

YOUNG PEOPLE
IN SOUTH AFRICA



The
Status
of Youth
Report
2003



Human Sciences
Research Council

FORWARD

Umsobomvu Youth Fund commissioned *The Status of the Youth Report* in order to inform the development of policies, programmes and practice within the youth development sector. Umsobomvu saw it necessary to take stock of what developments have occurred in the youth sector during the first decade of democracy. Therefore, it became important to obtain a national picture of young people on key socio-economic issues relating to economic participation, education and skills development, poverty, health and wellbeing, social integration and civic engagement.

This research project allows for the interrogation of existing programme and policy as a means of ensuring that the practical and strategic needs of youth in South Africa are being met. In addition to serving our own needs, the research results are intended to be relevant to a broad range of youth development stakeholders, including civil society, government, the private sector and youth development practitioners.

As an organisation that is committed to improving the lives of young people, we needed the findings to be relevant and speak directly to youth policy, practice and programmes. Hence, the research process was the product of a rigorous intellectual and methodological exercise. In particular, the research approach needed to be contextualised within the South African youth development context.

Judging from the key findings of the report, it is clear that there are both challenges and opportunities that must still be addressed in order to get to the bottom of the youth development issues. For instance, the research results indicate that more than two-thirds of South African youth aged 18 to 35 are unemployed, and that more than two-thirds of the survey respondents have never had a job. The youth's inability to access economic opportunities as a result of poverty and lack of education also pose a major challenge.

The findings of the research need to be utilised to inform youth empowerment and youth transformation initiatives. Opportunities need to be provided for youth to have their worth affirmed and for them to draw on the resources, cultures and networks with which they identify. Moving into the next decade of democracy, the development of a holistic approach to the development of young people in South Africa is quite critical.

Mr Malose Kekana

Chief Executive Officer: Umsobomvu Youth Fund

8th November 2005

PREFACE

The Status of the Youth Report (SYR) 2003-2004 was commissioned by the Umsobomvu Youth Fund as a background document against which to make future, regular assessments of the state of young people in South Africa. The Report is made up of two components – first, a review of existing literature and available secondary data sources and second, a nationally representative survey of young people between the ages of 18 and 35 years of age. Information from these two sources is integrated in the report. For this baseline assessment, the content of the review and the survey was wide-ranging.

The topics covered included education, labour market participation, inequality, health and disability, crime and violence, and social integration. Each topic was approached with the intention of painting a broad-brush-stroke picture of the conditions affecting young people and, where possible, their perceptions of their lives. It is planned that future Status of the Youth Reports will focus in detail on one or more of these topics in order to burrow down and deepen our understanding of them. The material is integrated into the “Youth Development Conceptual Framework” with an understanding of the building blocks necessary for a smooth transition into adulthood. By their own account, youth see adulthood as a state in which they have achieved financial independence and are capable of supporting a family.

South African youth, in common with their peers all over the world, face any number of challenges, particularly when they live in conditions of poverty and disadvantage. Their education may be truncated because of insufficient funds to continue schooling and they may wait a very long time to obtain even low paid and insecure informal employment. A large number of youth fall through the cracks. They may continue in an impoverished marginal state, little different from that of their families of origin. Others will die young of injuries and/or HIV infection. Both of these possibilities constitute an enormous loss of human capital to the society, as well as a significant strain on personal, family and national resources.

Nonetheless, despite these harsh realities, young people are always the germ of a new society, heralding innovative and different ways of living and adapting to changed environmental circumstances. Everywhere young people surprise us - with their endurance, hope and successes. They need our help and support to achieve their birthright, and to live fulfilled lives. We need to believe in their capacity

and creativity, provide the conditions for their expression, remove the barriers that prevent young people from achieving their goals, and applaud them for their achievements.

The Umsobomvu Youth Fund, the Human Sciences Research Council, and many other organizations, are providing support for large scale policy and programme initiatives to promote youth development. Through these efforts we hope, both as professionals and parents, to ensure that the lives of young people are continually improved, so that this generation themselves can take up the baton, and ensure that those that come after them have a better life still.

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8th August 2005¹

¹ The survey on which part of this report is based, was conducted in November-December 2003. The statistical analysis and report were completed in August 2004, following several rounds of revision. A final revision was requested by UYF, undertaken between May and July 2005, to incorporate the background policy environment and to further emphasise the youth development framework.

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ACRONYMS AND TERMINOLOGY

ABET	Adult Basic Education and Training
AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
CBO	Community-based organization
CDA	Central Drug Authority
CECS	Community Education Computer Society
CASE	Community Agency for Social Engineering
CEED	Center for Education and Enterprise Development
CHE	Council of Higher Education
CORE	Co-operative for Research and Education
CSV	Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation
CV	Curriculum Vitae
CYFD	Child, Youth and Family Development
DALYS	Disability Adjusted Life Years Saved
DET	Department of Education and Training
DHS	Demographic and Health Survey
EA	Enumerator Areas
EAP	Economically Active Population
ECYD	Establishment for Comprehensive Youth Development
EFSA	Ecumenical Foundation of South Africa
EPWP	Expanded Public Works Programme
ETDP-SETA	Educational Training and Development Practices – Sector Educational and Training Authority
ETQAB	Education and Training Quality Assurance Body
FET	Further Education and Training
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GEAR	Growth, Employment and Redistribution
GEM	Global Entrepreneurship Monitor
HET	Higher Education and Training
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
HOA	House of Assembly
HOD	House of Delegates
HOR	House of Representatives

HRDS	Human Resources Development Strategy
HSRC	Human Sciences Research Council
IDASA	Institute for Democracy in South Africa
IEC	Independent Electoral Commission
IEE	Integrated Entrepreneurship Education
IES	Income and Expenditure Survey
ILO	International Labour Office
INDS	Integrated National Disability Strategy
LFS	Labour Force Survey
JEP	Joint Enrichment Project
MLA	Monitoring Learning Achievement
MLL	Minimum Living Level
MRC	Medical Research Council
NAFCI	National Adolescent Friendly Clinic Initiative
NCASA	National Cooperative Association of South Africa
NDA	National Development Agency
NED	New Education Department
NEPAD	New Partnership for African Development
NGO	Non-government organisation
NICRO	National Institute for Crime Prevention and Reintegration of Offenders
NIMSS	National Injury Mortality Surveillance System
NPA	National Programme of Action
NQF	National Qualification Framework
NSFAS	National Students Financial Aid Scheme
OHS	October Household Survey
RAG	Resource Action Group
RHRU	Reproductive Health Research Unit
SAAYC	Southern African Association of Youth Clubs
SA-ADAM	South African Arrestee Drug Abuse Monitoring
SACENDU	South African Community Epidemiology Network on Drug Use
SADHS	South African Demographic and Health Survey
SAPS	South African Police Services
SAQA	South African Qualification Authority
SAMAF	South African Micro-finance Apex Fund
SAWEN	South African Women Entrepreneurs' Network
SCE	Senior Certificate Examination
SEDA	Small Enterprise Development Agency
SES	Socio-economic Status

SETA	Sector Educational and Training Authority
SGB	School Governing Programme
SMME	Small, Medium and Micro Enterprises
SRN	School Register of Needs
SYR	Status of the Youth Report
TED	Transvaal Education Department
TIMSS-R	Third International Mathematics and Science Study Repeat
TTA	Transitions to Adulthood
TOP	Termination of Pregnancy
TWIB	Technology for Women in Business
UNAIDS	Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNICEF	United Nations Childrens' Fund
UYF	Umsobomvu Youth Fund
VCT	Voluntary Counselling and Testing
WHO	World Health Organisation
YDN	Youth Development Network
YES	Youth Employment Summit

African, Coloured, Indian, White

The terms African, Coloured, Indian and White are used to describe social differentiations that were established under the *Apartheid* regime as “population groups” and which were, and still are, commonly referred to as race groups. These social categories have always been problematical, as they do not refer to racial, language, ethnic groups or other sociological categories. They are a political creation and there is currently debate about whether or not we should continue to use these categories, either in public debate, policy deliberations or research (for example, Ellison *et al*, 1997a, b, c). The argument for dispensing with the use of these terms is the desirability of moving beyond racial segregation, whereas the case for retention rests on the importance of monitoring the pace and substance of social change in South Africa.

