Livelihoods, challenges and trends: The situation for youth in Mpharane
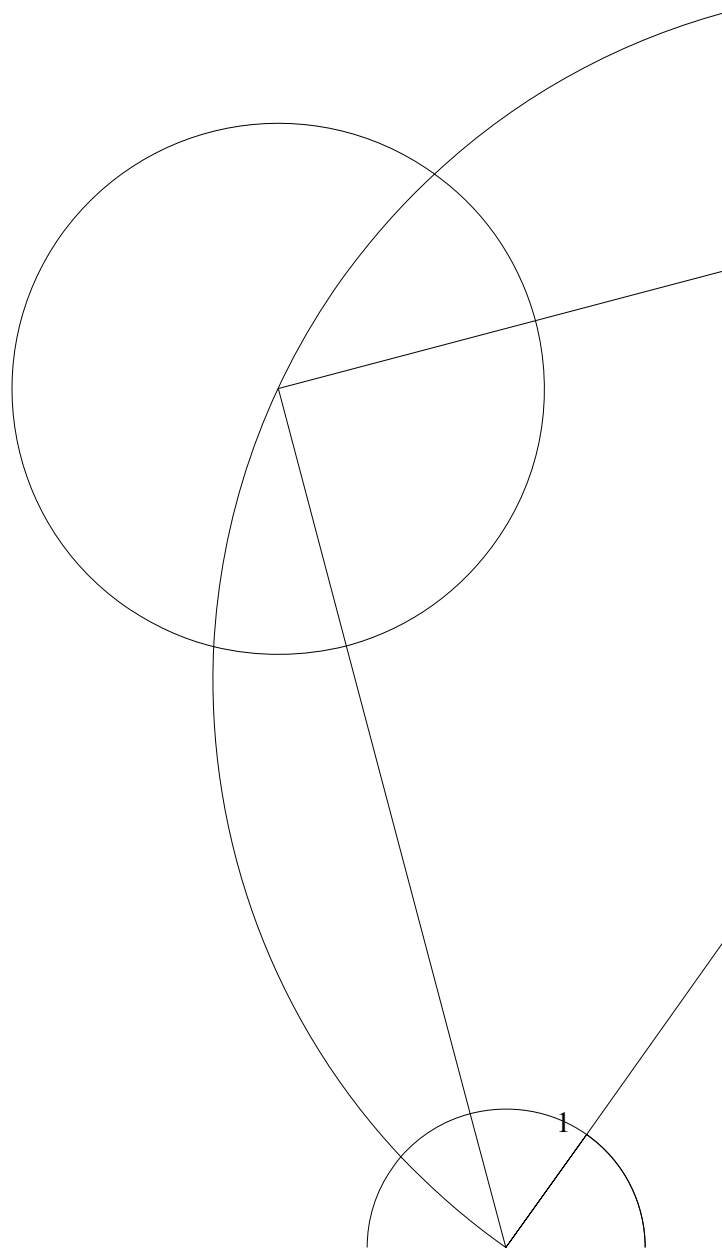
ILUNRM South Africa 2013

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Preface

This project describes the trends and challenges youth are facing in Mpharane and how these are effecting the youths livelihood strategies. It was conducted from February 2013 to April 2013 as a part of the Interdisciplinary Land Use and Natural Resource Management (ILUNRM) course, Faculty of Science (SCIENCE), University of Copenhagen.

A part of the ILURNM course objectives is training in field based investigation of concrete topics/problems and therefore ten days of the course was spent in Mpharane, Alfred Nzo Municipality District situated in the Eastern Cape Province of South Africa. Two days were spent prior to the trip in Pietermaritzburg at the University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN) where the final synopsis was presented for Honours and Masters students at the Department of Geography and where final preparations took place. After field work in Mpharane 3 additional three days were spent in Pietermaritzburg in order to reflect upon the data collected and to present this to the same class of students. The output of ILUNRM was, among many others, training in interdisciplinary group work across different cultures and disciplinary skills.

Abstract

The present study was conducted in Mpharane, a rural village located in Matatiele Local Municipality, South Africa. The research objective of this report was to identify what trends and challenges are relevant to youth in Mpharane and how these identified trends influence livelihoods strategies available to youth. This study utilized Ellis' (2000) Sustainable Livelihoods Framework, in order to evaluate the different livelihood options, and several methods were applied in order to address the stated objective, including: mixed-method interviews, transect walk, and participatory rural appraisal.

Based on the data gathered in the village, it was found that unemployment was extremely prevalent due to the lack of jobs. The challenges that impede youth livelihood options were also identified, and five major themes emerged: skill- shortage, laziness, substance abuse, teenage pregnancies and the introduction of social grants, such as the Child Support Grant (CSG). Additionally, mobile phone technology was seen as a theme that has an impact on improving youth livelihoods.

To conclude youth livelihood strategies in Mpharane faced many challenges as a result of a lack of access to different forms of capital, particularly financial, physical and human capital. Youth willingness to invest in improving and expanding these forms of capital was limited.

1. Introduction

1.1. Youth in Sub-Saharan Africa

The concept of youth in Sub-Saharan Africa is malleable and the determinants of 'youth' are primarily socially constructed. In Sub-Saharan Africa marriage is the determining factor of what constitutes 'adulthood', and baring that, most youth are defined on the basis of age (Chigunta, 2002). In Sub-Saharan Africa 'youth' are generally considered to be those persons between the ages of 10 and 35 (Ibid), however in South Africa this range is shortened to those between the ages of 14 and 35 (NYP, 2009). The idea that the concept of 'youth' stretches to those in their mid-thirties may seem strange to those of us from the developed world, but it arguably reveals that many young Africans are trapped in a period of 'youth dependence', whereby they are unable to access employment opportunities and partake in sustainable livelihood strategies (Chigunta, 2002).

This has led to both a sociological and geographical shift in contemporary Africa. In the post-colonial period, the strong familial and societal linkages that had once prevailed in traditional African society had been eroded. The "various kin and non-kin arrangements, networks of formal and informal relationships were developed which ensured reciprocity and exchange in the form of service and support" (Chigunta, 2002; pg. 7) had begun to degenerate in the face of colonial institutions that placed a greater emphasis on economic success and income generation. This sociological shift led to and fueled a geographical shift from rural to urban centers, leading to rapid urbanization as young Africans raced to the city centers in pursuit of alternative employment opportunities (Chigunta, 2002; Kristensen & Birch-Thomsen, in print).

Despite this urban influx, the majority of the population of Sub-Saharan Africa can be found in rural areas with agriculture being the predominate form of employment, generating up to 30% of the region's GDP (Kristensen & Birch-Thomsen, in print). Yet, youth have proven to be averse to pursuing rural livelihood strategies, preferring to migrate to urban centers or pursue entrepreneurial endeavors. However, youth unemployment has become a significant problem in both rural and urban Sub-Saharan Africa, with a high demographic growth rate leading to a young population that has inundated the job market with more labour than employment opportunities (Chigunta, 2002). For this reason the UN has initiated programmes focusing on integrating both economic and social investments in rural development, in order to re-establish a more sustainable rural-urban dynamic (WYR 2011; Chigunta, 2002).

1.2. Youth in the South African Context

Youth unemployment in South Africa remains at a staggering 70 per cent, with formal employment eluding many young people (Simrie *et al*, 2012). Due to the post-colonial economic focus, young South African's perception of employment has shifted to include only labour rewarded by income, with a set wage or salary. This has been further enforced and institutionalised by policy makers. Those fortunate enough to find employment are generally male and found in jobs that are below their skill set. Youth that are not found in formal employment are perceived to be 'parkshopping' or idle. Informal employment opportunities are also scarce and those unemployed rely heavily on their social and familial networks for support (Chigunta, 2002).

Problems surrounding youth unemployment in South Africa have also been compounded by the perception of a 'youth problem' that emerged in the early 1990s, as the ANC negotiated constitutional changes to transition into a post-apartheid era. South African youth, or the 'Young Lions', who played an active role in protesting the previous political regime, were suddenly seen as a threat to the negotiation process and the perception of youth as both a social and political problem was entrenched by both policy-makers and the media (Seekings, 1996). Images of disruptive and marginalised youth who had 'fallen through the cracks' were cultivated by the media and validated by the construction of social policy and research programmes aimed at integrating youth into the 'new' South Africa (Ibid).

At the beginning of the new millennium, a National Youth Policy that recognized youth as a key demographic for encouraging growth and development was introduced. This evolved into a five-year National Youth Policy Framework that ended in 2007, and was reintroduced as the National Youth Policy (NYP) in 2009. The current NYP is effective until 2014 and defines youth development as: " an intentional comprehensive approach that provides space, opportunities and support for young people to maximise their individual and collective creative energies for personal development as well as development of the broader society of which they are an integral part" (NYP, 2009; p. 10).

The NYP rests on four pillars which include education, health and well-being, economic participation and social cohesion and seeks to targets priority groups, such as young women, youth with disabilities, unemployed youth and youth in rural areas (NYP 2009). Youth unemployment is a particularly important issue within the NYP, as unemployment was as high as 50.3% for youth aged 14-24, and up to 29.5% for youth aged 25-35 years, with one third of all youth living in poverty at the time of the policy's conception (Ibid). The NYP states that it directly targets the private sector as a means of mobilizing youth development, and a focus on skill and infrastructural development is stipulated for retaining youth in rural areas (Ibid).

However, while the NYP is focused on the importance of incorporating youth into South Africa's development, preconceptions around the nation's 'youth problem' may unduly influence the policy and it is important that youth themselves are represented in the prevailing policy documents, as opposed to adults' representations of youth that may be based on stereotypical perceptions of 'marginalized' or 'disenfranchised' youth (Chigunta, 2002). Thus when exploring how the NYP affects rural livelihoods, it is important to take into account the perspectives of youth themselves on the policy and its appropriateness to their individual livelihoods.

Definitions

- **Youth-** In addition to the South African NYP definition of youth, it is also important to consider how youth might be defined within a particular cultural context. In this way, it is often useful to maintain a more conceptual definition of youth that is " internally and externally shaped and constructed, not just as a generation or age category" (Kristensen & Birch-Thomsen, in print). For youth this is often seen as the move from childhood to adulthood.

- **Unemployment-** "Two definitions of unemployment are commonly utilised - the broad and the narrow. The narrowly defined unemployed are those who are currently not employed but who looked for work in the seven days or four weeks prior to the survey visit. The broadly defined unemployed are the narrow unemployed plus those who say they want work but did not look for work in the past week (past four weeks)" (Kingdon & Knight, 2000; pg. 3).
  - · Informal employment- the International Conference for Labour Statistics (ICLS) defines informal enterprises as containing either:
    - non registration of the enterprise in terms of national legislation such as taxation or other commercial legislation.
    - non-registration of employees of the enterprise in terms of labour legislation.
    - small size of the enterprise in terms of the numbers of people employed (Devey et al. 2003; pg. 305).

- **Entrepreneurship-** According to Hisrich and Peters (2002) entrepreneurship is defined as: "the process of creating something new with value by denoting the necessary time and effort, assuming the accompanying financial, psychic and social risks and receiving the resulting rewards of monetary and personal satisfaction and independence."

- **Traditional livelihoods**- In order to define traditional livelihoods, we must consider the meanings of both the terms 'traditional' as well as 'livelihoods'. Here we will define them separately in order to deconstruct the meaning of what it means for a livelihood to be traditional. This is further defined in conjunction with the unique and specific understanding of the villagers in Mpharane in the reflective chapter later in this report.
    - "… Livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets (stores, resources, claims and access) and activities required for a means of living: a livelihood is sustainable when it can cope with and recover from stresses and shocks and maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets, and provide SL opportunities for the next generation; and which contributes net benefits to other livelihoods at the local and global levels and in the short and long term "(Chambers and Conway 1991, p. 6).
    - "The key characteristic of traditional culture is the 'generational-transformation' of knowledge, beliefs, values, customs and norms. This is fundamental for preserving societal values for the future and strengthening a community's sustainability and security" (Kroeber & Kluckhohn, 1953; pg. p. xv–xvi).

1.3. Theoretical Framework

This study will utilize Ellis' (2000) Sustainable Livelihoods Framework, diagrammatically depicted in Figure 1 below, in order to evaluate the different livelihood options available to rural youth in Mpharane. Ellis (2000) defines livelihoods as "compris[ing] the assets (natural, physical, financial, human and social capital), the activities, and the access to these (mediated by institutions and social relations) that together determine the living gained by the individual or household." Instead of identifying livelihood forms in terms of different types of capital, we have identified livelihood practices that are specific to youth in Mpharane and how access to these particular livelihoods is modified by social relations, with an emphasis on gender and age; institutions, with an emphasis on rules and customs; and organisations, with an emphasis on state agencies; all within the context of overarching trends, specifically migration, technological change and macro policy. In the context of our study, we look at youth as both individual actors and collective actors, although they feature more predominantly as individuals. By identifying existing trends and how they affect access to different forms of capital and actor choice, we can identify what youth are interested in and capable of, including the possibilities that are feasible for them and thus the strategies they pursue.
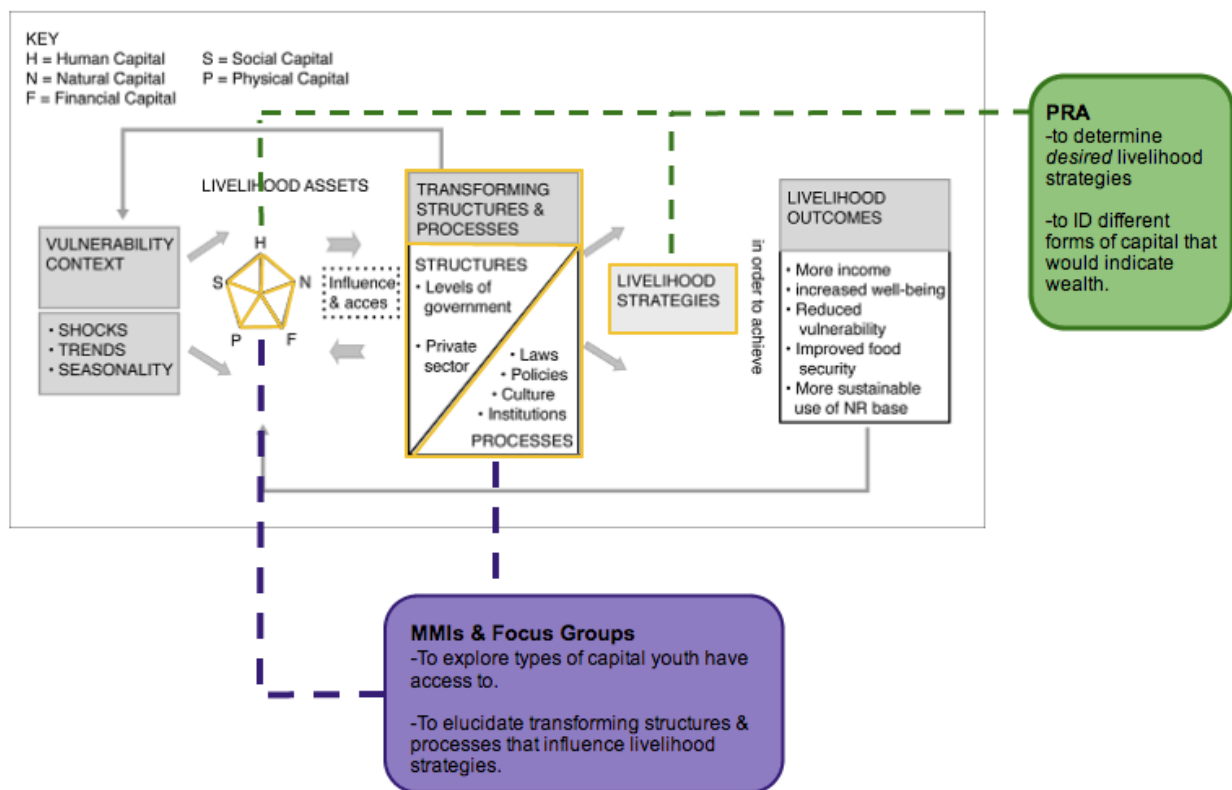
Figure 1: The Sustainable Livelihoods Framework

A key consideration for our research was recognising that poor individuals in rural areas often utilise multiple livelihood strategies to diversify their income sources (Ellis, 2000; Kristensen & Birch-Thomsen, in print). Equally important was the recognition that what we considered to be livelihood strategies was not always considered 'employment' by local villagers.

