievement of developmental milestones, such as gainful employment. Implicit in their accounts, for instance, were the labour policies that allow factories to exploit young people in Matsapha in the form of low wages, long working hours, no leave days, and easy dismissal (Dlamini, 2022; Magagula, 2022). This non-facilitative environment potentially contributed to some young people's use of criminal behaviour, substance abuse, and/or prostitution to survive the adversity in Matsapha.

Acknowledgement and redress of the non-facilitative social-ecological conditions driving the atypical resilience strategies of some Matsapha young people are important. Considering these conditions is likely to halt assumptions that typically blame or scapegoat young people for atypical behaviours (emerging adults are prone to engaging in risky activities or have a YOLO stance, Salvatore, 2018). Attending to the social-ecological underpinnings of young people's use of atypical resilience strategies is likely to discourage the scapegoating of emerging adults. Instead, the onus can be put on government/policy makers/industry to accept their responsibility to co-

facilitate positive outcomes for young people by purposefully creating environments that are supportive of emerging adults realising their developmental milestones. As presaged by SETR (Ungar, 2011), decentering young people in accounts of risk and resilience should nudge systems (e.g., the government) to reconsider the extent to which the developmental needs of young people are met in stressed environments like Matsapha and how unmet developmental needs prompt resilience strategies that have potential to harm.

Non-facilitative environments can also impact the capacity of informal social ecologies (e.g., peer networks, family) to co-facilitate emerging adult resilience. For instance, in my study, emerging adults' parents typically fit the age bracket of pensioners in Eswatini, a group that only earns E1500/R1500 after three months in Eswatini (Dlamini, 2019). This constrains their ability to scaffold young people's studies or training (important emerging adult developmental tasks), as this pension is not even enough for their own livelihood. This under-support of adult children is a challenge because the transition to adulthood is made easier by parental support. Essentially, then, my study argues that the social ecology should not only support the resilience of emerging adults themselves but also of their families and peers. This argument has been made with regard to child and adolescent resilience (Luthar et al., 2021). My study extends this argument to emerging adults.

Fourth, resilience is sensitive to or is influenced by a given situational and cultural context (Ungar et al., 2021). In other words, even though a few African studies have focused on the resilience of emerging adults (e.g., Bemath et al., 2020; Theron et al., 2021; Van Breda & Dickens, 2017), their findings should be cautiously generalised to emerging adults in Matsapha because Matsapha's situational and cultural dynamics could nuance what enables/constrains resilience. As presaged by the understanding that resilience is a decentred, complex, culturally relative capacity (Ungar, 2011, 2015), my study extended what previous studies have reported about African emerging adult

resilience. For instance, Theron and colleagues' (2021, 2022) work with emerging adults in South African townships made no mention of the importance of hustling. Similarly, it did not distinguish between the different forms of support afforded by family and peers. Relatedly, the emerging adulthood literature refers to peer support that revolves around leisure/social activity and provides emotional support (Arnett, 2000). Additional to this resilience-enabling value of peer-facilitated emotional support and sharing constructive leisure time with peers, emerging adults in my study reported instrumental support from peers (e.g., peers shared food items and sometimes helped with money for rent). Peer-facilitated instrumental support fits well with the Ubuntu values that young people in Eswatini are socialised to endorse (Dlamini, 2014). In this way, my study is a reminder of the potential of cultural heritage to inform/sustain resilience strategies. This reminder fits with continued calls (see Masten et al., 2021) to attend to how cultural context shapes resilience. In particular, resilience science –dominated by Western studies of resilience (Theron et al., 2021) – needs insight into the resilience-enabling potential of African cultural heritage.

By being sensitive to African cultural values and how they informed the Swazi emerging adult resilience, my work joins prior studies that have appreciated the role of cultural heritage in African youth resilience (Obidoa, 2018, Theron et al., 2021) and in so doing contributes to shifting the hegemony of Western studies in the field of resilience and youth development (Blum & Boyden, 2018). This shift should help resilience scientists to animate contextually relevant interventions rather than importing interventions from the Global North. For instance, knowing that Swazi young people in my study gravitated towards peer support, means Educational Psychologists in Eswatini could consider strengthening peer counselling, which would provide more support to young people. Likewise, while young people in a stressed environment need help to scaffold their financial hardship, this help needs to recognise and promote their entrepreneurial lifestyles.

Interventions should centre on making them hustle better/easier. For example, prior studies have suggested microlending schemes as an important resilience enabler in African contexts (Chirambo, 2016; Chirambo, 2017; Salia et al., 2017). More attention to contextually apposite resilience-enablers is likely to reveal similarly responsive ways forward to champion emerging adult resilience in African contexts.

7.3. **REFLEXIVITY**

Reflexivity is pivotal in research, especially quality qualitative work (Braun & Clarke, 2022), because it makes researchers evaluate the role of their assumptions, the benefits (or not) of their decisions, and provides critical information that can help other researchers better understand what worked within the given research context (Holmes, 2020). In what follows, I reflect critically on my research process. This includes reflecting on the strengths and weaknesses of my methodological choices and the assumptions I held at the outset of my study.

7.3.1. *Reflecting on methodological strengths of my study*

As pointed out in Chapters 1 and 4, I used a qualitative paradigm to explore the resilience of Swazi emerging adults. I found this research paradigm useful because it encouraged me to get closer to emerging adults and repeatedly converse with them. This was important because prior research undertaken about risks within Matsapha did not consider the inhabitants' opinions or lived experiences of Matsapha (Makadzange et al., 2018; Matsapha Townboard, 2011; Mhlanga-Mdluli, 2012; Singwane & Magagula; 2014). Exploring young people's opinions provided me with rich first-hand information about their lived, personal experiences of Matsapha- related risks and

resilience to these risks. Open-ended questions and prompts (e.g., help me understand more about that? How do you feel when…? What are your thoughts about that?) were particularly useful to evoke their lived experiences and related insights about the stressed environment of Matsapha, and what enabled resilience to those stressors. Young people were vulnerable as they helped me understand the pain of life in Matsapha and encouraged/emboldened as they shared the strengths and supports associated with how they navigated the challenges tof Matsapha. Through this process, young people shared information that could potentially be used to promote their and others' resilience. While this benefit to participants has been previously associated with resilience-focused qualitative work (Coad, 2020; Masten, 2009), it left me with a sense that my study was practically worthwhile.

Interacting with young people also allowed them to uninhibitedly voice their experiences, which is not promoted in my country. This is because of the authoritarian nature that Eswatini is ruled under (Dlamini, 2022). Also, it is partly because of the distance that is maintained between the young and the old (Magagula, 2021). In the context of my study, the latter translates to how the old (the government) would never come down to the level of the young (emerging adults) to understand their circumstances. Instead, the culture is to give whatever the government believes young people need rather than be responsive to their voices and expressed needs. So, engaging in a dialogue enabled emerging adults to converse about things they would not have been ordinarily given an opportunity to discuss. Given this prevailing culture of dismissing discursive interaction, my choice of data generation tools was apposite. It reduced inhibitions and encouraged young people to freely share their lived experiences without feeling the need to conform to pre-supposed narratives about Matsapha. This was pivotal within the Eswatini context because my choice of data generation methods eased the power differentials that young people had been socialised to

coexist under. My study appreciated young people for their authentic knowledge of the stressed industrialised environment of Matsapha and resilience to those stressors.