Puberty

Puberty is the process of biological changes spanning several years during which sexual maturation occurs. During this time, there is a growth spurt, secondary sexual characteristics become evident and, in girls, menstruation begins. This signals, for females, the capacity to fall pregnant.

Gini coefficient

The Gini coefficient measures the distribution of national income on a scale between '0' and '1'. While '0' represents perfect equality, the closer the coefficient approaches '1' the greater the inequality of the society is.

INTRODUCTION AND METHODOLOGY

1.1 THE STATUS OF THE YOUTH REPORT

As an integral part of its efforts to address the needs of young people, the South African government, in 1998, announced its intention to set up the Umsobomvu Youth Fund (UYF). Established in January 2001, the UYF's objective is to promote and facilitate youth development in general, and to build a skills base and enhance the involvement of young people in the economy, in particular. As part of its mandate of youth development, the UYF identified a need for the collection and analysis of information on the status of young South Africans on a regular basis. Such information would be of assistance not only to the UYF in developing and monitoring interventions, but also to a broad range of stakeholders involved with youth, including government departments and agencies involved in youth development.

To this end, the UYF created a youth policy research unit to conduct ongoing research and to develop a comprehensive database on the status of youth in South Africa. Besides these functions, the UYF's research unit aims also to study the efficacy of youth development programmes and policy implementation, and to assist government departments and NGOs with the implementation of youth development programmes. In order to supplement its own outputs and build its research capacity, the research unit commissions research from established research organisations. Against this background, the UYF entered into a Memorandum of Understanding with the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) late in 2002, in which the two organisations signalled their intention to work together to develop a strong and systematic approach to research on youth development. Among the projects prioritised for collaboration between the two organisations was an annual Status of the Youth Report. In mid-2003 the UYF and the HSRC entered into an agreement to undertake a national survey to inform the first Status of the Youth Report, to be published in 2004.

The Status of the Youth Report (SYR) is envisaged to be an annual comprehensive review of the living conditions and lifestyles of young people in South Africa. In addition to providing up-to-date information on young South Africans disaggregated by race, gender and urban-rural location, the SYR would also monitor changes in youth status over time and would attempt to document the impacts that the various policies and programmes are having on the living conditions of young people in the country. The 2003-2004 SYR would form a baseline against which annual or biennial surveys could provide progressive monitoring.

1.2 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

With the overall aim of producing a Status of the Youth Report 2004, the collaborative project between the UYF and the HSRC had the following major objectives:

- To conduct a national survey based on a representative sample of young people between the ages of 18 and 35 years;
- To undertake a comprehensive literature and statistical review of a broad range of issues relating to youth and youth development;
- To conduct trend analyses, documenting – where possible - the changes that have taken place in the conditions of young people since 1994; and
- To write a report based on this work for use by UYF and other stakeholders in the youth sector.

Following joint meetings between the UYF, the HSRC and other stakeholders, the UYF decided to commission a survey that aimed to depict a broad national picture of young South Africans rather than focus on the specific aims and mandate of the UYF with respect to economic participation. Further, it was decided that the research results should be relevant to a wide range of stakeholders involved in youth development. In particular, the identification and analysis of causes and effects relating to the situation of youth was regarded as critical. While the emphasis of the study would be on the current status of youth, the literature and statistical review should also attempt to assess the changes that have taken place in the status of youth since 1994.

The project brief also specified that the study should include all races and be reflective of South Africa's demographics. That is, it should include all nine provinces; take urban and rural differences into account; examine gender differences; and make provision for two age categories of youth, namely, a younger group between 18 and 24 years of age and an older group between 25 and 35 years.

Among the issues that should be addressed in the study were the following:

- **Demographics**, including a general breakdown of demographic characteristics of youth in the country, as well as their location and migration patterns.
- **Marital and childbearing status**, including marital status, age of mother at birth, teenage pregnancies, etc.
- **Education and skills development**, including educational levels among the different social categories of youth, attendance at educational institutions, educational aspirations, skills development, etc.
- **Employment and unemployment**, including employment status, labour market involvement, occupational status, income, unemployment and education, etc.
- **Health issues** pertaining to the health status of youth, access to health facilities and services, the impact of diseases such as HIV/AIDS, youth mental health, suicide and substance abuse.
- **Poverty**, including rates of poverty among the different categories of youth, the conditions of young people living in poverty, access to poverty relief and social welfare, etc.

- **Crime and violence**, pertaining to the involvement of young people, as both victims and perpetrators, in crime, especially violent crime, and the effect of government initiatives to rehabilitate youth involved in crime and provide support to victims.
- **Business involvement**, including young people's involvement in business and entrepreneurship, ownership and management of businesses, access to credit, involvement in different sectors of the economy, etc.
- **Sports and leisure**, including youth lifestyles, involvement in sports and cultural activities, access to sport and recreational facilities, etc.
- **Gender issues**, including gender inequalities in education, the labour market, income, sexual abuse and violence.

The UYF also requested that the study should achieve a balance between the objective conditions under which South African youth live and the perceptions of youth of their current and future prospects, bearing in mind that the primary focus of the SYR 2004 was on objective conditions. The study would also incorporate a two-step approach in which an initial preview of statistical and other information sources would provide a basis for the development of issues to be included in the survey, as well as identify gaps in our knowledge of South African youth.

1.3 RESEARCH DESIGN

In the spirit of the Memorandum of Understanding between the UYF and HSRC, the research design was a product of collaboration entailing intensive discussion between the two organizations. In particular, these discussions focused on the need to strike a balance between the inclusion of a broad range of issues and, at the same time, achieve some degree of focus and integration for the project as a whole, and especially in the survey. One solution to this conundrum was technical, and involved supplementing information collected in the survey with a comprehensive review of the literature and analyses of existing datasets with information relevant to young South Africans. A second solution to balancing the aims of a broad picture with sufficient focus to produce new information was conceptual, and this is described later.

- **Supplementing the survey with a review of available information on young people**

Ideally, the review of existing information on youth in South Africa would have been completed before embarking on the design of the survey and questionnaire. However, because of time constraints and, in particular, the requirement to complete data collection for the survey before the end of 2003, the design of the survey questionnaire proceeded concurrently with the literature review. It was therefore proposed that the review component of the project should be divided into two stages. The first of these stages would involve an intensive and rapid preview of available data and other information sources on youth in South Africa in order to identify gaps in the existing research and information on youth, and assist in the development of the survey questionnaire. This first part of the review was completed at the end of September 2003, and resulted in extensive changes to the preliminary questionnaire.

