



Youth in South Africa Uncertain Transitions in a Context of Deprivation

29-30 August 2014

Graduate School of Business

University of Cape Town

Programme

DAY 1 FRIDAY 29 AUGUST 2014
 VENUUE: GSB Exhibition Hall

8.30 – 8.50 Introduction (Plenary)
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8.30 – 8.40 **The Poverty and Inequality Initiative (PII)**

Murray Leibbrandt

*Poverty and Inequality Initiative, Southern Africa Labour and Development
Research Unit, School of Economics – University of Cape Town*

8.40 – 8.50 **A Focus on Youth within PII**

Ariane De Lannoy

Poverty and Inequality Initiative – University of Cape Town

8.50 – 9.10 Keynote Address: Young Adults' transitions to adulthood (Plenary)

8.50 – 9.10 **Keynote address on young adults' transitions to adulthood**

Jeremy Seekings

*Centre for Social Science Research and Departments of Political Science and
Sociology – University of Cape Town*

9.10 – 9.20 **Q & A**

9.20 – 12.20 SESSION 2, YOUTH AND LABOUR MARKET - VENUE: EXHIBITION HALL <i>Chair: Murray Leibbrandt</i>

9.20 – 9.40 **Estimating the short run effects of the youth employment incentive in
South Africa**

Vimal Ranchhod and Arden Finn

*Southern Africa Labour and Development Research Unit – University of Cape
Town*

9.40 – 10.00 What factors facilitate successful labour market entry amongst youth in South Africa?

Cecil Mlatsheni and Vimal Ranchhod

*Southern Africa Labour and Development Research Unit / School of Economics
– University of Cape Town*

10.00 – 10.20 The Youth in the Informal Economy of South Africa – The Case of Day Labourers and Street Waste Pickers

Derick Blaauw, Rinie Schenck and Kotie Viljoen

Department of Social Work – University of the Western Cape

10.20 – 10.40 Q & A

10.40 – 11.00 Tea

11.00 – 11.20 Youth in South Africa: Vulnerabilities and Aspirations

Ariane De Lannoy

Poverty and Inequality Initiative – University of Cape Town

11.20 – 11.40 Young Entrepreneurs' Experiences of Navigating their Success

Margaret Booysens and Roshan Galvaan

Department of Social Development – University of Cape Town

11.40 – 12.00 Advocating for Equality in Accessing Livelihood Assets for Disabled Youth

Theresa Lorenzo

*Disability Studies Division, Department of Health and Rehabilitation Sciences,
Faculty of Health Sciences – University of Cape Town*

12.00 – 12.20 Discussant

Haroon Borhat

Development Policy Research Unit and School of Economics – University of Cape Town

12.20 – 13.20 LUNCH

13.20 – 14.20 SESSION 3A, PART I: MOTHERHOOD - PARALLEL VENUE: SOLUTIONS SPACE

Chair: Kath Hall

13.20 – 13.40 Educational consequences of teenage childbearing and the possibility of intervention via youth friendly health services

Nicola Branson

Southern Africa Labour and Development Unit – University of Cape Town

13.40 – 14.00 “I Am a Mother”: Meaning Making and Young Motherhood

Lauren Graham

Centre for Social Development in Africa – University of Johannesburg

14.00 – 14.20 Brief Discussion

Cally Ardington

Southern Africa Labour and Development Unit – University of Cape Town

14.20 – 14.35 Tea Break for Session 3A

14.35 – 16.10 SESSION 3A, PART II – Young Adults in Care - PARALLEL VENUE: SOLUTIONS SPACE

Chair: Roshan Galvaan

14.35 – 14.55 Young People Transitioning out of Care into Contexts of Deprivation

Adrian Van Breda and Lisa Dickens

Department of Social Work – University of Johannesburg and Girls and Boys Town

14.55 – 15.15 Transitional Support Programmes: lessons learned about supporting transitions

Carly Tanur and Gerald Jacobs

Mamelani Projects

15.15 – 15.35 Boyhood to Manhood – In the Shadow of my Father’s Absence

Jawaya Shea

Child Health Unit – University of Cape Town

15.35 – 16.10 Discussant and Q&A

Lucy Jamieson

The Children’s Institute – University of Cape Town

13.20 – 16.00 SESSION 3B, Identity and Citizenship – VENUE: EXHIBITION HALL

Chair: Ariane De Lannoy

13.20 – 13.40 Youth, Gangs and Transition

Kylie Van Wyk, Samantha Coert and Heidi Sauls

Research, Population and Knowledge Management, Department of Social Development, Western Cape Government

13.40 – 14.00 Social Identities and Shifting Aspirations among Male Township Youth

Heather Brookes

Linguistics – University of Cape Town

14.00 – 14.20 Youth and Democratic Citizenship in Post-Apartheid South Africa

Robert Mattes and Samantha Richmond

Department of Political Studies and Democracy in Africa Research Unit – University of Cape Town

14.20 – 14.40 Exploring Civic Engagement among High-Risk Youth in Manenberg through the Leading Causes of Life Framework

Jim Cochrane & Masana Ndinga-Kanga

Leading Causes of Life Initiative, Department of Religious Studies & Poverty and Inequality Initiative – University of Cape Town

14.40 – 15.00 Tea

15.00 – 15.45 Discussants

Justine Burns

School of Economics, Poverty and Inequality Initiative – University of Cape Town

Gideon Morris

Department of Community Safety, Western Cape Government

Chris Giles

Violence Prevention through Urban Upgrading

Janet Jobson

DG Murray Trust

Youth representatives

Activate Youth

15.45 – 16.00 Q&A

DAY 2 SATURDAY 30 AUGUST 2014

VENUE: GSB Exhibition Hall

9.00 – 9.40 SESSION 4, KEYNOTE ADDRESS: Youth and Entrepreneurship (Plenary)

9.00 – 9.20 Keynote Address (2): Youth and entrepreneurship

Walter Baets

Director of the Graduate School of Business

9.20 – 9.30 Q&A

9.30 – 10.40 SESSION 5, Youth and Entrepreneurship

Chair: Margaret Booyens

9.30 – 9.50 Introducing the Raymond Ackerman Academy of Entrepreneurial Development

Elli Yiannakaris

Raymond Ackerman Academy of Entrepreneurial Development

9.50 – 10.10 Action learning as Basis for Entrepreneurial Training: The Case of UCT's Postgraduate Diploma in Entrepreneurship

David Priilaid

Postgraduate Diploma in Management (Entrepreneurship) – University of Cape Town

10.10 – 10.50 Presentation by Graduate Entrepreneurs – RAA and GSB

RAA – Graduate Entrepreneurs

Iyeza Express

Camissa Tours

Decorize Interiors

Elves at Work

Sugar & Cyanide

GSB – Student Entrepreneurs

Mountain Brew

SOLS

33 Degrees

10.50 – 11.10 TEA

11.10 – 11.30 Perceptions Drive actions. Factors limiting youth access to the entrepreneurial pipeline – A South African review

Jacqueline Kew

Global Entrepreneurship Monitor

11.30 – 11.50 Pathways to Employment for Youth

Aislinn Delany, Lauren Graham and Zoheb Kahn

Centre for Social Development in Africa – University of Johannesburg

11.50 – 12.10 Discussant (TBC)

12.10 – 12.20 Q & A

12.20 – 14.00 LUNCH AND ENTREPRENEURIAL SHOWCASES

14.00 – 15.30 Panel on skills development, apprenticeships and internships

Chair: Ken Duncan, CEO of the Swiss-South African Cooperative Initiative

Panel members:

- Tania Lee, Fasset;
- Nazrene Mannie, Transman;
- Naadir Hodgson, Pick n Pay, Western Cape Corporate Supermarkets;
- Septi Bukula, Osiba Management;
- Joy Papier, Institute for Post-School Studies at University of the Western Cape;
- Anthony Phillips, Chief Director of Skills Development, Western Cape Government

15.30 – 15.50 Closing – main points of the two days, and pointing at the way forward

The Poverty and Inequality Initiative (PII) of the University of Cape Town (UCT) has identified the area of youth development as a priority. To launch this area of work, the PII hosted a colloquium at the Graduate School of Business (GSB) on 29 and 30 August 2014 on ‘Youth in South Africa: Uncertain Transitions in a Context of Deprivation’. The colloquium was the first in a series of engagements around critical issues affecting youth in the country. It aimed at broadening knowledge, building an evidence base for effective policy measures, and identifying areas for future work.