Participatory methods typically give participants the power to control their narrative (Macaulay, 2016). Expectedly, participatory methods gave emerging adults in my study the freedom to frame their experiences and control their narratives. However, I also acknowledge the covert power differentials between the young people who made my study possible and me. This is because my positioning as a researcher gave me an authority status (Green & Jones, 2019). I was someone associated with a university; I was the one who directed questions to young people; and also, I guided the progression of the study. For instance, some participants would inform me if they could not attend some research sessions even though I had clarified that they had the right to recuse themselves at any point in the study. Still, they felt the need to apologise. Research shows how such power differentials can force participants to respond in ways they deem appropriate or expected by the researcher (Sayla, 2013). Still, I believe that interacting with young people multiple times did help me diffuse power differentials as I built enough rapport with emerging adults. As suggested by Facca et al. (2020), I experienced that young people felt more uninhibited as time progressed and voiced concerns about the stressed industrialised environment more easily then

My choice of using groups for data generation methods was also intentional in my study. As the first resilience study within the stressed environment of Matsapha, groups enabled me to accumulate larger volumes of rich information about young people's resilience (Gundumogula, 2020). Also, they were a culturally sensitive strategy because they fostered more robust conversations than would have been had participants engaged in individual interviews. This is because group conversations, which are typical in African (also Swazi) culture (Singaram et al.,

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2011), reduce participant awkwardness (Dilshad & Latif, 2013). I believe the group format encouraged emerging adults to freely converse with each other, resembling their everyday peer interactions. I found this useful because Swazis are typically reserved, especially in one-on-one conversations, and so a group dynamic removed that discomfort and helped participants be more open. Also, they could easily respond, debate and support each other's viewpoints without feeling the pressure of the spotlight on them. On a safety level, group compositions meant less time spent generating data in Matsapha. This was important because Matsapha raises safety concerns (Matsapha Municipality, 2018; Nkambule, 2019; Simelane, 2020), particularly for young women that are not local residents, like me at the time of the study.

As shown in my study, after the focus groups, participants self-selected same-sex groups for photo-elicitation and participatory mapping activities. I suspect they were free to do so because rapport had been built, and they felt more comfortable with me. The benefits of the same-sex groups helped young women and young men voice their resilience to the challenges of the stressed environment without feeling suppressed or made uncomfortable by the presence of the other. This was imperative in the context of my study because of the patriarchal socialisation that is typical in Eswatini (Motsa & Morojele, 2019), which would have somewhat come in the way of young women freely expressing themselves. For instance, Swazi women are socialised to submit to men (Brogna, 2018). In my study, this would have looked like young women minimising their frustrations from their interactions with men, including their fears of being assaulted and the importance of not walking alone. Similarly, young men could be vulnerable without needing to put up a façade of masculinity, as might have been the case in the mixed group (Duncan, 2017).

Finally, I reflect on how my positioning as an in-betweener benefited my study. An in-betweener is a researcher who shares certain characteristics with participants but is also removed enough to

explore their experiences objectively (Milligan, 2016). As discussed earlier in my thesis (1.5), I was also an emerging adult during the time of data generation. This was helpful because emerging adults easily related to me and felt like I was just another peer to whom they were used to relating. This was important given that Swazis are somewhat closed off to older people and socialised to respect them and defer to them. By sharing their developmental stage, I could explore their experiences dialogically. Also, as a former resident of Matsapha, emerging adults felt like I understood them. For instance, they used statements such as; 'just as we all know…', 'I'm sure you have also felt…'.

7.3.2. *Reflecting on methodological limitations of my study*

Even though my study yielded valuable information on Swazi emerging adults' resilience, it had several limitations. In some instances, what was a strength (e.g., being an in-betweener in terms of my positioning) also had potential limitations. My in-betweener positioning made me prone to preconceived assumptions that could bias my research process and the meaning I made from the data (Milligan 2016). For instance, I assumed that emerging adults' circumstances and experience of Matsapha were probably similar to mine when I lived there six years ago. As mentioned in Chapters 1 and 4, I tried to minimise this potential for bias by sharing my ideas with a seasoned researcher in Eswatini. He interrogated my assumptions and helped me to be more open to participants' experiences. I also believe that not being a resident of Matsapha for over six years helped minimise that bias as it gave me some distance. However, following Braun and Clarke (2022) I also think that my familiarity with Matsapha and its hardships, and to the cultural values that Swazis are socialised to endorse, cued me to nuances in the data.

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Another limitation relates to my use of three data generation methods. Completing them meant each group of young people needed to be engaged in my study for at least four weeks (see Table 2). While this was valuable because it allowed me to build rapport and revisit meaning I was making, keeping the young people committed to this somewhat protracted research process was challenging. For instance, while all emerging adults participated in the initial focus groups ($n = 30$), not everyone was available for the subsequent activities and related group discussions (mapping $n = 26$, photo-elicitation $n = 25$). I suspect that keeping 30 participants engaged across three data generation activities would have been easier if I had arranged for them to be on the same day or two consecutive days. While this difficulty is not unique to my study (e.g., Cockcroft et al. (2018) comment that it is typical for African studies to lose initial study participants, especially if participants are younger), I did try to accommodate participant attendance. I learned to be more flexible and adjust my data generation to suit the needs of the young people in my study (e.g., unexpected opportunities for work on a day that we had scheduled a research activity) versus having presupposed expectations of how data generation should progress. To that end, I conducted the mapping and discussion about the photos within a single day for the last two groups of young people (see Table 2). This helped reduce the number of times emerging adults had to give of their time for data generation activities.

Even though I met with participants multiple times over several weeks (see Table 2), my study was essentially cross-sectional. Cross-sectional studies are limited in that they do not trace the evolution of participants' experiences and what enables/constrains resilience over time (Wang & Cheng, 2020). This can be challenging for resilience studies because circumstances and resource access change with time, and cross-sectional studies do not give an allowance for those changes (Setia, 2016). Also, the timing of cross-sectional studies can influence what young people report

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as representative results (Taris et al., 2021). For instance, had my study been conducted during the political turmoil that gained momentum at the beginning of 2021 in Eswatini (Dlamini, 2022), young people could very possibly have communicated different insights about what enables/constrains emerging adult resilience.

My study was also limited because it reported only the perspective of emerging adults. While I believe this was efficient in fostering an understanding of the resilience of young people in Matsapha, and while this redressed the historic inattention to their insights, it does not provide a comprehensive or multi-perspective view of their resilience. To better understand the complexity of resilience, it can be useful to invite multiple role players and to explore how their accounts of resilience are similar and different (Ungar, 2019). For instance, engaging young people's families, friends, and other community members mentioned in the findings would have provided a richer understanding of what enables and constrains emerging adult resilience.