The second stage of the review concentrated on the collection, analysis, integration and writing up of existing information, both statistical and non-statistical, with the aim of providing supportive information for the issues identified for the survey, and collecting information on issues not fully covered in the survey questionnaire,

including those kinds of information that are not possible to collect in a household survey. The review was completed early in December 2003 and a presentation of the review was made to the UYF.

- **Conceptualising youth issues within a Youth Development Framework**

As indicated, one way in which a balance was sought between covering a broad range of issues and simultaneously retaining a focus for the study was technical; the other was conceptual. Essentially, this involved building the survey around the integrative theme of *youth development; the framework adopted internationally and by government. In particular, this framework underlies the UYF approach to youth empowerment and skills development.* While considerable attention has been devoted to demographic trends in South Africa, demographers have given less attention to studying young people as a specific category of the population and to issues that have particular relevance to youth. To date, demographic studies have only provided a partial picture of the major life transitions of young people in South Africa. As Arnett (1997) points out, childhood and adulthood are socially constructed concepts and, as such, have important implications for the ways in which young people and the societies in which they live define and respond to youth. The Youth Development Framework is premised on the ideology that young men and women represent a distinct and vital part of society, not as children nor as mini-adults, whose potentialities remain largely untapped. In creating a supportive and enabling environment to grow their strengths and address their weaknesses, youth development aims to develop well-rounded young people who adeptly negotiate their way through an ever challenging and rapidly changing world. Rapid global and local transitions have had both positive and negative impacts on young people's developmental trajectories. Increasing access to education has been marked by a global trend of extended periods spent in education, delayed entry into the labour market accompanied by later and declining entry into marriage. Rising unemployment and poverty among young people, however, have constrained the ability of some to take up their right to be fully productive members of society, hence exacerbating social exclusion and marginalisation. Early sexual debut, unwanted pregnancy, the HIV/AIDS epidemic, substance abuse, and violence and crime, affect in particular those groups of young people who find themselves vulnerable and marginalized through lack of education, unemployment and poverty.

1.4 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND SAMPLING

1.4.1 INTRODUCTION

This section of the report summarises the parameters for the collection of quantitative data for the survey component of the SYR. It details aspects of the sample design and fieldwork, including training of field workers. The sample design was submitted to UYF for approval in an earlier report, and is summarized here for the sake of comprehensiveness. The fieldwork for the survey was conducted by The Africa Strategic Research Corporation under commission to the HSRC. The fieldwork contract was awarded through a competitive process and the selection of the fieldwork company was based on expertise, experience, principles of African economic empowerment, and price.

1.4.2 SAMPLE DESIGN

A self-weighting sample was designed, based on the most recent available data from Statistics South Africa. Thus, the major reporting domains of the sample were drawn so that they are proportional to that of Census

2001. Households (primary sampling units) were selected to render a national sample of 3 500 young people, representative of population group and province. The Census 2001 enumeration areas (EAs) selected by the HSRC's Surveys, Analysis, Modelling and Mapping Unit were associated with their different municipalities and plotted on a national map. Route maps were prepared to identify each primary sample unit in the sample design within each district and in each province. These maps served as a guide for the survey teams into the correct enumeration area and to the selected households within each area.

Table 1 shows the response rate of the survey, by race and province. The original sample design was 3 500. The fieldwork company targeted 3 600, so as to allow for refusals and incomplete questionnaires. Response rate to the targeted sample of 3 600 is 98.36 percent. Thus the actual response is 1.17 percent more than the design. Minority population groups were slightly over-sampled in the study but, as this is so slight, it does not change the self-weighting nature of the sample. Where the number of responses differs from the original design, the number of responses in the original design is shown in brackets.

Table 1: Response rate by race and province

	Western Cape	Eastern Cape	Northern Cape	Free State	KwaZulu-Natal	North West	Gauteng	Mpumalanga	Limpopo	Total / Race	Response rate % by race
Africans	95	441	23	185	624	263	509	226	401	2761	100
Coloured	191	37	34 (33)	7	11	5	26	2	1	314 (313)	100.3
Indian	4 (5)	2	3 (1)	2 (1)	86 (63)	2 (1)	18 (17)	2 (1)	2 (1)	121 (92)	131.5
White	65	24	9 (8)	19	38	21 (19)	137	16	10	339 (336)	100.9
Total	355 (356)	504	69 (65)	213 (212)	759 (737)	291 (288)	690 (689)	246 (245)	414 (413)	3541 (3500)	101.2
Response rate/ Province %	99.7	100	106.2	100.5	102.9	101	100.1	100.4	100.2		

1.4.3 METHOD FOR RANDOM SELECTION OF THE SAMPLE

The SYR sample was drawn using the 2001 Census to estimate a number of visiting points in an enumeration area. An enumeration area is defined by Census 2001 to consist of a number of households, usually between 100 and 200 visiting points. A visiting point is defined as a residential stand, address, structure and flat in a block of flats or homestead.

In order to select an individual to be interviewed, the following route was followed:

1. The number of individuals to be interviewed in each province was chosen such that they were proportional to the number of young people found in the province as provided by Census 2001.
2. The enumeration areas were chosen according to five residential types, namely, urban formal, urban informal, rural traditional, rural farms and hostels. The number of enumeration areas selected from each type was proportional to those defined in the Census.
3. Visiting points within each enumeration area were chosen randomly.

4. If there was more than one household at a visiting point, one household was randomly selected. Within each household, if there was more than one young person within the ages 18 to 35, one person was randomly selected.

The fact that the selection of young people hinged on their availability within the household during November and December, the latter being a traditional holiday month, might have resulted in some unintended bias. For example, higher education levels were found in the sample compared to those reported in other studies and it could be that such individuals are less mobile because they have employment and were thus more likely to be selected into the SYR study.

1.4.4 SUBSTITUTION OF DWELLINGS

Interviewers were not allowed to substitute households selected for interviews except with the permission and in the presence of field supervisors who were trained in the rules for substitution. Substitution was allowed only if a selected dwelling was found to be empty, there was no eligible young person resident in the household, residents were not at home for an extended period of time or there were obvious physical dangers posed to the lives of interviewers. Refusal to be interviewed was not an acceptable ground for substitution. Where substitution of a dwelling was required, the nearest dwelling next to the original, to right of the interviewer (when facing the entrance to the dwelling), was considered first. For this new dwelling to be chosen, it should appear to have a fairly similar profile as the one to be substituted. For example, in an enumeration area with a mixture of formal and informal dwellings, an informal dwelling could not be substituted with a formal dwelling. If, for any reason, the dwelling immediately next to the interviewer on the right was not eligible, the dwelling immediately to the left of the field worker was chosen as a substitute, observing the rule of similarity.

1.4.5 SELECTING ELIGIBLE YOUNG PEOPLE

All eligible young people (18-35 years of age), in every household selected for interview, were identified from a brief conversation with a principal respondent in the household. Within the household, selection of one young person to be the respondent in the survey was entirely random, achieved through a blinding procedure. Only the age-group criterion (18-35 years) was used. If a potential respondent met this criterion other attributes, such as specific single age, gender or race, were not taken into account in selecting one out of all eligible young respondents. If only one person was eligible in the household, the person was interviewed and the random selection process did not apply.

