Noemi Steuer, Michelle Engeler, Elisio Macamo (eds.)

Dealing with Elusive Futures
University Graduates in Urban Africa
The time to come – as well as the exploration thereof – remains elusive for social actors and social scientists alike. The contributors accept the challenge to depict young men and women’s future-creating activities in urban contexts of sub-Saharan Africa. Very consciously, they study young graduates having obtained a university degree and provide a vivid picture of their strategies to socially grow older by doing adulthood in contexts of great uncertainty. The examples include Burkina Faso, Guinea, Ethiopia, Mali and Tanzania, visually enriched through pictures taken by young Malian photographers.

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For further information:
www.transcript-verlag.de/978-3-8376-3949-0

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1 Elusive Futures

An Introduction

Michelle Engeler & Noemi Steuer

This volume and its introduction take a closer look at young graduates and their hopes and life plans for the future. In our endeavour we address two research challenges: first, the challenge of doing research on youth and the future; and second, the challenge of examining young graduates’ imaginations and hopes for a time that is yet to come.

It stands to reason that the future can be thought of as a land of pure possibility made of hopes and promises. While individuals strive to conquer, chart and assess this land, its shape lies beyond their grasp. At the same time, though, the time yet to come steers our actions and endeavours at various levels as a pervasive reference system. In spite of this all-embracing relevance, every excursion into the realm of the future – be it through day-dreaming, fortune-telling or through calculations made by experts – can never fail to remind us of the elusive nature of the future. Our volume addresses this intrinsic feature of the future from the two different angles derived from the level of experience and from the level of methodology.

We aim to ask how actors who live in a very dynamic and unforeseeable context make plans and statements about the future or, even more to the point, how they can have a bearing on the time to come. Beyond this, we seek to discuss a methodological question pertaining to the extent to which the future can be made available to research. Since doing research on the future – even if this is on a future deeply embedded in, or in conjunction with, the present – is always a methodological challenge, the question arises how we can study something that is not tangible, something that evades our grasp and yet shapes the life of individuals.
To appreciate what it means to deal with the future empirically and methodologically, we draw on a distinction made by the French anthropologist Marc Augé concerning two ways of relating to it. According to him, a distinction is made between «one [way] which makes the future a successor to the past, the schematic one; and the other which makes it a birth, an inauguration» (Augé 2014: 4). The claim here is that the future becomes relevant to the social sciences to the extent that we can think of it primarily as the context within which processes that have a beginning will evolve and perhaps end and, second, as a set of structural features made available to researchers and actors through consequences. In other words, we retrieve time through positing structural factors which enable us to articulate individuals’ actions within a temporal dimension. While the distinction between a schematic future and an inaugural future provides a useful vocabulary with which to describe the group of young graduates from the perspective of the concept of the future, it also brings to the fore the future’s elusive nature.

We have taken a conscious decision to concentrate on young graduates in this volume, that is, on men and women who have pursued their education and ended up with a university degree. Upon their independence the new African nation-states expected their first locally-trained university graduates to inaugurate a new beginning for their countries. They were the new nations’ hope for the future. The countries also nurtured them as the harbingers of development. The career paths of the generations of university graduates that followed fell into a schematic framework that saw the future as a logical repetition of the past as defined in the inaugural moment. This was the time of national «cadres», i.e. of professionals who were being trained to operate the burgeoning machinery of the state.

This has changed radically in recent decades: from being a highly praised development elite, university graduates have become those often described as only waiting for adulthood (Honwana 2012). This has been mainly due to economic hardship and consequent unemployment, political crisis and related social tensions. In particular since the structural adjustment programmes of the 1980s, young graduates have no longer been able to take their future for granted (Mohamedbhai 2011). Neoliberal reforms and socio-political change have disrupted the patterns set by previous generations on how to become respected adults and constitute the elite of the country. This is the background against which the contributions in this volume must be read. Each chapter depicts
various facets of contemporary young graduates and how they manage their everyday lives whilst moving towards the future. To illustrate this we have collected case studies from urban Burkina Faso, Ethiopia, Guinea, Mali and Tanzania.

The aim of these case studies is to advance the field of research on youth and the future in three main respects: first, they concentrate on young graduates’ various contexts of action and thereby seek to show how to make the future available for social scientific research. Second, they help to further understand an often understudied aspect of African youth: the context of well-educated young men and women. Finally, they shed new light on being young and growing up in and beyond urban Africa.