I also did not go back to the young people who made my study possible and ask them to audit my interpretations of the data they generated. While this fit with my concerns (see 4.9.3), following Morse (2015), that participants might find it hard to corroborate my findings given their synthesized, thematic, it also related to my study's progress being delayed. A combination of distressing personal events beyond my control, including the passing of my father, delayed my analysis of the data and identification of themes. By the time I was satisfied that I had meaningfully interpreted the data, mobility and meeting with groups were limited in Eswatini because of restrictions relating to the COVID-19 pandemic. The unfavourable political climate in Eswatini also made it harder to reconnect with the young people in my study when I tried to. For example, internet/telephonic connectivity was significantly reduced (Ajifokowe, 2021), and it was dangerous and often not possible to travel within Eswatini (Dlamini, 2021; Dlamini, 2022). While

I did ask an experienced researcher in Eswatini to critically consider my findings (and they found them plausible given their knowledge of the context) and while I did collaborate with others (e.g., a member of the RYSE team) to check the fit of my findings with the data, I acknowledge that not going back to the young people who made my study possible is a limitation.

7.3.3. *Reflecting on the assumptions I brought to the study*

My review of the literature and familiarity with the stressed environment of Matsapha informed my initial assumptions about the risk and resilience of Swazi emerging adults in Matsapha. Braun and Clarke (2022) believe that a researcher's situated knowledge can actually strengthen their capacity to understand complexities and nuances in the data. While I did work to limit how my positioning and assumptions might bias my study, with hindsight I realise that they probably made me more sensitive to situational and cultural nuances in the data.

I wish my assumption about the physical stresses that characterise Matsapha had been wrong. I assumed that Swazi emerging adults living in Matsapha would face health challenges because of prolonged exposure to contaminated air. What informed this assumption was that Matsapha is an industrial hub, which means there is a 24hr cycle of toxic gases that are emitted into the air. My assumption was further reinforced by my own previous experience of living there and by research that showed how industrial areas were prone to air pollution because of a continuous cycle of toxic gas release (Makadzange et al., 2018). This assumption was echoed in their statements about the stresses they experienced as emerging adults' and relayed how respiratory diseases such as asthma affected their lives. Other physical diseases included auditory challenges from overexposure to factory and car engine noise, malaria, and sexually transmitted diseases such as HIV. My experience in Matsapha during the data generation – some six years after I had lived there – reinforced these health challenges as there was too much noise, traffic and billowing smoke from

some prominent industries. Had I not held this assumption, and had I not been prompted to think about how the physical ecology can play into risk and resilience (Ungar & Theron, 2020), I might not have thought to include the mapping exercise. I believe these experiential and theoretical assumptions made me listen more carefully for participant accounts of how Matsapha put them at risk, as well as for resources in the physical ecology that mitigated these risks (hence my theme of a resourced environment).

I also assumed that living in Matsapha was financially challenging. This assumption was informed by the fact that even though Matsapha potentially provided job opportunities, many emerging adults were unemployed/underemployed in Matsapha. This assumption was perpetuated by the fact that the population of emerging adults and other job seekers inhabiting Matsapha is more than the industries can handle. Also, I expected Mastapha would not be any different as many emerging adults (including university graduates) struggle to find job opportunities in Eswatini (Dlamini, 2022). I also assumed that these financial challenges would give rise to atypical responses (such as drug abuse, criminality, and prostitution) (Nkhambule, 2015). My assumption was reinforced by the realisation that financial hardship was the biggest barrier to achieving developmental tasks among emerging adults. Emerging adults had to find alternative means of making a living, such as hustling, parental and peer support, prostitution and sugar relationships. When this failed, many emerging adults resorted to drug-related adaptive strategies. Again, I think this assumption made me sensitive to aspects of participants' stories that spoke to how they managed financial stress. I may have dismissed how they hustled, and how important this was to their personal drive, had I not been biased to listen for financial challenges. Similarly, I might have missed that emerging adults' parents and families helped them cope (as best they could) financially, even though this

was somewhat at odds with the expectations for independence in emerging adulthood (Arnett, 2000).

I further anticipated that hope would drive the resilience of Swazi emerging adults in Matsapha. This was partly informed by my understanding that Matsapha was viewed as a place that could potentially solve financial hardship (Ministry of Planning and Development, 2019). Even though this assumption was valid, my study found that what drove hope among emerging adults was their spiritual connections, future dreams, and agency to make those dreams come true. As shown by other resilience researchers in Eswatini (Gunnestad & Thwala, 2013; Thwala, 2018), religion is integral to Swazi people's ability to navigate structural disadvantages. Even so, I did not consider the importance of religion and connections to spiritual beings at the outset of my study. This might relate to my having witnessed that faith-based organisations in Eswatini are no longer as well attended – especially by young people – as they once were.

I also anticipated that the resilience of young people in Matsapha would be gendered. I know from personal experience, and from what I have read (Motsa & Morojele, 2019), that the Swazi culture promotes rigid forms of socialization between young men and women. I thus expected to see variations in the resources that informed the resilience of young men versus young women simply because of the different realities and expectations under which Swazi young people are socialised. Put simply, even though Swazi emerging adults faced similar problems within the stressed industrialised environment, I anticipated that patriarchy and gendered cultural norms and values would drive young women's pathways to negotiate the stress in Matsapha differently from young men's. While I did find some differences, upon reflection I thought my assumptions of gendered resilience enablers were somewhat superficial in that they could not really be described as unique to Swazis. Instead, they fit non-Swazi studies' findings and heteronormative gendered expectations

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(Bezek, 2010; Lopez et al., 2021). If anything, my study teaches that gender and related norms are a small part of the complexity of Swazi emerging adults' resilience. In hindsight, I also realise that my assumptions implied that I was not sensitive enough to how gendered, stereotypical expectations for young men (e.g., to be stoical breadwinners) might have made life in Matsapha doubly hard for them. Going forward, it will be important to be more sensitive to the risks to young men of gendered expectations (Josenhans et al., 2020).

7.4. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH AND PRACTISE

Reflecting on my study's contributions and limitations prompted thought about future studies relating to the resilience of Swazi and other African emerging adults. Ultimately, I believe more studies are needed. In particular, there is a need for a longitudinal study with multiple single-day interactions over an extended period of time with Swazi emerging adults. Such a study would provide an understanding of how what enables resilience changes over time (Cosco et al., 2017), or not. Ideally, such longitudinal studies should be conducted in multiple stressed environments across sub-Saharan Africa. In so doing, it would be possible to explore changes (or not) over time and similarities/differences in what enables resilience across a variety of African contexts. This would advance an even more nuanced understanding of the role of context in resilience and further redress the hegemony of Western studies of resilience (Theron, 2020).

I also recommend resilience research studies that include more views than those of young people on what enables and constrains their resilience. Follow-up studies should include multiple role players that are typically reported in conjunction with emerging adult resilience (e.g., peers, family). However, they should also include role players that are key to social ecologies facilitating

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emerging adult resilience. For instance, institutional and government role players. Inviting the perspectives of multiple role players would advance understandings of the complexity of emerging adult resilience and fit well with how resilience science has moved from mono- to multi-systemic and-sectoral understandings of resilience (Ungar, 2021).