1.4. Local context and study area

Our study was conducted in Mpharane, a rural village located in Matatiele Local Municipality (an administrative area in the Alfred Nzo District) of Eastern Cape, close to the border of Lesotho (Figure 2). The village is situated in a marginalised area located 37km away from Matatiele and over an hours drive on dirt roads, and has limited infrastructure with no electricity, educational institutions and job opportunities.

The most spoken languages are Xhosa and Sotho. Eastern Cape encompasses some of the poorer regions in South Africa, with one of the highest numbers of youth living in low income households, and over 30 % of youth in households without an employed member (Mathivha, 2012).

The challenges for youth in this rural area are many, as they suffer from a decreased access to the labor market. South Africa exhibits a very high rate of unemployment among young people, and many of the youth are living in a poor condition and without a hope for a better future (Mlatsheni, 2002).

Figure 2

Map of Mpharane Village and Key Landmarks
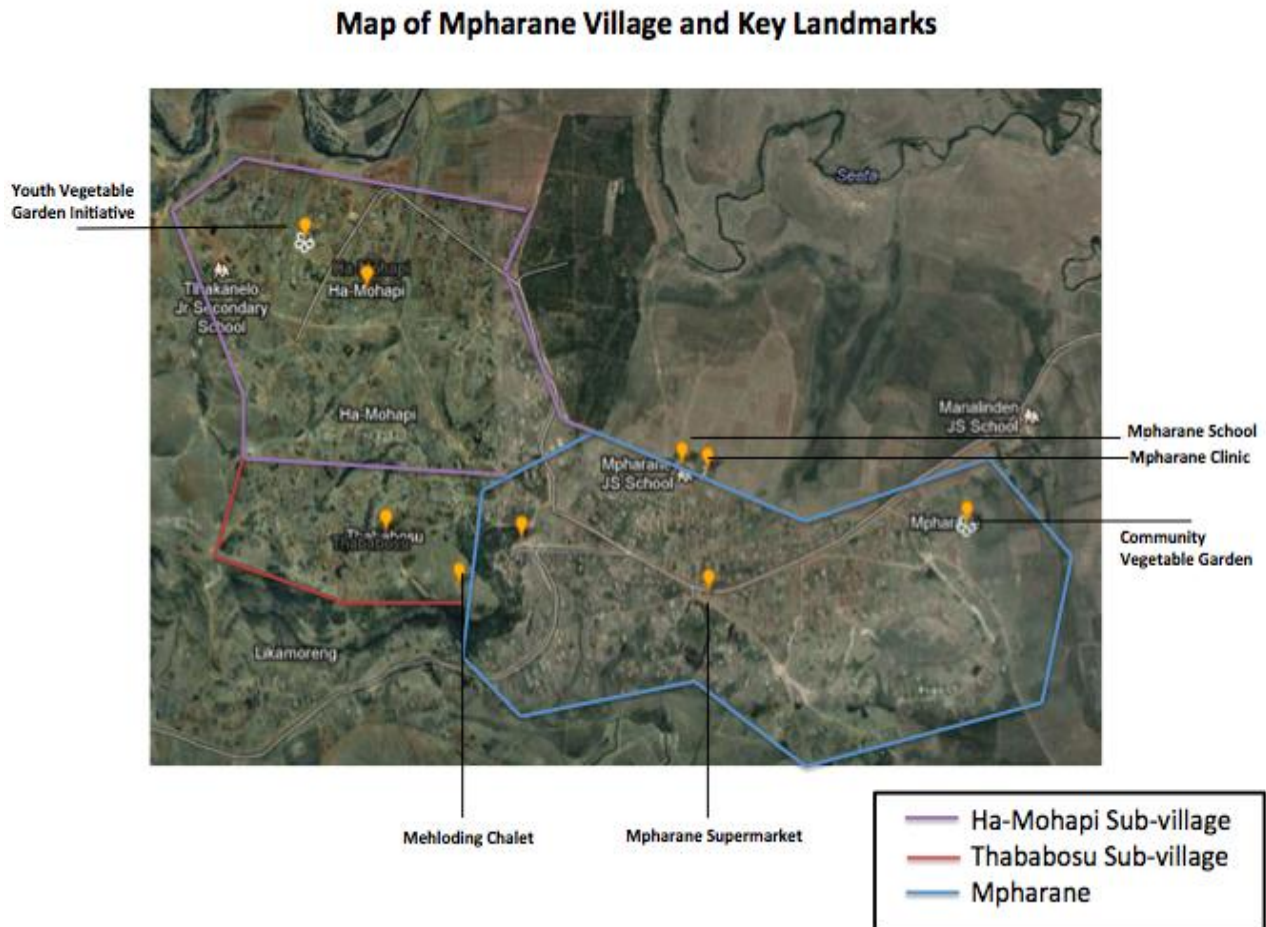
1.5. Problem Statement and Objectives

After the apartheid regime was abolished a sociological and geographical shift has taken place in contemporary Africa. The majority of the population of Sub-Saharan Africa are still to be found in rural areas though facing high rate of unemployment as high as 70 % in South Africa. In addition an averse to pursue rural livelihood strategies amongst youth are seen likewise an urban influx of youth for pursuing employment opportunities. The youth of South Africa are trapped in a period of 'youth

dependence' whereby they are unable to access employment opportunities and partake in sustainable livelihood strategies.

The problem statement, objectives and research questions noted below evolved in the preliminary stages of fieldworks. Originally developed problem statements and research questions (see appendix) tuned to reflect initial findings and knowledge from the key informant

1.5.1 Problem statement (overall objective*)*

What trends and challenges are relevant to youth in Mpharane?
- How do the identified trends influence the livelihood strategies?

1.5.2 Specific objectives
1. To investigate the prevalence of agricultural/livestock livelihood strategies youth are involved in.
2. To investigate current and alternative livelihood strategies available to youth in Mpharane
3. To understand the context behind the challenges facing youth in Mpharane.

1.5.3 Research Questions
1. What are typical forms of 'employment' for youth?
   > Traditional strategies
   > Migration
   > Youth initiatives
   > Entrepreneurship

2. What processes and institutions do youth have available to mediate livelihood strategies?
   > Social and cultural institutions
   > Education
   > Political institutions (National Youth Policy)
   > Extension Services
   > Technology

3. How do youth perceive their future livelihood strategies in Mpharane?

4. What are the main constraints to improved livelihoods for youth in Mpharane?

2. Methodology

The project aim was to determine the trends and challenges relevant to youth in Mpharane village and how the identified trends influence their livelihood strategies. To examine this problem statement both natural and social science methods were used. Triangulation was used in order to get the appropriate knowledge and information from different angles, so as to avoid merely addressing the problem statement from just one point of view (see appendix for an explanation of participatory rural appraisal and mixed method interview techniques).

2.1. Transect walk

Figure 3:

Figure XX: Map of route of transect walk through village

One transect walk was conducted together with our translator, Lufefe, to observe what youth were spending their time on in the village, as well as to find youth and elders for later interviews and identify institutions relevant for the project. Many similar walks around Mpharane and its sub-villages were conducted during the field trip on a less formal basis.

2.2. Social Survey Methods

2.2.1. Mixed-Methods Interviews

The theme of "Youth in Mpharane" is predominantly social science based, and it was therefore agreed with supervisors that combining questionnaire and semi-structured interview questions together to create a mixed-methods interview (MMI) format would be the most efficient and appropriate form of data collection. MMIs thus formed a key source of data for the research.

The MMIs thus start out with a number of closed, general (standardised) questions as can be seen in the interview template provided in the appendix. These questions are similar to the ones that would be asked in a basic questionnaire and this has been used to collect quantitative data and limited qualitative data. More detailed qualitative data was obtained from the second part of the MMI's, where questions were left open-ended, similar to what would be found in a semi-structured interview. A typical interview was conducted in the field by asking general, closed questions first followed by the open ended questions. Twenty respondents answered the closed-ended, questionnaire questions and were interviewed, with an additional ten respondents answering only the semi-structured interview questions, for a total sample size of thirty respondents (See Appendix X for an overview of applied methods).

The questionnaire questions were asked only to respondents who qualified as 'youth' in accordance with the NYP definition (persons between the ages of 14-35). Village elders, school teachers and principals were interviewed using only the open-ended questions in order to understand their perception of youth, as well as challenges and concerns the youth in Mpharane are facing.

2.2.2. Focus-Group Interviews

Two focus-group interviews were conducted. One spontaneous interview was conducted with seven, female community council members, to obtain an indication of the non-youth perception of the challenges surrounding youth in the village, to identify any programmes provided for youth by the local ward council and also to discuss the relationship between youths' historical livelihoods versus today's.

Another focus-group interview was performed at Moshesh High School in Queen's Mercy with six female teachers to reveal opportunities and barriers for youth's future and to provide insight into the educational system in the area.

2.2.3. Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA)

1. Wealth ranking indicator

A wealth ranking indicator PRA was performed at the Makhulong chalet, situated above Mpharane village. Participants included the translators working for the different ILUNRM student groups and Kholo, a non-youth female working at the chalet. This PRA was conducted in the presence of all the students and resulted in the identification of indicators for rich, middle and poor income households, in order to subsequently help the students determine the wealth of villagers by direct observation and from questionnaire responses. The results of this PRA have been included in the appendix.

2. Ranking sessions at Moshesh High School

A half a day was spent at Moshesh High School in Queen's Mercy where two groups of predominantly Grade 12 female students from Mpharane participated in several ranking sessions. Both groups participated in a ranking exercise where they were asked to identify their 'dream' jobs and then rank them in terms of desirability.

The first group was asked to further rank these jobs in terms of their overall importance to the community. This group also ranked their spare time activities and then ranked these activities in order of which ones they favoured the most.

The second group also ranked the time spent on spare time activities, and were then asked to make a pie chart showing the proportion of spare time spent on each. The results from both group PRA exercises can be found in the Appendix.

3. Unemployed youth

A livelihood ranking PRA was performed outside the Mpharane Community Hall. Participants were male unemployed youth and they participated in two ranking exercises regarding both their 'dream' jobs and the different activities that they do during their spare/free time, the time that they spent on each, the time they spent at home doing domestic activities (i.e. cooking, cleaning, looking after livestock) and the time they spent looking for employment. This was done in two stages: firstly, listing the different activities that consume their time and secondly drawing circles on a sheet to indicate the cost in time of each activity relative to others. The results from both PRA exercises can be found in the Appendix.

2.4. Participant Observation

The ethnographic methodology of participant observation seek to initiate practical and theoretical truths about the humans in a context of their daily life (Jorgensen,1989). During the fieldwork we stayed at local families and worked with local translators which gained us an insiders perspective of how people of Mpharane is perceiving the world and thus to some extent avoiding western cultural bias.

Discussion of major advantages, shortcomings and experience of the applied methods are discussed later in the reflective chapter.

2.3. Data Analysis

2.3.1. Nature and use of data collected

As noted above, research was collected in the field from both youth and non-youth stakeholders in a variety of forms. It is worth noting that whilst the data collected was of significant detail, information was provided by only a narrow subset of the village population who were non-randomly selected. As a result, quantitative analysis of data is not indicative of the situation in the entire Mpharane (or wider) area.

MMIs provided the bulk of research data with closed questions providing largely simple quantitative data relevant to the youth sampled; for example, the degree of education among youth and the percentage of youth that intend to pursue higher education. This data was combined together with the results from semi-structured questions to allow for more informed analysis of qualitative data obtained; for example, skills-shortages among youth were identified as an emerging trend in the qualitative data and could then be compared to the level of education among youth in Mpharane.

In addition to data in the field, secondary data was also collected. This included relevant academic papers on the topics covered and reports provided by government and intergovernmental institutions, both in South Africa and from international organisations such as the United Nations. This information provided further reinforcement to field data and furthermore allowed analysis of field data in the context of broader themes, including for example, the prevalence of technology in Sub-Saharan Africa.

2.3.2. Analysis of qualitative data

Qualitative data collected was analysed through a combination of *meaning coding* and *meaning condensation*, following the directions of Kvale and Brinkmann (2009). The use of coding was limited but primarily involved classification of qualitative data from semi-structured interview responses into broad categories. This allowed the development of research conclusions to emerge inductively, rather than to

follow from predefined hypotheses. Such an approach is similar to (although less comprehensive than) that advocated by Strauss and Corbin (1990; 2007) and their grounded theory approach.

The meaning condensation process provided further grounds for simplification and analysis of qualitative data. Long statements were condensed into brief statements which accurately summarised the meaning of the interviewee. In particular, statements were summarised as they related to the broad categories identified through the coding process; leading to an eventual set of qualitative data which was broken down into categories then further distilled as it relates to each category.

All obtained data has been assessed individually; however, primary analysis relied upon all methods as a whole and used triangulation to provide further validity to results, as can be seen in Figure 4. Triangulation refers to the assessment of data from multiple angles in order to improve the accuracy of a given conclusion (Jick, 1979)

Figure 4:
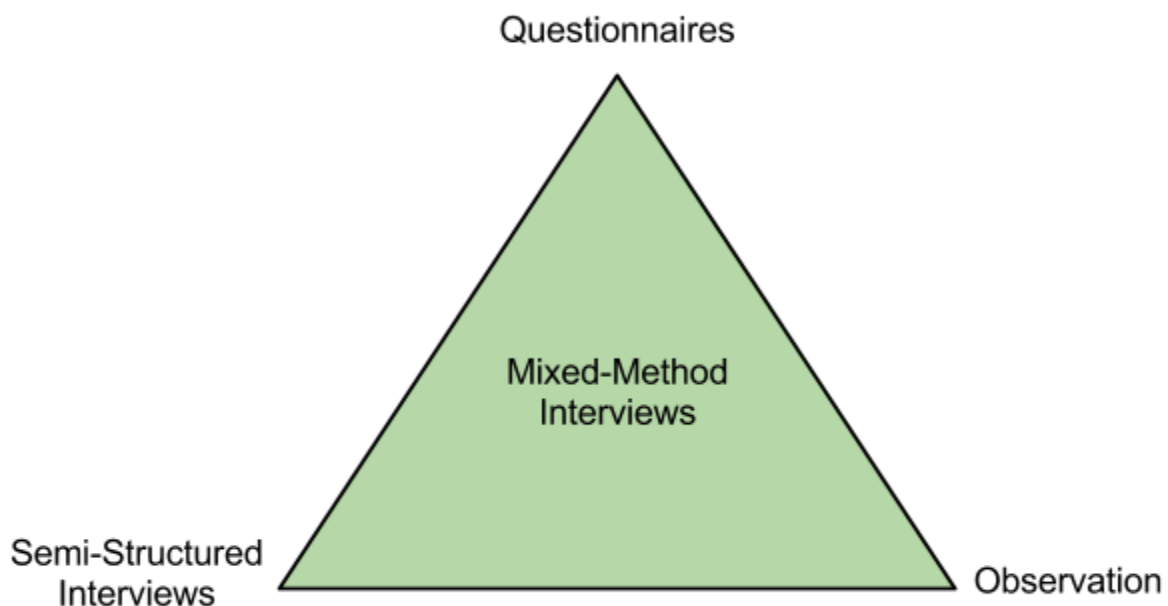
Figure X: Triangulation

2.3.3. Tools for data analysis

Analysing data was primarily done manually, however a computer database of questionnaire results and semi-structured interview material was used to assign categories to semi-structure interview responses and

link these to the demographic and questionnaire data which was also in the database. Spreadsheets allowed further analysis and comparisons.

3. Results and discussion

3.1. Background to interviewees

This section begins with a brief introduction to the interviewees who took part in the research. Main categories of interview respondents are outlined in the methodology section above, and include both youth and non-youth. Below, a number of tables and charts are offered to summarise their demographics and the findings of these closed questionnaires.

Figure 5: Age demographics box-and-whisker plot

The above shows the average, median, minimum and maximum ages of respondents. This data shows that respondents were on average 24 years old and none were below 20 or over 35. Variability in respondent age is shown through by the vertical lines which indicate the lower and upper quartiles of data for this category.