It is against this background that we argue that our case studies demonstrate that young graduates are not only »being young«, that is, living and struggling in the present; they are in fact also constantly »doing something« in regard to their social becoming – not only after, but even before graduation. This perspective disagrees with studies which argue that young people these days struggle to become respected adults. We argue that this is not the case, and that they are actually already doing adulthood in different spheres of social life: they may do internships, care for their own children, pursue their studies, dream of marrying, join youth movements or political parties, or simply meet friends with whom to discuss while drinking tea.

The following sections of this introduction elaborate upon this perspective and provide insight into the contributions that make up this edited volume.

**Researching the future**

The current importance of the question of how society comes to terms with the future is reflected in an increasing number of publications in the social sciences and humanities. For a long time, however, social scientists dealt with the topic only peripherally and preferred to study the past or, especially related to the methods of social anthropology, the here and the now. Even when studies concerned themselves with this category, the future was often perceived as a normative trajectory with teleological aspects well exemplified through the concepts of progress and development (Goldstone and Obarrio 2016b: 12). Numerous scholars
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have now expressed the need to finally complement the classic past- and present-oriented focus by including research on the relations of the present and the future (Crapanzano 2004; Goldstone and Obarrio 2016a; Munn 1992; Pelican and Heiss 2014). These authors have also hinted that notions of the future are deeply embedded in the concepts of time of the respective societies. This actually makes the future very relevant for social anthropology and related fields of study (Appadurai 2004; Mische 2009).

In brief, socio-anthropological contributions have centred on two distinct approaches, both of which are characterised by actor-centred perspectives. One approach focuses primarily on social actions that contain future orientations, i.e. aspirations (Appadurai 2004), imaginations (Crapanzano 2004), hope (Turner 2015) or plans and dreams (Nilsen 1999). The second approach has discussed more how actors experience and deal with the inherent uncertainties of the future, mainly referring to uncertain terrains due to political turbulence or economic crisis (Vigh 2006). Whereas the search for certainty and control has been highlighted in the context of risk and illness (Jenkins 2005: 10; Whyte 2009: 214), the important volume »Ethnographies of Uncertainty in Africa« by Elisabeth Cooper and David Pratten adopts another perspective by examining the brighter side of uncertainty (2015). Drawing on the work of John Dewey and his philosophy of pragmatism, the authors frame uncertainty in a productive way as a motor for innovation and creation (Cooper and Pratten 2015: 13).

Broadly speaking, social scientists who discuss the future in the context of youth and uncertainty rarely address methodological challenges beyond simply stating that such challenges indeed exist. Jennifer Johnson-Hanks and her research on uncertainty and intentional action in the context of young, educated Cameroonian women is an exception in this respect (Johnson-Hanks 2005). In her research she asked young women about their plans for the future, especially in regard to having children. Instead of receiving precise answers she was told by her informants, rather vaguely, that they cannot make plans because they do not know the future (Johnson-Hanks 2005: 367). Johnson-Hanks described this attitude as »judicious opportunism«, that is, a response to the volatility of life in an extremely uncertain context. She argues that, due to the contingent offers of life, what works best is the most flexible strategy »that keeps every alternative open as long as possible, and that permits the actor to
act rapidly and flexibly to take advantage of whatever opportunities arise« (Johnson-Hanks 2005: 483).

Based on her fruitful insight, we would like to go a step further by focusing on the intrinsic feature of social action. This leads us to the work of Alfred Schütz and Thomas Luckman (Schütz and Luckman 2003). Their phenomenologically-grounded analysis of action proffers revealing observations about the core of human action and can provide a different approach for methodologically grasping hold of the uncertain future (Schütz and Luckmann 2003: 467ff). By developing the concept of the »project« as the fundamental meaning of every action, they show that action itself entails the element of »projectivity« coupled with inherent uncertainty while at the same time enabling further actions. Thus, acting in the present not only immanently carries the future but also guarantees the ability to act in the future. In other words, human agency is always in preparation of further action (see Macamo 2017: 4f). Methodologically speaking, we can retrieve the future by articulating it with social action in the present. Individuals tame the future in the present by investing their energy into enabling action – or, in the words of Pelican and Heiss, by »making the future« (Pelican and Heiss 2014: 7). Even if contexts of uncertainty may compel actors to refrain from developing future plans, they still act in order to be able to act and, thereby, they offer insight into how they create future opportunities (Macamo 2008). Expanding upon Johnson-Hanks’ approach, we argue methodologically that social action is always in the process of becoming and, for this reason, requires an open-ended approach to study the ongoing unfolding of very different futures, especially in rapidly shifting and precarious contexts. Like this we also follow the objectives of Goldstone and Obarrio and illuminate »the plurality of routes through which African futures are being engendered and apprehended« (Goldstone and Obarrio 2016b: 4).