Finally, I urge the Eswatini government to create policies that promote, prioritise and fund psychological services in Eswatini. As is, there is only one government facility that provides psychological services in Eswatini. Even this facility is stigmatised by many Swazis because they lack the understanding of how these services could benefit them. Also promoting psychological services would mean psychologists could share their professional opinions on how best to meet the developmental needs of emerging adults. This would hopefully even minimise the atypical behaviours (such as drug and alcohol abuse) associated with some Matsapha young people, because they would be redirected towards healthier ways of navigating challenges in Matsapha. Importantly, the psychologists facilitating these services should be up-skilled to understand the multisystemic complexity of resilience (should their knowledge be limited to earlier person-focused theories of resilience).

7.5. CONCLUSION

My study has shown that investigating the resilience of young people within the stressed environment of Matsapha was overdue. Many of the political challenges that Eswatini is facing today stem from the fact that inhabiting non-facilitative environments, such as Matsapha, is a catalyst for stress (Motsa, 2021). For instance, scant job opportunities, limited scholarship funds to further tertiary education, widespread poverty, and an ailing medical system cause widespread

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stress for Eswatini citizens (Dlamini, 2021). These stressors are especially harmful to emerging adults given the developmental tasks they must accomplish. While emerging adults have multiple magnificent personal resources, as shown by my study's findings, we cannot continue to expect them (or their informal support systems) to carry all the responsibility for mitigating the stresses of their environment. Instead, it is important that these personal and relational resources be augmented with formal supports, institutional supports, and more ecological ones.

Put differently, if a flower doesn't bloom, you give it water, you fix its environment (Heijer Quotes, 2022). The same is true for the resilience of emerging adults in Matsapha and other stressed environments in Eswatini. To realise their hopes and rights and support them to achieve the milestones expected of emerging adults – to respect that their lives matter – will require multisystemic resilience enablers. Essentially then, and as implied in Figure 15, my study advocates for the transformation of stressed environments and the importance of civil society, industry, and government supplementing the personal and informal social supports that currently form the bedrock of emerging adult resilience. I hope that my study will inspire that transformation so that future news reports will carry stories of flourishing emerging adults, rather than protesting ones.

Figure 15: Image of an injured bystander during protests (Social media image, 2021)

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Appendix A

UNIVERSITEIT VAN PRETORIA
UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA
YUNIBESITHI YA PRETORIA

Faculty of Education

Ethics Committee
4 July 2018

Ms Nombuso Gama

Dear Ms Gama

REFERENCE: UP 17/05/01 Theron 18-008

This letter serves to confirm that your application was carefully considered by the Faculty of Education Ethics Committee. The final decision of the Ethics Committee is that your application has been **approved** and you may now start with your data collection. The decision covers the entire research process and not only the days that data will be collected. The approval is valid for two years for a Masters and three for Doctorate.

The approval by the Ethics Committee is subject to the following conditions being met:
1. The research will be conducted as stipulated on the application form submitted to the Ethics Committee with the supporting documents.
2. Proof of how you adhered to the Department of Basic Education (DBE) policy for research must be submitted where relevant.
3. In the event that the research protocol changed for whatever reason the Ethics Committee must be notified thereof by submitting an amendment to the application (Section E), together with all the supporting documentation that will be used for data collection namely; questionnaires, interview schedules and observation schedules, for further approval before data can be collected. Non-compliance implies that the Committee's approval is null and void. The changes may include the following but are not limited to:
   - Change of investigator,
   - Research methods any other aspect therefore and,
   - Participants
   - Sites

The Ethics Committee of the Faculty of Education does not accept any liability for research misconduct, of whatsoever nature, committed by the researcher(s) in the implementation of the approved protocol.

Upon completion of your research you will need to submit the following documentations to the Ethics Committee for your Clearance Certificate:
   - Integrated Declaration Form (Form D08),
   - Initial Ethics Approval letter and,
   - Approval of Title.

Please quote the reference number **UP 17/05/01 Theron 18-008** in any communication with the Ethics Committee.

Best wishes

Prof Liesel Ebersöhn
Chair: Ethics Committee
Faculty of Education

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Appendix B

Matsapha Town Council
Corner Police College Road and Airport Road
P.O. Box 1790, Matsapha, Swaziland
Tel: (+268) 2518 6637, (+268) 2518 8235
(+268) 2518 8265, (+268) 2518 8184
Fax: (+268) 2518 6646
Website: www.matsapha.co.sz

OUR REF: MTC/CSM/14.05.18   YOUR REF

14 May, 2018

Ms. Nombuso Gama
P O Box 184
SIPHOFANENI

Dear Madam,

RE: REQUEST FOR PERMISSION TO CONDUCT EMPIRICAL RESEARCH IN MATSAPHA

Reference is made to your letter dated the 26th of April, 2018. You are hereby granted permission to conduct your research with regards to the above-mentioned subject within the municipal area of Matsapha.

We understand that your research will help you ascertain how people thrive within the peripheries of industrial activity. We are happy to assist in this study and contribute to this important research.

However, you will be well advised that Matsapha Town Council will not be held liable for any hindrances or threats you may encounter as you carry out this exercise.

We do wish you the best as you carry out your research.

Yours faithfully,

MUZI S MNGOMEZULU
ACTING CORPORATE SERVICES MANAGER

The Kingdom's Investment Hub

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Looking for volunteers

Are you:

- 18-24 years old,

- Living in Kwaluseni, Mbhuleni or Mathangeni (Matsapha, Eswatini),

- affected (negatively or positively) by life in this industrial area, and

- OK speaking, writing and reading English?

Do you want to spend time **helping researchers** learn about **what helps young people** in **communities affected by the industrial area do OK in life**?

If you answered yes to all of the above,

please contact 76232133

for more information about the research project

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Appendix D

PARTICIPANT INVITATION FORM
(Emerging adults)

We invite you to participate in a project called: *Patterns of Resilience among Youth in Communities that Depend on Oil and Gas Production and Those Coping with Climate Change.*

Who are we?
We are researchers from the University of Pretoria (South Africa), Dalhousie University (Canada), Royal Roads University (Canada). Our contact details are at the end of this letter if you need them.

What are we doing in this project?
Broadly, we want to learn from you (and other people from the Matsapha area) what makes it possible for people to be OK in life when they live in communities which are involved in the oil and gas (petrochemical) industry. We will do the same with people living in North American communities which are involved in and challenged by the petrochemical industry. We will use this information to better understand what makes it possible for people to be healthy and to feel good. We want to use this understanding to make it possible for more people who live in communities involved in industrialisation to be healthy and feel good.

The Research Ethics Committee of the Faculty of Education, University of Pretoria has said it is OK for us to do this study (UP 17/05/01). They know we will work carefully using South Africa's and international ethical rules (this is actually called the guidelines and principles of the international Declaration of Helsinki and the ethical guidelines of the National Health Research Ethics Council). The committee will maybe want to look at the forms you sign (if you say yes to being in this study) to check that we did everything in the right way.