Figure 6: Wealth ranking points box-and-whisker plot

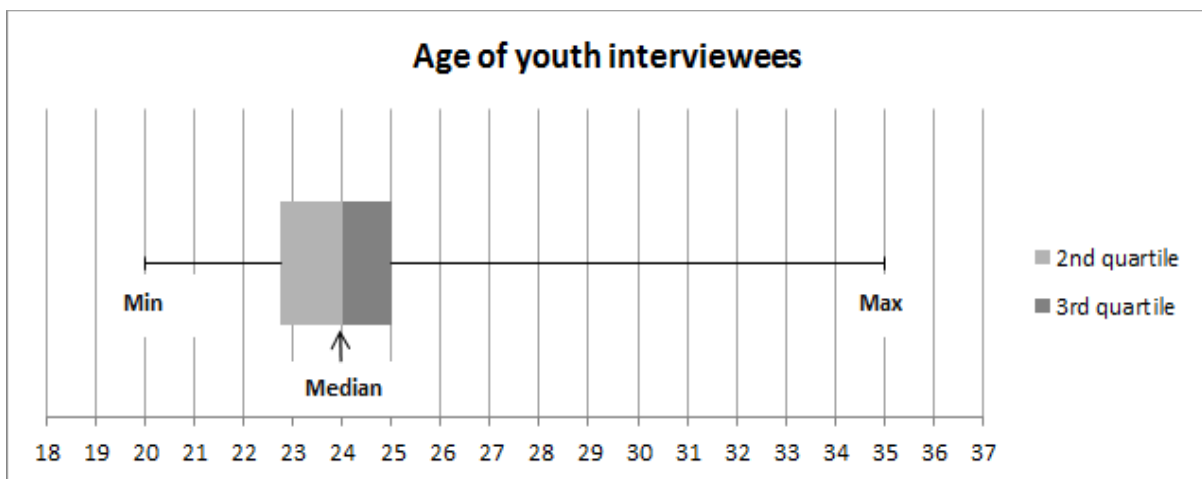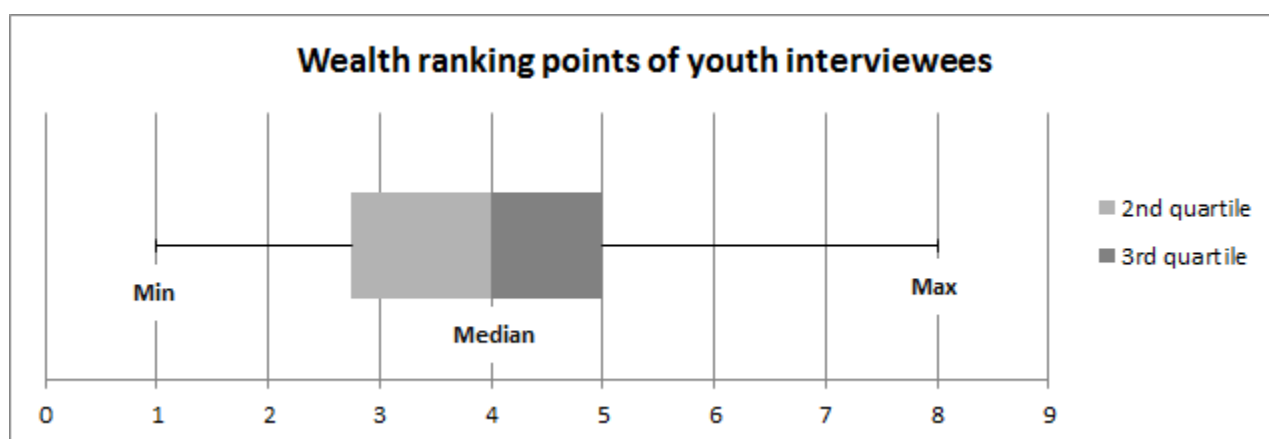Wealth ranking "points" is shown as a datapoint on the chart above. Its primary purpose is to indicate the wealth of interviewees relative to each other. Data obtained from the wealth ranking PRA was used to devise measures which indicated high, medium or low wealth in the village. As the majority of our interviews did not take place within respondents' homes, but rather at their places of work or in the village itself, key wealth indicators were selected from the PRA and included in our closed questionnaires. Responses which were linked to "high" wealth were given a score of 2 (e.g. owning a generator), those indicating a medium level of wealth were given a 1 and those indicating a low level of wealth were given a 0. Total numbers were summed for each interviewee to arrive at total wealth points. These points do not represent a numerical scale where a person with a score of 2 is twice as rich as a person with only 1, rather they offer a rank in the wealth of respondents.

	Quantity	Percentage
Single	13	65%
Married	7	35%
Male	16	80%
Female	4	20%

Figure 7: Basic demographic data

The figure above shows the breakdown of respondent gender; indicating a heavy bias towards males. The figure also shows marital status of interviewees, with most single as expected.

Figure 8 below focuses on education of interviewees, showing that 85% have not proceeded beyond secondary school. This data is further represented visually in the graph below.
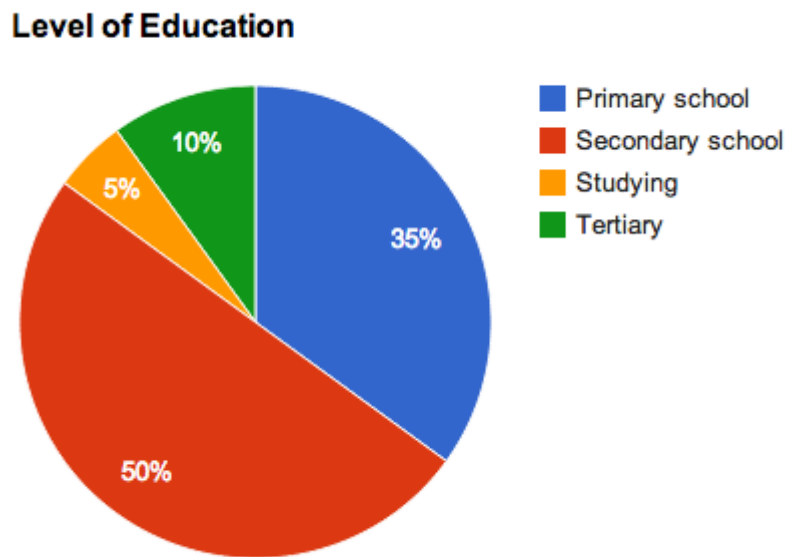
Level of Education

Figure 8: Education levels by gender

Whilst the above provides a limited introduction to the demographics of interviewees as obtained from the closed questionnaire data, further inferences from the questionnaire can and will be used in the subsections below where appropriate to link this closed data to qualitative findings.

3.2. Results and General Discussion

Three major themes encompass the overarching trends that emerged from our results and can be broken down into: livelihood related themes, themes that impede youth livelihoods, and technology related themes.

- **Livelihood related themes**

  Livelihood related themes centre on the different livelihood strategies pursued (or in some cases not pursued) by youth, and how these strategies are influenced by youths' access to different forms of capital. Unemployment might generally be thought to be more of an anit-livelihood strategy than a livelihood strategy itself. However, unemployment was so rife in Mpharane that it had become a fact of life for many youth and alternatives for branching out

into alternative livelihood strategies did not necessarily exist. Youth cited a lack of jobs and social capital as majoring contributing factors for their inability to find a steady employment.

Agriculture and youth initiatives were also identified as key livelihood related themes, as apart from unemployment and one-off jobs, home gardens were the second most predominate source of income for rural youth, as is demonstrated in Figure 9, and community gardens were the only initiatives in the village with which youth were involved. However, despite the reliance on agriculture for income maintenance it appeared to be declining as a livelihood strategy, and the youth initiative built around planting all but failed as young people sought instead after wage-labour.

- **Themes that impede youth livelihoods**

   Themes that impede youth livelihoods are those which deal with the overlying problems confronting youth livelihood strategies in Mpharane. Key among impediments to securing a sustainable livelihood among youth was skill-shortages. Due to a lack of human capital, and an unwillingness to invest in expanding existing human capital, young people lacked the skills required to secure a stable, long-term job. This unwillingness to invest in their own human capital and chase the skills necessary to improve their own livelihoods was attributed to laziness on the part of youth, and the idea that they wanted 'everything now' and were buying into a culture of short-termism.

   Substance abuse was also cited repeatedly as being a key problem that was impeding youth from pursuing stable livelihoods, as well as an increasing rate of teen pregnancies and sexually transmitted infections. The high incidence of substance abuse was often attributed to idleness and the easy accessibility of cheap alcohol (often home-brewed) and drugs due to the proximity with Lesotho. The increase in substance abuse was thought to be driving and increase in theft and crime in the village, although verifying this assumption was beyond the means and intent of our report.

   The increase in teenage pregnancies was attributed to a lack knowledge and sexual education, but interestingly, it was also thought to be heavily mediated by the ANC's introduction of Child Support Grants (CSGs) and the adoption of social grants as a diversification strategy for those who were unemployed and lacking alternative livelihoods.

- **Mobile phone technology as a theme for improved youth livelihoods**

Mobile phones technology as a theme refers to the idea of mobile phone technology as a potential tool for improving the social capital of youth and delivering positive outcomes to youth through improved access to education and health and through improved access to information valuable for those engaged in business.

## 3.3. Livelihood and employment related themes

3.3.1. Unemployment

"In the village it's hard to get work that I will have for a long time…"

As was expected, issues surrounding youth unemployment were some of the most salient in Mpharane. Barriers for finding employment were high, with most youth lacking the financial and physical capital to start their own entrepreneurial activities, or the social and human capital that would qualify them for wage-labour. This lack of capital is further compounded by the absence of organisations that could mediate access to employment: no employment programmes were available in the local ward office for youth, and national youth programmes such as the NYP or the National Youth Development Agency (NYDA) were largely unheard of in the village.

The only organization that was present in the village that played a key role in mediating job access was the Community Hall. 46% of our respondents cited the Community Hall as key source of both employment information and job opportunities. However, the majority of the jobs coming from the Community Hall were public service related and fixed, or short-term employment; the most common of which were jobs in road maintenance, fire-fighting, and tourism. Wage earning labour in the formal, private sector was hard to come by in Mpharane, and people relied mainly on advertisements in the radio or in the newspaper (which had to be picked up 37km away in Matatiele) to find out about these opportunities. However, few gender gaps seemed to exist when it came to unemployment, with public works projects particularly looking to hire female workers; for example, fire-fighting projects in the village were composed of an estimated 60% female workers. On the whole these types of jobs were considered to be formal employment, but only accounted for 15.4% of the income sources available to youth, as can be seen in Figure 9. The remaining 84.6% of youth income sources are made up within the informal economy. When they could not get public service jobs through the Community Hall, the single most important source of income for youth was piece-work, or one-off jobs, around the community such as chopping firewood and cleaning houses, accounting for 30.8% of the income sources among youth.

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Figure 9:
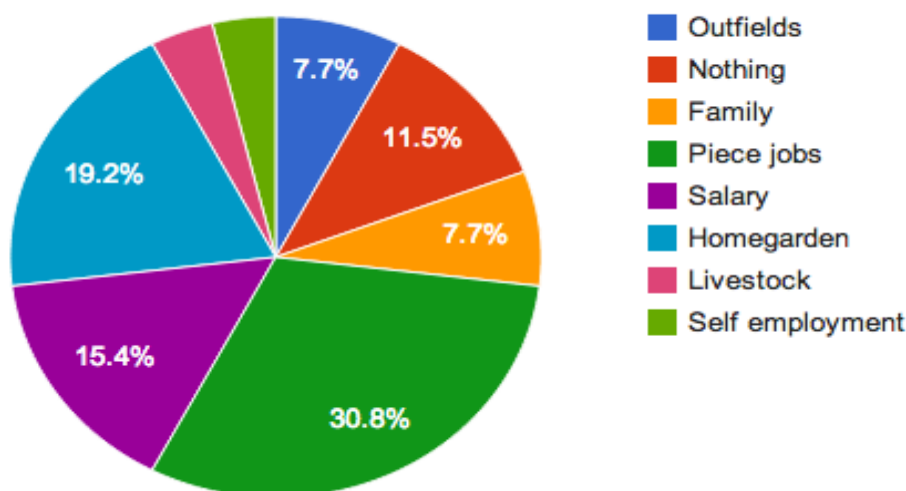
Our results showed that the development of social capital was intrinsically linked to employment opportunities, and apart from the community hall, was the single most important factor for job location in the village. Many cited 'no connections' among their reasons for unemployment, saying that if people 'don't know you' it is hard to get a job. Even many jobs at the community hall are not advertised publicly and only circulate among the villagers word-of-mouth, so if a young person is lacking in social capital they are unlikely to receive the news of available positions until it is too late. "Here in South Africa they are only using the connections…" one youth said, and this has been highlighted by the growth and importance of social networking and media among youth in the village, who are increasingly using new technology to find and create job opportunities.

These high rates of unemployment have caused many youth to look elsewhere for opportunities. Yet, migration did not play as large of a role as we had initially anticipated. 75% of the youth interviewed said they planned to leave Mpharane, while 25% said they prefered to stay. However, of the 75% that planned to leave Mpharane, only 13% had previously migrated for work. Many youth thus identified urban centers as places with more opportunities, however cited a lack of social capital in the city centers as the key reason they had not yet left. Many said that before they could move successfully to an urban center, they would first need to rely on social connections and networks for a place to stay, as well as information about job opportunities. Moving without these social systems in place was seen as too high a risk by many youth, as they also recognized that unemployment was rife in even the city centres: "A lot go and don't get a job and end up wandering around the cities with nothing to do."

The youth planning on staying in Mpharane saw this as an advantage, with one key informant telling us, "I don't see any need of going to the cities and all that stuff, just if you need money… I think if I have all these ideas and get some sponsors and stuff… there are a lot of opportunities here. In the cities so many people have those ideas, but here it's rare." Other key informants cited familial relationships and strong cultural associations with the land and their tribe as reasons for staying in Mpharane.

3.3.2. Agriculture

Agricultural development was identified as an important livelihood strategy in Mpharane, yet youth tend to see agriculture and livestock farming as "old fashioned" and outdated. This emergent attitude towards livelihoods centered around planting and livestock has arisen in response to two key trends, namely Apartheid and the short-termism that has arisen in the post-apartheid era.

Apartheid continues to have an effect on people's perception of agriculture, and even though the majority of the youth in Mpharane today have little memory of growing up under the Apartheid regime, the legacy remains. A few elders in the village attributed youth's distaste for agriculture as being linked to punishment or systems of enslavement that were implemented prior to 1994: "[youth] are not interested in these things, because before democracy people were forced to, go to the fields but as democracy comes in people can chose, and people don't want to do it because they feel they are being made slaves" However, when asked if they agreed with this perception, the few youth we interviewed that had chosen to pursue agricultural livelihoods tended to disagree and dismiss the suggestion, emphasising instead that they felt involvement in agriculture would be beneficial for their future.

Consensus did exist, however, between both elders and youth involved in agricultural livelihoods that more agricultural educational programmes were needed in order to allow youth to develop skills within this livelihood strategy. The principal of Moshesh High School said that learners attitude towards agriculture was apathetic, stating that "Learners are not interested. They don't want to plow anything, but would rather buy their food. They only think it's good if it's from a commercial farm- they don't think the soil here can do it." Effort has been made to implement an agricultural programme for high school students, where they are taken out on excursions to commercial farms to gain practical experience, and the Moshesh principal was hopeful this would be successful in changing youths' attitude towards agriculture: "Learners must learn that agriculture is money and a business...You cannot claim back the land if you don't have a programme, you can't have a programme if you don't have educated people to run it..."

