Jurnal Psikologi
Volume 53, Number 1, 2026: 35– 53
DOI: 10.22146/jpsi.101637

ISSN 0215-8884 (print)
ISSN 2460 867X (Online)

Friendship As Networking: Youth and Transition to Meaningful Work

Wenty Marina Minza[1]*, Arum Febriani[1], Angelina Shiva Hany[1], Atikah Hana Hanifah[1], Octiva Fairuz Izdihar Kusharyanti[1], Fransiska Widianingtyas[1]
[1]*Faculty of Psychology, Universitas Gadjah Mada, Yogyakarta Indonesia*

Submission 18 November 2024 **Accepted 27 January 2026** **Published 29 April 2026**

Abstract. Youth face significant obstacles as they transition from education to work, as job seeking has become more complex. Friendship and networking are considered important resources that facilitate youth entry into a meaningful job market. This study investigates how youth (re)construct the boundaries of friendship and networking. It also examines the ways in which friendship and networking can smooth the transition from education to meaningful work: work that fulfills the workers' rights and provides opportunities to grow. Employing a short-term ethnographic approach, this study involved 20 youth aged 20–23 years who met one of two criteria: final semester students who were about to graduate or had just graduated and were actively seeking employment, or workers who had graduated within the last year. Data were collected through observation and in-depth interviews, with photographic documentation capturing participants' behaviors and social interactions, and interviews eliciting their perspectives, reasoning, and lived experiences of navigating the transition from education to work. The results show that friendship and networking are defined by three relational aspects: self-disclosure, closeness, and support. These aspects determine the extent to which relationship is considered friendship or networking, depending on the intensity of those aspects of the relationship. The study highlights that in the context of the education-to-work transition, friendships and networks often intertwine. This study suggests that promoting early networking may support a smoother transition toward meaningful work.

Keywords: friendship; education to work transition; meaningful work; networking

Globally, young people face various challenges in finding work. In countries in the European Union, youth unemployment has a significant impact on poverty rates (Jianu, 2019). High unemployment rates in the EU are generally attributed to the large number of young people aged 18–24 who are neither in education nor participating in training programs, coupled with the prevalence of low-wage job vacancies. In ASEAN countries (Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand, Philippines, and Singapore), youth unemployment is closely linked to educational outcomes and labor force participation rates (Nisa & Sugiharti, 2022).

The difficulty young people face in finding work is linked to the high number of graduates

*Address for correspondence: wminza@ugm.ac.id

Copyright ©2026 The Author(s). This is an Open Access article distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0 International License (https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0/)

entering the workforce, thus contributing to a high participation rate in the labor market. This elevated labor market participation rate also means more competition for employment. In 2024, the Open Unemployment Rate (TPT) in Indonesia stood at 4.82% or 7.2 million people out of a workforce of 149.38 million people (Badan Pusat Statistik, 2024). Apart from high competition in the labor market, Ishak (2018) suggests that unemployment in Indonesia is often caused by a lack of distribution or a low number of job opportunities rather than due to a lack of education or skills among the younger generation. In a competitive job market, the ability to obtain information about work opportunities through social networks can provide leverage for graduates trying to find work.

For some new graduates, entering a competitive job market and workforce is not simply about earning money; it represents a significant phase of personal and professional growth (Tomasik et al., 2008). In other words, for these young people, transitioning to work means transitioning to meaningful work. Meaningful work is work that provides a sense of purpose, fulfillment, and alignment with personal values and skills (Bailey et al., 2019). Yet, finding work, especially meaningful work, is challenging. To overcome this challenge, young people often turn to networks to navigate their entrance to meaningful work (Mowbray & Hall, 2019).

In general, establishing networks often starts with interaction with strangers, which later develops into mutual friendships (Landau, 2018). On the other hand, friendships may become networks, as an additional purpose of the relationship is exchanging information about job or career-related topics (Hoye et al., 2009). Before discussing the relationship between friendship and networks, we would like to briefly elaborate on these two concepts, starting with friendship.

Friendships come in various forms, the first being communal friendships, in which support is given to friends without expecting anything in return. The individual is seen as someone who is responsive to the friend's needs in terms of supporting that person's welfare (Miller et al., 2014). Another type of friendship is reciprocal exchange friendships, in which mutual give-and-take is essential, though not exact in form or timing. The exchanged benefits are non-need-based; they are not expected to match in value. However, this reciprocal principle is important to ensure equality within the relationship, avoiding discomfort over imbalance and lessening opportunities for exploitation (Ahrne, 2014).

Friendship is often seen in a positive light. Friendship is assumed to foster well-being (Li & Cheng, 2015), physical and mental health (Holt-Lunstad, 2017), life satisfaction (Chopik, 2017), happiness (Demir et al., 2015), and a sense of belonging (Lauer, 2024). Thus, the role of friends generally revolves around achieving emotional or social well-being. However, the role of friends, especially during the transition to adulthood, often extends beyond fulfilling one's well-being. During the transition to adulthood, friends function as a support system for developing leadership and future goals (Schuh et al., 2015). In this life phase, friends also assist in difficult decision-making (Barthauer & Kauffeld, 2018), motivate career choices (Zhu et al., 2019), and influence career decision-making (Kim et al., 2022). In short, the way society depicts friendship as a source of emotional support has evolved. Friends support social and emotional well-being, but they can also encourage and facilitate an individual's career by connecting the individual to career opportunities and boosting the individual's confidence to enable career decision-making (Quinter, 2020).

As individuals mature, the nature of friendship changes to meet new demands. Thiele et al. (2018) state that in adulthood, friendships are initiated differently, with friendship formation likely to be strategic and intentional. Adults do not simply befriend others based on proximity, as children do. For example, adults generally look for supportive peers and well-suited mentors who align with their career goals. Adults are also considered independent of peer-group influence, except when they feel lost and dissatisfied with their career paths. In contrast, there is no tendency among children to intentionally select friends, especially those with similar academic characteristics or trajectories, as friends differ in many ways and academic similarity holds little significance for them (Shin & Ryan, 2014).

We have explained the nature of friendship and how it has evolved to include strategic and interest-based purposes, especially during the transition to adulthood and during adulthood itself. We will now discuss networks, a relationship with relatively weak ties. Networks refer to less-bonded connections that lack interaction and emotional closeness (Gee et al., 2017). Similar to friendships, networks enable young people to transition to the workforce (Zamfir et al., 2020). Networks often provide information facilitating access to financial and material resources (Seibert et al., 2001). Additionally, networks can deliver new job information outside the circle of stronger ties, e.g., close friends or family, as they act as links between different social circles and contexts (Granovetter, 1973; Seibert et al., 2001).

Their instrumental nature positions networks as relationships formed with the intention of pursuing specific goals (Casciaro et al., 2014), including information related to acquiring job information and mentorship (Seibert et al., 2017), heightening employment chances from employers (Barthauer & Kauffeld, 2018), and even providing a sense of fulfillment and career success (Jacobs et al., 2019). This influence of networks enables mobilization of instrumental resources in the form of economic (income), political (reputation), or social (status/position) returns by enhancing one's human capital (Pena-López & Sánchez-Santos, 2017). As such, entering the workforce often involves the formation and utilization of networks.