Why are we asking you to be part of this project?
Because you

1. Are 18-24 years old, *and*

2. Are OK speaking English and can read and write in English, *and*

3. Live in Matsapha area, Swaziland,

4. You have been a resident of Matsapha for a period of a minimum of 12 months, and

5. Have voluntarily responded to an advert/information about this study.

What do you need to know?

- You can say no. If you say no, there will be no problem, you don't need to give a reason. Even if you say yes now, it is OK for you to change your mind later and stop taking part.
- If you want to participate, you must complete and sign pages 5 - 6.

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- If something (like drug use) makes it hard for you to understand clearly what this project is about, we will not be able to let you take part.

If you say yes, what will you be asked to do?

You will be asked to participate in research activities

Date and time	Place	Description
Date to be confirmed	Matsapha (actual venues to be confirmed) but they will be around where you stay.	I will ask you (and the other emerging adults) to in various groups, collectively talk to me about issues that affect you about living in Matsapha and how you overcome these issues. This strategy is called focus group discussion. -I will also like to find out whether young men and women cope differently with the stresses in Matsapha.
Date to be confirmed	Matsapha	I will then ask you (and the other emerging adults in your group) to take/share pictures, a strategy called photo elicitation, that answers the following question: What typically makes Swazi emerging adults living in Matsapha feel at risk within this environment? What typically helps emerging adults overcome/manage these risks? Then we will talk about what the pictures mean to you and what they show about how living in Matsapha affects you in your health and your overall wellbeing. We will also talk about how any three pictures (that you will choose) show about how you and other young people do well/are
Date to be confirmed	Matsapha	OK in Matsapha. Finally, I will ask you (and the other emerging adults) to mark up maps that I will provide; to show the places which mostly affect you by living in Matsapha. I will also ask you to mark the places that make you feel better about

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		living in Matsapha. This strategy is called participatory mapping. -We will then talk more about what the places you will have marked mean to you.

I will ask your permission to audio record the above so that we can write down what you say. I will also take photos of you during the research; we will ask your permission to use your pictures on social media and on our websites and in publications.

What do you get out of this?

At the end of this study, a copy of the findings will be made available to you if you would like to have them.

Can you get hurt by taking part?

We don't think that you can get hurt physically, but there are some other risks. We explain them below and what we will do to manage them.

Possible / Probable risks/discomforts	Strategies to minimise risk/discomfort
You may be asked some questions that could make you feel uncomfortable or be upsetting to you (E.g., What is hard about living in Matsapha).	If this happens you should let the researcher, or anyone of the contacts provided on this letter, know so that we can guide you to make use of the no-cost services at: SADAG SMS: 31393 or 32312, WhatsApp Chat: 076 882 2775, or Call: 0800 21 22 23 or 0800 70 80 90 or 0800 456 789 or Suicide Helpline: 0800 567 567 However, because the focus of our study is on what and who contributes to young people doing well in life, even when their lives are hard, we believe that it is more likely that you won't experience much discomfort. Also, please remember that you do not have to answer any questions that make you feel uncomfortable.

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Speaking English could be tiring or difficult.	If you prefer, you can speak siSwati since I also understand it.
You will complete the activities on [date] in a group.	Because you will be part of a group, other people will know that you participated and what you said. To try and minimize outsiders knowing what you said, we will agree on group rules (e.g., treating one another respectfully; not talking to others about what specific participants said/did).

There is one other thing that you must know: If you tell us, while we are doing the research with you that you are planning to hurt someone or that someone is abusing you, then we must tell people (including the police) who can help.

What will happen to what you write or draw or make or say during the study?

We will ask a person/people to listen to the audio-recordings of the activity that you did and type what you and the other participants have said. This person/these people will sign a form in which they promise to keep the recording private (meaning they can't tell anyone anything about what they listen to and type up). Once everything is typed up, the researchers from the University of Pretoria will delete (erase/wipe out) what was recorded.

We (the Swazi, South African, Canadian researchers working in the project) will study the typed-up version of what you and others said. We will probably quote what you said/wrote or show the drawings you made when we write about what we learnt from you or when we tell others about what we learnt from you (e.g., at a conference or when we teach students). We will also compare what you tell us with what we have learnt from young people living in Canadian communities which are involved in the petrochemical industry and use this comparison to better understand how young people think about health and about feeling good.

We will keep a copy of what you said in a safe place at the University of Pretoria. We will keep the copies for 10 years. Your name will not be on any of these copies. We will allow university students who have to complete research projects about resilience, emerging adults, climate change or communities dependent on petrochemical producing companies to use these copies for their research.

Who will see the forms you sign and what happens to them?

Only me, and the researchers from the University of Pretoria will have access to the forms that you sign. They will store these forms for 10 years.

Will it cost you anything to take part in this study?
No, it will not cost you anything. I will come to your location and will provide you with refreshments.

Do you have questions to ask?

- ➢ If you have questions you can email Nombuso Gama at <u>gamabubu@gmail.com</u> or phone her at 76232133 or Linda Theron at <u>Linda.theron@up.ac.za,</u> or phone her at 012 420 6211.
- ➢ You can contact the chair of the Research Ethics Committee, Prof Liesel Ebersohn on (012 422 2337) if you have any concerns or complaints that have not been adequately addressed by the researcher.

- ➢ You will receive a copy of this information and consent form for your own records.

Thank you very much for considering our invitation!

Nombuso

Declaration by participant

By signing below, I …………………………….…………. [full name] agree to take part in a research study named: *Patterns of Resilience Among Youth in Communities that Depend on Oil and Gas Production and Those Coping with Climate Change*.

I say that:

- I have read and understood this information and consent form and it is written in a language with which I am fluent enough and comfortable.

- I have had a chance to ask questions to both the person obtaining consent, as well as the researcher (if this is a different person), and all my questions have been adequately answered.

- I understand that taking part in this study is **voluntary** (I can say no) and I have not been pressurised to take part.

- I understand that what I contribute (what I say/write/draw) could be reproduced publicly and/or quoted.

- I reserve the right to decide whether or not my actual name or a made-up one will be used in the research. I will decide this at the end of my participation once I have a better understanding of what is involved, and once I have talked through what that would mean with the university researchers.

- I understand that I may choose to leave the study at any time and that will not be a problem. I also understand that once the findings of the study are in the process of publication I cannot withdraw what I contributed to the study.

- I may be asked to leave the study before it has finished, if the researcher feels it is in my best interests.

- I agree that photos/videos of me engaging in research activities can be put up on social media and on research websites and be used in research-related publications/conference papers.

Signed at (*place*) ....….........……………. on (*date*) …………...………. 2018

....
Signature of participant   **Signature of witness**

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You may contact me again	**Yes**	**No**
I would like a summary of findings	**Yes**	**No**

My contact details are:

Name & Surname: _____

Postal Address: _____

Age: _____

Male / Female: _____

Email: _____

Phone Number: _____

Cell Phone Number: _____

In case the above details change, please contact the following person who knows me well and who does not live with me and who will help you to contact me:

Name & Surname:

_____

Phone/ Cell Phone Number /Email:

_____

Declaration by person obtaining consent

I *(name)* …………………………………………..……… declare that:

- I explained the information in this document to ………………………………..
- I encouraged him/her to ask questions and took adequate time to answer them.
- I am satisfied that he/she adequately understands all aspects of the research, as discussed above.
- I did/did not use an interpreter.