Figure 10:
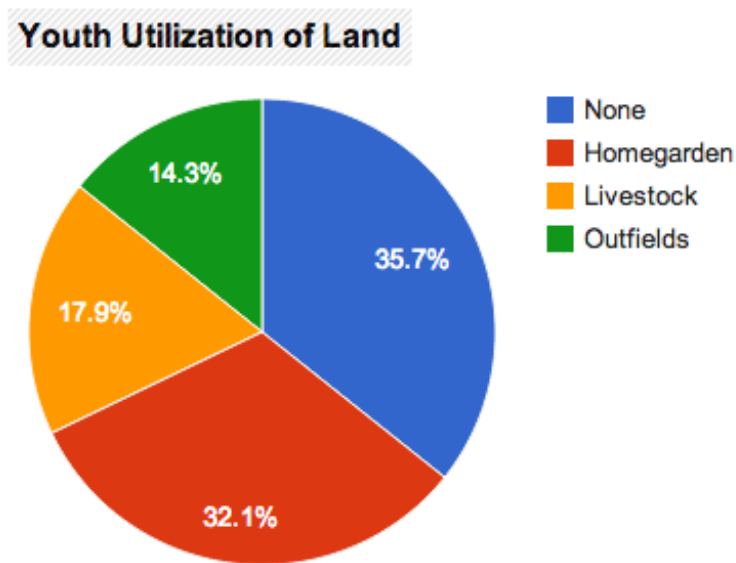
However, 'claiming back the land' is more easily said than done. While the villagers all have access to land for home gardens and outfields, 35.7% of the youth interviewed did not utilize this as can be seen in Figure 10. This is due to a lack of access to start-up capital required to start planting; initial financial investment in physical capital such as fertilizers, pesticides, and tools is a necessity before the land can be used productively and households can begin to see returns on their investments. An elder in the village summarised the problem beautifully when he said, "Instead of plowing or selling to town they go and buy food… with the money people get from pension, grants, short-term jobs like road works, but people buy more expensive things from the town… the poor people, because they can't save, end up in a cycle of poverty…."

3.3.3. Youth Initiatives

The NYP and other national programmes aimed at youth development, such as the NSFAS or the National Youth Development Agency (NYDA), are structures that were expected to mediate actor choice and youth livelihood outcomes in Mpharane. However, these national programmes, or macro-policies, were not present at the local level with few interviewees having knowledge of them. In the absence of national based youth programmes or support, youth are faced with the choice of creating youth initiatives of their own or

continuing to do without any kind of mutual support, making it difficult to cultivate and expand their human capital, which has already suffered from a lack of strong educational programmes and a lack of skill.

In Mpharane, the clear choice was to focus on employment opportunities over the creation of youth initiatives, with few youth choosing to join community initiatives or create any youth initiatives of their own. The number of youth involved in the relatively successful community vegetable garden, had dropped over by 57% since it's conception in 2004. The head of the community garden attributed this to a greater emphasis on finding employment and wage-labour on the part of the youth; "They were doing a very well job- but they had to go somewhere to get money, they didn't leave because the rejected the project…" she told us.

Only one initiative geared specifically at youth was identified in Mpharane, however it had fallen apart by the time we arrived in the village. A similar initiative to the community vegetable garden, it had been started by eight young men in April of 2012, who had planned to start their own community garden on the opposite side of the village. However after a few months all but one of the members had 'disappeared' and the summer's harvest was all but rotting in the ground. When asked why the others had left, the remaining member of the project told us, "They like money, but the vegetables, they take time to grow. But they don't want to take the time. They want money right now. With the vegetables it is four months before they grow." A former member confirmed this when we caught up with him, citing a lack of time due to the need to pursue other, wage-earning employment. Thus growing financial capital was a higher priority than growing human and even social capital.

What's interesting to note, however, is that the young men had initially started their vegetable garden as more of an entrepreneurial endeavour than as a community or youth initiative. Both of the young men that we spoke to confirmed that the project was begun with long-term profits in mind, with the hope of eventually turning it into a business. While they recognized the benefits it could have for the community- pulling youth away from substance abuse, providing healthy, reasonably priced food for the community- a long-term financial gain was the primary motivating factor. However a lack of start-up financial capital and information created barriers to successful business creation. Even though all 8 members initially contributed R150 each, it was only enough to cover the costs for seeds and basic tools, leaving them wanting important but costly technological inputs such as tractors, fertilizers and pesticides. Both boys also cited a need for more information and skill-based learning, but neither could identify a venue through which they could access this information.

3.4. Themes that impede youth livelihoods

3.4.1. Skills shortages

Skills shortages were identified as a major problem among youth in Mpharane. Of the youth attending primary school, teachers estimated that only around half of young learners went onto finish matric and graduate to high school; of the learners graduating from high school, teachers in the village estimated that not even 10% would go onto pursue any kind of higher education. Of the youth we interviewed, only 15% were currently enrolled or had completed a tertiary degree, and another 15% said they would like to pursue higher education if it were not for impossibly high barriers to entry. Education in South Africa is poorly subsidized, with the National Student Financial Aid Scheme (NSFAS) administering only four bursaries[1] that remain increasingly competitive.

Opportunities for skill-based learning do exist in Moshesh High School. A new agricultural programme that focuses on field trips and practical learning has been initiated, and practical courses in electricity, woodwork and mechanical engineering are offered, but often these are under-funded and hard to implement because often "along the way there are wolves there [taking the money]…"

This has become a problem for high school graduates in poor, rural areas that do not have the financial capital to attend university or pursue a technical diploma and thus enter the workforce largely unskilled. The demand for unskilled and manual labour in South Africa is on the decline and labour markets are now calling for skilled workers as a result of capital deepening (i.e. an increase in capital productivity as a result of the introduction of more advanced equipment) and the introduction of information technology; this shift in the structures of employment and production methods has a had a particularly adverse effect on unskilled African and Coloured workers in the primary sectors (agriculture, forestry, ect) as wages become depressed and employment rates decline (Bhorat & Hodge, 1999).

Our findings support these trends, as the incidence of unskilled, unemployed youth was high amongst those surveyed, indicating a deficit in human capital. However, as important as the lack of skills, seemed to be the

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[1] 1.The Funza Lushaka Bursary Programme
[1] 2. Social Work Bursaries
[1] 3. National Skills Fund
[1] 4. FET College Bursaries

attitude of youth towards skills acquisition. Despite the barriers to higher education, elders in the village seemed to feel that young people were squandering any additional opportunities they had to add to their skill set. For example, skill-based training programmes initiated by the Catholic Church, such as sponsoring young people to obtain their driving license, eventually faded and died out due to a lack of participation. One adult male involved in youth initiatives with the Catholic church went so far as to say, "When you sit with them you realize the idea is there, the seed is there, but there is a lack of skill… But young people are resistant to these things, because it's not that the trainings are not there…" Intimidation and laziness by young people were both cited as factors contributing to the failure for skill-based training programmes to get off the ground, but also continued unemployment was seen as a barrier for their success: "If you train people one year and they don't get a job the next, no one will continue to go."

The general consensus among adults in Mpharane seemed to be that the youth attitude towards skill acquisition and employment is disjointed at best, with one adult female stating, "The point is that they are given these skills in order to create employment for themselves, but they are not grasping it." Instead, youth expect to be given jobs and spend the majority of their time waiting for these jobs to appear, instead of pursuing their own entrepreneurial activities or investing in expanding their skill set. So more than just a deficit of human capital from a lack of educational programmes and extension services, the situation is compounded by an unwillingness on the part of youth to invest in growing their human capital, limiting their access to future livelihood opportunities.

3.4.2. Laziness and Short-Termism

In Mpharane it was that observed many youth were "hanging in the streets" appearing not to be doing much. Some would converse with each other, some walk casually around and others seemed distant, staring into space. This was observed everyday, regardless of time and place, although it was particularly noticed around the Mpharane Supermarket where the youth seem to gather in groups of manly males. Sometimes the young male groups would be drinking beer or other alcoholic beverages while hanging around. During the planning session at KwaZulu-Natal University, before entering the field site, we were informed that carrying out interviews on paydays might be a problem because many villagers would spend their money on alcohol and therefore very unethical (and probably useless) to interview them. Such an occurrence was observed on that day and steps were taken to avoid alcohol or drug affected persons.

These observations seem to correlate with statements from Mpharane informants. A typical perception of youth by non-youth as well as youth themselves was that there were "just hanging" and that they "don't work" which was also confirmed in relation to spare time activities where almost all youth would state

"hanging" as a spare time activity. From a PRA session with unemployed youth the highest ranked spare time activity in term of time spent on the activities, was playing pool (at the tavern) and chilling.

Such "chilling" to the western researchers raised the question of whether young people get bored. To this end, one unemployed male youth declared that he didn't get bored "just hanging around", even though he had dreams of starting his own business. Wegner (2011) found that youth in the province of KwaZulu-Natal had accepted boredom as a part of life. Another male had a different attitude towards boredom: "It's too hard to live here, life here is too slow to live here, to get what you want and what you need…" Indicating that the reason for leisure boredom is because the informants had nothing to do (Wegner 2011).

In regard to these observations a highly interesting finding was that laziness would appear spontaneously as a theme randomly during interviews, especially during interviews with non-youth and notably in connection to the high prevalence of unemployed youth. Many youth would confirm this statement: for example one of the key informants stated: "Youth especially… people are so lazy… they don't like to work hard, they get tired quickly…and they don't work". A non-youth female stated a similar perception about youth not wanting to work hard: "Youth are lazy - always waiting for someone to come up with jobs, they want to be spoon fed all the time…and they enjoy not doing anything". A teacher from Moshesh High School even indicated yout being in a state of apathy, saying that youth don't have vision and that they don't see the opportunities available to them: "Everything is a joke to the youth, life is not serious" and "There are lazy even though there are opportunities".

One unemployed male was aware of the perception many have of youth as lazy and said "we are not just sitting around doing nothing, we are seeking jobs" almost as if he were defending his generation. A member of the Community Council elucidated this as well, in terms of youth involved in employment projects who are believed to work hard.

This trend of laziness might be a question more of lack of confidence rather than a question of laziness. Both at Mpharane School and Moshesh High School the impression was given that many learners was studying hard but at the same time at there was a lack of confidence and a "feeling of being lost". One key informant who had completed her tertiary degree went so far as to claim, "Here in rural villages if you are education, some people are scared of you." Coping with problems seemed to be an challenge for youth, as was also mentioned by an elder Community Garden member in Mpharane.

Even though a large number of informants perceived youth as lazy, the contrary perception was to be found as well. Many youth informants were very passionate about the future, their dream jobs and life itself.

During PRA sessions at Moshesh High School it was observed that the students had ambitions beyond High School: "We can achieve these jobs, we are aiming high. The future is positive and we want to work hard for it".

The same aspirations were found among other youth informants, including one young unemployed male who said: "Life is [better]. I am independent, this is my turning point, time to rise up". Others like him showed the same sign of motivation for the future. Research by Dass-Brailsbord (2005), for example, showed youth with higher levels of motivation and who are goal oriented achieve higher academic success in the province of KwaZulu-Natal.

3.4.3. Substance abuse.

"The future for youth in Mpharane is dark because of substance abuse".

One of the main problems that youth face today in Mpharane is substance abuse. According to one key informant, an estimated 50% of the youth use drugs and drink alcohol, are "just hanging out". All this has lead to many problems in Mpharane: from financial problems, to an increased rate of unemployment, to rape, to family conflicts, ect. As a result of substance abuse, unemployment rates have risen, and many young people try to find the money in easy ways, often resorting to theft. A high incidence of school dropouts and an increased number of crimes, including rape, has made the Mpharane unsafe.

Most of them think that in order to improve the situation in the village programmes to help youth are needed, such as informing them about the effects of substance abuse or providing new jobs for youth.

3.4.4. Teen pregnancy and STIs/HIV/AIDS

The number of youth affected with sexually transmitted infection (STIs) and HIV/AIDS is high in Mpharane, and this is the case for many reasons: few young people go to the clinic to inform themselves about available contraceptive options, young people do not go to the clinic to be educated about preventing the contraction of STIs and HIV, and in instances where infection has taken place, Anti-Retrovirals (ARVs) are not taken properly. However, the staff at the clinic has noticed an increase in the number of youth who go to the clinic to get information about HIV; although, they noted they still face challenges in regards to the many young people who are HIV positive and don't take their ARVs, or often do not follow the instructions when taking

their medication (consuming alcohol while on medication appeared to be the most common example).

Teen pregnancy, very important problem facing youth in Mpharane. The number of teen pregnancies is rising daily, and this can be attributed to a myriad of factors. Firstly, not receiving the appropriate information from parents is an ongoing issue in a society where talking about sex is considered to be 'taboo'. One elder was quoted as saying, "In most of the families they don't talk about these issues… the parents will say it's very uncomfortable for me to talk about sex with my childrens. Additionally, as a result of teen pregnancy youth dropout of school, leading to a decline in education. Familial structures are also eroding as children grow up without fathers or important parental figures.

Many youth think that, in order to help people regarding these issues and improve the situation in the village, programmes should be developed to inform people about the importance of the problems and the ways they can be dealt with. Members of both the schools and the clinic would like to see educational programmes, where social workers educate about reproductive rights and STIs, expanded.

3.4.5. The Child Support Grant (CSG)

"Government rights have created social problems."

Table 1

The number of children receiving the Child Support Grant in South Africa, 2005 – 2009					
Province	**Number of child beneficiaries**				
	2005	**2006**	**2007**	**2008**	**2009**
Eastern Cape	1,078,442	1,413,830	1,497,736	1,491,223	1,605,479
Free State	361,318	417,076	441,397	457,169	494,433
Gauteng	723,432	862,346	926,179	969,267	1,067,729
KwaZulu-Natal	1,338,045	1,746,944	1,963,944	2,128,967	2,344,413
Limpopo	990,194	1,200,185	1,253,794	1,278,711	1,392,140
Mpumalanga	489,663	613,008	645,565	662,316	717,075
North West	465,242	604,525	613,002	637,557	682,991
Northern Cape	101,728	121,332	175,250	184,183	209,818
Western Cape	365,655	431,514	458,980	480,394	557,784
South Africa	**5,913,719**	**7,410,760**	**7,975,847**	**8,289,787**	**9,071,862**
CSG amount	**RM180**	**RM190**	**RM200**	**RM220**	**RM240**

Source   • South African Social Security Agency (2005; 2006; 2007; 2008; 2009) SOCPEN database. Pretoria: SASSA.

This decline in demand for unskilled labour has had an interesting impact on the importance and prevalence of wage labour in rural areas in South Africa, as many poor households are instead beginning to utilise social grants as a supplementary livelihood strategy in and of itself. Ferguson (2013, p. 171) notes: "...access to wages is today no longer such a dominant route to income for poor rural people in the region. Instead, other sources of income, especially social grants and the loosely structured improvisations of the 'informal economy', loom increasingly large".

One such grant is the Child Support Grant (CSG). Originally adopted in 2002 and made available to children from poor families under the age of seven, it was expanded to include children under the age of 14 in 2005, thereby adding 1.5 million new recipients. In 2009 the age threshold was pushed back a final time to 15 years of age (Hall 2011). The number of grant recipients from 2005-2009 can be seen in Table 1 above. Over that time period the income threshold for the grant has also risen, having been adjusted for inflation in 2008, with the income threshold resting at R2,400 per month for a single caregiver and grants totalling to R250 per child (Ibid). This grant has generally been perceived as progressive by the international community, particularly in it's recognition of a primary caregiver in place of only biological parents (Case et al. 2005) and evidence suggests that the grant has improved children's access to education, food, and basic services (Case et al. 2005; Hall 2011).

However, despite the proven benefit for children and evidence that the CSG is carrying out the socio-economic services it should be, the grant also carries a social stigma in South Africa, with public perception of the CSG being that women become pregnant for the sole purpose of accessing it (Goldblatt 2005). As Ferguson (2013) pointed out, the CSG has for some become a livelihood strategy in and of itself, and this is certainly the case for some disadvantaged families in Mpharane. We spoke to at least one family that was dependent on the grant for their main source of income, and others who used it as an emergency source of income when they could not find work, or supplementary income to their current income.