**Youth and African university graduates**

There is no shortage of research on youth, and reviewing it would certainly go beyond the scope of this introduction. Many authors also contextualise youth in relation to time, either by describing young people as a vanguard or by perceiving them as still waiting for the time yet to come. However, many contributions that address young people living in
Africa do not consciously address university graduates. Studies that at least discuss higher education more broadly have a tendency to focus on questions related to development and/or funding (see e.g. Oketch 2016). Those works that focus on the people shaping the universities very often place the student body at the centre of attention and discuss student activism and protests (for a recent example, see Luescher et al. 2016). Both topics are notably discussed in the context of South Africa. Social anthropological contributions that discuss the lives of students or, like us, depict young graduates’ everyday life and plans for the future in other sub-Saharan African nations are largely absent. Exceptions include the many insightful publications by Mazzocchetti, who in particular discusses students and young graduates in Burkina Faso (Mazzocchetti 2006; Mazzocchetti 2009; Mazzocchetti 2014). Furthermore, a small number of historical examinations provide us with crucial background information on the making of local universities and their key figures (see for instance the writings of Andreas Eckert (2000; 2004; 2006) or Andrea Behrends and Carola Lentz [2012]). These studies remind us that in many African countries following independence, a university diploma from one of the national universities guaranteed a life of prosperity and social recognition: predominantly, these historical studies describe the students of newly established – or newly independent – institutions of higher education as future national elites, who upon graduation would work for the state administration. Accordingly, students and graduates are described as key economic and political representatives (Lentz 2009).

However, economic crises and related socio-political transformation processes and reforms since the 1980s have had a huge impact on youth and young graduates. University diplomas no longer guarantee a career and related social and/or class mobility (Mkandawire 1995; Mohamedbhai 2011). Thus, present-day students in urban sub-Saharan Africa often enjoy a precarious social status compared to the former elitist prestige of graduates, who could usually expect some degree of financial security and social exclusivity (Behrends and Lentz 2012; Behrends and Pauli 2012). Nevertheless, many youths in West Africa still think it is crucial to study, and having a university diploma continues to carry the hope of entrance into working life and adulthood. It is in this way that young men and women also try to escape local universities in the hope that a diploma from abroad is more valuable than one from local state universities (Efionayi-Mäder and Piguet 2014; Mazzocchetti 2014; Piguet 2013).
This edited volume, however, discusses those students who finally graduate from one of the local public universities. In all likelihood they have spent one or two terms elsewhere, or they dream of receiving an additional diploma from abroad – but all the authors contained in this edited volume talked to young graduates in those countries in which they actually graduated. Thus, the contributions here are based on extensive fieldwork conducted in the urban centres of Burkina Faso, Ethiopia, Guinea, Mali and Tanzania.

A more general look at scholarly literature discussing youth in the social sciences reveals that »youth« is generally understood as a social category rather than as a specific age group (Durham 2004). It follows that the time and place in which an individual considers themselves to be a youth, or is regarded as youth, is both situational and contested (Durham 2009: 723). In other words youth represents a category that is always in the process of being re-made in socio-political practices. Depending on the situation and the relations involved, the same person can be regarded as a child, a youth or an adult simultaneously (Christiansen et al. 2006: 12). Nevertheless, a number of publications consciously or unconsciously relate the topic of youth to time and the future (Martin et al. 2016). From a life-course perspective this makes perfect sense, for young people stand only at the very beginning of their trajectories and all the world yet lies ahead of them. Consequently, youth is often perceived as the future of a society or nation-state. It is against this background that some studies have conducted research on youth by relating the topic to the broader context of political change. Accordingly, titles of contributions situate youths between »vanguard and vandals« (Abbink and Van Kessel 2005) or between »rebels and patriots« (Rompel 2008), thus discussing young people and their potential for becoming actors for political change.