Signed at *(place)* ....……......………….…... on *(date)* …………....……….. 2018

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....
Signature of person obtaining consent   **Signature of witness**

Declaration by researcher

I *(name)* …………………………………………..……… declare that:

- I explained the information in this document to ………………………………..

- I encouraged him/her to ask questions and took adequate time to answer them.

- I am satisfied that he/she adequately understands all aspects of the research, as discussed above

- I did/did not use an interpreter.

Signed at *(place)* ....……………….. on *(date)* …………....……….. 2018

....
Signature of researcher   **Signature of witness**

Appendix E

Audit trail

This audit trail consists of extracts showing how I identified relevant data; then Table A to illustrate how I open coded these relevant data before linking them to an axial/thematic code. Table B provides a summary of the inclusion and exclusion criteria I used to review that my themes were meaningful and matched the data.

Colour key

- Yellow- Matsapha-related challenges
- Blue- enabling connections
- Green- personal drive
- Purple- a resourced ecology

Focus group data

Extract 1

The area is overpopulated so its leading to issues such as poor sanitation. The toilets are no longer up to standard because there are so many people that are using them. This emanates from the fact that there are not many rental houses available here to match the influx of people and services that are provided here. So you find that a lot of people share one room (maybe as many as four people). Yet the houses are not designed to accommodate such a number of people- then it leads to issues such as land pollution because there are many people in one area than can be accommodated by the facilities. (Participant 24, female, 20 years old, FG 3)

Extract 2

I would love to elaborate on the issue of unemployment- honestly (big sigh) many people like my peers are not employed here and this causes trouble. Some have even committed suicide because they stay alone like when parents have died or something like that and then they have to practise prostitution. Even though in Swaziland such is not

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allowed but it happens and the greatest challenge is some of us (ie. young adults) then unknowingly go for these prostitutes and get diseases in the process. Especially because they also go to sugar daddies for money and us sugar mommies because we want money; we are broke. So the biggest problem here is the unemployment- it causes all these other problems. Because honestly if you have a job, you can't be taking drugs at work. So if you are not employed you are most likely to do drugs. I think if the government can do something to increase the employment rate, people cannot go for 'blessers' and take lots of drugs, unemployment is destroying the future, visions and dreams then people feel lost.(Participant 5, female, 23 years old, FG 1)

Extract 3

Honestly sometimes you just have to find ways to adapt whether good or bad. You get to a point where you just accept that these challenges are part and parcel of living here in Matsapha. You develop a tendency of saying 'ah its fine; Matsapha is just doing to you what its notorious for'. And besides sometimes if a challenge keeps on recurring, then you will eventually find skills to deal with it. And also it helps to have relationships with friends so that you can talk and deal with the issues- you can't successfully live in Matsapha alone. You can't make it, although it's a town as well; you just can't make it. (Participant 19, female, 19 years old, FG 2).

Extract 4

There's some lady who was victimised about prostitution, her response was that she did not care about what other people said- all she cared about was putting food on the table. This for me shows that people have become numb to the problems that they're facing and how they go about solving them. So it's more like, oh the prostitutes are here now, they are looking for money and that's become normal. (P22, female, 19 years old, FG 3)

Photo elicitation

Extract 1

There's a lot of garbage. People throw a lot of things right in front of their houses-papers, cans and diapers then eventually it stinks everywhere. Then when you open your

house, the foul smell comes into your house. Some of us have diseases like asthma, TB and the stink is too much for us to handle in our lungs. Then at night the asthma causes us blocked chests and we cant breathe at night. Even the kids come and play with the garbage and sometimes they eat all these things then they fall sick. Have stomach aches, rash and then you see your child sick not knowing why they are so sick yet its because they were collecting all the garbage next to the bins. This affects me so much. There're also bottles in the bins which sometimes cut them and sometimes the children find condoms which they then blow from there and then it all becomes challenging and saddening. (Participant 6, female, 19 years old, Group 1)

Extract 2

This one is the one shows me and my family at home, it makes me feel better, I am able to ask from my parents things that I need, I ask for money from my uncles, I never go to bed hungry. I don't go to sleep hungry, it makes me feel better. Im also able to call my sisters even though im here and having them makes me feel better. I don't ask always for everything from my parents, there's more people to ask help from. The second one is about me relying on God. Because you see sometimes when you get in trouble after you've asked for help from everyone else and they struggle to help you and then you think if I can tell

God my solutions can come. Although you see asking for help from God requires that you become patient and give things time. Participant 7, female

Extract 3

here is the picture that gives me stress. It's a picture of boys ……..they throw water in the garbage pits. We also throw waste, food and everything, the water is dirty and causes a bad smell, and swamps which cause a lot of mosquitos. Its really unhealthy, when you cook your food- there are a lot of flies and when you cook your food the small flies come and you always have to make sure that you close the windows even when its hot to make sure they don't get inside the house. Its near the houses as you can see. Then the one that makes me feel better is me and the books that I read. These books help me too much. Sometimes you feel demotivated about the way things happen in the university, sometimes you need something that will keep you feeling better and remind you that there something better than this, so when I come back from school I read a page or 2. Richard Templer writes very motivating stories and he's funny. He gives you humour and something that you can actually live by. Participant 5, female, 23 years old, group 1)

Extract 4

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There is land pollution here. People dump lots of papers. They just dump. There are no pits where people can dispose their waste and it affects me because it's a place where there can be many diseases here. This one also contains water- there is a sewage. People throw things inside the sewage and the water cannot move. There is stagnant water and it causes a lot of mosquitoes. I am personally affected by the mosquitoes that breed here because night time is hard, there is just too many mosquitoes here from the waste. The mosquitoes bite us at night. What makes me feel better here is that I play soccer- so this is a picture of my soccer boots. I like soccer, it keeps me busy. I spend my leisure time playing soccer and it makes me feel better from the stress of living here. (Participant 1, male, 21 years old)

Extract 5

Starting with the one that stresses me a lot. Drug abuse- this picture shows people smoking drugs. They fell like it's fashionable. What stresses me is the pollution and the crime rate that results from such groups of people who smoke. And they smoke with underage people, its also an unhealthy habit which may result in people who are employed going to hospitals and get unemployed and causing families to suffer as they have to take care of them. The people just do this because they think it's fashionable, and it's so much

cool. It's a bad habit at all. If I think of the next generation, it frustrates me because I imagine everyone smoking cigar rates. And this picture of the Bible shows that as we have many churches around, it makes someone have a range of things to choose from. You either do drugs or church. So you have an opportunity to be morally upright. And this will reduce the crime rate and drug use. (Participant 2, male, 20 years old, group 1)