Networks are typically formed through work-integrated learning (WIL), such as internships, industry projects, and volunteering in a professional setting (English et al., 2021). These WIL programs provide experiential learning, aid in the development of skills, and boost confidence among graduates. Currently, digital networking social media platforms are considered significant among young people. These social media platforms include LinkedIn, where online resumes including education, skills, and work experience are presented. These platforms often serve as vital assets, providing a direct bridge between graduates and industry professionals, and thereby allowing graduates to nurture the social capital necessary to make the transition to work.

While friends and networks are typically seen as distinct concepts, in reality, they often overlap. This research aims to explore how young people (re)define the meaning and boundaries of friendship and networks, the situations in which friendship and networks overlap, and how friendship and networks contribute to the transition to meaningful work. Based on our preliminary research, intertwining friendship and networking enhances youth's access to meaningful work. For youth, meaningful work is work that offers a fair salary, appropriate benefits, and a manageable workload. In

addition, youth regard meaningful work as a means of achieving personal and professional growth, e.g., having a job aligned with one's academic background, as well as a job that enables one to continue learning and evolving, thereby contributing to growth and skill development. Rhea and Yosef explain:

> "Since I've worked, the first thing I look for is how well the agreement matches with the reality we did during the work. Like, the work hours, workload, benefits, and so on." (Rhea, Female, 22)

> "If a company offers me the chance to grow, I'd totally love it. Honestly, I'd be grateful because it means that they're giving me the freedom to learn and be creative." (Yosef, Male, 22)

Methods

The purpose of this study is to understand the experiences of young people in their transition to work and the role of friendship and networks in this process. It also seeks to understand how young people make meaning of friendship and networks, and how these two concepts overlap. To do so, a short-term ethnographic approach was employed (Pink & Morgan, 2013). Short-term ethnography is characterized by intensity of engagement rather than length of time in the field; it prioritizes focused, theoretically informed immersion that allows researchers to access the everyday practices, perspectives, and lived experiences of participants within a condensed timeframe (Pink & Morgan, 2013). This approach is particularly suited to studies that seek to understand how people navigate social relationships and transitions in everyday life, as it enables researchers to move between observation and interview in ways that are mutually reinforcing and analytically generative (Knoblauch, 2005). The study was conducted in Yogyakarta, widely recognized as a City of Students that produces many educated individuals. However, due to limited job opportunities and low wages, the local labor market struggles to absorb this abundant human resource (Tjahjadi & Widhyharto, 2018).

To obtain data, we engaged with participants for three months by following their activities and conducting interviews. Specifically, we followed participants two or three times per week, per participant, at times when the participants were engaging in social activities such as spending time with friends. Observations were recorded in field notes and daily journals and were made alongside interviews. Each participant was interviewed two or three times, with each session lasting between 40 and 70 minutes. The first interview aimed to gather the main data needed. However, follow-up interviews were often needed to obtain more in-depth information. The second interview explored deeper insights into emerging themes. A third interview was conducted when further probing was needed.

In-depth interviews served as the primary data source of this study, as they allowed participants to articulate their perspectives, reasoning, and lived experiences of navigating the transition from education to work. Thematic analysis was applied to the interview data to identify recurrent patterns and emerging themes (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Observational data (including field notes, daily journals, and photographs) were analyzed through an iterative process of moving back and forth between interview transcripts and field notes, allowing emerging interpretations to be continuously refined and

grounded in the fieldwork context (Emerson et al., 2011; Miles et al., 2014). Photographs and digital conversations shared by participants functioned as secondary data, used to provide richer descriptive grounding for arguments and conclusions drawn from the primary data. If social or work-related changes occurred between the first and second interviews, participants were asked about them in the second session.

In total, 20 participants were selected through purposive sampling based on the study's criteria: 1) final semester students who are about to graduate or have just graduated and are seeking employment, and 2) workers who graduated no more than one year ago. The selection of participants considered gender balance, socioeconomic status, type of university (public or private), major (STEM or social humanities), and migration status (migrant or native of Yogyakarta). Participant data, such as names, hometowns, and universities, were anonymized to protect participants' privacy.

This study received ethical approval from the Faculty of Psychology, Universitas Gadjah Mada (EC No. 8138/UN1/FPSi.1.3/SD/PT.01.04/2024). All participants provided informed consent prior to their involvement in the study, with assurances regarding voluntary participation, the right to withdraw at any time, and the confidentiality of their data.

Given that parts of the fieldwork were conducted within shared social circles between researchers and participants, the study also considered insider–outsider ethical dynamics. The researchers occupied a semi-insider position, which facilitated access and rapport, but also required continuous reflexive awareness to minimize potential bias, role confusion, and power imbalances. To address this, the researchers maintained clear boundaries between personal and research interactions and ensured that participation remained fully voluntary and non-coercive.

To enhance the credibility of the findings, methodological triangulation was employed by integrating multiple methods of data collection (including in-depth interviews, observations, field notes, photographs, and digital conversations shared by participants). This triangulation allowed for cross-validation of emerging themes across different data sources and strengthened the overall trustworthiness of the analysis (Denzin, 2017; Patton, 2015).

Results

Who Is Considered a Friend?

Our study found that the definition of friendship encompasses a broad range of social connections and interactions. The term "friend" (*teman*) is generic, often used to describe individuals who know each other. "Knowing" in this context means individuals who belong to the same social group and recognize one another. It can also refer to individuals who engage in some form of interaction, even if that interaction is as simple as greeting or having a brief conversation with the person. Young people in Indonesia tend to consider, as friends, everyone who belongs to the same social group, such as the same university or organization. Consequently, the term "friend" is relatively generic. The main foundations for considering another person a friend are recognition and interaction. As long as an individual has recognized and interacted with the other person, they can acknowledge that person as a friend.

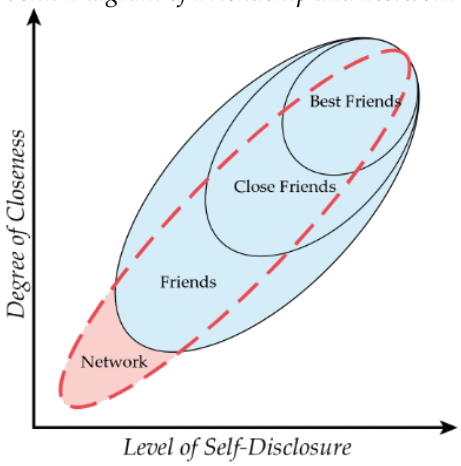
Another term related to the concept of friend is "*teman dekat*" (close friends). It is used to describe a higher level of relationship than friends, as close friends are more specific in their criteria. Young people select their close friends based on how well they know each other, how similar their behavior is, and how similar their interests and visions of life are—all of which require deeper interaction with and understanding of the other person. Self-disclosure is often practiced in close friendships to deepen understanding and bring comfort in times of need. Personal matters, such as family problems and romantic relationships, are often shared exclusively with close friends. Moreover, young people seem to consider self-disclosure as a means of determining whether someone is a friend (*teman biasa*) or a close friend (*teman dekat*).