The Colloquium was a multi-disciplinary engagement with reflections from academics and practitioners alike to deepen our understanding and analysis of young people’s experiences of life in deprivation, and of their halted or uneven transitions into adulthood. By bringing together a range of stakeholders from academia, civil society, politics and business, the PII aimed to contribute to the identification of policies, actions and programmes to help reduce the levels of precariousness and un(der)employment among South Africa’s youth. This report provides a brief summary of the key presentations and discussion that followed, and identifies some of the policy initiatives, priorities and gaps raised.

DAY 1

SESSION 1: INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCING THE POVERTY AND INEQUALITY INITIATIVE (PII)

Murray Leibbrandt, Pro VC for Poverty and Inequality, PII, UCT

Murray Leibbrandt kicked off proceedings with a brief introduction to the objectives of the PII at UCT, which are to share research around more effective policies and strategies to overcome poverty and inequality in South Africa. Welcoming presenters and participants – from the university community (UCT, UJ and UWC), from local government and the City, from provincial government departments, from NGOs and other civil society groups – he stressed the need for events such as this to take stock, share information and develop partnerships that maximise efforts to address the critical challenges facing youth in South Africa.

A FOCUS ON YOUTH WITHIN PII

Ariane De Lannoy, PII, UCT

Ariane De Lannoy sketched a brief background to the PII's focus on youth. At the time of South Africa's transition to democracy, hopes were high for the cohort of children born at that particular moment in history. Today, twenty years into democracy, this group of children is "coming of age". Despite the many promises of a "better life for all", racial, class and gender inequalities continue to shape these young people's lives, dreams and opportunities. Especially among previously disadvantaged groups, levels of school drop-out, un(der)employment and discouraged work seekers are high. The situation has again given rise to the labelling of South African youth as a threat to society – "a lost generation" or "a ticking time bomb" that needs to be "diffused". But how much do we really know about the ways in which ordinary young South Africans experience their lives and engage with the structural forces impacting on them? How much of that understanding is taken into account when developing policies and interventions aimed at supporting youth development?

The PII's focus on youth is driven by a sense of unease with this situation and the realisation that there is a real need for academics to contribute their knowledge and research evidence to try to contribute to change. Ariane stressed that while we - society as a whole - expect so much of young people as active citizens in a new democracy, it is essential to provide support and scaffolding for youth as they transition into adulthood. It is necessary to break the intergenerational cycle of poverty in order to also have a positive impact on the next generation of children, who will be parented by today's youth. The colloquium served to raise, discuss and try to answer some of these burning questions – by sharing the views of policy makers, researchers and practitioners.

KEYNOTE ADDRESS: 'WAITING WITHOUT END – THE DISAPPEARANCE OF YOUTH IN POST-APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA'

Jeremy Seekings, Centre for Social Science Research

Over a century, the concept of youth has changed in relation to social and economic changes and challenges in Western Europe and the United States. Jeremy Seekings sketched the historical development and context of the concept of 'adolescence', which was first 'discovered' about 140 years ago. Adolescence was defined as the stage in between childhood and adulthood, initially based primarily on the physiological changes associated with puberty. In the second half of the 20th century, this gave way to a focus on 'youth' to capture broader social and economic issues. More recently, work in the US has shifted the focus to 'emerging adults' – seen as a distinct life stage from late teens through 20s - a period of limited responsibilities during which people 'transition' towards a new identity and are expected to make enduring choices in love, work and ideology.

Research in the Global North has focused on transitions to adulthood and preparations for the key roles of workers, citizens, spouses, parents, community members and household

managers. However, Jeremy cautioned against importing analytic frameworks from elsewhere to analyse youth in the South African context. A key point emerging from local research, for instance, is that transitions to adulthood in the Global South are extended and not linear, and this is particularly so in South Africa. There is striking evidence from national surveys that by 30 years of age, many young South Africans are not married, living with their children, setting up independent households, working or involved as citizens at a national or community level.

In an ideal form, ‘adulthood’ would involve these roles. But in South Africa many young people are not experiencing this transition. Jeremy questioned the inevitability of the transition to this concept of adulthood, albeit extended, and suggested that in fact youth in South Africa may have ‘disappeared’ and we may be seeing an entirely different phenomenon of young people, immersed in a novel kind of adulthood. This is substantiated by research conducted on the views of young South Africans in their 20s and 30s, which highlights that for many life is characterised by ‘waiting’. There is a sense that their teenage aspirations – to complete their education and get a job – persist as an ideal because they have not yet finished their education, but fulfilling their aspirations is rapidly becoming a fantasy. If youth have in fact ‘disappeared’ in post-apartheid South Africa, and these young adults are in fact experiencing the beginning of what is likely to characterise their adult lives – ‘waiting without end’ – this raises questions about how we define ‘youth’ and will have implications in terms of the design of appropriate policies and interventions to target key challenges.

Q & A Discussion:

In the discussion that followed the opening session, agency and structure were flagged as key issues. Exercise of agency is not generally sufficient to overcome adversity and structural constraints, and this could be a reason for the degree of ‘waiting’ and dependence on state intervention. A critical question is how to develop effective interventions to strengthen capabilities and encourage active citizenry and participation among youth. Schools, civil societies, government and other institutions each have a role to play.

While acquiring a matric has the potential to change lives, young people have come to view it as ‘magic’ – rather than rooted in acquiring skills and capacities, and yet this is one area in which their own agency can have a big impact. A major failing of the education system is that it does not inculcate initiative and cultural capital around what skills involve – and the focus needs to shift to the form of education and building capacities, beyond content.

SESSION 2: YOUTH AND LABOUR MARKET

ESTIMATING THE SHORT RUN EFFECTS OF THE YOUTH EMPLOYMENT INCENTIVE IN SOUTH AFRICA

Vimal Ranchhod, Arden Finn, Southern Africa Labour and Development Research Unit (SALDRU), UCT

Youth unemployment in South Africa is substantial, at about 50%. Moreover, it is a chronic and persistent problem, with many youth taking several years to find their first job. For many years there was intense discussion about the feasibility and desirability of a youth employment subsidy, as a potential policy mechanism to alleviate this problem. Despite substantial opposition, the Employment Tax Incentive Bill was passed into law in December 2013, and took effect in January 2014.

The Bill is meant to provide an incentive for corporates to employ more young job seekers. To date there is, at best, limited evidence on the efficacy of such a policy. Vimal Ranchhod presented the findings of a rigorous empirical evaluation of the effectiveness of the incentive in the period immediately after the law was enacted using several waves of the Quarterly Labour Force Surveys (QLFS) published by Statistics South Africa, including data from the QLFS 2014:1 conducted between January 2014 and March 2014. The authors also investigated whether there is any evidence that the incentive resulted in a reduction in the employability of groups that did not receive the incentive. Although the key point from the presentation was that there is no evidence yet that the subsidy is improving youth employment or creating more jobs, Vimal cautioned that this may be due to other factors including the brief timespan studied and the targeting of formal sector firms in the study.

WHAT FACTORS FACILITATE SUCCESSFUL LABOUR MARKET ENTRY AMONGST YOUTH IN SOUTH AFRICA?

Cecil Mlatsheni and Vimal Ranchhod, SALDRU, UCT

Youth unemployment is a critical socio-economic policy issue in South Africa. Vimal Ranchhod presented findings of exploratory research using national panel data to identify factors that explain the persistence of high youth unemployment, and to explore the factors that differentiated young people who were successful in finding a job from those that were not. In the most recent wave of the National Income Dynamics Survey (NIDS), the percentage of youth aged 16 to 29 who have some form of employment is approximately 33%. While this is extremely low, this proportion has improved between waves, from 29% and 24% in waves 1 and waves 2 respectively.

NIDS is a nationally representative, individual level longitudinal study that tracks how individuals' experiences are changing and that can therefore provide targeted information for policy makers.

The intention of the research is to inform policymakers about potential interventions that could help to alleviate the problems youth face.

The findings showed that work experience is critical, that relatively affluent youth often obtain this experience while still at school, and that getting a first job makes a difference to the long-term prospects of employment. The figures show a disturbing ‘loss factor’ with many youth neither studying nor working, as well as marginalisation and psychological harm caused by prolonged joblessness. This research highlights the need to consider policy interventions to provide youth with work experience and facilitate early entry into the job market.

Other key findings with potential implications for policy interventions were: the positive impact of further education on job prospects and wage levels; higher chances of employment in urban areas, confirmed by substantial rates of rural to urban migration over time and a significant gender differential with even lower levels of employment or studying among girls, a trend that continues with age.

THE YOUTH IN THE INFORMAL ECONOMY OF SOUTH AFRICA: THE CASE OF DAY LABOURERS AND STREET WASTE PICKERS

Derick Blaauw, Department Economics and Econometrics, UJ; Associate Professor Rinie Schenck, School of Economics, North-West University and Kotie Viljoen, Department of Social Work, UWC

Given the high levels of unemployment and poverty in South Africa, many people are forced to engage in survivalist activities in the informal economy.