The general perception of the grant in Mpharane was that it was creating a 'culture of dependency' among unemployed youth. Although the literature surrounding the CSG largely concludes that the grant has been successful at providing services to children (Hall 2011; Case et al. 2005; Goldblatt 2005) and there is currently no existing evidence that the CSG is linked to increasing teen pregnancy (Makiwane 2010; Goldblatt 2005), at the village level there was still concern that the money received from the grants was increasing the incidence of teenage pregnancy and was not being used for the child's benefit. Teachers particularly noted the increase in teenage pregnancy over the years, and said they had come to expect increased absence on days when the grant was paid out, as many young

mothers would have to spend the day queuing; although they debated the influence of the grant as the cause of teenage pregnancy, and also cited lack of knowledge as a major contributing factor. At the clinic, however, one nurse identified the CSG as a leading contributor to the increased rates of teenage pregnancy and pregnancy among youth in general, stating, "Since that grant program started children are having children because they are chasing after that money ... I think this grant program is the one that causes this high pregnancy." A leader in the Catholic church also confirmed this perception by saying, "You find in families that are really struggling, they are dependent on this grant."

Skepticism also exists surround the use of the grant, with many of our interviewees citing irresponsible use of the money by young parents. One teacher at Moshesh High School hinted that often the money from the grants gets funneled into other uses by young parents, fueling substance abuse and irresponsible spending: "This kid is only five years but it knows how to say 'she's [mom] gone to the tavern.'" A church leader claimed to have seen similar behaviour among the young parents in his parish, stating "We have a young lady and she has a child, and she gets the money but where does it go? To the salon!" He went on to claim that this was a problem with the ANC itself, his statement backing up the theory by Ferguson that an unintended consequence of social grants is that they have diversified into becoming livelihood strategies themselves: "That's practically one of the failures of our government- things are just being given out but there is no *follow up*....Let's give you this and you destroy it and we will sit and fold our arms...Today I stand at the pulpit and I say, 'Everyone *wants* to be poor!'" (emphasis our own).

Goldblatt (2005) makes an important point on the issues surrounding the CSG, stating that one of the key problems is a lack of state support for women. He claims that "Mothers no longer have a claim in their own right – they are simply conduits for assistance to children. Their citizenship entitlements to a basic level of state support have been subsumed in their children's rights. This slippage is reflected in the state's understanding of social assistance" (Goldblatt 2005; pg. 241) and the current system distributes benefits in such a way that women are expected to deliver social assistance on behalf of the ANC, when really social assistance programmes should extend to basic women's' rights and be made available to women themselves. Until programmes focusing on adult's basic rights appear, the CSG will continue to be directed towards a greater number of livelihood functions than was originally intended by the ANC.

3.5 Mobile phone technology for improved youth livelihoods

Multiple respondents in the village provided information about the impact of technology on the lives of young people. Most obvious was the impact of mobile phones, especially given the lack of electricity and cabled telephone service in the area as well as the relative poverty of residents.

Of the 20 youth surveyed, 17 (85%) owned a mobile phone with 12 of those (71% of the 17 with phones) having access to the internet on their mobiles. All of those surveyed who owned a mobile phone and had access to the internet on it used their phone for some form of social networking, either Facebook, Mxit (an African focused social networking application), WhatsApp (a messaging application) or Twitter. These penetration rates are slightly higher than some found in recent literature, including a recent study in rural Eastern Cape which found penetration rates of 56.4% (Porter et al., 2012) although less than found closer to the cities where rates of up to 97% were found (Kreutzer, 2009).

Outside of the limited data gathered from closed questionnaires, observation provided further indications of the prevalence of mobile telephones in Mpharane. Many young people were observed using their phones in public, although generally not for calling which was more expensive relative to other services such as internet or SMS messages. In seeking interviews, youth on three occasions asked us to contact them via Mxit as opposed to more traditional means, highlighting the role of phones with internet access (required for Mxit) in the social networks of youth.

Both youth and non-youth in Mpharane identified the role of mobile phone technology positively. Whilst one non-youth respondent commented that young people are "always on their phones" she went on to note that she saw them as a positive influence able to provide useful information to youth and broaden their perception of the world. Other comments echoed this, and further highlighted the potential of mobiles with internet to assist with homework and to read the news. It did not appear that use of mobile phones had gone much further beyond such applications, however. Potential development benefits of phones for online health and education programs, raised regularly in the literature (see, e.g.; Aker & Mbiti, 2009; Porter et al., 2012), did not appear to be widespread in Mpharane.

A theme of particular interest and relevance to the broader research was the potential use of mobile phones for searching for employment opportunities. A number of youth identified this as a use of their mobile phone, although this was primarily in looking for opportunities through word-of-mouth rather than online job advertisements. Responses indicated that there was essentially no use of the internet for formal employee recruitment in the area, although one interviewee noted that his job searching would include looking at newspaper advertisements for roles outside of the village. Such advertisements would likely have also appeared online on the newspapers' websites, however the interviewee was not aware of this.

The widespread use of phones in the village offers significant potential development benefits and potential improvements to the social capital of youth in the village. Mobfile phones offer those in the village a window to the outside world and enhanced communications with their peers in the local area. Unlike previous technological developments (such as televisions and radio) they operate on a two-way basis. Benefits and capital may also flow to those undertaking entrepreneurial activities by improving communication with customers and suppliers, as has been observed in other areas of South Africa (Carlson, 2012). Related to this is the economic benefits of greater mobile phone penetration, observed by Lee and Gardner (2011) for example, who found a positive correlation between mobile phone use and economic growth, especially where fixed line telephones were not in use. Whilst the research undertaken for this report did not have the capacity to determine whether this was occurring in Mpharane as yet, the potential benefits to youth - observed as the area's heaviest phone users - is clear.

4. Reflective chapter

This chapter covers the researchers' reflections on the methodology employed in the field. It looks at each method individually and summarises the advantages and successes, shortcomings and the influence on results of the selection and use of each method. Data is presented in table format to improve clarity. Following this, the chapter continues by covering changes that would be made to the research process should the exercise be repeated. Finally, the chapter offers reflection on the differences between academic definitions of the terms key to the report and those accepted within the area of study.

4.1 Reflections on methodology

Method		
	Advantages and successes	**Shortcomings**
Mixed-Method Interviews (MMIs) (in general)	• MMIs in general benefited from the addition of an introduction to our project and our role as student researchers in Mpharane. Participants were more open to questioning following such an introduction. Advising the interviewee of the expected time also improved the initial rapport. • Separating the role of interviewer from note-taker improved flow and rapport between the researchers and the interviewee by limiting gaps in conversation.	• MMIs in general were biased towards males. This is believed to be a result of different gender roles and the tendency for females to spend more time at home. This was especially true for youth respondents, but less so for non-youth. In addition, females tended to have a greater propensity to not show up for prearranged interviews. • Prearranged MMIs in were prone to participants not showing up, except where the interview was arranged for their home,

	• Reducing from a group of four researchers to a group of two assisted when interviewing an individual. Responses felt more natural and interviewees less nervous when a smaller group of researchers was present.	work or area that they would have otherwise have been. In particular, no interviewee came to the chalet centre where the researchers were based even when this was a prearranged meeting point. When this issue was identified, future interviews were arranged for locations more suitable for the interviewee or for the more neutral community hall.
• "Questionnaires"	• Closed questions were generally quick and simple to complete for both interviewer and interviewee. This ease allowed both parties to get used to the interview process and build rapport before the semi-structured (and more in-depth) questions were asked. • Provided useful information on demographics and employment status.	• Information about household size and composition not entirely useful for final analysis. • Issues were faced with translation of some questions, for example, regarding the outlook for the next generation. • The questionnaire may have benefited from further exploration of interviewees family history and background. Questions determining the socio-economic status of young people's parents and extended family may have revealed additional information which has not been captured by the approach used. Similarly, further questions about young people's roles in their household (e.g. whether they are a carer to others) may have also assisted.
• "Semi-Structured Interviews"	• Semi-structured questions within the MMIs benefited from allowing interviewees to take the conversations into areas that weren't necessarily expected. Such divergence from the pre-determined questions helped revealed problems for youth in Mpharane that were not expected prior to the field trip.	• Questions around definitions, including definitions of youth, were difficult to explain. As such it became difficult to not ask leading questions. • Challenges were faced when working through a translator, who was observed often answering on behalf of the interviewee without even posing the question. To confirm, he

		appeared to ask a closed question to confirm his guess about the correct answer, which interviewees then found it difficult to respond negatively to. • Working with translator- not letting the translator answer questions for the interviewee or ask leading questions- often time people would just agree with whatever Lufefe said.
Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA)	• Like for other methods, providing a brief introduction to the project and our role in Mpharane assisted with building understanding and rapport between researchers and participants. • Setting a time for the duration of the PRA session and closely monitoring this time was beneficial for the researchers by maintaining the focus on key information rather than following unrelated tangents. This also benefited the interviewees by reducing their time cost for participation.	
• Wealth Indicator Ranking PRA	• In general this PRA gave a good, concrete list of indicators that could be either assessed by asking respondents or by direct observation. • The session was well facilitated, with discussion and constructive debate between participants flowing readily.	• Matriarchal influence • Eldest female dominated the conversation and gave the 'final' answers to our questions, even though it was clear there was disagreement among other, younger members of the PRA. • Asking others to write or lead the discussion put them in an awkward position where they felt they may be undermining the authority of the matriarch. • Wealth indicators provided as output from the session were of questionable effectiveness because respondents also advised

		that many people don't necessarily invest their financial capital in physical capital- many people put their money as savings in the bank. So someone that is wealthy may very well appear to be middle income. • A wealth mapping exercise was inconclusive, with most participants agreeing that wealth and poverty were spread around the village. Whilst this is not in itself a concern, there was further disagreement amongst participants whose opinions were again domination by the matriarch.
• Job and Activity Ranking PRA in Moshesh High School	• Too many participants were present, however in response the group was split into two smaller groups. This proved valuable in encouraging greater levels of involved discussion by more participants. In addition, it allowed for slight variations in the activity ranking exercise which provided insight into how representative the data was. • Interesting, some of the information that came out of the PRA here directly contradicted some of the information we gathered in the focus-group with the teachers; particularly so when discussing the curriculum of their "Life Orientation" classes. This helped triangulate our findings and demonstrated a disconnect between the message of teachers and others in the education system and that of students.	• Participants were selected for this PRA by a teacher at the school. The female teacher initially selected only female students leading to a strong female bias, although this was resolved to some degree once it was made clear that gender balance was preferred for the research. • Students were taken out of class for the session, creating an ethical dilemma for the researchers. It is not clear that the PRA session was more important for the students' future than attending class. • Those most confident in their English speaking abilities tended to dominate the conversation and likely disproportionately influenced the results. • Some element of students telling us what they thought we'd 'want to hear'; for example ranking homework and domestic chores so high on their list of things they like to do with their spare time.

• PRA with Unemployed Youth	• The use of a modified venn-diagram exercise, where participants were asked to show visually the amount of their time spent on activities, proved highly useful in identifying the level of stated effort of young males in seeking employment.	• In contrast to the high school PRA, this session was completely dominated by males. Whilst a female attendee was due to attend, she failed to appear even when called. • While waiting for the female to attend, one of the other participants decided he did not wish to wait any longer for the session to start. The researchers were thankfully successful in convincing him not to go, however this demonstrated the risk in delaying the start time to wait for the • The PRA was conducted in a public and highly visable setting. This resulted in respondents coming and going as desired, and likely reduced the cohesiveness of results.
Focus-Groups	• Like other methods, focus-group interviews benefited from an introduction and a defined time limit.	•
• Ward Council Committee Members		• This focus-group interview occurred by chance as the committee was meeting when the researchers visited the community hall. As it was an impromptu interview, the researchers had to be conscious of the time which was being taken away from their pre-arranged meeting. • Like with the Wealth Ranking PRA, this meeting was dominated by the woman with highest status and power. • Gender dominance was again a concern, like in the above examples, with this meeting only containing females. The impromptu nature of this meeting prevented any efforts to address this being appropriate.

• Moshesh High School Teachers	• The session was successful in encouraging wide and equal responses. No one teacher seemed to dominate the conversation and all had a chance to give us input.	• A further example of gender bias issues, with only female teachers participating. • Teachers were taken out of their classes to participate in the interview, so researchers had to be very strict with time. Balancing act between not wanting to be rude by refusing to interview them while class was in session and allowing our presence to detract from their jobs and from the education of learners.
Transect walk	• The walk through the village provided a context and feel for the research site and gave the researchers an understanding of infrastructure, facilities and areas of social connection were located.	• The session may have benefited from a greater level of structure and more conscious observation, however, such activities had to be balanced against the benefits provided by a more relaxed atmosphere in building rapport with our translator (as this was the early part of the research).

In addition to reflections for individual methods, general observations and learnings were also identified. Pausing and reflecting during the research on a regular basis was valuable by allowing researchers an opportunity to see areas of potential improvements to methods and the research themes. Regular debriefing amongst the researchers and with the translator allowed this to occur to some degree and was valuable in terms of methodology. More structured and reflective sessions were valuable for gaining an oversight of where research was at and where results were taking the study. Flexibility in methods and study themes was of further value by allowing changes to be made as was seen fit.

Other benefits in the field were provided by the researchers' strong team dynamics and regular team building activities. The limited issues between researchers were uncovered early and addressed in a diplomatic and professional manner, preventing impacts on the research process.

One unsuccessful aspect of the research process was the use of snowball sampling. Many young people appeared reluctant to refer us to their friends or family. It is hypothesised that this may be a caused partially by interviewees wishing to maintain a more exclusive (and therefore 'cool') relationship with us as the 'outsiders' to the village. Sampling those with day-time jobs also proved difficult, especially those in traditional agricultural livelihoods who were likely to be working in the village outfields rather than in readily available for interviews in the village.

Potential future improvements to similar research include:

- Interviewing more people, in order to obtain statistically significant data.
- Travelling to visit the youth outside of Mpharane (e.g. migrants to Durban/Matatiele) in order to see the reasons that pushed them to move away and which are the constraint in living in a new environment, how is their life now?
- Conducting experimental research - for example, doing "a day in the life" style activities with those undertaking different livelihood strategies including agriculture.

4.2. Definition scheme

Before going to the fieldsite we stated academic definitions for the terms: youth, employment, entrepreneurship and traditional livelihood in our final synopsis, which we thought would be useful for carrying out our research (Appendix X + introduction) The academic definitions were expected to be arbitrary and on the ground they turned out not to work fulfillingly. The people of Mpharane had differing ways of defining the terms for example almost all informants saw youth as beginning at 18 years old, despite the official definition starting at 14. A comparison of the academic and local definitions can be seen in the table below (Table X). The table show how different the academic definition can be from local and for further studies in the field, this should be borne in mind.

Term	Academic definition	Local definition

| Youth | Age range: 14- 35 years old for South African youth (NYP, 2009)

Marriage constitutes adulthood | Definition unclear and varied between respondents.

Almost all saw youth as beginning at 18 years old, despite the official definition beginning at age 14 years old

Variety amongst respondents surrounded the end age and the impact of marriage.

End age varied from age 27 through to age 40, although many suggested age 30 was appropriate.

Marriage was suggested by some to move a person from "youth" to "adult" however this was contradicted by others; leading to confusion about the impact.

Overall, it appears that the term youth refers to those in their late teens, twenties and possibly early to mid thirties. Whether a person is still considered a youth after marriage by peers in the village is likely to depend on the specifics of their situation including the presence of any dependents. |
| Unemployment | Two definitions (Kingdon & Knight, 2000; pg 3):

Narrow definition | Some unclarity and contradiction to academic definitions.