Participatory mapping

Extract 1

The playground. I get to spend my leisure time there playing football. I can spend the whole day playing soccer and it helps me forget about all the bad things that are happening in my life. I forget about the people who do drugs. It's also a way of keeping busy and spending time with my friends. I think it also reduces my interest in looking at people who are busy stealing our things. It keeps us busy. (Participant 9, male, 24 years old, group 1)

Extract 2

Yes, we do go to church. Its where we confess our sins and church gives us an opportunity to repent from the various sins that we do. Besides, sometimes that's where you make good friends that will not expose you to all these bad things. Church gives us some moral integrity as it helps us abstain from doing some of the bad things that are done here in Matsapha (Participant 7, female, 23 years old, group 1)
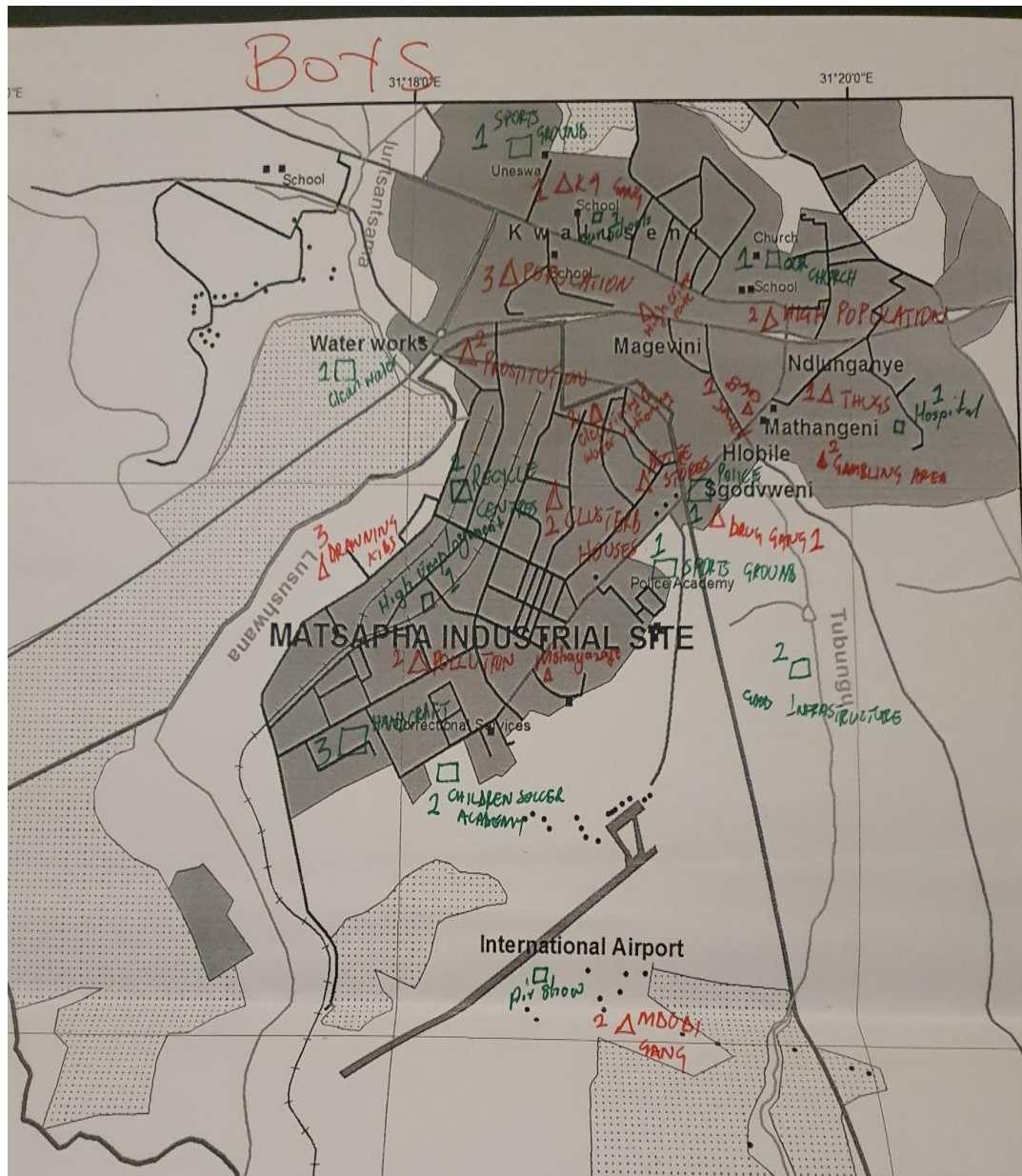
Extract 3

Everyone needs education. Its very important. Inorder for you to have a better life in future, you must be educated. You can be skilful, you can be talented but without education you are nothing. Also, how one looks at things differ when they are educated. The level of education counts when you get to decision making. (Participant 2, male, 20 years old, group 1)

When there are many people, then that automatically means there will be a higher demand for a lot of products. So even if one person doesn't like something, another person

An example of a map that marks places of risk and those that facilitate emerging adults' resilience

Table A: Coding process illustrated

Extracts (copied and pasted from previous section) answering my research questions	Open code	Candidate themes
The area is overpopulated so it's leading to issues such as poor sanitation.	Living conditions are unfavourable in Matsapha	Physical stressors
Its really unhealthy, when you cook your food- there are a lot of flies and when you cook your food the small flies come and you always have to make sure that you close the windows even when its hot to make sure they don't get inside the house. Its near the houses as you can see.	Poor sanitation	Physical stressors
I would love to elaborate on the issue of unemployment- honestly (big sigh) many people like my peers are not employed here and this causes trouble. Some have even committed suicide	Unemployment in Matsapha is rife	Economic stressors
And then they have to practise prostitution. Even though in Swaziland such is not allowed but it happens and the greatest challenge is some of us then unknowingly go for these prostitutes and get diseases in the process. Especially because they also go to sugar daddies for money and us sugar mommies because we want money; we are broke	Prostitution and sugar daddies are alternative sources of money. This causes sexually transmitted diseases	Determination to survive (atypical)
Honestly sometimes you just have to find ways to adapt whether good or bad. You get to a point where you just accept that these challenges are part and parcel of living here in Matsapha. You develop a tendency of saying 'ah its fine; Matsapha is just doing to you what its notorious for'	Acceptance of what is hard	Determination to survive

And besides sometimes if a challenge keeps on recurring, then you will eventually find skills to deal with it	Acceptance due to limited options	Determination to survive
When there are many people, then that automatically means there will be a higher demand for a lot of products. So even if one person doesn't like something, another person will definitely like it.	Hustling to make a living	Determination to survive
Sometimes you feel demotivated about the way things happen in the university, sometimes you need something that will keep you feeling better and remind you that there something better than this, so when I come back from school I read a page or	Reading keeps EA focused on the future	Dream facilitating behaviours
Financial help from family and friends helps. Having people that you can always ask helps.	Friends and family help financially	Interpersonal connections make life easier
There's a lot of garbage. People throw a lot of things right in front of their houses- papers, cans and diapers then eventually it stinks everywhere. Then when you open your house, the foul smell comes into your house. Some of us have diseases like asthma, TB and the stink is too much for us to handle in our lungs. Then at night the asthma causes us blocked chests and we cant breathe at night.	Matsapha is dirty and this causes diseases.	Physical stressors
I'm here for school [tertiary] and I understand that I am just here to get what I want and after I am done, I will get out of here. You must have something to look forward to after living here.	Focusing on school work helps	Hopeful dreams and dream facilitating behaviours
This one is the one shows me and my family at home, it makes me feel better, I am able to ask from my parents things that I need, I ask for money from my uncles	Family, including extended family members are	Interpersonal connections make life easier