> "Then, the higher (level) friendship is a friendship with one who knows more about our lives. So if [I] want to talk about my romantic life, about how my life is, about my family or parents and so on, I'll talk to a person who is at this level." (Eve, Female, 22)

In addition to friends and close friends, some participants identified "sahabat" (best friends) as the highest level of friendship. However, this level only signifies a higher degree of closeness or intimacy than close friends. The boundaries and activities engaged in at the best friend level are not significantly different from those of a close friend. Yet when young people require assistance or advice, they typically prioritize contacting their best friend over a close friend. Similarly, when they intend to engage in activities together, they tend to prioritize asking their best friend instead of a close friend. The figure below shows the types of friendships our participants referred to and the position of one type of friendship relative to another. The figure also shows the basis on which friendships are usually categorized, namely, the (subjective) degree of closeness and level of disclosure. See Figure 1

Figure 1

Venn Diagram of Friendship and Network Formation



A significant activity that young people consider when defining their best friends is hanging out. Figure 2 shows one of our participants, Skye, hanging out with Flora as one of her best friends. They usually

spend their free time visiting coffee shops in Jogja.

Figure 2

Participant and Her Best Friend Hanging Out Together



However, these interactions are not limited to physical interactions, which can only occur in person. Instead, such interactions can also be virtual. Many of our participants said that they are always connected via social media when they are apart. These online interactions allow them to maintain intimacy by offering emotional support even when physical interaction is not possible. We will explore this further in another section. Here, we will first discuss closeness and support as important building blocks in friendships.

Closeness and Support: The Main Features of Friendship

Closeness is an important aspect of friendship and is often built during a friendship's early stages. It serves as a key factor in elevating the level of friendship from friends to close friends. In this context, closeness refers to emotional closeness rather than physical proximity and can be understood as mutual familiarity and personal intimacy between individuals. Young people tend to establish closeness with friends they feel compatible with. When they feel compatible with someone, they often strive to turn such connections into close friendships. One way to do this is to be open and disclose themselves.

Self-disclosure is also often involved in the process of transitioning from a friend to a close friend. Typically, it starts with a discussion of personal matters, such as hobbies. However, this level of self-disclosure does not reach the depth seen in close friendships. Close friendships often feature the disclosure of intimate and sensitive information about the parties involved, such as family issues, personal insecurities, and future plans.

Young people expect friendship to be beneficial for sharing information and future plans, as close friends are considered a safe space for expressing feelings and discussing plans. Close friends often serve as sources of support for sharing future plans and seeking advice on those plans. Ultimately, close friends become trusted companions with whom young people share both personal and professional achievements. Similar to closeness, support is essential in all relationships and is predominantly characterized by emotional and practical support. Emotional support can take many forms, including mutual understanding and the provision of comfort, as we explain below.

> "For me, my friend can solve everyday problems that are intimate. They are there for us when we are feeling down, unsure about what to do next, or even just really bored. They can guide us, give us clarity, and make thing[s] feel lighter when we are stuck or looking toward the future." (Maxime, Male, 22)

An essential form of emotional support is mutual understanding, which plays an important role in sustaining close friendships. Friends show this mutual understanding by sharing diverse personal matters, such as daily activities, relationships, opinions, and thoughts. Such exchanges are typically followed by a consistent practice of checking in on each other to further strengthen the bond. When friends are separated by distance, they can provide emotional support through online interaction. This is shown in Figure 3, in which a participant and her friends regularly checked in on each other via video calls. The participant explained that the essence of these video calls is to ensure that their friends are doing well.

Figure 3

Groups of Close Friends Placing a Daily Video Call

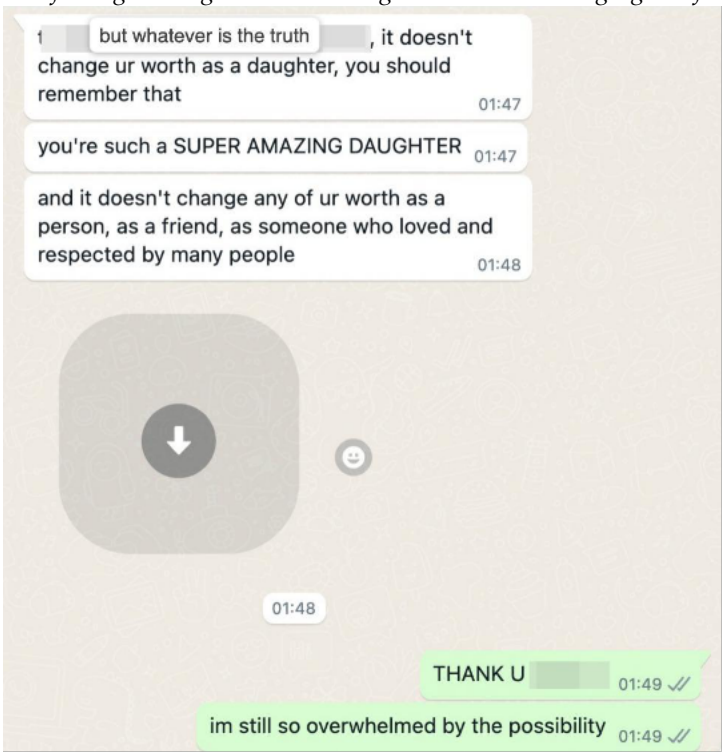


Moreover, comfort is a significant component of emotional support. Reciprocally, comfort fosters the habit of sharing and communicating. Figure 4 shows how comfort in friendship is provided through

text messages. When a participant felt worthless, she expressed this belief to her best friend. The best friend empowered the participant through text messages, helping the participant get through hard times.

Figure 4

Comforting Messages Given Through an Online Messaging Platform



We also found that sometimes practical support follows emotional support. During one of our observations, we witnessed a group of close friends visiting a mutual friend who had experienced an accident. Figure 5 shows how Skye expressed care for her close friend. Following the incident, Skye immediately looked after her close friend. Skye was observed providing care for her close friend for approximately two weeks. Although they did not live together, Skye assisted with various needs, including providing meals, covering boarding necessities, and accompanying her close friend to routine medical check-ups. Skye's support after her friend's accident was not only emotional but also practical.

This example highlights how practical support can be a meaningful expression of care in close friendships, especially during times of crisis. We define practical support as a form of direct action to help someone else without necessarily focusing on providing emotional support. Practical support

Figure 5

Group of Friends Visiting Their Sick Friend



includes helping a friend complete a task or taking care of a friend's belongings. Sometimes giving advice on practical matters is also important, such as assisting with ongoing tasks or providing other forms of hands-on assistance.