1.4.6 DATA QUALITY

Emphasis was placed on the collection of high quality data. As a result, several measures were put in place to monitor key areas of survey data collection that are susceptible to errors. Office-based monitors and quality control specialists conducted random checks to determine the location and activities of field workers. In the course of the checking visit, they also collected and reviewed completed questionnaires for immediate corrections where errors were identified. The quality control staff also conducted random call-backs on ten percent of the sample using an abbreviated form of the questionnaire, consisting of questions selected for quality check purposes.

1.5 QUESTIONNAIRE DEVELOPMENT

Concepts of youth development and transition to adulthood, as part of the life cycle approach, were adopted as the conceptual framework for the survey. What can be found from literature on this subject as indicators of a successful transition to adulthood are, among others: completion of education, entry into the labour force, establishment of an independent household, attainment of financial independence, marriage and parenthood, civic engagement and healthy lifestyle choices. The areas of youth education, youth employment and youth civic engagements were selected as critical aspects of youth development and these topics formed the focus of the questionnaire design.

The principles for questionnaire development and a draft of the questionnaire were approved by UYF. The questionnaire has six sections (see Appendix B):

- General demographic and other background information on respondents
- Employment
- Education
- Community and civic engagement
- Health and disability
- Social development

Each section of the questionnaire consisted of questions that aimed at establishing external conditions of young people, as well as their views and attitudes on issues affecting them.

1.6 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The survey followed the generally established principles regarding ethics of social research. These principles include written voluntary and informed consent by selected individuals, and the principles of anonymity and confidentiality. The proposal for the survey was submitted to the HSRC Research Ethics Committee and authorisation was given to conduct the survey.

1.7 PILOT STUDY

A pilot study preceded data collection. The main purpose of the pilot study was to test the survey questionnaire. Three areas were visited: a suburb and a township in Pretoria, and a rural area in the North West Province. Thirty people, ten from each area, were interviewed using the draft questionnaire. Lessons learned during the pilot study were used to refine the final version of the questionnaire. These included: avoiding repetitive questions, improving the clarity of questions and response categories, filling gaps in the questionnaire and shortening the questionnaire. Following minor and mainly layout changes, the questionnaire was finalised based on experiences from the pilot study. The questionnaire was reproduced in English but administered in different vernacular languages.

1.8 TRAINING OF FIELD WORKERS

The development of training manuals for field survey staff was also based on experiences gained during the pilot study. Training for field workers took place centrally at the offices of The Africa Strategic Research Corporation in Johannesburg. All members of the fieldwork team, including the team leader, regional leaders and quality control specialists attended the training. Researchers from the HSRC were also present. All aspects of the survey, including identification of respondents and quality control, were dealt with during the training. Field interviewers were chosen on the basis of a balanced combination of racial characteristics to ensure that the sample design was effectively achieved. In view of the time constraints it was decided not to translate questionnaires from English into all eleven official languages. The field workers were trained in the correct meaning of terms used in English and their translation into the other languages using the experience gained during sample interviews in the pilot study. In addition, the interview teams were constituted in ways that represented all predominant languages spoken in each sample area. All field workers were multi-lingual. Respondents were offered the choice to be interviewed in their preferred languages. However, to standardise response categories for data entry and analysis, all response options in the questionnaires were presented in English.

1.9 FIELD WORK

The fieldwork commenced simultaneously in all provinces immediately after the training. Field workers worked in teams of two to three with one team leader/supervisor guiding their work. The team leaders identified enumerator areas, used the simple random sample rule provided to them to select households and which young people were to be interviewed, and introduced the interview teams.

1.10 CHALLENGES

The main challenge faced by the fieldwork team was pressure of time. Data collection was initially designed to commence at the beginning of October 2003 to allow for a minimum of two and half months of data collection in the field. However commencement of data collection was delayed until November due to a number of logistical and practical constraints. Additionally, towards the end of November, several EAs in the sample showed significant movement of people - especially from urban to rural areas for the Christmas holidays. This put more pressure on the interview teams to complete their work as soon as possible. However, the compressed survey time and the temporary movement of people during the holiday season were accommodated by increasing the size of the fieldwork teams in order to complete data collection on schedule. Data entry ran concurrently with data collection. An advantage of this approach is that it provided an opportunity for office editors to relay any data errors to field workers for immediate correction while they were still in the field.

Although the questions were generally found to be acceptable, respondents pointed to the sensitive nature of some personal (especially sexual) questions. However, there was no evidence of biased responses or selective non-response to these questions. Interviewers were well trained to handle these questions and the questions were strategically placed in the questionnaire to be asked when respondents were well acquainted with the objectives of the survey and relaxed with the interviewers. Respondents' comfort with the

questionnaires was also increased by having women interviewers in the team interview females and male interviewers interviewing men.

1.11 SUMMARY OF THE SURVEY METHODOLOGY

The survey for the Status of the Youth Report (SYR) was a nationally representative study of more than 3 500 young men and women from all provinces and population groups. The structure and content of the questionnaire closely followed the requirements of the Umsobomvu Youth Fund (UYF) for the first round of what is intended to be regular monitoring of the state of South African youth. The fieldwork was contracted out to a reputable company with considerable experience. Appropriate quality control checks were put in place to ensure that the data is scientifically defensible. Nonetheless, some bias is evident in the sample, with the selected respondents having higher educational levels than the national average. This is attributed to the time of the year when the survey was required to be done. Part of the data collection period fell during the holiday season and it is possible that out-of-school and out-of-work youth may be more mobile at these times, making them less available for selection into the sample. The data was cleaned and subjected to descriptive analyses including statistical testing. More complex multivariate analyses will be conducted on the data in papers intended for publication in professional journals.

1.12 YOUTH DEMOGRAPHICS

1.12.1 DESCRIPTION OF THE SAMPLE

As stated in the methodology section, the number of young people selected for the survey per province as well as the rural-urban distribution and race composition of the sample was designed to reflect those found in the 2001 Census. The table below shows the composition of the sample with respect to two demographic characteristics that were not fixed in the sample design, namely gender and language. When both gender and language composition is compared with that found in the 2001 Census, there is close similarity.

Table 2: Demographic characteristics of the SYR survey sample, 2003

Demographics	n	%	Census 2001 %
Gender			
Male	1 688	47.7	47.8
Female	1 853	52.3	52.1
Total	3 541	100.0	100.0
Language spoken at home			
Sesotho	246	6.9	7.9
Setswana	457	12.9	8.2
Sepedi	272	7.7	9.4
Siswati	90	2.5	2.7
IsiNdebele	42	1.2	1.6
IsiXhosa	579	16.4	17.6
IsiZulu	866	24.5	23.8
Xitsonga	121	3.4	4.4
Tshivenda	102	2.9	2.3
Afrikaans	363	10.3	13.3
English	384	10.8	8.2
Other African language	7	.2	
Other Indian language	8	.2	

Other	4	.1	0.5
Total	3 541	100.0	100.0

Tables 3 to 8, below, show descriptive features of the sample, by province, race, gender, age group (18 to 24 years and 25 to 35 years), and area of residence, both in detail and in summary.

Table 3: SYR survey sample by province, 2001 and 2003

	SYR 2003	Census 2001
	Percent	Percent
Western Cape	10.0	10.1
Eastern Cape	14.2	14.4
Northern Cape	1.9	1.8
Free State	6.0	6.0
KwaZulu Natal	21.4	21.0
North West	8.2	8.2
Gauteng	19.5	19.7
Mpumalanga	6.9	7.0
Limpopo	11.7	11.8

As can be seen from Table 3, the SYR survey sample closely approximates that reported in Census 2001, as designed by the sampling strategy. This is true also of population group, shown in Table 4.