Some youth identified as "unemployed" despite having a |

	"Not employed but looking for a job in the seven days or 4 weeks prior to survey visit" Broad definition "Narrow + the ones saying they want to work but didn't look for work in the past week" Informal employment (Devey et al. 2003; pg. 305): Contains either: - non registration of the enterprise in terms of national legislation such as taxation or other commercial legislation - non-registration of employees of the enterprise in terms of labour legislation. - small size of the enterprise in terms of the numbers of people employed	temporary job, which would make them employed in a traditional sense. No clear understanding amongst respondents about the definition of "formal" versus "informal" employment. Informal for some meant a non-permanent job, for others it meant a job that was not official (not registered with the government including tax officials) and for others it meant not being a job with regular hours despite it otherwise being permanent and official. The most prevalent definition for unemployment was to not have an ongoing, permanent job with semi-regular hours.
Entrepreneurship	"The process of creating something new with value by denoting the necessary time and effort, assuming the accompanying financial, pshysic and social risk and receiving the resulting rewards of monetary and personal satisfaction and independence" (Hisrich & Peters, 2002).	Entrepreneurship and related words were not widely understood in the village. Those running their own business could be considered to be entrepreneurs, however most of these individuals (for example, those running tuck shops selling food and drinks) saw their business as a means to make additional income to supplement

		their job or other activity. Activities referred to as "initiatives" including the youth vegetable garden project which was struggling to continue, were perhaps more close to the academic definition of the term given they involved more risk and were somewhat innovative in their approach. These "initiatives" appeared more about creating wealth for their participants in a collaborative setting than about addressing specific social problems.
Traditional livelihoods	Livelihood and traditional is defined separately in order to deconstruct the term traditional livelihood: Livelihood "… Livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets (stores, resources, claims and access) and activities required for a means of living: a livelihood is sustainable when it can cope with and recover from stresses and shocks and maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets, and provide SL opportunities for the next generation; and which contributes net benefits to other livelihoods at the local and global levels and in the short and long term "(Chambers and Conway 1991, p. 6). Traditional	Traditional livelihoods were not seen by people in Mpharane in a traditional sense as the academic definition states. Important was the recognition that what we considered to be livelihood strategies was not always considered 'employment' by locals. The 'traditional' is associated primarily with historical and cultural ceremonies. Livelihood strategies were multiple to diversify income sources.

	"The key characteristic of traditional culture is the 'generational-transformation' of knowledge, beliefs, values, customs and norms. This is fundamental for preserving societal values for the future and strengthening a community's sustainability and security" (Kroeber & Kluckhohn, 1953; pg. p. xv–xvi).	

Conclusion

Our research set out to identify predominate trends and challenges relevant to youth in Mpharane and how these overarching themes are affecting and mediating different livelihood strategies available to youth. Using Ellis' (2000) Sustainable Livelihood Framework, we were able to identify three overlying themes from out resulting data: livelihood related themes, themes that impede these youth livelihoods, and technology related themes.

The livelihood related themes focused on the multiple livelihood strategies pursued by youth and how this mediated youths' access to different forms of capital. Unemployment, a theme that arguably runs across the entire report, was perhaps the most predominate livelihood route, and had huge implications for both the acquisition and maintenance of both financial and social capital.

Agriculture and youth initiatives to do with agriculture and planting were also identified as key livelihood related themes, as these livelihoods are both traditionally and currently prevalent within the village. However, with the spread of democracy and the desire for secure, wage-earning jobs the popularity of agriculture as a livelihood strategy among youth appears to be declining in favor of more service-based work.

Key among impediments to securing a sustainable livelihood were skill-shortages, substance abuse, teen pregnancy, and the related CSGs. Skill shortages were attributed to a lack of human capital, and the decline in a willingness to invest and expand this capital as an asset; with the focus instead on securing and increasing financial capital.

Substance abuse, STIs and teenage pregnancy also acted as an impediment to youth livelihood strategies, as youth respond to unemployment and lack of assets and knowledge with increasingly risky behavior. This has ultimately culminated in the creation of social programmes, such as the CSG, at the national level targeting youth, with unintended consequences for the ANC. The CSG provides an example of how national support grants have in some instances been utilized as a livelihood strategy in and of themselves, where no other alternatives exist.

The impact of mobile phone technology was the final theme arising from our research, and noted as having a largely positive impact on the restructuring of social capital within the village. Mobile phones were being used to increase access to education and information, as well as to continue to build social capital; providing a platform through which youth could use their own initiative to elevate themselves and find and create new opportunities.

Acknowledgements

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1. Overview of applied methods

Type of method	Number

MMI
   Closed question part
   Open question part
	20
	30

Group interviews	2
Transect walk	1(+several informal walks)
Ranking	6
Wealth indicator exercise	1
Informal conversations	Several

Appendix 2. Questionnaire Scheme

Appendix 3. Overview of results from MMI

Introduction to MMI's:

We are a group of students from University of Copenhagen, Denmark and we are doing a project about youth in Mpharane. My name is Line Sofie and I am from Denmark, I am Paul from Australia, Skylar from United States of America and Spartak from Albania.

We are here to learn and to explore the opportunities the youth have and what challenges they are facing.

End of MMI's:

Thank you for your time, do you have any questions for us?

- General
- Employed
- Entrepreneurs
- Migrants
- Traditional Livelihoods
- Unemployed
- Teacher/Principle
- Non youth

Appendix 4. Participatory Rural Appraisals

1.Wealth Indicator Ranking

1st March, at Chalet Mpharane

People attending:

Name	Sex	Own household
Puleng Tsalong	female	middle class
Lefu Ramatlapeng	male	middle class
Ntlama Moshoeshoe	male	middle class
Lufefe Valashiya	male	middle class
Innocent Lecheko	male	middle class
Kholo Thekiso	female	rich(others)/ middle class(she)

1-5: youth + translators

6: food mamma, "elder" above 40 (?)

Observateurs: most of the groups, Torben, Ebbe, kitchen crew, SA students

Defined 3 types of households

- Rich (green)
- Average (yellow)
- Poor (red)

Colour/type	Rich (green)	Average (yellow)	Poor(red)
INDICATORS			
• General	Solar generator Generator Car Tractor Farming: home garden + fields Roofing	Solar panels Gas Farming: home garden	Wood + paraffin for cooking Candles No tap inside No toilet (before)
• Livestock	Cows Sheep Horses	Cow Sheep Horses Donkeys Goats Chickens	Goats Chickens Cats Pigs
• Fencing	High	Poles + wire	Minus fencing
• House	Tile, heau	Corrugated iron roof Blocks w/o tiled roof	Mud house Thatched roof

Note for schedule!

For both green and yellow following indicators was determined:

Cell phone

Tv

(radio – also for most poor people)

Fridge

Observations:

- Kholo seem to be a good facilitator, in charge of discussion, writing on post-its. The oldest of attendees. Others youth.
- Discussion is good, laughing
- Discussion is in English
- Long discussion about goats → ends up as a poor people indicator (doesn't seem like everyone agrees 100 % on this).

Outputs:

- Home gardens:
  - Rich people have fields and home garden
  - Average just home garden
  - Rich and average grow the same plants in home gardens
- Poor households are common. But how common? Area is a mix of rich, average and poor.
- Farmers are wealthy. A big risk to become a farmer though. Maybe only rich people dare/can afford to take the risk
- Different social layers interact fine together
- Moving from a wealth group is difficult. Can happen if someone get a job with more money. This is difficult though. Especially for adult women.
- Job give more money than pension
- People on the move: EX even though you are a poor student (like us) it doesn't have to equal a poor/lower middle class person. These people are striving for something more/better life.

Quotes:

- Innocent: "There are lazy even though there are opportunities" (regarding poor people)
- Kholo: "If a poor person came to me and ask for seeds (for farming) I would give it for free"

Wealth mapping:

- Mixed area regarding wealth households. Different opinions of what are poor areas, average and rich. Raising voices.

2.Livelihood Ranking (dream/future jobs) of students

7th March, at Moshesh High School, Queens Mercy

Line Sofie & Paul

Students attending:

All grade 12 and all from Mpharane village

Name	Age	Sex
Manyokoke Telile	19	female
HwomelaAbonfule	21	female
Globo Fumeka	19	female
TsalongMapei	18	female
Globo Sinwewa	21	female
Leche Karabo	19	female
Pharoe Rethabite	19	female
Chapi Thakane	23	female
MoraraTshepang	20	male
Khotseng NNoi	20	female
Pharoe Dillo	21	male
Motolool Hlefe	22	male

A.   **Procedures ranking dream jobs:**

- Write down all your dream jobs
- Rank them (everyone has to agree)

Ranking result:

      Jobs   Education needed (stated by students)

1. Social worker   Uni approx. 3 yrs
2. Lawyer   Uni approx. 2-4 yrs
3. Paramedic   Uni
4. Teacher   Uni
5. Accountant   Uni
6. Soldier   After grade 9/11
7. TV personality   College
8. Musician/Actor   College

Outputs:

- Social worker ranked as highest because "We need this job" and jobs are many. Good lifestyle- Formal/security. Same goes for lawyer.
- It is fairly easy to be accepted at university
- TV personality + musician/actor is not important jobs. "It is just entertainment"
- This group of youth believe they can achieve these jobs. They are aiming high they say. Already going to High school.
- Future is good. Working hard. Want to study in the city.
- Students know about funding – from each other + school computers/internet cafés. NOT from teachers!. It is a minority who receive the scholarships.
- Boys want to be accountant(x2) or soldier(x1)

B. **Procedures pie chart time spend on free time activities:**

- Write down things/activities you do in your spare time/free time (not in school)
- Rank them after time spend on them
- Specify in pie chart
- Specify highest ranked in new pie chart

Ranking result:

1. Homework, housework

- Cleaning, cooking, fetch water (girls)
- Livestock (Boys)

2. Watching TV
3. Playing Soccer
4. Listen to Music
5. Running/Exercise
6. Reading magazines
7. Going out with friends
8. Chatting/Social network (Facebook etc. – approx. 50 % have Facebook)

Observations/Outputs:

- At first the student did not include homework etc as a free time activity → when we asked them why they said that it was obvious, everyone knew this would be included. They decided to include it in the ranking and ranked it the highest.
- Biased from A LOT of females vs. males

- Time at school: Monday-Friday (+sat sometimes). Students from Mpharane stay in village of Queens Mercy at other families.

Student source   Principal source

Hours: 06-15   08-15

16-21   16-20

Skylar & Spartak

Students attending:

Name	Age	Grade
Palesa	**19**	**12b**
Nthabeleng	**21**	**12b**
Nosifungo	**20**	**12b**
Thato	**22**	**12b**
Masekhoane	**20**	**12b**
Nandi	**18**	**12b**
Nonkanyiso	**19**	**12b**
Palesa	**22**	**12**
Lindani	**18**	**11**
Dielelo	**21**	**12**
Itumeleng	**19**	**12**
Khusu	**18**	**10a**
Nicholas	**21**	**11b**

C. **Procedures ranking dream jobs:**

- Write down all your dream jobs
- Rank them (everyone has to agree)

Ranking result:

Jobs

1. —————————————————————————

   Tour Guide
2. Auditor of Finance
3. Accountant
4. Journalist
5. Engineer
6. Teacher
7. Social Worker

Outputs:

- Ranked tour guide as the highest because South Africa is a beautiful country and they want to show off their culture. It's also quite good pay.
- Ranked social worker the lowest because it's not well paid and because social workers today don't set a good example for the students.
- "Social workers around don't do it the way they are supposed to be doing it."
- On the teacher ranking, they all agreed that there is nothing more important than being and educator- for instance you can't be a lawyer without an education. Yet placed it at the bottom of the list because they don't like it as a career because they don't want to be disrespected by learners and don't want to spend their entire life in school.

Procedures ranking dream jobs in relation to importance of the community:

- Have students rank their dream jobs in terms of importance to their community by representing importance pictorially with circles
- The larger the circle, the greater the importance
- Nest circles within each other to pictorially present job importance
- Compare importance to the community with level of desirability.

Ranking Result

1. Teacher
2. Tour guide
3. Accountant
4. Auditor of Finance
5. Journalist
6. Social worker
7. Engineer

Outputs:

- Teaching is important to the community because you can't do anything without being educated (see above).
- Tour guides are important because it's a way to teach people about the local culture.
- As for auditor of finance and accountants when asked why they were important Palesa replied, "We don't get that much information on what is in a career, so we don't really know what an auditor of finance is…"
- "It is really hard to find ways to know what is happening in a job…"
- "We usually find out about the jobs in the magazine, tv, newspaper…."
- No career expos held at the school
- Life orientation class- they say they are given a brochure but don't explain what the job is about.

D. **Procedures time spend on free time activities:**

- Write down things/activities you do in your spare time/free time (not in school)
- Rank them after time spend on them
- Rank them according to your favourite

Ranking result:

- *Time spent*

1. Cleaning

2. Homework

3. Magazines

4. Hanging with friends

5. TV

- *Favourite*

1. Magazines

2. Homework

3. Cleaning

4. Hanging with friends

5. TV

3.Livelihood Ranking (dream/future jobs) of unemployed youth

8th March, underneath tree outside community hall, Mpharane

Spartak & Paul

People attending:

Name	Age	Employed	Marital status
Teboho	22	No	S
Mdumiseni	22	No	S
Bereng	2	No	S

	0		
Tumel o	**2 3**	**No**	**S**
Katiso	**2 1**	**No**	**S**

A. **Procedures ranking dream jobs:**

- Write down all your dream jobs
- Rank them (everyone has to agree).

Ranking result:

Jobs

---

1. Electrical Engineer
2. Radio
3. Civil engineer
4. Accountant
5. Clerk
6. Chef
7. Nursing

Outputs:

- Ranked electrical engineer as the highest because are only a few people that do it, it is an intellectual job that need lot of effort but It's also good pay.
- Ranked nursing the lowest because it's not well paid and because you have to be very patient and it is difficult because you have to deal with different people and different situation. In general females are working as a nurse because they are more patient.

- In order to have one of the first three jobs you should go to the University and study hard, while in the other side for the last four jobs you can take a short course in order to get that job.

B. **Procedures time spend on free time activities:**

- Write down things/activities you do in your spare time/free time (not in school)
- Rank them after time spend on them
- Rank them according to your favorite.

Ranking result:

- *Time spent*

1. Playing pool
2. Chilling
3. TV
4. Hanging with friends
5. Social network
6. Reading
7. Sleep

What sort of activities do you do to find a job?

· Go to the community hall to have news about any available job.

· Read newspaper in order to find information about job opportunities.

· Use of social network.

What do you do when you are at home?

A- what sort of activities do you do at your home in general

B- what sort of activities do you do out of your home.

Ranking results

- *A*

1. Looking after people
2. Washing
3. Cleaning
4. Cooking

· B

1. Animals
2. Agriculture/home garden
3. Firewood
4. Collecting water

Appendix 5. Final Synopis

Interdisciplinary Land Use and Natural Resource Management (ILUNRM)
Faculty of Science
University of Copenhagen

Final Synopsis: Youth in Livelihood Strategies in Mpharane, South Africa

Authors:
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Spartak Koci, Faculty of Science

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Introduction

Youth in Sub-Saharan Africa

The concept of youth in Sub-Saharan Africa is malleable and the determinants of 'youth' are primarily socially constructed. In Sub-Saharan Africa marriage is the determining factor of what constitutes 'adulthood', and baring that, most youth are defined on the basis of age (Chigunta, 2002). In Sub-Saharan Africa 'youth' are generally considered to be those persons between the ages of 10 and 35 (Ibid), however in South Africa this range is shortened to those between the ages of 14 and 35 (NYP, 2009). The idea that the concept of 'youth' stretches to those in their mid-thirties may seem strange to those of us from the developed world, but it arguably reveals that many young Africans are trapped in a period of 'youth dependence', whereby they are unable to access employment opportunities and partake in sustainable livelihood strategies (Chigunta, 2002).

This has led to both a sociological and geographical shift in contemporary Africa. In the post-colonial period, the strong familial and societal linkages that had once prevailed in traditional African society had been eroded. The "various kin and non-kin arrangements, networks of formal and informal relationships were developed which ensured reciprocity and exchange in the form of service and support" (Chigunta, 2002; pg. 7) had begun to degenerate in the face of colonial institutions that placed a greater emphasis on economic success and income generation. This sociological shift led to and fueled a geographical shift from rural to urban centers, leading to rapid urbanization as young Africans raced to the city centers in pursuit of alternative employment opportunities (Chigunta, 2002; Kristensen & Birch-Thomsen, in print). Despite this urban influx, the majority of the population of Sub-Saharan Africa can be found in rural areas with agriculture being the predominate form of employment, generating up to 30% of the region's GDP (Kristensen & Birch-Thomsen, in print). Yet, youth have proven to be averse to pursuing rural livelihood strategies, preferring to migrate to urban centers or pursue entrepreneurial endeavors. However, youth unemployment has become a significant problem in both rural and urban Sub-Saharan Africa, with a high demographic growth rate leading to a young population that has inundated the job market with more labour than employment opportunities (Chigunta, 2002). For this reason the UN has initiated programmes focusing on integrating both economic and social investments in rural development, in order to re-establish a more sustainable rural-urban dynamic (WYR 2011; Chigunta, 2002).