> "For me, having a space to vent or just sharing thoughts is really helpful. [B]ut if my friends also [offer] actual help, like checking in or helping out with our work, I think that's even better." (Rhea, Female, 22)

We have explained the importance of emotional and practical support in friendship, involving both personal and public domains. We will now discuss support in networks, which is also crucial. However, the kind of support provided in networks is often confined to the public domain, focusing on issues of work and career. Support given in networks also tends to be more practical rather than emotional. As such, closeness in network relations tends to be lower than in friendships.

> "For me, my network is limited. Maybe it's mostly just professional relationships and nothing more. It doesn't really cross into anything personal—it's just a network, plain and simple." (Maxime, Male, 22)

Practical support in networks can take many forms, including helping participants enter the job market and adapt in their professional settings. Networks often provide information about job vacancies, working conditions, and work experiences, helping young people make informed decisions about their

work trajectories. We also discovered that networks are helpful in providing recommendations to future employers, allowing young people to secure jobs based on network referrals.

> "I wasn't in this field before. When my friend found out, she shared a ton of info with me. Because of that, I found out about various job vacancies, internship opportunities, and all that. And I also got some tips from people with experience!" (Thalia, Female, 22)

In summary, the development of closeness between friends is facilitated by mutual self-disclosure and the sense of comfort accompanying it. Similar to closeness, both emotional and practical support serve as foundations for friendship. Emotional support often precedes and reinforces practical support, with both playing complementary roles in strengthening the bond and deepening the sense of closeness within the friendship.

Practical Support and Limited Closeness in Networking

Networking is characterized by professionalism. Generally, university students or graduates establish networking relationships as a stepping stone for future employment. They acquire these networks through academic activities and organizations during their studies. In academic settings, students are brought together in classes or groups, allowing them to interact and assess one another's abilities and potential. This process helps students identify valuable networks that can support their career goals. Thus, individuals perceive that their potential can enable them to build networks, regardless of the type of relationship from which these connections originate.

A similar dynamic arises in student organizations in university contexts. Student organizations provide opportunities to connect with other students and build networks long before students begin preparing for the transition to work. As shown in Figure 6, Hailey described how she became part of a committee in an exclusive organizational event through a recommendation from her network. Her educational background was not strictly required for this particular job event. Instead, her committee leader, who was aware of her strong English proficiency, recommended that she join as an organizer.

Furthermore, like Hailey, most participants described networking relationships as beneficial for the job-seeking process, helping them access job vacancy information and even providing mentors in the professional world. Moreover, Bryan explained that he benefited from this networking in the form of job recommendations when the company where his network was employed had job openings.

In addition, this study highlighted varying levels of practical support and closeness. Relationships originating from professional contexts (i.e., networking) typically provide practical support limited to fulfilling professional responsibilities, such as academic or organizational tasks. Similarly, the level of closeness observed in these relationships tends to be lower than that found in friendships.

Blurred Boundaries and Changing Nature of Friendship and Networks

As we have illustrated, most participants believed that a clear conceptual separation exists between friendship and networks. However, in some cases, they are aware that these two relationships overlap.

Figure 6

Participant Becoming Part of An Event Committee Through Her Network's Recommendation



Thus, drawing a line between these two forms of relationships is unnecessary.

> "Friends can become part of my network when it comes to work. For example, if my friend already has a job, and I found it interesting, I'd see them not just as friends but also as part of my network. Same goes for a network. If we stay in touch after that, they are my friends too." (Yuri, Female, 22)

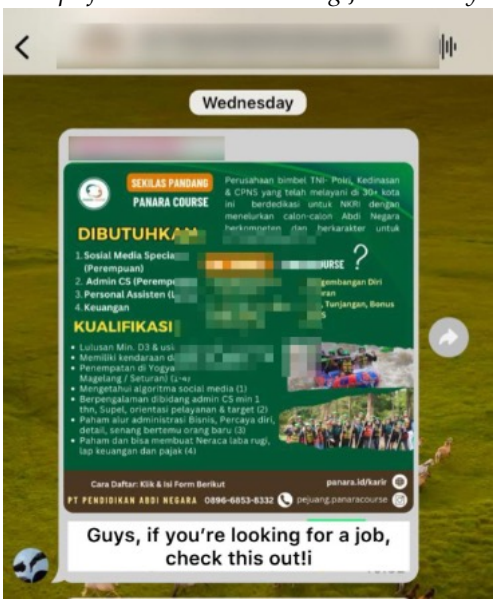
According to the participants, those who are part of their network are also friends.. Friends who are also considered network members often provide career-related support such as sharing job opportunities, assisting with resume preparation, or offering guidance on career planning. As shown in Figure 7, a participant's close friend shared a job vacancy with her.

Information received from friends within the network is perceived as having higher potential and credibility. A participant stated that his current job opportunity came through a friend who had previously worked at the same company. Ultimately, this direct connection enabled the participant to secure the position more easily than those lacking a direct connection.

> "I wouldn't have known anything if he hadn't told me. That info was supposed to be shared in the group, but he reached out to me directly like, 'Yosef, here's the registration and all the details.' At that time, I was still missing a few requirements, but he was just like, 'It's fine, we've got an inside connection anyway'" (Yosef, Male, 22)

Figure 7

Group of Close Friends Sharing Job Vacancy Information With a Participant



"Yup, because word of mouth is the fastest way to get job info. And usually, I get this kind of stuff from my network who are also friends." (Hailey, Female, 22)

In some cases, it is the nature of the relationship that changes. Rather than having those at the friends level remain at the network level, the relationship may evolve to a close friendship. This usually happens when the degree of closeness deepens. Some participants stated that they occasionally find someone within their network who engages in more frequent interactions with them, facilitating more personal conversations. For instance, Ben shared an experience in which his relationship with a network member shifted to that of a close friend after they discovered many commonalities, such as physical appearance, speaking styles, general personality, sense of humor, and conversational interests. These commonalities often lead to greater closeness, transforming the relationship from a "just friend" network to a close friend.

"I guess, our conversations just really flowed. For one thing, I felt like he had the same sense of humor as I did – our humor really matched. Also, there were several times when people pointed out that, physically or even speaking style, was quite similar to this senior. So, it kind of feels like… People would just refer to me as the 'mini version' of him. What else? I think, just the similarities in the kinds of topics we talked about that made our conversations really connect." (Ben, Male, 22)

Changes in the other direction may also happen-when friends become simply network members. This often depends on how well the individuals perform in shared work responsibilities. One participant, Faye, said that conflict tends to arise when one's performance negatively affects the other or when expectations are not met. In addition, the feeling of indebtedness (*berutang budi*) and mutual dependence

can create a more transactional relationship, straining the original relationship. Adam expressed concerns about the risks of involving close friends in a professional setting due to such overlaps, which can complicate both personal and professional dynamics. In this case, he experienced a personal conflict with a close friend that was never resolved, and it led to emotional distance. Although the two of them remained connected in the same professional setting, their personal conflict led Adam to no longer consider the person a close friend. He now engages with this person only in a professional context.