Table 4: SYR survey sample by population group, 2001 and 2003

	SYR 2003	Census 2001
	Percent	Percent
African	78.1	78.1
Coloured	8.9	8.9
Indian	3.4	3.4
White	9.6	9.6

In order to further describe the sample, Tables 5, 6, 7 and 8 shows the SYR survey sample by gender, age group, area type in detail, and area type as used in the descriptive and statistical analyses. Table 5 provides a comparison between the gender distributions of the SYR sample, the 2001 Census and the Labour Force Survey (LFS) of September 2002. While the Census distribution applies to all age groups within the population, the analysis of LFS data made use of only 18-35 year olds in order to complement the SYR sample. The gender distributions of both the 2001 Census and the 2002 LFS are almost identical with that of the SYR survey.

Table 5: SYR survey sample by gender, 2003 in comparison with Census 2001 and Labour Force Survey 2002

	SYR 2003		Census 2001 (General population)	LFS 2002 (18-35 year olds only)
	Frequency	Percent		Percent
Male	1 688	47.7	47.8	48.0
Female	1 853	52.3	52.2	52.0
Total	3 541	100	100	100

However, comparison of the distribution of the two age groups used in the SYR survey with data from the 2002 labour force survey (see Table 6) shows a marked discrepancy between the two datasets, which suggests that the 18-24 year age group was over sampled in the SYR survey. While this discrepancy may be the result of sampling error arising from the relatively small sample used in the SYR survey, it may also be related to under representation of 25-35 year olds because of their greater independence from their

households of origin. For example, it is argued in the World Development Report of 2003 (United Nations Program for Youth: 2004: 90) that household surveys perpetuate a bias against youth because they tend to focus on “easily enumerated households identified by a dwelling and a family. Young people are likely to be underrepresented in such settings if they have left the parental home and are in precarious circumstances, which often includes residence in temporary lodgings or even being without accommodation at all.”

Table 6: SYR survey sample by age group, 2003

Age group (years)	SYR 2003		Labour Force Survey 2002
	Frequency	Percent	Percent
18-24	2 081	58.8	46.1
25-35	1 460	41.2	53.9
Total	3 541	100	100

Table 7 provides a breakdown of the sample into three major area types, namely metropolitan, urban non-metropolitan and rural. Data from the Labour Force Survey of September 2002 indicates that 37.7 percent of the population were living in rural areas. This estimate is relatively close to the 42.3 percent of youth living in rural areas according to the SYR survey.

Table 7: SYR survey sample by area type, 2003

Summarised area type	Frequency	Percent
Metropolitan/city	1 198	33.8
Urban-non-metropolitan	845	23.9
Rural	1 498	42.3
Total	3 541	100.0

Table 8 provides a more detailed breakdown of the SYR sample into different areas. For the metropolitan areas, the majority of respondents were drawn from formal townships and suburban areas. In other (non-metropolitan) urban areas, the majority of respondents lived in formal townships, while the overwhelming majority of rural dwellers lived in small towns and villages.

Table 8: SYR survey sample by detailed area type, 2003

	Detailed area type	Frequency	Percent
Metropolitan/City	Suburban	377	10.6
	Township – formal	656	18.5
	Township – informal	127	3.6
	Township - outlying/peri-urban	38	1.1
	Total - Metropolitan	1198	33.8
Other urban areas	Suburban	41	1.2
	Township/formal	632	17.8
	Township/informal	172	4.9
	Total – Other urban areas	845	23.9
Rural areas	Small town/village	1 404	39.6
	Commercial farming area	82	2.3
	Subsistence farming area	12	.3
	Total – Rural areas	1498	42.3
TOTAL – ALL AREAS		3 541	100.0

1.12.2 YOUTH MIGRATION

Table 9 shows the proportion of young people according to urban-rural residence during the time of survey (2003), and at the time of their birth. The data shows a considerable migration of young people from rural areas to urban ones. The movement of young men is slightly higher than that of young women. For example, while 54 per cent of young men reported having been born in a rural area, only 39% were currently resident in a rural area.

Table 9: Urban-rural residence as a percent of young people, 2003

Urban/rural status (%)	Presently		At time of birth	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Rural	39.3	45.1	54.2	59.2
Urban	60.7	54.9	45.8	40.8

Table 10 shows the overall net migration (in-migration minus out-migration) of young people, in each province. In-migration refers to the movement of people into a province, while out-migration refers to the movement of people out of the province. The net migration rate is calculated as follows:

$$\frac{\text{Population at present} - \text{Population at birth}}{\text{Population at present}}$$

As the table illustrates, Gauteng has by far the highest net in-migration in South Africa, followed by the Western Cape. That is, more young people move into Gauteng and the Western Cape. Free State had a slight gain in young people whereas all other provinces had a loss of young people. North West province had the biggest loss compared to all other provinces. That is, proportionately more young people moved out of the North West province compared to the other eight provinces.

Table 10: Net migration of young people by province and gender, 2003

Province	Male	Female	Total
Western Cape	0.1	2.0	1.1
Eastern Cape	-0.8	-2.0	-0.6
Northern Cape	-2.0	-1.4	1.8
Free State	0.8	0.6	0.7
KwaZulu Natal	-2.3	-2.4	-2.4
North West	-2.8	-3.5	-3.2
Gauteng	6.9	5.1	6
Mpumalanga	-0.3	-0.1	0
Limpopo	-0.3	0	-0.1
Total	-0.7	-1.0	-0.3

Generally, Africa has experienced rapid post-independence urbanisation. South Africa has shown similar trends and is now, with Botswana, one of the two most urbanised countries in the region. More than half of the population of South Africa live in urban areas. In Gauteng and the Western Cape, over 90 percent of the population is urbanised. Urbanisation in South Africa is currently taking place at an unprecedented rate, with the country's cities being among the fastest growing urban centres in the world (Jenkins, 1997). Despite the widely recognised benefits of urbanisation, rapid increases in the urban population are also associated with increased pressure on employment, education, health, housing, and transport facilities, with new migrants being particularly susceptible to inadequate and overcrowded housing, and limited access to employment and health care (Chetty 1992; Meyer 1993; Seager 1993). For example, it is estimated that approximately half of all African people in urban areas live in informal housing (Dor, 1994).

Despite the high level of urbanisation in the country, the majority of the African population still live in rural areas. The SYR data indicates that young people are showing an overall movement towards urban areas, although the type of data collected cannot indicate whether such migration is temporal, circular or permanent. Posel (2003) suggests that migration patterns in South Africa, in general, have not changed and remain circular between urban and rural areas.

1.13 DESCRIPTIVE DATA

The following sections of the report deal with the major topics of the survey in a detailed way, with results of the SYR survey integrated into a review of information from previous studies. The full data tables from the SYR survey are given in Appendix C. The sections are organised in the following way. Section 2 outlines the framework and context of youth development adopted in the the report, as well as definitions of youth.

It also highlights some of the main parameters of the youth development framework. Sections 3 to 8 cover the main topics of the study – education and skills development; labour market issues and employment; poverty and inequality; health; crime and violence; and social integration. The report ends with a concluding section (Section 9) that draws together the major themes and findings in each section.