Aside from studies interested in politics and political transformation processes, there do exist studies which approach youth as both »social being« and »social becoming« and thereby regard being young as a condition that is inherently future-oriented, not least because it is assumed that young people’s aim is to become socially accepted adults in the (near) future (Christiansen et al. 2006: 11). A prominent example of such an approach within African Studies are Henrik Vigh’s reflections on »social navigation« (Christiansen et al. 2006; Vigh 2009). He uses the concept of social navigation as an analytical tool to shed light on the way in which young people in Guinea-Bissau come of age and guide
their lives through complex socio-political circumstances. In fact, these complex circumstances induce various authors to situate young people in what Helga Nowotny calls an »extended present« (Nowotny 1988). In other words, planning the future – or coming of age – becomes all but impossible due to political crisis and also because of joblessness and a related excess of time in the present. It is in this connection that Alcinda Honwana describes youth in Africa as the »waithood generation«. She argues that the majority are not able to obtain work and hence to achieve the attributes of adulthood such as being economically independent, getting married and having children (Honwana 2012: 3). In other words, young people are described as being trapped in the here and now, as having an »excess of time« (Brannen and Nilsen 2002), or as willingly remaining in the present because they no longer trust the future.

Based on our research on young graduates we have developed a different perspective on these matters, and we argue that the contexts of action within which individuals engage can unfold and render visible the temporal dimension we seek. In this sense, we take the way in which young graduates manage their daily life and imagine their future not only to be representative of »being young« in the here and now, but also to be constantly »doing adulthood« in various spheres of their lives.

We will now briefly discuss the various contributions to this volume in order to illustrate critical aspects of our perspective on youth as well as to show how our case studies represent a way to methodologically grasp young graduates’ plans, hopes and expectations through looking at social action in the present.

**Different Dimensions of Future-Creating Activities**

The book chapters of this edited volume depict different regional backgrounds in urban sub-Saharan Africa and include case studies from Burkina Faso, Ethiopia, Guinea, Mali and Tanzania. All of them focus on youth and their various future-creating activities. Generally speaking, these activities, ideas and goals are constantly adjusted to the actors’ changing contexts and actions, and they exhibit a high degree of shifting and dynamism. This leads to meandering life trajectories, and at times the initial designations made by the respective researchers can no longer be recognised. The authors thereby show how both goals as well as the
trajectories that lead to them relate to individual wishes but also follow social ideas or collective plans and utopias. In all cases imaginations of the future differ from the experienced here-and-now and reveal a striving for improvement.

From a substantive point of view, the critical situation on the labour market is one of the prominent features with which all young graduates portrayed in this volume have to grapple. And, although most graduates perceive (university) diplomas as the key to a better life, they also know that reality is often much more complex. Finding appropriate employment is far from being guaranteed by having higher education and corresponding degrees. In essence there are only rarely straight paths which lead to desired professional activities; in most cases graduates have to deal with circuitous ways and non-permanent appointments, often within different domains than the ones they wished for or for which they were educated, and often with very low or no remuneration at all. Such constraints quickly lead to decreased economic and social independence. Scientific discourse often describes this condition as »limbo life« or as corresponding to being stuck or as only waiting for adulthood (Honwana 2012; Masquelier 2005; Sommers 2012). The vocabulary used in this context often implies a type of passivity or resignation which, incidentally, may even hold true in some instances. It is more likely, however, that »passivity« or »resignation« are manifest functions of latent structures thoroughly grounded in actual things that young people do to come to terms with their circumstances.

The authors of this volume adopt a different perspective by showing how young graduates are busy with numerous activities and juggle a multitude of engagements. They also assume a panoply of roles by being parents, entrepreneurs and members of political movements or religious congregations – very often several of them at the same time. And despite the discrepancy between professional expectations and the lack of opportunities, one rarely finds expressions of living in liminal stages in their narratives. It goes without saying that our contributors also learnt about periods of despair and tiredness, but they also recognised »alternative pathways« (Carling 2015: 3) which represent a repertoire of conceivable strategies leading out of waithood.