> "I used to have a really close friend. We even lived together in the rented house. We were really close. But then, we had a conflict and I didn't communicate properly. In the end, we just stopped talking. It got worse over time and we went our separate ways, we also stopped living together and he moved to a different place. But, we were still tied through shared professional responsibilities, we happened to be in the same organizations. The same organizations that brought us close in the first place. After that conflict happened, our communication became strictly professional and I'd only talk to him when it was about work matters. Before that, I could talk to him about everything. Since then, I no longer see him as a close friend anymore. Now, I only talk to him when necessary (for professional reasons)." (Adam, Male, 22)

In relationships in which friendship and networks overlap, boundaries that were previously unclear must be clarified and perhaps loosened when the problems are resolved. Thalia provided an example of this flexibility.

> "There's a difference when it comes to networking. With your network, the topics are still related to work, like training or other professional stuff. But when it comes to friends, the conversations are way more random." (Thalia, Female, 22)

Thus, acknowledging boundaries while simultaneously maintaining the flexibility of those boundaries facilitates the integrity of personal and professional aspects of relationships. By managing the relationship in such a way, young people create a balanced coexistence between friendship and networks, further reducing the potential for conflict.

Discussion

This study aims to explore how youth (re)construct the boundaries between friendship and networking in finding meaningful work. Meaningful work is defined as a job that not only fulfills the worker's rights but also provides opportunities for personal and professional growth. In this reconstruction of boundaries, the meaning and role of friendship and networks are also examined. Friendship is divided into three types: friends, close friends, and best friends. The findings revealed that to understand the boundaries between friendship and networks, aspects of the relationships, such as closeness and support, must be unpacked. Closeness is a strong feature of friendship, but it is found in both friendship and network relations. The difference in closeness between friendship and network relations lies mainly in degree, with closeness being higher in friendship. In friendship, support encompasses both emotional and practical dimensions, while in networking, support mainly revolves around practical matters.

These findings imply that the boundaries between friendship and networking lie in the differing proportions of relational aspects. Friendships prioritize closeness and emotional and practical support, whereas networking emphasizes practical support with limited closeness. It is important to note that young people manage these overlapping relationships by setting flexible boundaries.

Explaining Closeness and Support in Friendship

Self-disclosure and closeness play an important role in the dynamics of friendship. These relational aspects play out differently in each type of friendship, as we explained in the results section. Friendships range from friends (*teman*), marked by basic recognition and interaction, to close friends (*teman dekat*), defined by closer connection and deeper self-disclosure, to best friends (*sahabat*), characterized by the highest levels of closeness and self-disclosure. Thus, in this section, we discuss the role of self-disclosure and closeness in conceptualizing friendship. Closeness is formed through unconditional acceptance, which is a defining feature of youth friendships (Güler et al., 2022). On the other hand, self-disclosure is based on deeper trust and comfort compared to networking. Closeness and self-disclosure are closely related and influence each other.

Closeness in relationships determines the level of friendship among youth. In this regard, closeness develops over time in friendships (Sherf & Venkataramani, 2015). The more time spent together, the closer the friendship becomes, potentially elevating its level (Hall, 2019). Support in this study was expressed in various forms: emotional and practical support. For Indonesian youth, friendship helps them navigate feelings of frustration, anxiety, and societal pressure through mutual care and enjoyment (Schut, 2020), which are examples of emotional support. Friendships also provide comfort in environments with cultures different from one's own (Wulff, 2022). Additionally, youth give each other advice as a form of practical support, which aids in reflection and decision-making (Rubin et al., 2021). Finally, youth share perspectives and support each other in personal growth.

Although self-disclosure, closeness, and emotional and practical support are commonly found in friendship (Minza et al., 2022), these aspects can also be present in networking, though their intensity tends to vary. In networking relations, self-disclosure occurs at a surface level. Youth maintain a friendly and appropriate approach without trying to deepen their closeness with their networks. In networking relations, support is more inclined toward career or professional goals, and most of the time, it does not have a deep emotional dimension.

Network: Friends That Help With Progress in Life?

The transition from education to the workforce is a critical phase for youth. Grosemans and Kyndt (2017) explained that, in this phase, youth face uncertainties as they shift from the educational context to the work context. Youth must prepare themselves for this phase by expanding their networks. This is because a successful transition depends on how well young people can access and mobilize all their resources (Lehmann, 2019). Moreover, the presence of social capital within relationships offers various benefits, especially when individuals invest in it (Lin, 2001). Social capital also plays a valuable role in supporting personal and professional development (Machalek & Martin, 2015). Furthermore, a previous

study argues that when youth join a social network, they can access instrumental support, such as information and influence, as well as emotional support (Lin, 1999). However, high emotional support tends to come from strong ties (e.g., close friends), while instrumental support often comes from weaker ties (e.g., friends) (De Weerdt et al., 2024).

The study found that networks tend to provide emotional and practical support for career development. Similar to support in friendships, practical support in networks is a direct form of help or concrete action (e.g., providing advice and solutions). In short, in networks, support focuses on task-related actions (Gulati & Srivastava, 2014). A study conducted by Lin (2001) shows that these forms of support help individuals access information about the job market, such as available jobs and job vacancies, as well as provide influence and assistance during the job search process. In the context of this study, networks derived from friends can provide information such as new job opportunities, as they often act as "information bridges" between different social circles and contexts (Seibert et al., 2001).

The higher frequency of contact with networks tends to make youth more comfortable discussing their career orientation, sharing experiences related to the transition to work, and sharing advice on work-life balance (De Weerdt et al., 2024). Additionally, it is easier to contact close friends, as young people have greater access to close friends than to friends, making the exchange of information easier to facilitate (Reingen & Kernan, 1986). Furthermore, youth tend to seek information from network members with strong ties, such as close friends, because such individuals can provide emotional support, encouraging them to explore job options or career orientations (De Weerdt et al., 2024; Hoye et al., 2009).

Networking can help youth broaden their horizons and identify career goals (Schepper et al., 2023). As mentioned previously, networks often provide general and specific information about the job market, companies, and career pathways. This information can give youth an idea about the culture in a certain workplace, thereby allowing them to consider their career prospects (Chin et al., 2019; Jabbar et al., 2020). Thus, practical support from a network can increase opportunities for youth to find suitable jobs and, in turn, improve the quality of their career choices.

When Friends Become Networks and Networks Become Friends

It is crucial for youth transitioning to the workforce to build new networks and use existing networks to their advantage. Youth who use networks during the job-seeking process benefit from strong ties, such as close friends, and weak ties, such as acquaintances (in the context of this study, friends in general) (Wanberg et al., 2019). Youth receive emotional support from strong ties, i.e., close friends, and career-specific and practical support from weak ties, i.e., friends (De Weerdt et al., 2024). Furthermore, the results of this study show that close friends not only provide emotional and practical support in one's personal life but also function as a network that provides support in professional matters.

The role of networks in friendship arises when one of the two parties starts their journey as a job seeker or explores the job market. This kind of relationship with close friends shows the crucial role these friends play during a transition (Buhl et al., 2018). This study shows that friends as a network offer advice on work-life balance, discuss future goals, or share job-seeking journeys (De Weerdt et al., 2024). In addition, friends encourage youth to explore different career options (Schepper et al., 2023). In

this transition, the relationship has an additional function, that is, when friends also become networks.