Each section of the report consists of a synthesis of information from secondary data sources as well as primary data collected through the SYR survey. Due to the length and density of the report, each section begins with a list of summary points to orient the reader to the main findings, and ends with conclusions highlighting the most important points. Despite the extent of the challenges facing young people, many have

achieved success through their own resilience as well as with the help and support of family, school, community and youth development organisations. A selection of these stories - one is included at the beginning of each chapter, kindly contributed by the Youth Development Network - are testament to the effectiveness of youth interventions for enabling young people to overcome significant obstacles and to become productive and valued members of their society.

2

PLACING YOUTH IN CONTEXT: DEFINITIONS AND THE YOUTH DEVELOPMENT FRAMEWORK

Summary points:

1. Youth Development is an integrated and positive approach that recognises the assets and strengths of young people rather than focusing only on their problems and limitations. Youth is regarded as a developmental phase in its own right with a unique contribution to make to the individual's and society's present and future.
2. In South Africa and other parts of the world a number of social and economic changes have had the effect of lengthening the period called youth. These include more time spent in education, high levels of youth unemployment, and housing shortages associated with rapid urbanisation. These factors limit the capacity of young people to establish financial and residential independence from parents and other caregivers, and delay their ability to marry and set up independent households. At the same time, young people are embarking earlier on sexual relationships, with increasing numbers of children born outside of marriage.
3. Rapidly rising educational levels among South African youth are associated not only with longer periods of time spent in education, but have also contributed to massive growth of the economically active population. This has encouraged increasing numbers of women to seek work but has had the spin-off of increasing unemployment levels.
4. Unemployment among young people is high. A little more than a third of respondents in the SYR survey have ever had a job, with two-thirds of young people never having worked before. As a result, a large proportion of youth remain financially dependent on their families.
5. The SYR survey findings are consistent with the global trend of young people entering into sexual relationships earlier. Many young women, and some young men, leave school due to early and unwanted pregnancies.
6. Young South Africans, like their international counterparts, are marrying at older ages and, overall, there appears to be a percentage decline in marriage rates among young people. These trends may facilitate women's entry into the labour market and their mobility to find work.

7. Despite these global and local trends affecting young people, youth place considerable emphasis on taking care of families and running households as necessary to their definition of the attainment of adulthood.

Dreams on the drawing board ...

After matriculating from KwaBhekilanga High School, 22 year old Phumlani Kunene was unemployed. Attracted by the 'large' lifestyles of his unemployed friends, who were driving nice cars and wearing nice clothes, Phumlani became involved in crime. After he was arrested for possession of a firearm, Phumlani began to question where he was heading with his life. He thought a lot about the choices that he had made and the consequences of those choices. Wanting something different for his life, he chose to turn things around.

Phumlani joined the Methodist Church Youth Club and participated in an outreach programme for young offenders run by the National Institute for Crime Prevention and Reintegration of Offenders (NICRO). It was during this period in his life that he came across the Joint Enrichment Project (JEP) and their Inner City Renewal Project. In order to be accepted into the project, Phumlani had to go through a rigorous selection process. It was difficult for him, as there were many other young applicants, but he kept reminding himself that this was what he wanted and he worked hard on maintaining his confidence. Through his determination and focus, Phumlani was granted a place in the project.

Phumlani was expecting another "development programme for youth" where he would sit with his peers and talk about the issues that affected them. However, he soon learned that it was much more than that. The project involved learning practical life skills and developing a sense of civic responsibility through community service. Phumlani says, "the life skills programme got me where I am today. I learnt to get my ideas across. I learnt to listen and reflect and this helps me in my job. I understand the different environments that I'm in. I never thought that listening was so important." In addition, Phumlani received training in business management, computer skills, and travel and tourism. "JEP brought out stuff that was there, but we were ignorant about in some ways," says Phumlani, who has learnt to assert himself.

It was during the computer skills training component of the project (provided in partnership with the Community Education Computer Society (CECS)), that Phumlani rediscovered his love for drawing. Since standard six, Phumlani would draw anything that he perceived could be used by people. Using Microsoft Paint during the computer training allowed Phumlani to reconnect with his childhood passion for drawing.

In September last year, after Phumlani had completed the programme at JEP, he read about the Alexandra Renewal Project. A consortium of architectural firms was recruiting young people from the community to conduct a study on the difference between formal and informal housing. Phumlani applied for a position and was employed as an information technician. This involved gathering information and capturing it in a computer database. In his spare time, Phumlani experimented with different computer programmes and familiarised himself with AutoCAD (drawing software). Again, he realised that he could use his passion for drawing in a technical and professional environment.

In January 2004, Phumlani was placed at Khetso-Moleko Architects, where today he is an architectural technologist. He has not formally studied architecture but he does the same job as the other architectural technologists. As far as Phumlani is concerned, he is not just drawing huge buildings; he is living his dream. "When I was growing up, I had a yearning to go somewhere and do stuff." With support from Khetso-Moleko Architects, Phumlani's future plans include furthering his studies in architecture at Pretoria Technicon.

Having been raised by a single parent and growing up in Alexandra, Phumlani knows the frustrations of limited resources. A

big source of inspiration for Phumlani in overcoming these challenges has been his mother. Working as a domestic worker, she has always been able to pull her family through and provide care for Phumlani and his brother and sister. Phumlani says, "she is the heart of the house; always supportive."

Phumlani says that he would also like to motivate his siblings to pursue their dreams. "To succeed, you need to have a dream, a goal, work towards something, achieve it then have another goal," remarks a confident Phumlani. He adds, "no one will do something for you; you must find a way to do it yourself. You learn through the process of doing things. Youth in Alexandra have potential, but they don't have the skills or the relevant information or the will to seek that information. They hope that maybe someone will come and give [them] a job in ten years."

Despite the challenges of township life, Phumlani sees himself as a catalyst for change. "It's difficult to make it in life when you grow up in a township. People drag you down and undermine your capabilities. They laugh at you and say, 'He thinks he is better!' You even lose a couple of friends. I feel I have a duty to change a few lives, to show them that life doesn't end here." Phumlani adds, "Everyday I want to do better than yesterday."

Source: Profile compiled by the Youth Development Network for the 'Celebrating Youth' function

2.1 GETTING TO GRIPS WITH THE CONCEPT OF YOUTH

As a socially constructed concept, the definition of youth varies from country to country depending on a variety of cultural, socio-economic and political factors. Definitions of youth also vary within specific countries, across sectors. In this regard, South Africa is no exception. According to the National Youth Commission Act of 1996, youth are defined as all people between the ages of 14 and 35 years.

While this definition has received relatively wide support, including from many of those defined as young people, it is not uncontested. For example, Everatt (2000) questions the wisdom of retaining this wide age band in the definition of youth, following the social changes in the 1990s:

"The life experiences, contexts and needs of a 14-year-old are radically different from a 35-year-old's. When we add the complications of race, gender, class, urban/rural location and others that underpin South African society, the complexity becomes impossible to contain within an already blurry concept such as 'youth'" (2000: 22-23).