The chapters written by Richard Sambaiga, Maike Birzle and Susann Ludwig all depict the issue of young graduates and their taming of an uncertain future by pointing to individual strategies and horizons. Richard Sambaiga’s contribution provides a vivid picture of the diversity of
individual career orientations of final-year students and young graduates from the Department of Sociology at the University of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. Based on life histories and inspired by the theoretical reflections on agency by Emirbayer and Mische (1998), Sambaiga argues that young graduates are not reduced to mere victims of graduate unemployment, but instead are social actors who actively engage with their uncertain futures before and after graduating. Against this background, he argues that graduation can be described as a vital conjuncture during which young people are particularly oriented towards their future, a fact which allows him to research their projective actions as part of general human agency. He further discusses the challenge of young people's lived experiences in the present and their hoped-for or imagined futures, and he perceives the latter as a crucial marker for what finally takes place in the present.

An important issue that irrupts into Sambaiga's essay without being explicitly mentioned (other than as an inner disposition for managing the wide range of activities) is that of hope. In contrast to the extended research done by Daniel Mains (Mains 2012), where young men in urban Ethiopia are depicted as both possessing unprecedented aspirations and remaining without hope to realise them, Maike Birzle also highlights the important role of hope as a driving force to navigate the meandering pathways into the future. Not concrete career activities are at stake here but rather an inner attitude that allows individuals to keep up an emotional and future-directed orientation. Her analysis focuses on the phrase ça va aller – an expression that appeared repeatedly in the qualitative interviews she conducted with university graduates in Ouagadougou, the capital city of Burkina Faso. To exemplify her argument, amongst other things Birzle hints at the annual recruitment tests for the civil service, which most of her informants perceive as the likeliest way to enter the job market. Despite the fact that only a small percentage of them will finally win the concours, they continue to hope for the best. Part of hoping is thereby also to live off one's faith by praying regularly, fasting and attending church or mosque services. Here, hope is not only an abstract idea but essentially informs young graduates' practices in continuously and optimistically navigating the uncertain terrain of the present.

In her contribution Susann Ludwig also reflects on young graduates' motivations to hopefully »become someone«. She concentrates on narratives of individual and common experiences of Malian graduates and offers a typology of a phenomenon that inspires their minds as well
as their practices: *la chance* – an emic concept with a wide semantic range pointing to that extraordinary moment of fulfilment when timing, place and action come together and provide an outlook which is completely different from the one imagined up to that point in time. In this respect, *la chance* fuses opportunity with destiny, and luck with serendipity. Based on the application of ethnomethodology’s membership categorisation analysis to narrative interviews, Ludwig presents three types of *la chance*: prerequisites, sprouts and outcomes. She argues that these types are connected through practices of ›opening up la chance‹ – a process that consists of ›looking for‹, ›finding‹ and ›working with‹ *la chance*. In a context of high unemployment rates amongst university graduates, Ludwig explains, the phenomenon of *la chance* gains special significance because it offers a space for individual agency and, therefore, a bearing on the time to come. Even if *la chance* does not answer the question of why some academic peers succeed in creating a future while others do not, it does create a horizon of hope for everyone – and instead of waiting for miracles, they prepare the soil so that theses miracles might happen to them. In other words, it is the young graduates’ conviction that *la chance* exists which creates a difference to the lived-in present.

These three insights show that the creational processes of an individually conceived future are always merged in certain ways with social commitments and thereby incorporate both individual and social horizons: »The future, even when it concerns the individual, always has a social dimension: it depends on others. [...] It is sometimes said that the individual ›constructs‹ his future, but others participate in that enterprise which is primarily a manifestation of social life« (Augé 2014: 2f). In Carole Ammann’s paper the social dimension of the future gains special emphasis. Her gender-sensitive approach documents the interwoven layers and the diversity of young graduates’ agency and their flexibility in the search for their hoped-for future. Drawing on the case study of Djénaïbou, a young intellectual woman living in Kankan, Guinea, Ammann illustrates that faith in God and having great respect for one’s parents crucially informs the everyday practices of young students. Djénaïbou herself pursues high career ambitions and at the same time holds the desire to get married to a loving husband of her own choice – both of which are rather unusual aspirations for a young woman in Kankan. But by creating an irreproachable reputation in the eyes of her community as a »good young Muslim woman« who follows the existing
gender and religious norms, DjénaOu succeeds in carving out a way into her imagined future. Hence, gaining the confidence of her social environment enables DjénaOu to explore new avenues and at the same time broadens the gendered, prescribed way towards independence.