Youth value the closeness of personal relationships with friends and the ability to approach friends within their circle (De Weerdt et al., 2024). Youth often reach out to close friends who are personal sources of information about the workforce (Granovetter, 1973), particularly those they trust and with whom they have more frequent contact (Sabatini, 2009). In the function of friendship as a network, youth perceive close friends as relevant to the transition to the workforce and attempt to stay connected for future opportunities. The more personal the relationship with a friend, the easier it is for youth to reach out and ask questions about the transition to work (De Weerdt et al., 2024).

A network can also take on the role of a friend. This addition of a friend role in networks happens in the presence of compatibility (Sun & Taylor, 2020) and closeness (Hall, 2019). The transition to friendship with an individual in a young person's network influences the young person's career aspirations and professional identity. It also provides emotional support in the face of uncertainties and challenges during transitions (Schacter et al., 2023). This study's findings indicate that networks that evolve into friendships can offer advantages such as emotional support, access to information, flexible conversation contexts, and easier collaboration. However, the addition of friend roles to networks can also foster interpersonal conflicts (Hommelhoff, 2019). These conflicts arise when one role spills over into the other within the intertwining of friendship and networking relationships (Fasbender et al., 2023). These role conflicts can be minimized by establishing clear boundaries between the two roles. Therefore, youth can effectively adjust their roles as friends in networks, ensuring the relationships function seamlessly.

Limitation

This study has several limitations that should be considered when interpreting the findings. The use of a short-term ethnographic approach, while enabling intensive engagement, limits the ability to capture the longitudinal evolution of friendship–network dynamics as youth transitions to work often unfold over extended periods. In addition, the relatively small and context-specific sample (N = 20), drawn from youth in Yogyakarta, constrains the generalizability of the findings to other populations, including those in different cultural or labor market contexts. The researchers' semi-insider positionality, although facilitating access and rapport, may also introduce interpretive bias despite efforts to maintain reflexivity and clear boundaries. Furthermore, the study focuses primarily on youth with higher education backgrounds, potentially overlooking the experiences of non-university youth or those in informal employment sectors. Finally, the emphasis on relational processes may underrepresent the role of broader structural factors such as labor market conditions and socioeconomic inequality in shaping access to meaningful work.

Conclusion

This study provides an overview of how youth reconstruct the boundaries between friendship and networking relationships in securing meaningful work. Both friendship and networking relationships

encompass relational aspects, including self-disclosure, closeness, and support. The proportion and intensity of these relational aspects differentiate the two types of relationships. Friendship is primarily characterized by self-disclosure, closeness, emotional support, and practical support, whereas networking relationships are based on emotional and practical support in advancing one's professional career.

This study finds that friendship and networking relationships play a significant role for youth transitioning into the workforce. These relationships often become intertwined, serving as both friendships and networks that go beyond traditional networking models. This means that youth benefit from the advantages of friendship while gaining career aspirations and job market information through their networking relationships.

In other words, the intertwining of friendship and networking allows youth to simultaneously experience three aspects of a relationship (self-disclosure, closeness, and support) and often requires managing the two relationships. Assistance in securing employment and accessing professional information can be easily obtained within these relationships. However, the intertwining of friendship and networking that involves dual roles is susceptible to conflict. It is important for youth engaged in these relationships to be skilled at positioning themselves as they navigate their roles within these multifaceted connections.

Implications

These findings have several implications for both research and practice. The transition to work emerges as a relationally embedded process in which access to meaningful work is shaped through evolving configurations of friendship and networks. This highlights the importance of recognizing informal relational infrastructures, such as peer groups and everyday social ties, within youth employment policies and career interventions, rather than focusing predominantly on formal pathways. In addition, career development initiatives may benefit from incorporating relational competencies, including boundary negotiation, role management, and the ethical navigation of relationships that carry both emotional and instrumental dimensions. Situated within the Indonesian context, this study also contributes to Global South perspectives by demonstrating that friendship and networking operate as fluid and culturally embedded practices, offering an alternative to the rigid categorizations commonly found in dominant frameworks.

Recommendation

The findings show that the boundaries between friendship and network are sometimes unclear, and there are frequent changes in the nature of the relationship, from friendship to network and vice versa. Therefore, youth must have the flexibility to develop various forms of relationships. With this ability, intertwined friendships and networks have great potential to help youth transition to meaningful work. Recommendations are given to educational institutions. The role of educational institutions should include providing training related to self-management and interpersonal skills. Various programs, such as mentorship, can encourage youth to develop valuable relationships for their future. Further

research should examine how conflicts affect the balance between both roles. The findings show that the boundaries between friendship and network are sometimes unclear, and there are frequent changes in the nature of the relationship, from friendship to network and vice versa. Therefore, youth must have the flexibility to develop various forms of relationships. With this ability, intertwined friendships and networks have great potential to help youth transition to meaningful work. Recommendations are given to educational institutions. The role of educational institutions should include providing training related to self-management and interpersonal skills. Various programs, such as mentorship, can encourage youth to develop valuable relationships for their future. Further research should examine how conflicts affect the balance between both roles.

Declaration

Acknowledgments

The authors are grateful to all the participants who willingly took part in this study. Also, we are grateful to Arya Satya Bhagaskara and Amadeo Ahnaf, research assistants who engaged in this study.

Funding

This study was fully funded by Universitas Gadjah Mada, under Grant Research Assistance Contract No. 9437/UN1.P4/PT.01.02/2024.

Authors' Contributions

WMM and AF designed the research. WMM supervised data collection, processing, and analysis, reviewed the manuscript, and approved the final version of the manuscript. ASH, AHH, FW, OFIK, and research assistants assisted in data collection, performed data analysis, and wrote the draft of the manuscript.

Conflict of Interest

The author(s) declare no potential conflicts of interest with respect to the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

Declaration of Generative AI in Scientific Writing

In the preparation of this manuscript, artificial intelligence (AI) was used in a limited capacity to improve sentence structure and paraphrase certain sections of text. All content, analysis, interpretations, and conclusions are the sole work of the researcher. AI was not used to generate data, analyze research findings, or draw scientific conclusions.

Orcid ID

Wenty Marina Minza https://orcid.org/0000-0002-3805-2717
Arum Febriani https://orcid.org/0000-0002-2114-1318

Angelina Shiva Hany https://orcid.org/0009-0005-4783-5579
Atikah Hana Hanifah https://orcid.org/0009-0005-4783-5579
Octiva Fairuz Izdihar Kusharyanti https://orcid.org/0009-0005-2714-2898
Fransiska Widianingtyas https://orcid.org/0009-0009-5801-4230

References

Ahrne, G. (2014). *The society between us. On friendship, love, relationships and organizations*. Liber.