Kotie Viljoen presented findings from a country-wide survey of day labourers and street waste pickers in South Africa to explore the viability of these types of informal employment as an alternative to youth unemployment. Previous research on the socio-economic circumstances of day labourers and street waste pickers in South Africa established that participants in these activities tend to be young, given the physical nature of the activities. This was confirmed by the survey. The majority (70%) of day labourers surveyed were young, African males, while only 42% of street waste pickers were young.

Kotie pointed out that these two areas enable youth who have not finished schooling to earn some kind of income. She also observed that street waste pickers, as opposed to day labourers, are not ‘waiting’ and are potentially less insecure. They are actively busy, collecting and sorting waste daily. She concluded by suggesting ideas for policy to enable such activities in the informal economy. Policies could include managing access to landfill

sites and providing protective clothing for waste-pickers, as well as creating 'hiring sites' for day labourers. Most importantly she stressed the need for a voice for youth involved in these marginal activities, and a need to counter a public view that often represents them as criminals.

YOUTH IN SOUTH AFRICA: VULNERABILITIES AND ASPIRATIONS

Ariane De Lannoy, PII, UCT

Almost 20 years after the end of apartheid, South Africa remains a severely unequal country. Poverty levels remain highest in the 'Black' and 'Coloured' population groups, who were previously discriminated against. Young people in those groups are especially vulnerable, with high levels of school dropout, unemployment and large numbers of 'discouraged work seekers'. Much statistical research has focused on the drivers of youth unemployment and on young people's job search, but little is understood about how 'ordinary' young South Africans experience their reality of un(der)employment in the context of post-apartheid transformation and promises of upward mobility.

Ariane De Lannoy presented a case study of 'Thandiswa', drawn from a longitudinal qualitative study that had six young South Africans of the so-called "Born Free generation" at its core. The research team also collected data from these young people's families, peers and broader community members.

Thandiswa lived in her parents' house, which she shared with seven other adults and three children. The household income was derived from the Child Support Grant, a pension, and a small contribution of the father's income. At the start of the study, Thandiswa was looking after children at home because this seemed her only option, and she appeared severely depressed. All participants in the study were asked to keep a daily diary, which Thandiswa did reflectively and rigorously. Her diary showed that 'waiting' was a strong theme in her life, yet she aspired to life as an independent adult, with dreams of owning her own car and house and being able to provide for her children. Despite periodic attempts to try to find or create work, and a brief contract job, she felt discouraged at the lack of success and blamed herself for being 'lazy'.

The case study illustrated the "saw-tooth"-like patterns of individuals' transitions through employment, unemployment and discouragement stages. It pointed at gaps in our understanding of life with long-term unemployment or constant short-term employment. It problematized the ways in which society thinks about young adults who are "Not in Employment, Education or Training" (NEETs). It offered meaningful insights that can contribute to the thinking around policy ideas such as a Basic Income Grant. It further highlights the need to broaden policy thinking about reducing waiting and what interventions are needed to facilitate access to work opportunities for young people.

YOUNG ENTREPRENEURS' EXPERIENCES OF NAVIGATING THEIR SUCCESS

Margaret Booyens & Roshan Galvaan, Department Of Social Development, UCT

The National Planning Commission's Diagnostic Overview (2011) highlights the challenge of youth unemployment, while the National Development Plan (2012) proposes that entrepreneurship and enterprise development should be promoted. While the difficulties related to establishing small businesses are often a focus of research, less is known about the ordinary experiences of young people who have successfully transitioned into work through starting their own small businesses, especially in rural towns. In particular, there is a need to explore further the relationship between individual agency (attitudes, ideas, knowledge and skills) and context to learn more about how to activate and support young people in self-employment and in developing successful enterprises. Margaret Booyens presented findings from a pilot study of three such young business owners in three Western Cape rural towns, which tracked how they navigated structural challenges to exploit opportunities, and the benefits they derived in terms of achieving 'doing, being and functioning' – both individually and in terms of their contribution to their communities.

Key findings were that each business was grounded in participants' lived experience in the context of poverty, and that mentors played a key role in success, which was measured in more than just financial terms. All of the businesses reflected the nuances of their local community context, and although the income generated was small, other benefits such as status in the community and dignity were significant.

ADVOCATING FOR EQUALITY IN ACCESSING LIVELIHOOD ASSETS FOR DISABLED YOUTH

Theresa Lorenzo, Disability Studies Unit, Department Of Health and Rehabilitation Sciences, UCT

"Disability-inclusive development advocates for equal opportunities for disabled people in all aspects of economic, political, cultural and social life" (WHO, 2010).

Theresa Lorenzo presented a picture of the inequalities faced by disabled youth and the factors that enable them to sustain livelihoods, drawing on a cross-sectional study among youth in nine sites across five provinces in South Africa.

The study identified the key barriers to education for disabled youth as limited financial resources, social exclusion and exclusion by design. The main barriers to employment were poor health, lack of skills and job opportunities, and social attitudes. Knowledge of available services by local government and non-governmental organisations was also poor. Access to public transport, information on services and resources, and policy literacy for families and service providers are crucial areas in addressing the additional challenges that these young people face.

South Africa has higher levels of unemployment among disabled youth than globally, and the research showed that disabled youth have less chance of finishing school, and that transition into post-school education and training is almost non-existent. Theresa stressed the need for efficient dissemination of information, more active community services and programmes from the health, education and social sectors of local government, and the prioritising of disability inclusion in youth development. She recommended that curricula across different disciplines at higher education institutions integrate disability issues so that future graduates are well versed in providing disability-inclusive policies and programmes across all sectors, and that disability be taught as another form of diversity.

She further recommended measures to untap the resources of Community Development Workers (eg. ECD, health workers) as effective catalysts for social and economic change through finding local solutions with local resources, but stressed that these workers need professional recognition for their contribution and role. She pointed out the need for transdisciplinary research to address the challenges of disability, and for disaggregation of social and economic data for a disability variable to inform policy and interventions. NIDS included these questions in the first two waves and she is lobbying to have this restored.

DISCUSSANT

Haroon Borhat, Development Policy Research Unit, UCT

Haroon Borhat shared his reflections from the morning sessions, raising several broad issues to interrogate the focus of the colloquium:

- 1) Globally the working poor – women, rural and the urban poor – are the biggest challenge. Is there a case globally for identifying young people as a special group? What are the traps and constraints that people face with age as only one determinant? Why are we focusing on youth? He stated that he was not convinced of the case for focusing on young people in South Africa.
- 2) Turning to methodology, he pointed out that the research presented had utilized both quantitative and qualitative methods, and made a ‘call to arms’ to conduct more work combining both. While we should continue ‘doing the numbers’, smaller qualitative studies are able to capture ‘hard to get at’ data, which larger surveys cannot.
- 3) With regard to policy, he suggested that lifting up micro-policy questions that emerge from our research would be extremely useful. For example, the case study presented of Thandiswa involved job seeking, educational failure, entrepreneurship and transitioning to employment; in each instance there are several policy questions, issues or interventions that currently exist or are failing. Exploring this further would be a useful contribution in evaluating the effectiveness of such policy interventions and identifying other barriers or constraints such as access to information, transport and logistics. This is ‘down and dirty’ policy work and we need to start here.

- 4) Educational failure encompasses a range of issues. On schooling, we run the risk of saying that matric is a 'golden ticket', when in fact there is concrete evidence that without further education it is not. It represents a huge fiscal waste, and the quantity of schooling is irrelevant. We need to look at young people's experience of the quality of schooling, and identify where/how young people can be supported to close this deficit and bridge the gap between the schooling they get and what they – and the country - need.

SESSION 3A, PART 1: MOTHERHOOD

THE EFFECT OF ADOLESCENT FERTILITY ON EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT IN URBAN SOUTH AFRICA

Nicola Branson SALDRU, UCT

Nicola presented the results of a study into the effects of teenage motherhood on the educational outcomes of young mothers in Cape Town, South Africa. The study implemented a propensity score matching approach to estimate the counterfactual educational attainment of the teen mothers. Matching variables included data on socio-economic status, prior scholastic performance and sexual behaviour. Accounting for selection reduced the magnitude of the measured adverse effects of a teen birth by about 50 percent. Nonetheless, it was estimated that a teen birth reduces the probability of high school graduation by age 22 by 7.9 percentage points, and mean years of schooling by 0.36 years, and these coefficients were significant at the one percent level. Finally, the authors estimated the effects separately by race, and found that the best estimates of the direct effect of teen childbearing on educational outcomes were obtained for African teen mothers only.