The implication of others in the construction of future times achieves a different dimension when these »others« all band together to collectively pursue the same vision. Mostly approached within an institutional frame, collective ideas aspire to a future in an inaugural sense, in other words as a break with the past. A prominent topic in the available literature is that of young people and their potential to become actors for political change. Joschka Philipps' chapter analyses interviews and conversations with young men who were directly involved in popular upheavals in England and Guinea. By including a comparative perspective, the aim of his contribution is to ask how these young men – a group that also includes young graduates – talk about and shape the future through their political actions. Interestingly, he sees reason to believe that rioting youth from the urban margins in England seem to have been more excluded from politics than their counterparts in Guinea. These contrasting perspectives on the political future could be understood as being contingent upon whether people see politics as fixed and separate from them, or as evolving and open to manipulation, Philipps concludes. Where the political system is seen as stable and inaccessible, political exclusion may seem more definitive, whilst in contexts where exclusion is less clear-cut and politics more a matter of networks, the political future is likelier to appear as malleable and accessible to interference.

The last chapter in our book adopts a rather different perspective on the taming of future uncertainties. Julian Tadesse's case study is concerned with the role of the state in the context of the career trajectories of young graduates – and youths in general – in Ethiopia. By depicting state-funded entrepreneurship training programmes and their discursive context, he argues that the ruling regime has to be considered as a crucial factor in understanding young graduates' practices and manoeuvrings, not least because these programmes have recently become one of the Ethiopian government's favoured instruments in tackling youth unemployment. Tadesse argues that a largely structural problem – that of unemployment – is transformed into a question of individual attitude; and that this shifts the moral responsibility for economic insecurity onto young graduates. Moreover, uncertainties that accompany the establishing of a
business are shown in a more positive light by pointing to the ›liberating‹ aspects of entrepreneurship. In this way the government simply tries to create entrepreneurial subjects in line with its developmental ideology. Structural problems such as access to finance, bureaucratic hurdles and the general problem of the education system not matching the needs of industry are toned down.

**Social becoming – Doing adulthood**

We began our introduction by reflecting on how we can make the future available to the social sciences, and we proceeded to take a critical look at research conducted in the context of youths and their future planning. We have found that many publications describe young people’s coming of age and their imaginations of the future or their being lost in the present, yet the majority of studies ignore young graduates and their future planning. Our assumption is that this omission is due to the methodological challenge posed by researching phenomena that entail a temporal dimension which has not yet been made concrete by social action. Our suggestion is that adopting a theoretical perspective that posits social action as enabling (see Macamo in this volume) retrieves the future for analysis. Social action in the present amounts to the construction of the future, but this future is one that does not necessarily respond to one’s plans. This future is a contingent outcome of social action today.

This is the background against which qualifying the future as elusive appeared reasonable to us. The future is elusive because it always has the potential to turn out differently. This makes intuitive sense since in social settings with low degrees of predictability it remains difficult to institutionally secure the future outcomes of actions. The future is also elusive in the sense that it seems to slip away from the empirical grasp of researchers. It announces itself while at the same time appearing to refuse to be seized. What may appear to be the future today on the basis of today’s social action, may recede into the background tomorrow as a result of what happened today.

We argue that this focus offers important new insight into the topic of being young and socially growing up, both in Africa and beyond. This can be exemplified by studying the education-to-work transition described in some of our chapters. The depicted realities show that many students
are already engaged in working activities before they graduate or that they are at least looking for work. This suggests that it is an empirical question whether the period after graduation from university can be labelled as »transition«. In its literal sense transition means »going across«, a shifting from one condition to another; but this requires a period of stability and continuity before and after shifting. The situations of young graduates depicted in this volume instead remind us of a life in »permanent transition«. Thus, periods of stability and continuity may be inextricably entangled with transitional phases – not only while being a student and graduating, but also later in life. The future-oriented activities can thus be framed as a »social becoming« that is also relevant for adults or elders. There is a sense in which one could say that many of the portrayed young graduates are promoting their social becoming in different spheres; and this takes place both in the context of education and work as well as in social and family life, religion or politics. For this reason, it may not be accurate to frame them as young people only waiting for adulthood. Our perspective suggests that we are confronted with a new way of being and becoming somebody because young people tame the future by doing adulthood in different spheres of social life.

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