Badan Pusat Statistik. (2024). *Keadaan pekerja di Indonesia Februari 2024 [Employment situation in Indonesia February 2024]*. https://www.bps.go.id/id/publication/2024/06/07/bd40ab2fa4fac6c726ab4ad4/keadaan-pekerja-di-indonesia-februari-2024.html

Bailey, C., Yeoman, R., Madden, A., Thompson, M., & Kerridge, G. (2019). A review of the empirical literature on meaningful work: Progress and research agenda. *Human Resource Development Review*, *18*(1), 83–113. https://doi.org/10.1177/1534484318804653

Barthauer, L., & Kauffeld, S. (2018). The role of social networks for careers. *Gruppe. Interaktion. Organisation. Zeitschrift fur Angewandte Organisationspsychologie (GIO)*, *49*(1), 50–57. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11612-018-0401-2

Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, *3*(2), 77–101. https://doi.org/10.1191/1478088706qp063oa

Buhl, H. M., Noack, P., & Kracke, B. (2018). The role of parents and pPeers in the transition from university to work life. *Journal of Career Development*, *45*(6), 523–535. https://doi.org/10.1177/0894845317720728

Casciaro, T., Gino, F., & Kouchaki, M. (2014). The contaminating effects of building instrumental ties. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, *59*(4), 705–735. https://doi.org/10.1177/0001839214554990

Chin, M. Y., Cohen, C. A. B., & Hora, M. T. (2019). Examining US business undergraduates' use of career information sources during career exploration. *Education + Training*, *62*(1), 15–30. https://doi.org/10.1108/ET-05-2019-0103

Chopik, W. J. (2017). Associations among relational values, support, health, and well-being across the adult lifespan. *Personal Relationships*, *24*(2), 408–422. https://doi.org/10.1111/pere.12187

De Weerdt, D., De Schepper, A., Kyndt, E., & Gijbels, D. (2024). Entering the labor market: Networks and networking behavior in the school-to-work transition. *Vocations and Learning*, *17*, 311–332. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12186-024-09343-4

Demir, M., Orthel-Clark, H., Özdemir, M., & Özdemir, S. B. (2015). Friendship and happiness among young adults. In *Friendship and happiness* (pp. 117–135). Springer Netherlands. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-017-9603-3_7

Denzin, N. K. (2017). *The research act*. Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315134543

Emerson, R. M., Fretz, R. I., & Shaw, L. L. (2011). *Writing ethnographic fieldnotes, second edition*. University of Chicago Press. https://doi.org/10.7208/chicago/9780226206868.001.0001

English, P., de Villiers Scheepers, M. J., Fleischman, D., Burgess, J., & Crimmins, G. (2021). Developing professional networks: the missing link to graduate employability. *Education + Training*, *63*(4), 647–661. https://doi.org/10.1108/ET-10-2020-0309

Fasbender, U., Burmeister, A., & Wang, M. (2023). Managing the risks and side effects of workplace friendships: The moderating role of workplace friendship self-efficacy. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, *143*, 103875. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jvb.2023.103875

Gee, L. K., Jones, J. J., Fariss, C. J., Burke, M., & Fowler, J. H. (2017). The paradox of weak ties in 55 countries. *Journal of Economic Behavior & Organization*, *133*, 362–372. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jebo.2016.12.004

Granovetter, M. S. (1973). The strength of weak ties. *American Journal of Sociology*, *78*(6), 1360–1380. https://doi.org/10.1086/225469

Grosemans, I., & Kyndt, E. (2017). Transition from higher education to the labour market. In *Higher education transitions: Theory and research* (pp. 209–218). Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315617367-16

Gulati, R., & Srivastava, S. B. (2014). Bringing agency back into network research: Constrained agency and network action. In *Contemporary perspectives on organizational social networks* (pp. 73–93). Emerald Group Publishing Limited. https://doi.org/10.1108/S0733-558X(2014)0000040004

Güler, Ç. Y., Çakmak, I., & Bayraktar, E. (2022). Never walk alone on the way: Friendships of emerging adults. *Personal Relationships*, *29*(4), 811–839. https://doi.org/10.1111/pere.12455

Hall, J. A. (2019). How many hours does it take to make a friend? *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships*, *36*(4), 1278–1296. https://doi.org/10.1177/0265407518761225

Holt-Lunstad, J. (2017). Friendship and health. In M. Hojjat & A. Moyer (Eds.) In *The psychology of friendship* (pp. 233–248). Oxford University Press.

Hommelhoff, S. (2019). Having workplace friends is not always fun. *Zeitschrift für Arbeits- und Organisationspsychologie AO*, *63*(3), 152–164. https://doi.org/10.1026/0932-4089/a000300

Hoye, G., Hooft, E. A. J., & Lievens, F. (2009). Networking as a job search behaviour: A social network perspective. *Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology*, *82*(3), 661–682. https://doi.org/10.1348/096317908x360675

Ishak, K. (2018). Faktor-faktor yang mempengaruhi pengangguran dan inflikasi terhadap indeks pembangunan di Indonesia [Factors affecting unemployment and its implications for the development index in Indonesia]. *IQTISHADUNA: Jurnal Ilmiah Ekonomi Kita*, *7*(1), 22–38. https://www.ejournal.stiesyariahbengkalis.ac.id/index.php/iqtishaduna/article/view/121

Jabbar, H., Cannata, M., Germain, E., & Castro, A. (2020). It's who you know: The role of social networks in a changing labor market. *American Educational Research Journal*, *57*(4), 1485–1524. https://doi.org/10.3102/0002831219879092

Jacobs, S., Vos, A. D., Stuer, D., & der Heijden, B. I. J. M. V. (2019). "Knowing me, knowing you" the importance of networking for freelancers' careers: Examining the mediating role of need for relatedness fulfillment and employability-enhancing competencies. *Frontiers in Psychology*, *10*(1). https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2019.02055

Jianu, I. (2019). The effect of young people not in employment, education or training, on poverty rate in European Union. *Journal of Eastern Europe Research in Business and Economics*, 1–14. https://doi.org/10.5171/2019.955941

Kim, J., Park, D., & Shin, Y.-J. (2022). Friendship dynamics of career decision-making self-efficacy: a longitudinal social network approach. *Current Psychology*, *42*(32), 28771–28782. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12144-022-03887-1

Knoblauch, H. (2005). Focused ethnography. *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung / Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, *6*(3). https://doi.org/10.17169/FQS-6.3.20

Landau, L. B. (2018). Friendship fears and communities of convenience in Africa's urban estuaries: connection as measure of urban condition. *Urban Studies (Edinburgh, Scotland)*, *55*(3), 505–521.

Lauer, S. (2024). Cosmopolitan social infrastructure and cross-ethnic friendship. *Current Sociology*, *72*(1), 3–24.

Lehmann, W. (2019). Forms of capital in working-class students' transition from University to employment. *Journal of Education and Work*, *32*(4), 347–359. https://doi.org/10.1080/13639080.2019.1617841

Li, T., & Cheng, S.-T. (2015). Family, friends, and subjective well-being: A comparison between the west and Asia. In *Friendship and happiness* (pp. 235–251). Springer Netherlands. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-017-9603-3_14

Lin, N. (1999). Building a network theory of social capital. *Connections*, *22*(1), 28–51.