Youth in the South African Context

Youth unemployment in South Africa remains at a staggering 70 per cent, with formal employment eluding many young people (Simrie *et al,* 2012). Due to the post-colonial economic focus, young South African's perception of employment has shifted to include only labour rewarded by income, with a set wage or salary. This has been further enforced and institutionalised by policy makers. Those fortunate enough to find employment are generally male and found in jobs that are below their skill set. Youth that are not found in formal employment are perceived to be 'parkshopping' or idle. Informal employment opportunities are also scarce and those unemployed rely heavily on their social and familial networks for support (Chigunta, 2002).

Problems surrounding youth unemployment in South Africa have also been compounded by the perception of a 'youth problem' that emerged in the early 1990s, as the ANC negotiated constitutional changes to transition into a post-apartheid era. South African youth, or the 'Young Lions', who played an active role in protesting the previous political regime, were suddenly seen as a threat to the negotiation process and the perception of youth as both a social and political problem was entrenched by both policy-makers and the media (Seekings, 1996). Images of disruptive and marginalised youth who had 'fallen through the cracks' were cultivated by the media and validated by the construction of social policy and research programmes aimed at integrating youth into the 'new' South Africa (Ibid).

At the beginning of the new millennium, a National Youth Policy that recognized youth as a key demographic for encouraging growth and development was introduced. This evolved into a five-year National Youth Policy Framework that ended in 2007, and was reintroduced as the National Youth Policy (NYP) in 2009. The current NYP is effective until 2014 and defines youth development as:" an intentional comprehensive approach that provides space, opportunities and support for young people to maximise their individual and collective creative energies for personal development as well as development of the broader society of which they are an integral part" (NYP, 2009; pg. 10).

The NYP rests on four pillars which include education, health and well-being, economic participation and social cohesion and seeks to targets priority groups, such as young women, youth with disabilities, unemployed youth and youth in rural areas (NYP 2009). Youth unemployment is a particularly important issue within the NYP, as unemployment was as high as 50.3% for youth aged 14-24, and up to 29.5 for youth aged 25-35 years, with one third of all youth living in poverty at the time of the policy's conception (Ibid). The NYP states that it directly targets the private sector as a means of mobilizing youth development, and a focus on skill and infrastructural development is stipulated for retaining youth in rural areas (Ibid).

However, while the NYP is focused on the importance of incorporating youth into South Africa's development, preconceptions around the nation's 'youth problem' may unduly influence the policy and it

is important that youth themselves are represented in the prevailing policy documents, as opposed to adults' representations of youth that may be based on stereotypical perceptions of 'marginalized' or 'disenfranchised' youth (Chigunta, 2002). Thus when exploring how the NYP affects rural livelihoods, it is important to take into account the perspectives of youth themselves on the policy and its appropriateness to their individual livelihoods.

Sustainable Livelihoods Framework

This study will utilize Ellis' (2000) Sustainable Livelihoods Framework in order to evaluate the different livelihood options available to rural youth in Mpharane. Youth livelihoods will be mediated by their access to different forms of capital which are in turn mediated by different institutions and organisations within the local context. Ellis (2000) defines livelihoods as "compris[ing] the assets (natural, physical, financial, human and social capital), the activities, and the access to these (mediated by institutions and social relations) that together determine the living gained by the individual or household."

A key consideration for our research will be to recognize that poor individuals in rural areas often utilize multiple livelihood strategies to diversify their income sources (Ellis, 2000; Kristensen & Birch-Thomsen, in print). It is thus important for this study to recognize this fact when attempting to identify and pinpoint different livelihood strategies. Equally important is the recognition that what we would consider to be livelihood strategies may not always be considered 'employment' by local villagers.

Definitions

- **Household-** The concept of the household is one that is notoriously difficult to define as a unit of analysis, particularly when attempting to identify household members. The general method of doing this is to use a six-month cut-off period, whereby household members are those who have spent six months or more in the household. However, this definition disregards migrant workers who contribute to the household via remittances and is based on an arbitrary time frame. It is instead much more productive to consider who is associated with the household, how long they have been absent, and for what reasons (Cavendish, 2002).

- **Unemployment-** "Two definitions of unemployment are commonly utilised - the broad and the narrow. The narrowly defined unemployed are those who are currently not employed but who looked for work in the seven days or four weeks prior to the survey visit. The broadly defined unemployed are the narrow unemployed plus those who say they want work but did not look for work in the past week (past four weeks)" (Kingdon & Knight, 2000; pg. 3).

- *Informal employment*- the International Conference for Labour Statistics (ICLS) defines informal enterprises as containing either:
  - non registration of the enterprise in terms of national legislation such as taxation or other commercial legislation.
  - non-registration of employees of the enterprise in terms of labour legislation.
  - small size of the enterprise in terms of the numbers of people employed (Devey *et al.* 2003; pg. 305).

- **Entrepreneurship-** There are many definitions of entrepreneurship, but according to Hisrich and Peters (2002) entrepreneurship is defined as: "the process of creating something new with value by denoting the necessary time and effort, assuming the accompanying financial, psychic and social risks and receiving the resulting rewards of monetary and personal satisfaction and independence."

- **Traditional livelihoods**-
  - In order to define traditional livelihoods, we must consider the meanings of both the terms 'traditional' as well as 'livelihoods'. Here we will define them seperately in order to deconstruct the meaning of what it means for a livelihood to be traditional. This must further be defined in conjunction with the unique and specific understanding of the villagers in Mpharane.
  - "… Livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets (stores, resources, claims and access) and activities required for a means of living: a livelihood is sustainable when it can cope with and recover from stresses and shocks and maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets, and provide SL opportunities for the next generation; and which contributes net benefits to other livelihoods at the local and global levels and in the short and long term … "(Chambers and Conway 1991, p. 6).
  - "The key characteristic of traditional culture is the 'generational-transformation' of knowledge, beliefs, values, customs and norms. This is fundamental for preserving societal values for the future and strengthening a community's sustainability and security" (Kroeber & Kluckhohn, 1953; pg. p. xv–xvi).

The above definitions will be refined in the field with assistance from key informants.. In addition, we expect definitions to be continually refined in the field as our data gathering is conducted.

Local Context and Study Area

Why youth in South Africa?

Previous studies have pointed out that youth is an important but often neglected sector of society in South Africa. Some of the problems faced by youth are of a unique nature and have major implications for the nature and scope of services delivery. Young people suffer from decreased access to the labor market, and South Africa exhibits a very high rate of unemployment among young people (Mlatsheni, 2002).

Our study area is Mpharane, a small village in the province of Eastern Cape, South Africa. The Eastern Cape encompasses some of the poorer regions in South Africa, with one of the highest numbers of youth living in low income households, and with over 30 % of youth in households without an employed member (Mathivha, 2012).

Figure 1: Mpharane map (source: Google Earth)

Key youth livelihood strategies

Due to a lack of knowledge about the livelihood options available to youth in Mpharane, we have identified five potential key livelihood strategies, and will target youth based on these broad categories:

- **Unemployed**
  - o Youth employment in South Africa is a big concern, especially in rural areas where the opportunities for finding a job are few (Mlatsheni, 2002). We will investigate to what degree the youth are employed in these rural areas including informal opportunities vs. formal opportunities, part-time and seasonal work, as well as the overall level of unemployment. Also to be explored is the perception of employment and whether unpaid work is included in this definition.
- **Migration**

o Poor living conditions, inadequate education, lack of employment opportunities and high unemployment rates are indicators of poverty, and this has led to migration of the youth from rural areas to urban areas in search of other opportunities for a better future. So we will investigate the status of the current situation of youth migration in Mpharane, and the prevalence of migration in the village.

- **Traditional Strategies**
  o We will try to investigate the role of agriculture, livestock, and other natural resources on youth employment. How important are they for youth in rural areas and what is the role of traditional strategies?

- **Entrepreneurs**
  o What opportunities for entrepreneurship are available to youth in Mpharane and what incentives do they have to invest in the area, and not to go?

- **Youth Initiatives**
  o We will try to investigate the current youth initiatives in Mpharane, like the community vegetable garden, and how (or if) these initiatives are helping young people in this area.

Figure 2: Key Youth Livelihood Strategies with gender and education as overlays

Research questions

Youth in South Africa has been a perceived as a problem since the mid-1990s, with politicians and the media formalizing and legitimizing the concept as South Africa's 'youth problem'; a perception that lingers to this day. While our problem statement utilizes this terminology, it is important to clarify that our problem statement does not *assume* these perceived problems exist, but merely wishes to explore the issues surrounding youth in Mpharane.

Problem statement:

- Is youth perceived as a 'problem' in Mpharane and what are the different livelihood strategies available to youth?
    - *Objectives*
        i To understand the context behind 'youth problems' and the 'lost generation' in South Africa and it's prevalence (if at all) in Mpharane.
        ii To investigate current livelihood strategies available to youth in Mpharane
        iii To investigate the prevalence of agricultural/livestock livelihood strategies youth are involved in.
        iv To identify and discuss alternative livelihood diversification options for youth in Mpharane.
    - *Research Questions*
        i Is there a history of 'youth problems' in Mpharane?
            1 What, why, where, who?
        ii What institutions mediate livelihood strategies available to youth?
            1 Social and cultural institutions
            2 Education
            3 Political institutions (National Youth Policy)
            4 NGOs?
        iii What affects youth access and assets to employment?
            1 Five types of Capital
                a Natural
                    i NR, Land tenure (?), wildlife, environment
                b Physical
                    i Transport, shelter, infrastructure
                c Social
                    i Gender, class, ethnicity, networks

d   Human

            i   Education, health care (HIV/AIDS?)

        e   Financial

            i   Income, credit, remittances

iv What are typical forms of 'employment' for youth?

        1   Traditional strategies

        2   Migration

        3   Youth initiatives

        4   Entrepreneurship

v   How do youth perceive their future livelihood strategies in Mpharane?

vi What would be the implications of these future strategies?

        1   Increased/decreased opportunities for entrepreneurship

        2   Increased/decreased migration

        3   Increased/decreased immigration

        4   Bad access to education

Methods

The project's aim is to determine the different livelihood strategies available to in Mpharane village, Eastern Cape and investigate the degree to which youth unemployment in Mpharane is a problem. To examine this problem statement both natural- and social science methods are used. Triangulation is used in order to get the appropriate knowledge and information from different angles, so that we do not merely address the question in focus from just one point of view. In the data matrix below, an overview of the problem statement is seen with matching objectives, research questions, data required and methods to give a more coherent picture.

Data matrix

PROBLEM STATEMENT	OBJECTIVES	RESEARCH QUESTIONS	DATA REQUIRED	METHODS	THEORY
Why is youth unemployment a problem in Mpharane and what are the different livelihood strategies available to youth?	1. To understand the context behind 'youth problems' and the 'lost generation' in South Africa and it's prevalence (if at all) in Mpharane	a. Is there a history of 'youth problems' in Mpharane?	What, why, where, who?	Secondary data Mixed method interview with elderly people and headman(?) Community timeline (PRA)	Sustainable Livelihood Framework (SLF)
	2. To investigate current livelihood strategies available to youth in Mpharane	a. What institutions mediate livelihood strategies available to youth?	Social and cultural institutions Political institutions (National Youth Policy) NGOs? Educational institutions and availability	Secondary data from institutional sources, policies, rules and regulation	SLF (Institutions)

		b. What affects youth access and assets to employment?	Five types of capital: I. *Natural* (NR, land tenure(?), wildlife, environment) II. *Physical* (transport, shelter, infrastructure) III. *Social* (Gender, class, ethnicity, networks) IV. *Human* (Education, health care (HIV/AIDS)) V. *Financial* (income, credit, remittances)	Mixed method interview with young villagers, headman, key informants. Activity ranking (PRA)	(Access and Capital)
	3. To investigate the prevalence of agricultural/livestock livelihood strategies youth are involved in	a. What are typical forms of 'employment' for youth?	Traditional strategies Migration Youth initiatives Entrepreneurship	Mixed method interview with young people from different employment groups Seasonal mapping (migrants/	SLF (NR and non-NR resources)

			traditional livelihood) (PRA)	
	4. To identify and discuss alternative livelihood diversification options for youth in Mpharane	a. How do youth perceive their future livelihood strategies in Mpharane and what would be the implications of these?	Increased/decreased opportunities for entrepreneurship Increased/decreases migration Increased/decreased immigration Bad access to education	Mixed method interview with young villagers and NGO (if possible) PRA?	SLF

Participant selection

Our initial key informant is a local villager called Lufefe Valashiya who works in the village as a carpenter and will act as interpreter for our further research. His participation is self-selected and he is believed to be particularly interested in the topic.

Beyond this initial participant, we will make use of snowball methodology in order to obtain additional participants. This essentially involves seeking referrals from previous interviewees to other potential participants; for example, asking our initial key informant whether he can introduce us to other local youths in various categories then asking them (once interviewed) for referrals to yet more potential participants. Alternatives to snowball selection such as random sampling of households or stratified household sampling are not seen as ideal given the potential for many households to not have members who fit in the "youth" category. Such methods are also seen as likely to be more time consuming than snowball selection (Angelsen et al. 2011).

Despite this, snowball methodology does bring risks from self-selection bias. Participants who choose to participate are unlikely to be proportionate to reality due to some youth being out of the village (for example, on farms or working in the cities). In addition, participants may have a tendency to relate to, and thus refer us to, other potential interviewees of similar demographics. Should this be seen as a problem in the field we will endeavour to adopt more direct strategies to seek participants from different groups (Ibid).

Social survey method - Mixed method interview (MMI)

Due to language barriers and limited interpreters it will not be possible to hand out questionnaires to households in Mpharane village. Instead we have chosen to conduct mixed method interviews (MMIs) where the first part of the interview consists of closed questions similar to the ones that would be asked in a questionnaire. From these questions we can retrieve a sort of quantitative data which is intended to be used for graphs and basic quantitative analysis in the project. The second part of the interview will include more open questions similar to semi structured interview questions. The main themes and questions are decided beforehand so the interviewer is able to lead the conversation in the desired direction relevant for the project. One of the advantages of a semi-structured interview is the flexibility of the interview. The informants have the possibility to answer freely on the interviewer's questions and in addition a semi structured-interview can open up for other relevant topics for the project (Kvale 1996). Another advantage of interviewing compared to questionnaires is that sensitive questions are more easily dealt with because the interviewer can sense how the respondent is reacting to the questions (Spradley,

1980). The exact way the interviews will be carried is to be decided at the field site where all the circumstances are known and key informants found.

Key informants and interview themes:

Key informant(s)	Reason for selection	Themes for MMI
Interpreter and key youth informant	Has volunteered to participate in youth project. Central to communication (through translation) with other informants and acts as a guide to the village.	Standardised youth closed questions. Life in traditional settings. Challenges attached to remaining in the village. Motivations for engaging in local livelihoods versus migration. General perceptions of youth and challenges facing youth.
Chief of the village (or other suitable senior representative)	Understands issues facing youths from own understanding and information obtained from other villagers.	Perceptions of youth. Concerns and challenges facing youth in the eyes of non-youth.
Village elders	Can provide an indication of non-youth perceptions of the issues surrounding youths in the village. Can offer comparisons between historical youth livelihoods versus today's.	Perceptions of youth. Concerns and challenges facing youth in the eyes of non-youth.
Youths with traditional livelihoods	Able to provide insights into the challenges of traditional livelihoods and	Standardised youth closed questions. Life in traditional settings. Educational opportunities.

	the motivations behind their participation in them.	Challenges attached to remaining in the village. Motivations for engaging in local livelihoods versus migration.
Those involved in vegetable garden and other youth programs	Able to offer insights about the success (or failure) of youth initiatives in delivering benefits to individual youths and the village overall.	Standardised youth closed questions. Relationship between initiatives and other livelihood strategies. Motivations for involvement. Educational opportunities.
Entrepreneurial youths	Can compare their experience as entrepreneurs with others in traditional employment.	Standardised youth closed questions. Viability of entrepreneurial activities as a livelihood strategy. Challenges with entrepreneurial activities. Motivations for engaging in entrepreneurial activities and rejection of traditional livelihoods. Educational opportunities.
Returned migrant youths	Able to provide insight into the fortunes of those who leave the village in comparison to those who stay.	Standardised youth closed questions. Life in urban or remote areas versus the village. Challenges attached to departing in the village. Motivations for migration and for return.
School Teacher/Principal	Provide insight into the educational system of the village: who attends, for how long, seasonal variations in class size, male to female ratio, ect.	Perceptions of youth. Concerns and challenges facing youth education in the eyes of teacher. Opportunities and barriers for youth's future.

Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA)

Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) consists of different types of approaches and methods used to assist rural people in analysing and sharing their knowledge of their own life circumstances. In addition, PRA stresses the self-critical awareness and responsibility of the inhabitants' of the village as well as offsetting biases and triangulation. Rural people can use PRA sessions to plan and act on the outcomes of the sessions.

Additionally, PRA is a good way to visualise the questions and answers in focus and can provide relatively simple representations of complex issues. It emphasises the process of discussion, and does not only focus on results (Mikkelsen 2005).

- **Community timeline**
  - A community timeline details significant events within the history of the community. However, a clear timeframe must be identified and for our purposes a limit of 35 years should sufficiently encompass all of the youth in the village and the significant events that would have arisen in their lifetime.
  - We will speak to the elders and youth to document important events (maybe separately).

- **Activity ranking**
  - Activity ranking uses matrices to allow local people to 1)identify their own criteria regarding the given topic and 2)describe the values they place on each of the criteria. Thus problems, opportunities or preferences can be quickly identified and explored. However it must be borne in mind that matrix scoring is often time consuming and sometimes can lead to confusion over symbols/criteria. Ranking will be compared between different groups pursuing different livelihood strategies, different genders, and age groups (due to a higher incidence of unemployment under the age of 25).
  - Livelihood Ranking- using the participants from each identified livelihood category, we will seek to identify the main livelihood strategies of youth;
  - Income Ranking- rank the main sources of income, in order to gain an idea of how much they rely on each strategy for their overall income distribution;
  - Problem Ranking- as well as problems or barriers in regards to youth unemployment;
  - Opportunity Ranking- and perceived future opportunities or alternative livelihood strategies.

- **Seasonal diagramming (migrants/traditional livelihood)**
  - Seasonal diagrams bring to light annual variations- be it natural, economic or social. Our focus will be on the potential seasonality of livelihood strategies and what this means for youth livelihood diversification.

- **Social mapping**
    - Social mapping can be extremely useful for understanding the relative wealth of social groups within a community as well as the way locals perceive their space geographically.
    - Wealth mapping- a map of the community is made, with each household represented, or for large areas neighbourhoods may be more useful/manageable. Main criteria for wealth or well-being are agreed upon as a group and each household is ranked using this criteria. Visual symbols should be included in the map to differentiate socio-economic gaps. This method allows the villagers to identify what 'poor' is and who is 'poor' within that framework. The advantage is that, while not easily quantifiable, wealth and well-being are considered in broader terms that go beyond merely measuring income.

Data analysis

As noted above, data for analysis will primarily come from mixed methods interviews (MMIs) and participatory rural appraisal (PRA) methods including seasonal mapping, village mapping and activity ranking. In addition, data will be obtained through less structured methods including participant and village observation, transect walks and informal discussions with youth and non-youth villagers. All methods will be assessed individually; however, primary analysis will rely on all methods as a whole and use triangulation to provide further validity to results. Triangulation refers to the assessment of data from multiple angles in order to improve the accuracy of a given conclusion (Jick 1979). The use of triangulation is seen as of particular relevance for this research where it can show if actions of youths match their responses to interviews and can help overcome potential definitional issues. For example, youth may have a different understanding of what it means to be "unemployed" to the traditional definition offered by Western economists or demographers. Observation may reveal that a youth who identifies as unemployed is in fact actually working.

Once collected, data will be analysed through an iterative process which develops as results are obtained. Rather than a binary comparison of predetermined hypotheses versus reality, we will remain open to findings emerging from the data, using a basic grounded theory approach (Schutt 2011; Strauss & Corbin 2007). Such an approach is seen as ideally suited to the analysis of qualitative data.

Qualitative data is expected to form the majority of results obtained, due to difficulties in obtaining statistically significant results in the field. With highly limited time in the field preventing widespread sampling and with the use of a snowball participant selection methodology introducing a degree of self-selection bias, any significant quantitative analysis is likely to be flawed. Qualitative data conversely offers us potentially valuable insights and understandings which could form the basis for further

investigation. In addition, qualitative data may reveal areas of concern which have not yet been identified and areas of note for future improvements.

Quantitative data may be derived from results to a limited degree. Our use of closed interview questions at the beginning of interviews is expected to deliver standardised results which can be easily compared between respondents from different groups to see if trends emerge.

Ethical considerations

As student researchers working in the field in a developing country, we need to be aware of ethics when collecting data and information from the inhabitants. The culture is different from that of developed nations and knowledge of social traditions, taboos and acceptable (and unacceptable) practices can be crucial for obtaining acceptance of the research from participants. Confirming with local norms can also assist with obtaining full and accurate responses if participants feel comfortable. In order to obtain this knowledge we will make use of our key contact and interpreter to gain an understanding of social norms and additionally will use the first days to observe the village, its people and social structures.

An additional ethical challenge is presented by our accepted definition of youth as those aged between 14 and 35. This definition means we are likely to seek engagement through mixed method interviews and PRA with minors (aged 14-17). We are aware of the risks this presents and will seek to address them by consulting with key informants - our translator, other translators, village elders/chief, and so on - on what is appropriate in the local context before commencing any activity with minors. Should these key informants advise that parental permission is required to match local expectations and standards we will of course seek this prior to any engagement with minors.

We are also aware of the fact that we are intruding on the villagers' daily life and routines and therefore we will inform our interviewees about who we are, the purpose of the project and reassure them of confidentiality.

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Appendix A: Materials Needed

Line Sofie	Paul	Spartak	Skylar
• Tape • Gifts	• Laptop • Smartphone	• Hard-backed notebook • Pens	• Laptop • Smartphone • GPS • Coloured pencils • Hard-backed notebook

			• Pens • Gift for Lufefe

Appendix B: Time Schedule

Field work time schedule

Mpharane, Eastern Cape, South Africa

27 Feb to 12 Mar 2013	FEB		MAR											
	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T
	27	28	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
PRELIMINARY & PREPARATION (PIETERMARITZBERG)	■													
P1 - Presentation to honours students and staff at UKZN	■													
P2 - Final preparation before transport to site	■													
TRANSPORT TO & ARRIVAL IN MPHARANE		■												
INITIAL PROBLEM SCOPING AND STUDIES			■											
I1 - Meet with interpreter/key informant - conduct SSI			■											
I2 - Transect walk through village with key informant and GPS			■											
I3 - Informal meeting with other youths - arrange future meetings			■											
I4 - Visit youth vegetable garden project - forum discussion with participants			■											
I5 - Initial/informal meeting with village chief or other village elder(s)			■											
PRA				■	■									
A1 - Seasonal calendar with migrant workers & traditional livelihood youths				■										
A2 - Village mapping with focus groups				■	■									
A3 - Activity ranking?					■									
MIXED METHOD INTERVIEWS (MMIs)			■			■	■	■	■					
M1 - Review of MMI interview questions and method with youth contact					■									
M2 - MMIs with those from traditional livelihoods						■								
M3 - MMIs with participants in vege garden and/or other youth initiatives						■	■							
M4 - MMIs with returned migrants								■						
M5 - MMIs with entrepreneural youths									■					
M6 - MMIs with non-youths about their perceptions														
M(a) - Impromtu MMI with youths or other village participants			■			■	■	■	■	■				
M(b) - Local experiences with youths (to see livelihood strategies in action)						■	■	■	■	■				
IN VILLAGE FINALISATION										■				
V1 - Review of data obtained & determination of any final data requirements										■				
V2 - Final data collection (using methods deemed appropriate)											■			
V3 - Preliminary/brief findings presentation to village														
V(a) - Buffer for any final in-field activities														
DEPARTURE AND TRANSPORT BACK TO PIETERMARITZBERG												■		
FINALISATION (PIETERMARITZBERG)													■	■
F1 - Preparation of initial findings for presentation at UKZN													■	
F2 - Presentation of findings to honours students and staff at UKZN														■

Legend

MAJOR ACTIVITY

X# - Sub-task

X(x) - Optional sub-task

Appendix C: General (standardised) interview questions

Name	
Household number	
GPS waypoint	
Interviewer	
Gender	Male Female
Age	
Marital Status	
Level of Education	No school Primary school Secondary school Technical degree Bachelor Masters PhD

Household size	Number of youths (<36)	Male Female
	Number of Adult Females	
	Number of Adult Males	
	Number of absent household members this week?	Adult Youth

Are you employed?	Yes (yes go to employment interview) No (no go to the unemployed interview)
Have you been working in the last 12 months?	Yes (yes go to employment interview) No (no go to the unemployed interview)
What are your main income sources?	Agriculture Livestock Remitances

	Pension	
	G'ovt	
	Tourism	
	Self employment	
	Non-farm Wage labour	
	Other	

(Other socio-economic questions here after group discussion in Mpharane)		
How do you normally get to work?	Walk	
	Bike	
	Bus	
	Car	
	Other	
Do you have electricity at home?	Yes - solar	
	Yes - generator	
	Yes - other	
	No	
Do you have a mobile phone?	Yes	
	No	
	If yes, can we have your number?	
Do you have a computer?	Yes	
	No	
Do you consider your household...	Much richer than most	
	Richer than most	
	Average	
	Poorer than most	
	Much poorer than most	
What do you do in your spare/free time?		
Do you do any work you don't receive payment for?		
	What is it?	
Is it harder for youth now than it was for your parents?	Yes	

	No
Will things be harder for your children than for you?	Yes
	No

Appendix D: Semi-structured interview questions

Employment:

	How many hours per day do you work?	
	How many days per week do you work?	
	How many hours per week would like to work?	
	Do you consider your work part time?	
	Do you consider your employment "formal" or "informal"?	
		Why?
	How many jobs are you working this week?	
Has been working in last 12 months:		
	How many jobs did you have in 2012?	
	How many did you work concurrently?	
	How many did you work seasonally?	
	During what months did you work the most?	
	What type of work and when?	
	Do you receive benefits from the g'ovt?	

Entrepreneurs:

Why did you choose to be self-employed or an own-account workerr ather than to work for someone else (as a wage & salaried worker)?	
Do you have anyone helping you in your business/economic activity?	
From where did you get the money to start your current business?	
What, if any, credit schemes are available in Mpharane?	
	What are the requirements for partaking in these?
What goods or services do you provide?	
Who do you mainly sell the goods or services of your business to?	
Is your business/economic activity making a profit, a loss or breaking even?	
Do you think there is potential for your business to grow?	
Are you able to support yourself soley on the income generated from your business? Or do you rely on other income sources? What are they?	
What are the main barriers for starting your own business in Mpharane?	
What are the main advantages to starting your own business in Mpharane?	

Migrants:

How many times did you migrant for employment in 2012?	
For how many months were you away total?	
During which months were you away?	
Which city(ies) did you migrant to?	
What kind of work did you do there?	
Would you consider it formal or informal work?	
For how many hours a week did you work while away?	
What was your average wage?	
Did you send money home?	
	How often?
	What percentage of your total income was sent home as remittances?
How did you find out about the job?	
Where did you live while away (Family, friends, rental?)	
Why did you return to Mpharane?	
	If you had the option to return to the city for permanent work, would you?
	Would you prefer to have permenant work in the city or Mpharane?

What are your main sources of income while in Mpharane?	
How do you perceive your future livelihood strategies in Mpharane?	
How do you perceive your future livelihood strategies in the city?	
What are the implications of these future strategies?	

Unemployed:

If unemployed, are you studying?
What is your main source of income while unemployed?
Are you looking for work or trying to establish your own business?
During the last four weeks, have you taken any steps to find work or to establish your own business?
How long have you been available for work and actively looking for a job?
What sort of job are you looking for (occupation)?
What are some of the reasons that you couldn't find a job?
Other than job-seeking, what are your main activites?

Teacher:

What is the attitude of youth towards education?				
How many years, on average, do youth remain in school?				
How likely is it that youth will pursue higher education?	Very likely	Likely	Not very likely	Not at all
Do youth want to study?				
How did apartheid impact on youth education?				
What impact, if any, does apartheid continue to have on youth education?				
What are the challenges and problems youth have to deal with now?				
How do youth tend to deal with their problems and challenges?				
What proportion of youth are engaged in traditional livelihoods?				
	Do you think this has decreased or increased over the years?			
	How does this affect their study?			
What proportion of youth migrate for work?				
	Do you think this has decreased over the years?			
	How does this affect their study?			
What proportion of youth are engaged in entrepreneurship activities?				
	Do you think this has decreased or increased over the			

	years?			
	How does this affect their study?			
What proportion of youth are engaged in youth initiatives?				
	Do you think this has decreased or increased over the years?			
	How does this affect their study?			
What is the main reason for youth discontinuing their education?				
How does education effect youth responses to their challenges?				
Are there any initiatives for education in the village?				
Does the level of education effect the employment prospects of youth?				
What input can young people have in addressing the challenges facing youth in general?				
What positive impacts are youth having in Mpharane?				
What negative impacts are youth in having in Mpharane?				
What is the future for youth in Mpharane?				

Involved in youth initiatives:

Describe the initiative in your own words		
Why did you become involved in the initiative?		
How did you hear about the initiative?		
In what ways has the initiative met your expectations?		

In what ways has the initiative not met your expectations?		
What has been good about the initiative?		
What has been bad about the initiative?	How have you benefited from being involved in the initiative?	How have you been negatively affected by your involvement?
How much time is involved?		
How does the initiative fit alongside your other activities?		
Do you think others could benefit from the initiative?		
Would you recommend the initiative to others?		
Have you recommended the initiative to others? Why/why not?		
What future does the initiative have?		
What future does the initiative have for you?		
What place does the initiative have in the village?		
Do you see the initiative as a solution to the challenges facing young people in Mpharane?		

Key informant:

How do you think elders percieve youth?	
How do you percieve youth?	
Is there a history of 'youth problems' in Mpharane?	

	Can you think of any specific problems relating to youth that have affected you or your friends personally?
How would you define employment?	
How would you define unemployment?	
What employment options are available to youth?	
	What is the prevelance of ag/livestock/entrepreneurship/youth initiatives
	What are the most popular/sought after forms of employment?
	What role does informal employment play among youth in Mpharane?
	Would you ever consider migrating? Why or why not?
What is the average level of education among youth in Mpharane (do they stop at primary or secondary school?)	
Are there any local NGOs dealing with youth?	
	What kinds of programmes do they offer?
How important or noticable is the NYP in Mpharane?	
Are there any Youth Initiatives in Mpharane?	
How do you think elders percieve youth?	
	How are they percieved?
	Are they successful?
How do youth perceive their future livelihood strategies in Mpharane?	
How do you perceive your future livelihood strategies?	
What are the implications of these future strategies?	

Non-youth (elders and chief):

*Non-youth interviewed as a group		

	Can you define youth?	
	How do you perceive youth?	
	What is your opinion of the attitude of youth to work?	
	Do youth want to work?	
	Do youth want to study?	
	Is there a history of 'youth problems' in Mpharane?	
	How did apartheid impact on youth?	
	What impact, if any, does apartheid continue to have on youth?	
	What are the challenges and problems youth have to deal with now?	
	How do youth tend to deal with their problems and challenges?	
	What proportion of youth are employed?	
	What proportion of youth are engaged in traditional livelihoods?	
		Do you think this has decreased over the years?
	What proportion of youth migrate for work?	
	What proportion of youth are engaged in entrepreneurship activities?	
	What proportion of youth are engaged in youth initiatives?	

	What proportion of youth are unemployed?	
	How does education effect youth responses to their challenges?	
	What input can young people have in addressing the challenges facing youth in general?	
	What positive impacts are youth having in Mpharane?	
	What negative impacts are youthin having in Mpharane?	
	What is the future for youth in Mpharane?	