The National Youth Commission acknowledges that the issues faced by young people in the 16-24 year age group are "likely to be quite different" from those in the 28-35 year age group. However, the historical, social, cultural and political context of youth in South Africa has shaped the adoption of a broad definition of youth (National Youth Commission, 2001). South African policies have also used divergent definitions of youth often with more targeted age categories to facilitate the implementation of interventions (National Youth Commission, 2001). For example, the South African Constitution and the Child Care Act define children as those between 0 and 18 years of age, while the White Paper on Social Welfare (1997) defines youth as young people between the ages of 16 and 30 years. Eighteen is also recognised as the age at which one may vote, obtain a driver's license and buy alcohol, although South Africans only attain legal majority at age of 21 years. International organisations also use varying definitions of youth. The United Nations and the World Bank, for example, define youth to include people between 15 and 24 years of age (United Nations, 1992; La Cava & Lytle, 2003).

However, a broad definition of youth, such as the age range defined by the National Youth Commission Act, is not unique to South Africa. In the Federated States of Micronesia, for example, the definition of youth includes everyone between the ages of six and 35, accounting for 70 percent of the population (Allison, 1999). As La Cava & Lytle, (2003) point out, many countries in the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) define youth as being between 16 and 30 years of age, and most youth policies in the Caribbean provide for youth between the ages of 15 and 30 years. Van Rooyen & Jarman (2001) investigated perceptions relating to the concept of youth in KwaZulu-Natal and obtained a mean age of 28 years, with 73 percent of respondents indicating an upper age limit for youth between 21 and 35 years. The mean minimum age for youth was 16.6 years.

Definitions of youth in South Africa are important for a number of reasons. Firstly, from a policy perspective, there is a need to harmonise definitions to facilitate the co-ordination of policies and programmes relating to youth. This has been acknowledged in the National Youth Policy document, the guiding framework for the Youth Commission (National Youth Commission, 1997). Mainstreaming or inter-sectoral collaboration is a key principle of government policies relating to youth development. Currently, various aspects of child and youth development are the responsibility of different government agencies at both the national and provincial levels. However, the broad definition of youth (14-35 years) overlaps with the definition of children (0-17 years).

From an analytical point of view, as required in research, it is important to understand the category of the population one is dealing with, as well as the sub-categories that might make up the population under investigation. For example, provision has been made in this project to include people between the ages of 18 and 35 years, as well as for two sub-categories of youth in the age groups, 18-24 and 25-35 years. Clearly, it is important to understand the implications that these age groupings have for the project, as well as how these relate to the age categories used in other studies. The National Youth Development Framework (National Youth Commission, 2001) also recognises the need to segment age categories within the definition of youth it adopts - between 15 and 28 years of age - to facilitate more focused interventions. The framework stipulates three sub-categories namely "15-19 with a focus on education and training, 20-24 focusing on the transition from school to work and a 25-28 age range that focuses on training and learnerships as well as self and direct employment creation".

The definition of youth adopted also has implications for some of the key issues investigated in the SYR. One of the main reasons for proposing a broad definition of youth following South Africa's transition to democracy was that the impact of *Apartheid* created greater degrees of disadvantage for some sectors of young people, hence postponing their educational, economic and social development and their integration into society (Richards, 1997: 8). The broad definition of youth adopted in the Caribbean is, as La Cava & Lytle (2003) point out, also related to the recognition of "the effects of high unemployment in delaying the transition to adulthood". The high youth unemployment rates in South Africa are an imperative to understanding the impact of unemployment on factors such as the age of marriage, the attainment of financial independence, the establishment of separate households, and the increasing phenomenon of female-headed households. In developing countries, where 80 percent of all the young people in the world live, the adjustment and integration of young people has profound consequences for social stability, economic development and environmental sustainability (La Cava & Lytle, 2003). This point has considerable salience for South Africa, where youth played a key role in the political struggle against *Apartheid*, especially from the late 1970s until well into the 1990s.

2.2 YOUTH DEVELOPMENT FRAMEWORK

The 1990s heralded the adoption of the Youth Development Framework as an integrated and positive approach towards youth development. The stigmatising problem-reduction strategy that aimed to fix singular youth problems was criticised for its disjointed and fragmented approach towards enhancing young people's lives. The focus on fixing problem behaviours limited the scope and effectiveness of programs as it failed to harness the assets and resources of young people that, in combination with a supportive environment, provide a platform for young people to cope with the multiple challenges that they face. Furthermore, the important role that youth have played in shaping the course of history at both a global and local level offers credence to the argument that "youth" is not merely a transitional phase fraught with instability and "lacking completeness, competence, maturity or adequacy" (Freedman, 1998 cited by McGrath, 2001: 485). Rather young people should be viewed as "active social and cultural actors in their own right" (McGrath (2001: 485) with a unique contribution to make to the present and to the future. *Youth Development* as a comprehensive strategy, has been defined as "... the ongoing growth process in which all youth are engaged in attempting to (1) meet their basic personal and social needs to be safe, feel cared for, be valued, be useful, and be spiritually grounded, and (2) to build skills and competencies that allow them to function and contribute in their daily lives." (Pittman *et al.*, 1993)

Youth development is premised on several principles:

Young people develop holistically

A growing body of research points towards the co-occurrence of adaptive and problem behaviours among young people, including achievement, adjustment and competency, on the one hand, and substance abuse, delinquency, violence, teenage pregnancy and school dropout, on the other. Research also demonstrates that similar risk and protective factors underpin both positive and negative youth outcomes. The *Youth Development* movement's fundamental assumption, and one that is receiving increased corroboration both from the study of human behaviour and program evaluations, is that enduring, positive results in young people's lives, are most effectively achieved by tending to young people's basic needs for guidance, support and involvement. A holistic and integrated approach responds to the need of young people for a wide array of skills at emotional, physical, spiritual, social and economic levels to achieve positive human development. The focus on developing social and psychological capacities of young people is especially pertinent in the South African setting. The complexity of historical disadvantages have sapped the emotional resources of families and communities caught in the daily struggle for survival, to build a sense of self-worth and self-confidence in young people that is central to the drive and ability to succeed in other aspects of their lives. For this reason, policies and programmes that adopt this holistic approach are likely to enjoy greater success.

Youth diversity and need for redress

Young people are not a homogenous group. They have different historical, cultural, language and socio-economic origins and they live in varying contemporary circumstances. Their needs and aspirations also vary and tend to cluster according to a range of youth sub-cultures and interests. Due consideration needs to be given to a continuum of youth needs, with appreciation and acknowledgement that the legacy of *Apartheid* and its repressive policies have created greater disadvantage and vulnerability among women, rural and young Black people (National Youth Commission, 2001). The living conditions of young people,

their training and skills set, as well as their ability to enter the labour market also create diversity. In the same vein, in the interest of national development and bridging the divide between privileged and under-privileged youth, the concept of *Youth Development* must engender and promote greater political and civic engagement among all sectors of youth.

Contextual challenges such as grinding poverty and the extent of the HIV/AIDS epidemic have also diversified the traditional roles and responsibilities of children and youth. The HIV/AIDS pandemic has focused our attention on young people as agents and decision-makers. As parents and other caregivers increasingly succumb to illness, incapacitation and death, young people have had to take on care giving and decision-making roles within households, and to provide for themselves and their families. Within impoverished contexts, young people also play important roles in supplementing household income by taking on jobs and assisting in agricultural and household tasks.

Various other trends and developments, particularly in developing countries, have challenged traditional conceptions of youth as passive beneficiaries dependent on adults. Large numbers of street children who live independently of adults and the enrolment of young people in violence and warfare² have raised important questions about our notions of childhood. Similarly, the continuing and ubiquitous reality of child labour, particularly in developing countries, has focused our attention on the productive role of children in the world economy, including the dimensions of it that are cruel and exploitative. According to a recent survey of the International Labour Office (ILO, 2002), some 246 million children are engaged in child labour throughout the world. Of these, 179 million are exposed to “the worst forms of child labour which endangers the child’s physical, mental and moral well-being”².