Lin, N. (2001). *Social capital*. Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511815447

Machalek, R., & Martin, M. W. (2015). Sociobiology and sociology: A new synthesis. In *International encyclopedia of the social behavioral sciences* (pp. 892–898). Elsevier. https://doi.org/10.1016/B978-0-08-097086-8.32010-4

Miles, M. B., Huberman, A. M., & Saldaña, J. (2014). *Qualitative data analysis: A methods sourcebook (3rd ed.)* SAGE Publications.

Miller, J. G., Bland, C., Källberg-Shroff, M., Tseng, C.-Y., Montes-George, J., Ryan, K., Das, R., & Chakravarthy, S. (2014). Culture and the role of exchange vs. communal norms in friendship. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, *53*, 79–93. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2014.02.006

Minza, W. M., Nurdiyanto, F. A., Muhiddin, S., & Pertiwi, Y. G. (2022). "My neighbor, my friend": The relevance of support, closeness, and history of relations in neighborhood friendship. *Human Arenas*. https://doi.org/10.1007/s42087-022-00283-w

Mowbray, J., & Hall, H. (2019). Networking as an information behaviour during job search. *Journal of Documentation*, *76*(2), 424–439. https://doi.org/10.1108/JD-05-2019-0086

Nisa, K., & Sugiharti, R. R. (2022). Determinan pengangguran muda: Studi di Negara ASEAN-5 2010-2019 [Determinants of youth unemployment: A study in ASEAN-5 countries 2010-2019]. *Journal of Economics Research and Policy Studies*, *2*(1), 10–22. https://doi.org/10.53088/jerps.v2i1.371

Patton, M. Q. (2015). *Qualitative research evaluation methods: Integrating theory and practice (4th ed.)* SAGE Publications.

Pena-López, J. A., & Sánchez-Santos, J. M. (2017). Individual social capital: Accessibility and mobilization of resources embedded in social networks. *Social Networks*, *49*, 1–11. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socnet.2016.11.003

Pink, S., & Morgan, J. (2013). Short-term ethnography: Intense routes to knowing. *Symbolic Interaction*, *36*(3), 351–361. https://doi.org/10.1002/symb.66

Quinter, M. (2020). Social support and adolescents' career development. *International Journal of Education and Research*, *8*(12), 125–136.

Reingen, P. H., & Kernan, J. B. (1986). Analysis of referral networks in marketing: Methods and illustration. *Journal of Marketing Research*, *23*(4), 370. https://doi.org/10.2307/3151813

Rubin, J. D., Scanlon, M., Cechony, A., & Chen, K. (2021). "Here I can just be myself": How youth and adults collaboratively develop an identity-safe community across difference. *Journal of Community Psychology*, *49*(5), 1024–1043. https://doi.org/10.1002/jcop.22526

Sabatini, F. (2009). Social capital as social networks: A new framework for measurement and an empirical analysis of its determinants and consequences. *The Journal of Socio-Economics*, *38*(3), 429–442. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socec.2008.06.001

Schacter, H. L., Hoffman, A. J., & Ehrhardt, A. D. (2023). The power dynamics of friendship: Between- and within- person associations among friend dominance, self-esteem, and adolescent internalizing symptoms. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, *52*(6), 1206–1218. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10964-023-01763-0

Schepper, A. D., Clycq, N., & Kyndt, E. (2023). Social networks in the transition from higher education to work: A systematic review. *Educational Research Review*, *40*, 100551. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.edurev.2023.100551

Schuh, M. C., Sundar, V., & Hagner, D. C. (2015). Friendship is the ocean: Importance of friendship, acceptance, and leadership in the transition to adulthood. *Career Development and Transition for Exceptional Individuals*, *38*(3), 152–161. https://doi.org/10.1177/2165143414528031

Schut, T. (2020). Friendship as liveliness, friendship as discipline: Un(der)employed young people's peer-to-peer relations and the reproduction of everyday village life in rural Indonesia. *The Asia Pacific Journal of Anthropology*, *21*(5), 466–482. https://doi.org/10.1080/14442213.2020.1829692

Seibert, S. E., Kraimer, M. L., & Liden, R. C. (2001). A social capital theory of career success. *Academy of Management Journal*, *44*(2), 219–237. https://doi.org/10.2307/3069452

Seibert, S. E., Sargent, L. D., Kraimer, M. L., & Kiazad, K. (2017). Linking developmental experiences to leader effectiveness and promotability: The mediating role of leadership self-efficacy and mentor network. *Personnel Psychology*, *70*(2), 357–397.

Sherf, E. N., & Venkataramani, V. (2015). Friend or foe? The impact of relational ties with comparison others on outcome fairness and satisfaction judgments. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, *128*, 1–14. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.obhdp.2015.02.002

Shin, H., & Ryan, A. M. (2014). Early adolescent friendships and academic adjustment: Examining selection and influence processes with longitudinal social network analysis. *Developmental Psychology*, *50*(11), 2462–2472. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0037922

Sun, T., & Taylor, S. J. (2020). Displaying things in common to encourage friendship formation: A large randomized field experiment. *Quantitative Marketing and Economics*, *18*(3), 237–271. https://doi.org/10.1007/S11129-020-09224-9/FIGURES/24

Thiele, L., Sauer, N. C., Atzmueller, M., & Kauffeld, S. (2018). The co-evolution of career aspirations and peer relationships in psychology bachelor students: A longitudinal social network study. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, *106*, 48–61. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jvb.2017.12.005

Tjahjadi, A. M., & Widhyharto, D. S. (2018). Youth within transition: Recent developments in education and employment in Yogyakarta [Pemuda dalam transisi: Perkembangan terkini pendidikan dan ketenagakerjaan di Yogyakarta]. *Jurnal Studi Pemuda*, *6*(1), 548. https://doi.org/10.22146/studipemudaugm.38032

Tomasik, M. J., Hardy, S., Haase, C. M., & Heckhausen, J. (2008). Adaptive adjustment of vocational aspirations among German youths during the transition from school to work. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, *74*(1), 38–46. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jvb.2008.10.003

Wanberg, C. R., Ali, A. A., & Csillag, B. (2019). Job seeking: The process and experience of looking for a job. *Annual Review of Organizational Psychology and Organizational Behavior*, *7*(1), 315–337. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-orgpsych-012119-044939

Wulff, H. (2022). Inter-racial friendship: Consuming youth styles, ethnicity and teenage femininity in South London. In *Youth Cultures* (pp. 63–80). Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003333487-4

Zamfir, A.-M., Militaru, E., Mocanu, C., & Lungu, E. O. (2020). School-to-work transition of higher education graduates in four European countries. *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education*, *50*(1), 36–52. https://doi.org/10.1080/03057925.2018.1493572

Zhu, F., Fan, S. X., & Zhao, L. (2019). Having entrepreneurial friends and following them? The role of friends' displayed emotions in students' career choice intentions. *Journal of Enterprising Culture*, *27*(4), 445–470. https://doi.org/10.1142/S021849581950016X