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	helpful financially	
The second one is about me relying on God. Because you see sometimes when you get in trouble after you've asked for help from everyone else and they struggle to help you and then you think if I can tell God my solutions can come.	Praying to God brings solutions	Comforting connections with God and faith based community
I play soccer- so this is a picture of my soccer boots. I like soccer, it keeps me busy. I spend my leisure time playing soccer and it makes me feel better from the stress of living here.	Playing soccer gives feel good feelings	• Opportunities for recreational activities that provide time out
I forget about the people who do drugs. The playground also reduces my interest in looking at people who are busy stealing our things. It keeps us busy	Recreational activities are used as a distraction	• Opportunities for recreational activities that provide timeout
Because honestly if you have a job, you can't be taking drugs at work.	Structural resources	• Resourced ecology

Table B: Inclusion and exclusion criteria

Theme			
Matsapha is an unavoidable stressed environment	Inclusion criteria: data that relates to how Matsapha causes any form of physical, financial and relational risk to emerging adults. Exclusion criteria: data that refers to any pre-existing challenges in emerging adults' life that cannot be traced directly to living in an industrial area.		
	Subthemes	**Inclusion**	**Exclusion**
	Physical challenges	Data that relates to physical risk for emerging adults (e.g., risks to their physical health) that can be linked to living in Matsapha (e.g., exposure to land, air, or water pollution)	Physical risks (e.g., diseases) that were incurred before inhabiting Matsapha or that are hereditary
	Relational challenges	Data that relates to how Matsapha disrupts relationships, causes mistrust, fear or other negative emotion	Pre-existing relational challenges in emerging adults' life that cannot be traced directly to living in Matsapha. E.g., long-standing conflict with their parents

	Economic challenges	Data that relates financial risks to emerging adults associated with their being in Matsapha (e.g., inability to find decent work because there are too few decent jobs)	Pre-existing financial challenges that are not related to emerging adults being in Matsapha (e.g., historic debt) or that relate to emerging adults' disinclination to find ways to survive economically (e.g., belief that no matter what they will not be able to make ends meet and so they don't try)
Personal drive	Inclusion criteria: data that relates to how emerging adults strive for a better life currently or in the future and are willing to tolearate hardship in the interrim. This includes any reference to resourcefulness, industriousness, hope, dreams, determination, grit, ignoring or making positive meaning of what is challenging, accepting hardship. Exclusion criteria: data refers to any intrinsic efforts to overcome hardship that could pose a threat to the emerging adult in question or others		
	Subthemes	**Inclusion**	**Exclusion**
	Determination to survive	Data that relates to how emerging adults strived/pushed/aspired for a better life within the stressed environment. This includes being resourceful, hard-	Data that refers to any intrinsic efforts to overcome hardship that either posed a threat to the emerging adult or others (e.g.,

		working, or entrepreneurial. It also includes data that relates to young people's capacity to tolerate current hardships	regularly not sleeping to work though the night to complete studies)
	Hopeful dreams and dream facilitating behaviours	Reference is given to how hopeful dreams, and behaviours (e.g., academic diligence) that supported those dreams enhanced their ability to endure/overcome hardship. This includes data referring to the importance of education as a pathway to a better future	Excludes behaviours that were to the detriment of young people's wellbeing or dream attainment (e.g., bribing someone to get a job; falsifying qualifications) and dreams that they felt duty bound to honour (e.g., marrying a partner that would satisfy parental expectations)
Enabling connections	Inclusion criteria: data relating to how supportive relations enhanced emerging adults' financial, emotional, moral and spiritual wellbeing. These should be interpersonal, virtual and spiritual/faith-based connections. Exclusion criteria: data that referenced any connections that were destructive to emerging adults' wellbeing or health, or connections that were no longer personally accessible to them (also virtually or telephonically) while they were in Matsapha..		

	Subthemes	Inclusion	Exclusion
	Interpersonal connections that make life in Matsapha easier	Includes reference to data relating to how friends, families, romantic partners or any person provided social support (i.e., emotional, instrumental, financial or informational support) that made life in Matsapha more bearable	Data that referenced any connections that were destructive to emerging adults' wellbeing (e.g., peers that encouraged involvement in crime to solve financial difficulties)
	Interpersonal connections that make life in Matsapha safer	Includes reference to data relating to how friends/peers and families helped keep them safe from harm. This included reference to being with a crowd or others to keep safe.	Data that referenced any connections that placed young people at risk for harm (e.g., peers encouraging risky behaviours that might afford relief from financial or other stress)
	Comforting connections with God and faith-based community	Includes reference to any relationship with clergy, faith-based community or spiritual being (e.g., God, ancestors) that supported young people's wellbeing (i.e., provided a sense of	Any reference to clergy, faith-based community or spiritual being (e.g., God, ancestors) that resulted in a sense of guilt or eroded participants' dreams

		belonging or peace or moral/health-promoting guidance or helped them to solve problems).	or sense of self-efficacy.
A resourced ecology	Inclusion criteria: any data that refers to how facilities/services within the confines of Matsapha that alleviated stress in constructive ways, supported health/wellbeing and distracted emerging adults from industrial risk. Exclusion: any data that references any forms of services or supports in Matsapha that emerging adults did not consider resilience enabling, even though they were provided within the industrial ecology. Also excludes reference to resources in physical ecologies beyond Matsapha (e.g., in their home towns or another town).		
	Subtheme	**Inclusion**	**Exclusion**
	Facilities that are affordable and accessible	Reference to facilities/services in Matsapha that are enabling because they support health/wellbeing, are helpful because they are affordable, safe, and/or easily accessible	Data that references services/facilities that might be enabling (e.g., mental health services) that emerging adults did not consider helpful or meaningful or accessible, even though they were provided within Matsapha.

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	Opportunities for recreational activities that provide timeout	Reference to recreational facilities within Matsapha, like sportsfields, or spaces and places where emerging adults could relax	Excludes reference to recreational facilities that were not located within Matsapha and to spaces/places that young people did not think were safe to hang out in or affordable/accessible
	Reliable and competent security services	Includes any reference to security services provided by the police or residential patrols/community police in Matsapha or those hired for sports events.	Excludes private security services or public security services that added to emerging adults' sense of threat (e.g., being harassed by police officers because they were young)

APPENDIX F

Emerging Adulthood

Submission Confirmation

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Thank you for your submission

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Emerging Adulthood

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The resilience of emerging adults in a stressed industrialised environment in Eswatini

Authors
Gama, Nombuso
Theron, Linda

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Author Dashboard

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