"I AM A MOTHER": MEANING MAKING AND YOUNG MOTHERHOOD

Lauren Graham, Centre for Social Development in Africa, UJ

Young women's choices with regard to motherhood are rarely the focus of research. Literature tends to focus on the challenges of teenage or early motherhood including risk for HIV infection (Jewkes et al. 2001) and early school drop-out (Bhana et al. 2010). Lauren introduced her paper as drawing on ethnographic research conducted in an informal settlement in Ekurhuleni, Gauteng. The paper focuses on the meanings that young women ascribe to becoming a mother, the decision making process leading up to pregnancy, and

what being a mother means for their relationships and their identity, and how they view their future. The paper highlights key discourses of femininity that young women negotiate. These include the discourse of “hustler” – a derogatory term that pertains to women who survive by any means necessary, including through transactional sex; and “the good wife and mother” discourse. The presentation focused predominantly on the “good wife and mother” discourse – a preferable discourse for young women that locates them as being faithful partners, responsible for domestic chores and care of children. Being a mother provides a great deal of meaning to young women who struggle to see other futures for themselves (such as pursuing a career). In addition, it provides a means of securing a relationship with the father of their child or children that often implies the expectation of financial provision. The paper highlights the importance of analysing contexts of poverty and gender inequality, as well as the meanings that young people attribute to the roles they play. Such research is profoundly important when attempting to understand the complexities of sexual risk decision making.

The paper has since been published as a journal article: Graham, L. (2016). ‘I am a mother’: young women’s negotiation of femininity and risk in the transition to adulthood. *Culture, Health & Sexuality* 18 (3): 265-279.

BRIEF DISCUSSION by Cally Ardington SALDRU, UCT

SESSION 3A, PART II: YOUNG ADULTS IN CARE

YOUNG PEOPLE TRANSITIONING OUT OF CARE INTO CONTEXTS OF DEPRIVATION

Adrian Van Breda, Lisa Dickens, Department of Social Work, UJ and Girls and Boys Town

Many young people in South Africa who grow up in deprived contexts are taken into alternative care, such as foster or kinship care. A minority of these enter residential care (children’s homes) where they are provided with structured and professional child and youth care services, typically for a number of years. It can be argued that these children are privileged, in that they receive a higher standard of living than that of many other children who are not in care, as well as qualified parenting from accredited child and youth care workers. However, when reaching 18 years, they are usually sent back into the same contexts of deprivation, with little if any aftercare service. The state grant also ends abruptly when youth move out of these facilities and other crucial forms of social, emotional and material support are usually far fewer and unsustainable. This dramatic transition is a tremendous challenge for care-leavers, and a source of concern to those providing such care. For this reasons, care-leavers are considered one of the most vulnerable and marginalised populations in our society (Chipping, 2012; van Breda, Marx & Kader, 2012).

In response to this, Girls and Boys Town (GBT) and the Department of Social Work at the University of Johannesburg (UJ) embarked on a three-phased research study to gain an

understanding about the transitions youth undergo as they strive towards ‘successful’ independence and a sense of well-being into adulthood. Particular attention was given to the ways in which these care-leavers identify and mobilise resources in their social environments.

TRANSITIONAL SUPPORT PROGRAMMES: LESSONS LEARNED ABOUT SUPPORTING TRANSITIONS

Carly Tanur and Gerald Jacobs, Mamelani Projects

Young people who have been placed in care are more likely than other young people to be affected by low educational achievement, limited social skills and additional health, emotional and behavioural problems. This makes transition from a highly structured and supported environment to the challenging outside world all the more difficult. After having been cared for within an institutional setting, where all of their basic needs were met, returning to an under-resourced community can be a difficult adjustment. When they exit care, many do not have a network of support to rely on for on-going support and to meet their basic needs.

Since 2005, Mamelani has been focused on developing an intervention that provides appropriate support to increase these young people’s ability to successfully move through these transitions: from institution to community; from school to further education; from being a child in care to being an independent young adult.

The intervention helps these young people to feel prepared and capacitated to move into adulthood with resourcefulness, purpose, and ultimately achieve better long-term outcomes. Mamelani has over the years developed an innovative approach to working with care leavers in the South African context. In 2012, Mamelani engaged the sector more broadly, gathering information on the nature and extent of the need for services for care leavers in the Western Cape. The purpose was to see whether the approach that had been developed was in line with the broader needs of the sector. The process engaged young people and child and youth care workers, as well as the majority of CYCCs working with this target group to better understand the nature of the support, the extent of the need and the specific practices that should inform transitional programmes for youth in state care. The *Discussion Document* that came out of the process showcases some of the findings, and gives an overview of the resulting guidelines that were developed.

In 2013, Mamelani entered a partnership with the Department of Social Development to roll out the intervention with six partner CYCCs in the Western Cape, to work not only with the young people preparing to leave, but also to work with staff from the different centres and family, to

strengthen their capacity to provide the appropriate support. Through this process, the organization is assessing how the approach needs to be adapted to different settings, as well as developing materials that can be used by care workers to strengthen this work.

BOYHOOD TO MANHOOD - IN THE SHADOW OF MY FATHER'S ABSENCE

Jawaya Shea, Child Health Unit, UCT

It is broadly accepted that adverse childhood events influence later behaviour. Given the complexity of the socio-political, family and childhood experiences of South African parents who have endured severe racial, economic and social oppression, it is not difficult to understand why so many of our youth are in trouble. The unacceptably high incidence of teenage pregnancy, substance abuse, HIV, homelessness and children in trouble with the law can be directly related to the personal, family and social disintegration experienced in an oppressed and divided society.

The Child Health Unit from UCT examined the way in which sustained support from friends in a safe environment, restructured to fulfil the traditional role of the supportive family, can provide youth with the security they crave in order to mediate the transition from childhood to manhood.

The setting was a small semi-detached cottage in Woodstock, Cape Town where twelve boys came to live with Jawaya and her children after her husband had passed away. Jawaya discussed the myriad challenges and successes of their six years together. Challenges included her taking four jobs to feed and provide for them and having to meet with principals about their offenses, or negotiate with local drug dealers to not sell to her boys. Successes included watching them take part-time jobs, finishing matric and looking after each other.

DISCUSSANT AND Q&A

Lucy Jamieson, The Children's Institute, UCT

Lucy said the three presentations showed that most of our children in South Africa are vulnerable to these lack of care issues. Where the care system has failed children, it results in them being vulnerable as youth during the transition to adulthood. So maybe we need more focus on the developmental programmes earlier on, rather than trying to help them develop skills for independent living during the final phase of care. Lucy noted that it had been interesting to hear that across the different presentations, similar strategies had worked showing that strong relationships and networks make a difference.

SESSION 3B IDENTITY AND CITIZENSHIP

YOUTH, GANGS AND TRANSITION

Kylie Van Wyk, Samantha Coert and Heidi Sauls, Department Social Development, Western Cape Government

Youth are frequently positioned as problematic. The Census 2011 data also created concerns as it reflected the staggering percentages of youth who are classified as NEETs within the Western Cape. Simultaneously, numerous social studies have highlighted the debilitating adverse conditions that affect these youth. Yet, despite their apparent physical and social deprivation, young people navigate within these contexts. In their day-to-day lives, youth find diverse ways of responding and acting upon this context of deprivation: positive or negative.

Fieldwork in six areas, including Delft, Paarl, Mitchell's Plain, Phillipi, De Doorns and Saldanha, showed that youth affiliation to gangs was a pathway embraced by young men in response to the physical and social deprivation they endured. Van Wyk, Coert and Sauls developed a paper that, rather than uphold the oversimplified understanding of youth gangs as a criminological entity, tried to reveal the social nature and complexities of these social groups. Challenges discussed related to identity, decision making and attempts at change in the lives of themselves and their children.

SOCIAL IDENTITIES AND SHIFTING ASPIRATIONS AMONG MALE TOWNSHIP YOUTH

Heather Brookes, Linguistics, UCT

Heather described working in Vosloorus, a township on the East Rand in Gauteng for more than 25 years, gathering data through a longitudinal ethnographic study tracking four generations of male youth. The presentation describes the structure of male social networks on the township streets, the different social levels among male youth, and the language, practices, attitudes and aspirations that index these different social levels. With each generation, new subcultural styles emerge at each social level that reflected the same core ideological concerns, divisions and struggles around what it means to be 'authentically' township.

Up until the mid-2000s, the dominant notion of an authentic, streetwise township identity was strongly tied to the values and practices of young men with anti-society aspirations and outlooks. However, with the results of access to mainstream opportunities now visible and the curbing of criminal activities, these groups have begun to lose their status on the township streets. These men no longer aspire to the life of a gangster but look towards youth who have developed the cultural capital to competently negotiate both township and

mainstream domains. This cultural stereotype is known as the new 'clever'. Despite this reorientation, economic opportunities have failed to materialize, leading to increasing levels of frustration and hopelessness and a different set of social problems and challenges. So shifts have happened locally as well as nationally, but the challenges remain. As police efforts are curbing previously prolific criminal activity and the township streets seems safer to walk on, a different type of criminal is emerging.

YOUTH AND DEMOCRATIC CITIZENSHIP IN POST-APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA

Robert Mattes and Samantha Richmond, Department of Political Studies and Democracy in Africa Research Unit, UCT

South Africans, generally, hold (often simultaneously) contradictory beliefs about young people and politics. On one hand, many people see the youth as the primary catalyst of activism and political change. On the other hand, a wide range of commentators routinely experience "moral panics" about the apparent "crisis" of the youth and their corrosive effect on the country's political culture. Public opinion data collected in South Africa over the last two decades of democracy tells a different story about the youth's political culture.

Empirical data collected by the publication Afrobarometer revealed a series of real problems with South Africa's political culture, particularly in the area of citizenship but these problems are not unique to young people.

Across a range of different citizenship indicators, Mattes and Richmond consistently found no, or relatively minor, age profiles to most dimensions of South African political culture. More specifically, the young people of South Africa (aged 18-25 years) have the same conception of the role of the citizen compared with other age cohorts. They have slightly lower levels of cognitive engagement and cognitive sophistication than some other age cohorts, but the differences are not large. And they are no more likely than other South Africans to hold negative views and intentions toward immigrants.

The youth in South Africa are however, far less likely to vote in national elections, though they are not less likely to get involved in other campaign activities, such as attending rallies or working for political parties, and they are most likely to follow election campaigns. Between elections, however, the youth are significantly less likely to join together with others to address issues and solve problems, contact elected leaders, and become involved in community affairs and local government. But they are not any more likely to participate in protest action, or resort to political violence.

EXPLORING CIVIC ENGAGEMENT AMONG HIGH-RISK YOUTH IN MANENBERG THROUGH THE LEADING CAUSES OF LIFE FRAMEWORK (LCL)

Jim Cochrane & Masana Ndinga-Kanga, Department of Religious Studies & Poverty and Inequality Initiative, UCT

Youth at risk present a precarious challenge in South Africa: an increase in gang-related violence and a growing dissatisfaction with public services and lack of employment opportunities represent some of the contributing factors to lack of civic and political engagement. Manenberg, in Cape Town, represents one of the examples of an area that sees high levels of marginalization and violence among youth. The township is plagued by intersections of poverty, violence and drug abuse that have led to perpetual alienation and disenfranchisement among the community's 95 000 members.

Unemployment is estimated to be 66%, higher than that of other townships across the rest of the Cape. In the midst of such precariousness, NGOs have stepped in to provide services in spaces yet to be reached by the state. Fusion Manenberg, an example of one such NGO, is "a praying community [that] builds meaningful relationships with broken young people caught in cycles of destructive behaviour." Fusion employees have been living in the community providing a sense of consistency and permanency since 2009. They engage with youth through a complex set of practices that reflect the tumultuousness and unpredictability of life.

The organization provides a space for high-risk youth engaged in gang-related activities, prostitution and drugs to grow in interpersonal relationships that promote mental health, education and ultimately agency. These outcomes have resulted in civic engagement and a sense of ownership of the often-difficult spaces these young people occupy. In this, psychosocial development is not an external element; instead youths are encouraged to be present at the Fusion centre even when emotional challenges are overwhelming, with mentors being present in the ebbs and flows of development. Despite this unpredictability, Fusion has experienced some success in rehabilitating high-risk youths and, in the face of mounting gang-related violence, negotiated a peace settlement between warring groups.

In their paper, the authors asked two questions: firstly, how can we analyse the work of Fusion with high-risk youth? Secondly, what lessons does this case study offer to those engaging with high-risk youth in a complex environment such as Manenberg? The Leading Causes of Life (LCL) framework, posits that the outcomes of the psycho-social methods used by Fusion can be explained by the facilitation of five interlinked factors, namely: hope, agency, coherence, connection and sustainability. Each concept covers a unique body of thought yet all of them, taken together, provides a comprehensive view capable of

integrating a wide range of perspectives and ideas from multiple disciplines, thus establishing the ground for shifting the general paradigm of how we understand well-being.

Probing the Fusion case, the LCL framework was used to explain how to facilitate agency and civic engagement among high-risk youth, highlighting key lessons for positive interventions, while demonstrating the ability of LCL to explain complex psycho-social development processes. In turn, the paper suggests that the LCL framework offers not only a useful diagnostic lens on human and social development, but also a profound analytic tool for future research.

DISCUSSANTS

Justine Burns, PII, UCT

Justine Burns of the Poverty and Inequality Initiative at UCT pointed out that economists, and policy makers more generally, often assume that people are rational actors and seldom consider questions of identity, nor how these issues of identity might impact on citizen responses to policy. She suggested that as policy makers try to take identity more seriously in their conceptualisation and design of policy, it might be useful to distinguish between identities that are inherited (ascriptive traits such as race and gender) and identities that can be adopted (such as language, religion, and educational status). These identities may affect what individuals do, or choose not to do in important ways.

She noted that all the presentations alluded to the fact that identities are imbued with meaning given to them by society, and individuals engage in a performativity, that is, a tendency to put on and practice different kinds of identities depending on the context. Thus, whilst individuals might possess multiple identities, the salience of any particular identity will depend on the context. This should prompt policy makers to think far more carefully about the question: “Who are we designing policy for?”

She also pointed to the challenge raised by the Mattes et al. paper which suggest that youth are not significantly different in their attitudes and beliefs compared with older generations. On the one hand, this suggests that the moral panic that sometimes exists in relation to the ticking time bomb of young South Africans may be overstated. On the other hand, one should question why the “born-free generation” continues to reproduce the attitudes, perceptions and behaviours of previous generations when one might have expected more from a post-apartheid generation. In particular, school reform aimed at producing more active citizenship appears to not have borne fruit, and this should be interrogated, along with the decline in active citizenship and political engagement more generally.

Gideon Morris, Department of Community Safety, Western Cape Government

Gideon Morris is responsible for the promotion of safety, working within the Department of Community Safety. He confirmed the concerns raised about the issues of education and

unemployment, and of youth gangs. Youth are most at risk as victims or perpetrators of crime, with 60% of prison population aged below 29 years. The Khayelitsha Commission of Inquiry has made specific findings on the need to develop a reversal strategy on youth gangs. Change is possible but specific strategies targeting different communities need to be developed. A key lesson is that we should not plan for youth, but with youth. He endorsed the success of the Chrysalis programme, based on a boot camp concept, and that it would soon be rolled out to girls and at other facilities. He stressed the need to be mindful of self-regulating systems and how they evolve and develop, citing the taxi industry as an example.

Chris Giles, Violent Prevention through Urban Upgrading

Chris Giles shared insights from his work with VPUU, which constructs public spaces and facilities as part of a social crime-prevention strategy, with partners from government, donors and community participation. The Mayor and the Premier have chosen this project to bring together different state departments and stakeholders to work in a more coordinated way on an area basis. Chris spoke of the Chrysalis project as showing youth that there are alternatives – by attempting to form a ‘constructive’ gang, with some of the performative aspects that were also raised in the previous presentation on gangs in terms of identity (walk, dress, habits). Among the many ideas and lessons he drew from the day, he embraced the idea of interviewing successful youngsters in the Western Cape to learn from their experience and use this information to scale up effective interventions.

Janet Jobson, DG Murray Trust

Janet Jobson of the DG Murray Trust raised the point that while sitting in a room of older, white people, they were talking primarily about young black people. She remarked that people do have the ability to speak for themselves - and that she felt academia has excluded that. She mentioned the encouraging stories discovered through the Activate Leadership Program – which was started as a special purpose Public Benefit Organisation. Across the country, there are thousands of youth organisations and youth-led programmes but they experience constraints. Janet cited one Activator from Umlazi earning R500 a month who wakes up and cooks for 200 orphans. These positive examples are not reflected in our assessment of our youth.

Activate sought to bring these extraordinary young leaders together. The underlying analysis was that South Africa was in a period of deep fatalism caused largely by polarisation and constrained choice for individuals. Activate seeks to bring the 1035 Activators together to reach a critical mass of individuals committed to public good as opposed to private gain. The hope is that over time, a new discourse will emerge among youth where stories are told that unlock a new sense of what it means to be South African and to navigate a new future together.

Kathy - Youth Representative Activate Youth

Kathy reflected that through the Activate leadership program youth were told it's okay to be who they are as individuals. A magazine was started to reflect on South Africa's youth positively and to celebrate the great things youth are involved in doing, in spite of the difficulties they face. One can argue that young people are not involved in politics but when they go to councillors, banks, politicians, they don't get recognised as human beings. It is for the greater South African community to assist young people.

Kathy remarked that 20 years ago she thought we would have equal schools with social workers and psychologists, but, for example, in Manenberg, it is up to teachers to fill the role of social workers and psychologists. "If I think of the wealth we have, the universities, the colleges – if we all stand united, why don't we start to build schools. One hundred years ago churches built schools, universities – citizens did those things." She commented that we all need to be active citizens – contributing through art, dance and music to bring change for the future.

Proceedings for the day got off to an inspiring start with music provided by DJ Sir Vincent, a graduate of the Raymond Ackerman Academy of Entrepreneurial Development.

KEYNOTE ADDRESS: YOUTH AND ENTREPRENEURSHIP

Walter Baets, Director of the Graduate School of Business (GSB), UCT

Walter Baets outlined the approach of the GSB in positioning itself as a relevant business school in emerging markets and stimulating entrepreneurial thinking and innovation in models and systems in its graduates. He stressed the need to promote a spirit of ‘entrepreneurial’ across society – from schools and educational institutions to business at all levels.

Walter challenged classical economic and business thinking, following the World Bank paradigm: that increased trade leads to decreased poverty; decreased trade barriers lead to increased trade; and economic growth decreases poverty. In his view, the framework of growth, without growing inclusion, does not work. He stressed poverty is not a natural phenomenon, but is rather man-made. Walter said the critical challenge identified at the World Economic Forum this year is inequality.

Yet current thinking on management does not fit the reality of the current situation – with high degrees of complexity and uncertainty in the context of poverty and inequality. Addressing inequality requires that business becomes more inclusive. He underlined the need to develop different thinking as well as explore the potential of entrepreneurship as a solution for inclusion.

Walter outlined the origins, causes and mechanisms of persistent poverty, highlighting the role of institutions like the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund and the colonial base of economic structure. He cited some of the causes of persistent poverty as international debt, resource wars, imposed privatisation, tax evasion and issues around intellectual property. Turning to South Africa, he pointed out that South African capital resides abroad and cited factors inside the country including a concentration of land ownership, export of raw materials, non-reciprocity of investments, monocultures and state owned monopolies. With regards to the distribution (or redistribution) of wealth, measures such as BEE and BBEE have not contributed to the alleviation of poverty countrywide. There is a need for a systemic understanding rather than ‘tinkering’ with particular areas.

Entrepreneurship can contribute to addressing the real needs of real people, as opposed to the current situation where 80% of products are designed (and only affordable) for 20% of the population. There is a need for a shift in mind-set to focus on leadership and values in action that contribute to dignity and creating a stable, fair society rather than an 'equal' society. He pointed out that if you want to change the world, you should be talking to successful, big corporates – whose budgets often exceed national budgets.

Walter outlined some of the exciting initiatives at the GSB, including the Allan Gray Centre for Values-based Leadership, the Bertha Centre of Entrepreneurship and Social Innovation and the Solution Space, a joint initiative of the Waterfront and the GSB aimed at creating a vibrant innovation entrepreneurial space.

He concluded by stressing the need to promote inclusivity as a way of thinking at all levels. He stressed that 'entrepreneurship' is not confined to 'business' or creating livelihoods, but is an attitude and approach to learning that builds confidence and trains people to think and act for themselves.

SESSION 5: YOUTH & ENTREPRENEURSHIP

INTRODUCING THE RAYMOND ACKERMAN ACADEMY OF ENTREPRENEURIAL DEVELOPMENT (RAA)

Elli Yiannakaris

In 2005, Raymond Ackerman established the RAA to provide a skills-development programme for young people without access to tertiary education. Elli Yiannakaris of the RAA outlined its holistic approach to developing young entrepreneurs as role models in their communities. She pointed out that the curriculum is extremely practical and focuses on three key areas: ideation and testing; professionalism; and personal development. The intensive programme has had impressive results, with 85% of the graduates now employed or having started their own business. The Academy's post-program support has been internationally recognised for its emphasis on ongoing mentoring. There is an application fee of R2000, often covered through sponsorships and the investment per student is around R20 000.

Elli commented that the most successful recruitment happens through alumni and graduates who can recognise an entrepreneurial spark in a potential graduate, which is more difficult to recognise through a standard application process.

ACTION LEARNING AS BASIS FOR ENTREPRENEURIAL TRAINING: THE CASE OF UCT'S POSTGRADUATE DIPLOMA IN ENTREPRENEURSHIP

David Priilaid, GSB, UCT

David Priilaid outlined the key philosophy of the Postgraduate Diploma in Entrepreneurship (PDE) offered at the GSB and the defining characteristics of its innovative curriculum, aimed to equip young graduates with the skills required in a changing and challenging business environment. With an explicit focus on entrepreneurship, the PDE employs an action-learning based curriculum, the core thrust of which is to challenge the orthodox view that entrepreneurship is about spreadsheets, business plans and cash flow projections. Instead the PDE encourages students to see themselves as change-agents, artists, creators, and visionaries in a year-long learning process whereby student groups start up and run their own businesses.

The PDE starts in the first week of February and concludes at the end of October. It is designed along two parallel tracks. The first is the full-year action learning programme known as Genesis (BUS 4049W) in which student groups conceive and manage their own businesses. The second component is a set of functional theory courses typical of any commerce or even MBA-type degree. These courses are taught on a semester basis and are aimed at assisting students in the practice of better running their businesses. In this sense, the theory of each course is positioned to solve real life problems, and not merely conceptual “puzzles”. When connected to this action learning component, concepts taught in these theory courses find immediate application.

PRESENTATION BY GRADUATE ENTREPRENEURS

RAA AND GSB

In this session, participants were treated to brief inputs from graduates of the RAA and students from the GSB showcasing their businesses. This was a truly inspiring showcase of the talents and potential of young South Africans – who drew their ideas from opportunities they identified in their communities to produce products and deliver services ranging from gospel tours, chronic-medicine delivery in townships, designer coffee filters, and sandals made from recycled materials.

PERCEPTIONS DRIVE ACTIONS: A SOUTH AFRICAN REVIEW OF FACTORS LIMITING YOUTH ACCESS TO THE ENTREPRENEURIAL PIPELINE

Jacqueline Kew, Global Entrepreneurship Monitor

The scale of youth unemployment in South Africa is enormous: official rates of youth unemployment range from almost two-thirds (64.5%) of youth aged between 15 – 19 years to over a quarter (27.5%) aged between 30 – 34 years. Of even greater concern is the expanded rate of unemployment, which includes individuals who have given up looking for work. The expanded rate for 15 – 19 year olds is 20% greater than the official rate, and the expanded rate for 30 – 34 year olds is 30% higher than the official rate. Yet all of these young people still need a livelihood.

While attempts in the formal sector in South Africa to offer work opportunities to an increasing number of young people must be encouraged, youth entrepreneurship is an additional way for youth to access the labour market. In her presentation, Jacqueline used the South African Global Entrepreneurship Monitor (GEM) data to highlight key factors that are limiting access into the entrepreneurial pipeline for South Africa's youth. The GEM measures business activity to determine how many people are starting or intend to start a business.

The Global Entrepreneurship Monitor (GEM) views entrepreneurial activity as a process, referred to as the "entrepreneurial pipeline". It begins with potential entrepreneurs – those who believe they have the skills and knowledge to start a business and that there are good opportunities to exploit. The second stage is intention – those who indicate an intention to start a business in the next three years, followed by nascent and new entrepreneurs. A quarter of young people in South Africa would be considered potential entrepreneurs and 13% would be considered intentional entrepreneurs, a rate substantially below the average of 60% and 54% respectively for the youth in sub-Saharan Africa. What is clear is that perceptions are a trigger to action – and to preventing youth from exploring the potential for entrepreneurship in providing livelihoods.

Jacqueline identified two key areas of largely negative impact on whether significant numbers of youth believe they have the skills and the opportunity to become entrepreneurs in a community: education and market dynamics.

She explained that South Africa has to recognise that we face a national crisis in education. We have to acknowledge that of the young people who started schooling in 2002, only 35% got to matric. Quoting the pass rate for matric ignores those who dropped out along the way. When we look at how fundamental education is to entrepreneurship – and everything else – we realise that you cannot expect young people to believe in themselves without interventions. The example of the Raymond Ackerman Academy shows just how effective interventions can be, but it is for students who already have their matric. According to Jacqueline, we need an urgent national debate on what education is not doing for our young people and why. Among the key issues are a lack of basic literacy and ability in English, even by matric level, which remains essential for tertiary education. Quality education and a decreased

dropout rate are essential. Schools still lack basic resources. This perpetuates the inequality of the past, and better teacher training is necessary.

In terms of market dynamics, Jacqueline discussed three priorities that need attention to create an enabling environment for young people to see and act on the potential of entrepreneurship: firstly, energy; secondly, roads and logistics; and thirdly, communication. A recent OECD report scored South Africa as in the bottom 25% in these three areas, which are critical (and costly) for small businesses. Market dynamics are affected by pervasive state control and high regulatory barriers which have a knock-on effect of higher costs and reduced competitiveness for small businesses.

However, cultural and social norms and beliefs also affect youth perceptions about small business ownership: in South Africa, 2/3 of young people think that working for the government is the best way to earn a living, and over 70% believe that people in small businesses work too hard for too little. An interesting point emerging from youth studies points to the need to understand 'communalism' or the 'sharing' of money in communities, which could mitigate against the ability of small businesses to accumulate assets needed for expansion.

A question was posed whether there was something implementable in the short term in line with this longer strategy. Jacqueline answered that with education being the largest concern, civil society can get involved. Media play a role in exposing what happens to the invisible youth who drop out and have no voice to government. Schools and universities can also recognise the privilege and resources they have, as well as the quality of their students to spread a little wider the good education that is happening in pockets. An example of this would be twinning privileged schools and tertiary institutions with schools and tertiary institutions in need, so that resources are better utilised.

PATHWAYS TO EMPLOYMENT FOR YOUTH

Aislinn Delany, Lauren Graham & Zoheb Khan, Centre for Social Development in Africa, UJ

Youth unemployment is now firmly on the country's national political, economic and social development agenda. A wide range of factors are pertinent to understanding youth unemployment in South Africa and the region. Unemployment rates are closely related to one's level of education and the low skills profile of the majority of young South Africans makes it difficult for them to find work in an increasingly knowledge-based economy. Many youth drop out of the education system before completing high school and few hold further or higher education qualifications that could increase their likelihood of finding a job or moving into self-employment. The high cost of investing in further training and education

also acts as a barrier to their progression and few young people are saving as an educational investment for the future.

These challenges tend to reinforce the inequality gaps between advantaged and disadvantaged youth in South Africa. While youth from non-poor households are likely to navigate fairly structured pathways from school through higher or further education to employment, those from poor households face uncertainty as they exit the education and the social grant systems. Inadequate access to social and financial assets and a lack of relevant skills, support systems, work experience and employment opportunities make it particularly difficult for poor youth to navigate the transition from school to work.

A number of public, private and civil society actors are engaged in implementing programmes aimed at promoting youth employability. Evidence from other parts of Africa and elsewhere point to the potential of youth-employment programmes coupled with financial inclusion interventions to boost youth employability outcomes. However, such programmes have not been rigorously tested in the South African context and little is known about what interventions or combination of interventions have the greatest effects in terms of enhancing financial assets, skills, employability and livelihood outcomes.

The presentation outlined the concept of pathways (Heinz, 2009) and indicated some of the barriers that young people from poor households face, including that of a lack of financial assets. It also introduced preliminary findings from a broader study intended to test the effects of youth employment interventions aimed at addressing some of these barriers.

Institutions are supposed to foster pathways to employment – either following in parents' footsteps, or through higher education. But these pathways are mainly available to "non-poor" young people.

Moreover, globally, those social institutions are failing to adapt to rapidly changing labour markets. Connections between institutions and labour markets have become decoupled. Yet in South Africa, training of young people remains the domain of formal institutions, such as universities, FETS and the SETAs. These institutions struggle to meet the demands posed by an increasing and increasingly unskilled labour pool.

So where else can young people find opportunities to gain the skills they need?

In South Africa, there are demand side programmes, such as the Jobs Fund, Expanded Public Works Programmes and the Youth Employment (tax) Incentive. On the supply side, we can also include state programmes such as those mentioned above, as well as private sector programmes that provide specialized skills training and civil society interventions.

Programmes outside of formal educational institutions tend to focus on helping young people navigate the labour market and the economy.

- Programmes are usually tested with regard to employability outcomes:

- job-related skills,
- business skills for entrepreneurship,
- life skills (e.g., socio-emotional skills such as self-control, coping, social problem solving, decision making),
- work readiness or employability skills (e.g., CV preparation, job search and application, interviewing).
- As well as employment outcomes:
 - Securing employment
 - Retention of employment
 - Improvement in type of employment
 - Earnings.

Research in Africa and Latin America show that the programmes are particularly beneficial for young women, youth from rural areas and low-income youth. Some evidence also suggests that they help young people acquire business skills, and coping and cognitive skills.

Most programmes in South Africa are based on the model of classroom training combined with work experience. The work experience can include volunteering and work placements.

One successful programme that does not follow this model is Harambee, which sees itself as a work-placement programme. Many of the others have minimal interaction with employers, but they are highly flexible, and often run with support from committed individuals from civil society, rather than on skills and experience.

Both state and private-sector programmes have access to relatively high levels of funding, but state programmes are constrained by bureaucracy and are also difficult to access for individuals.

The strength of civil society programmes is that they are closer to young people on the ground, and are adaptable. But they are limited in reach, and different programmes tend to operate in silos.

How do we measure success?

One measure is their reach: how many young people do these programmes reach, per year? Financial sustainability is also a factor that is taken into account, as is the ability to upscale.

Emerging good practises include:

- matching skills training with demands of the labour market;
- offering more flexible short course with reduced costs;
- standardisation of programmes;

- teaching “soft” as well as “hard” skills. Many employers recommend the latter although there is no clear evidence that this correlates with employment.

One idea is for universities to team up with some of these programmes to assist them in developing appropriate skills-training programmes.

PANEL ON SKILLS DEVELOPMENT, APPRENTICESHIPS AND INTERNS

Chaired by Ken Duncan, CEO of the Swiss-South African Cooperative Initiative, with panellists: Tania Lee (Fasset), Nazrene Mannie (Transman), Naadir Hodgson (Pick ‘n Pay), Septi Bukula (Osiba Management), Anthony Phillips (Chief Director, Skills Development, Western Cape Government)

Ken Duncan, CEO of the Swiss-South Africa Cooperative Initiative, kicked off the session by stressing the need for systemic solutions to address the skills gap in South Africa. In the context of high youth unemployment and a shift towards the requirement of higher skills levels for entry into the labour market, he pointed out that matric is no longer sufficient and that young people need to aspire to post-school and tertiary education to significantly increase their chances of finding a job.

A key observation was that it is theoretically possible for a learner to go from Grade 9 into an apprenticeship or a learnership program, but practically, it is almost impossible. Employers, having lost confidence in the education system, are viewing matric maths as a proxy for intelligence and demanding matric maths even for artisanal trades.

Ken suggested that our education and training system is inefficient, possibly the most inefficient in the world, with many students moving between different programs and courses without feeding into the job market. South Africa invests about 20% of state expenditure (around 7% of GDP) on education and training of various kinds – but this is not paying off. There are many measurements of this – including only 6% of final throughput in three-year college programs, with massive dropout rates and wastage of public money (loss of R4.5 billion of the R6 billion spent annually on colleges).

And yet, we have all the pieces or elements required for a sound TVET system – policies, institutions, funds, and industries. What we lack is an articulated effective system. To look more closely at what is being done about it, and what can or should be done about it, Ken invited panellists to make brief contributions before opening discussion in a closing plenary session.

Tania Lee, FASSET

Her responsibility is mainly the bridging programmes between schools and Higher Education and into employment and TVET colleges. Tania explained what SETAs do: conduct research in different sectors (finance and accounting), develop learnerships, convert old articles into learnership, and facilitate delivery on skills development (with monitoring and tracking on skills development initiatives).

In the finance and accounting sector, for example, where the focus is on candidates with degrees, it is difficult to convince businesses to consider matriculants and TVET candidates. FASSET adopted a pipeline approach with bridging programmes for Grade 12's to improve maths, English and Life Skills for access to universities. At university level, FASSET funds undergraduates. At TVET level, there are six pilot projects including lecturer capacity building and workplace experience.

Also in pipeline are bridging programmes to help graduates find employment.

Naadir Hodgson, Pick n Pay

Naadir is an HR manager and finds himself training the masses of young people coming into the employment market annually.

As an employer, Pick n Pay faces problems on the upper end and lower end of the market.

On the upper end, the problem is finding suitable candidates for several reasons:

- numeracy is a big problem;
- culturally, it is difficult to convince husbands to let their wives become managers so there is an imbalance in gender at management level;
- Retail is not 'sexy' enough – maybe it's perceived to be too hard work.

To solve these problems, PnP engages a lot with educational institutions, and the RAA, to make them aware of what the numeracy needs are on the side of the employer, and to help prepare candidates adequately.

The lower end problems are retaining staff, even with unemployment being so high. "We offer some of the best benefits in the industry – maternity leave etc, and yet the churn is big." PnP's interventions are around training. They offer internal training programs, middle level training and Adult Basic Education and Training (ABET) training. Adequate numeracy skills are imperative for competency at a management level.

Septi Bukula, Osiba Management

Septi explained that his company conducts research on small business development and entrepreneurship. It was asked by HR Development Council to do a study on TVET colleges and entrepreneurship development in colleges. The key observation was that connections to municipalities and industry were non-existent in general, and for small businesses in particular. It was then asked to do a follow-up study focusing on internships in small businesses. International literature shows that those with exposure to small businesses early on in their careers have a higher likelihood of starting their own business. Osiba looked at direct and indirect pathways to entrepreneurship from college. One of the gaps was that if you set up your own business, this is not recognised as workplace experience.

Joy Papier, Institute for Post-School Studies, University of the Western Cape (UWC)

UWC is one of the few Higher Education (HE) institutions that has been consistently engaging with the TVET sector in SA over last ten years.

In the Western Cape, UWC has an institute for post-school studies which was launched in 2013 to look at the transitions and interfaces between adult education, HE and vocational institution. In HE, very little is known about the vocational college sector so Joy and her team have been focusing on this and where universities fit in. This involves a lot of policy advocacy and one of the major areas of work is capacity development and college lecturer development.

A Green Paper looking at the situation of post-school youth notes there were 2.8 million NEETs at the time, aged 18 to 25. That realisation led to a policy process to look into the situation of post-school youth. There is now a White Paper for post-school education and training that hopes to tackle some of the bigger issues including the lack of systems.

In 2013, the government gazette mentioned a set of formal qualifications for college lecturers so that their training would be specific to their vocational context, and that educators in those courses would be fully competent in their subject area, pedagogically competent, and focus on the workplace.

Anthony Phillips, Chief Director of Skills Development, Western Cape Government

Working with schools and artisan development, Skills Development endeavours to bridge the gap between the education system and requirements of industry, facilitating better transitions between education and employment. Especially along the West Coast with special economic zones, strategic infrastructure plans are necessary to connect the Northern and Western Cape but these require higher inputs into the skills environment. The challenge is that we don't have enough skills to stimulate the economic growth we want. On the West Coast, efforts are directed at identifying Grade 9s to 12s and to train specifically as artisans.

Questions:

Judy Favish: Judy was recently appointed as a Council member to False Bay College and noted that as long as we all keep "bashing" the colleges, the colleges tend to go into a laager and keep out people they perceive as critical and get very defensive. Yet looking at their magazines over a short period of time, there are incredible initiatives country-wide.

35% of False Bay college students are disabled with a 75% labour absorption rate. If we want to strengthen colleges, we need to relook at our attitudes towards them and build on positive things that are going on and not just focus on problems. She asked Joy to comment on ways in which stakeholders like SETAs and universities could approach colleges in more conducive ways to build partnerships?

Q: On expenditure on education vs output Low outputs are happening annually – we have become so familiar with these figures. 1) Training in tertiary institutions? At UCT there is ‘engaged scholarship’ – within communities and the institutions and researchers sit together to identify key problems and studies determined to come up with possible solutions; what could be done further with all these TVET colleges, or beginning at high school, because we cannot expect this to be just up to government?

Q: We hear about schools that have transformed themselves, often because of the head? What does this say about the need for leadership?

A: Colleges recognise the fact that they don’t have links with industry and it is a bad thing. Where did this link break? Not to do with colleges – that is why we are working on a programme to re-establish these links. How do we fix it?

A: Retail colleges – CPUT retail chair, CT College of Education – simulated shopping environment. I don’t think it is a college problem – the dilemma is an oversupply of people. It is jobs that we need. This RAA was created to create jobs. Part of our problem stems from very little money being spent at preschool and primary level. It is hard to fix someone who has been damaged from start ...

Joy Papier: Colleges have a legacy of inequality to overcome. When the mergers started in 2000 that was a major overhaul of a huge system. 50 colleges across the country – 5 to 8 campuses each. In the WC we are lucky because the top 10 of 50 colleges nationally are here. There is a whole story of unevenness and racial distribution. Colleges really have to pull themselves up by the bootstraps.

In the EC for example, 6 of 8 colleges are under administration – how do we start addressing that? We need to use more of the resources in the good and functional colleges to show where there are good practices. It is striking to see the partnerships that these colleges have with overseas institutions.

Tony: Colleges recently shifted from provincial competence to national competence; Is there still a role for provincial governments to help the colleges?

And the school leadership question: it is known that if you do not have a well-managed school, the results are poor. We’ve found across the province, especially in poorer areas, great disparity in the quality of teaching. For instance, teachers teaching subjects they are not qualified to teach.

On FETS/TVETS: it is crucial that their output matches what industry and employers want/need. On the West Coast, there are negotiations to bridge these gaps and employers playing a role in determining the curriculum.

Q: Pippa Green on numeracy: This is quite a pervasive problem in SA. Is there a way for a coalition of private sector, educational institutions and government to push this issue at schools and in workplace?

Q: Janet Jobson is interested in programmes to link colleges and industry: how do we overcome that barrier? It is critical to get business into the room. Business is usually an absent partner in the room.

On ECD – potentially a sector which can bring all of this together. Need TVET colleges to qualify 400 000 practitioners, yet expertise is in NGOs.

Q: Theresa Lorenzo: How do you disaggregate for disability in all of these? There is very poor monitoring of retention and transition of disabled youth through system.

Q: What is our education system going to do if economic growth is coming at a higher and higher cost to the planet and the people? How are we changing the education from a systemic point of view – to address this?

A: On numeracy: It is a problem – it goes with analytical skills, lateral thinking, also needed for business. That is why I go back to preschool. Kids can be exposed to lateral thinking – why not use the money there (in ECD)? **On college business relationship** – one of my HR problems is the legal problem with recruiting people and applicants' legal rights. We need to look at labour laws.

Tania Lee: Fasset will fund disability candidates, but we are not seeing them come through the pipeline.

Septi Bukula: Colleges and SETAs and business are a natural partnership that doesn't exist. There is a lot of noise and finger pointing in the system.

Colleges do themselves a disservice because there is not enough collaboration among themselves. The power relations seem to be tilted against the colleges. The SETAs set the rules, have the money; business benefits from skills development, but there is no notion of partnership to address this critical skills shortage.

Joy Papier: We are competing in a small pool for the same resources at colleges. We are looking at 50 colleges to see what each is best suited to offer. We need rationalisation and collaboration.

In Germany, for instance, one business/commerce chamber said the colleges make 500 000 annual placements of students. Because business sees it as investing in their employees.

Ken Duncan: In this room, there are people from higher education, entrepreneurs and small business development, as well as government. What should or could they do to help that public skills training system?

Septi Bukula: The majority of enterprises are small businesses – if each business could take one learner, it would help.

Way forward

The presenters pointed at the many ways in which young people in South Africa seem caught in a state of “waithood”. Low levels of education, unequal access to forms of higher education, high levels of unemployment and a lack of social support networks mean that many young people do not “neatly” transition into some form of aspired adulthood. Several of the presentations did, however, also point at the resilience of youth and their willingness to move forward in life. The key messages of the presentations provide a valuable basis for further work on youth in post-apartheid South Africa.

More specifically, the colloquium will be the basis upon which the Poverty and Inequality Initiative (PII) will build its “youth agenda” for the next 12 months. In 2015, the PII will partner with the Children’s Institute to consolidate the here presented and other, related evidence on the situation of young people in the country in a new edition of the *Child Gauge*. This work will include a participatory process that will allow young people to express what they believe the key issues in their lives to be.

Further, given the emphasis on education and the barriers to the labour market in the course of this colloquium, the PII aims to organise more “Dialogues” that will bring together policy-makers, researchers and practitioners to talk in more depth about these inter-related issues. Presenters at the Colloquium will be invited to join us at these future Dialogues.

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