Life-cycle approach

Positive human development is a life-long process with early childhood development forming the bedrock for positive youth development. *Youth Development*, as an approach, aims to build participation by young people, beginning in families and extending through schools and communities to civic, political and economic engagement. Each developmental stage brings forth particular needs for support. For example, many older youth are parents themselves with responsibilities for childcare, in addition to meeting their own needs. Positive youth development eases the transition into adulthood by developing the building blocks necessary to assume responsibilities of adulthood. However, the nature and the markers of transition into adulthood have changed since the seminal work in this area was completed in the 1970s and 1980s, when the conditions of youth were very different from what they are now. For example, both globally and in the South African context, the time that young people spend in education and training has progressively increased, delaying their entry into the labour market and increasing their financial dependence on families. Furthermore, high levels of unemployment among youth, and a long waiting period between completing education and finding employment have contributed further delays in the transition to adulthood, especially among young people who drop out of school at a young age. Young people are also embarking on sexual relationships at younger ages and postponing marriage, thus lengthening the period between puberty and marriage. While contemporary young people place a great deal of emphasis on autonomy and independence, this produces a mismatch between their expectations and the reality of their experiences as they move into adulthood (Morrow & Richards, 1996).

² According to UNICEF (2001: 11) at any given time 300 000 children are being used as soldiers around the globe.

There have been few studies that have systematically examined transitions to adulthood in South Africa and, in particular, the “links among school, work and reproductive behaviour” (Rutenberg *et al.* (2001:2); Biddecom and Bakilana (2003:4)). These changes in transitions prompt a re-examination of our concepts of youth and of adulthood. More specifically, in South Africa and other developing countries, we need to examine how conceptions of youth and adulthood are influenced by different cultural orientations and by delays in employment, economic and residential independence, marriage and parenthood, among others. In South Africa, the threat of HIV/AIDS has been especially important in drawing attention to young people, and *Transitions*, the large, multi-organisation longitudinal study in KwaZulu-Natal, is specifically concerned with the move to adulthood in the context of HIV/AIDS.

Youth development as part of community development

Youth development is situated ecologically, and flourishes within a context of safe, nurturing and supportive environments created by families, peers, and other adults in settings such as the home, community, education, recreational activities and places of work. The reciprocal and mutually shaping relationships between young people and their families, schools and communities requires equal if not greater investment in these environments to offer the supportive and protective shield that will promote positive youth development. However, before families and communities in the South African context can fulfil roles of nurturers and protectors, considerable resources need to be invested in untangling the web of instability and disintegration created by unemployment, poverty, crime and violence and the migrant labour system. Youth development must therefore be viewed within a context of broader community and national development. Concepts and approaches, such as *Youth Civic Development*, which attempts to build the civic skills and involvement of youth (Flanagan & Faison, 2001), and *Community Youth Development*, which “focuses on creating supportive communities for young people and empowering youth to actively engage in their own development while contributing to the larger community” (US Department of Health and Human Services, 1996) therefore find resonance in the South African setting. Such approaches place considerable emphasis on “reconnecting youth and community” and “rebuilding communities”. The South African National Youth Development Framework (2001) gives recognition to the extent of discord created within and between families when young people took the lead to challenge the *Apartheid* regime. This period drew young people into a world that few parents could relate to or were aware of. The dissonance created separated young people from their families, and now requires systematic rebuilding.

Youth participation and inclusivity.

The involvement, engagement and active participation of youth are key to youth development. A *Youth Development* approach provides support and opportunities to help youth meet their needs and learn appropriate skills with the help of caring adults within facilitative structures and services. The voices of young people have not been silent in bringing about social and political change both at a global and local level, often at high costs to themselves through lost educational and employment opportunities. However, mechanisms and resources to involve youth in a meaningful way in decision making processes as part of the youth empowerment strategy remain a challenge. It is both a right of young people, as well as in their interest, to ensure them an adequate standard of living and protection from economic, sexual, emotional, and physical harm or exploitation. In fact, national productivity and security hinges on developing the full

potential of young people and engaging them not only as beneficiaries, but also as participants and problem-solvers (Pittman & Flemming, 1991).

Even at the end of the *Apartheid* era, after decades of oppression and violence, young people continue to be hopeful about the future. On the whole, young people in South Africa are positive about the future and their future role in society. Many young people say that they want jobs so that they can contribute to their families and communities. Despite the harsh social conditions in which many young people continue to live, the majority place a high value on self-development, on family and kinship, on community development, and on a peaceful and just society (van Zyl Slabbert *et al.*, 1994). It has been argued that the security of having basic rights, and having them fulfilled, gives young people the confidence to participate more fully in civic and economic affairs (Golembek, 2002). The creation of youth structures such as the National Youth Commission, the Umsobomvu Youth Fund and the South African Youth Council have afforded young people the legislative platform and the voice to shape transformation in the country and to ensure that youth development issues are given national priority and mainstreamed across government programmes.

A sustainable response that is transparent and accessible

While South Africa is increasingly a global player, the historical context still requires reflection to determine the unique needs of young people. A critical component of the context is the need for concerted efforts to redress the imbalances of the past. The limited resources and capacity available in the country for youth development amidst multiple pressing priorities requires that youth development is mainstreamed across all sectors of government and civil society. Furthermore, a vision of sustainable development requires that efforts to meet the current needs of young people are implemented in a manner that does not jeopardise the prospects of future generations. The South African context also demands that youth development programmes adopt open processes that are easily accessible to young men and women.

In the following sections we provide an introduction and overview of some of the main parameters impacting on positive youth development, including education, labour market participation, financial and residential independence, marital status, pregnancy, and perceptions of the meaning of adulthood.

2.2.1 EDUCATION

A detailed discussion of education is given in Section 3 of the report. In this section, a broad-brush-stroke of developments in education is given that are relevant to youth development.

Table 11 shows the percentages of educational levels by age group based on 1996 Census data. There is a clear and consistent trend showing that younger people have higher levels of education than older age groups. This also implies that younger people have spent longer periods in educational institutions than earlier generations. Studies of schooling show high current levels of enrolment for all population groups, but with relatively large differences in the average length of time different groups remain in school. In general, African learners leave school later than other groups because of later starting ages, interruptions in schooling, and repetition of grades (Biddecom & Bakilana, 2003:7).

Table 11: Percentage of educational level by age group in South Africa (1996 Census)

Level of education	18-30 years	31-40 years	41-50 years	51-60 years	61+ years
No schooling	7.3	14.8	22.9	32.5	47.2
Grades 0-7	19.7	27.8	29.4	26.2	20.1
Grades 8-12	67.2	48.4	40.1	35.1	28.2
Post-matric	5.8	9.0	7.6	6.2	4.5
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Calculated from the 1996 Census 10% Public Use Data Set

Since the 1970s there has been a dramatic expansion of education in South Africa distinguished, in particular, by extraordinary increases in the enrolment of Africans. For example, between 1975 and 1994 African public school enrolments grew by 154 percent (Perry & Arends, 2003: 305). These increases have continued into the post-Apartheid era with the percentages of youth (aged 20 to 34 years) with matriculation increasing from 23.6 percent in 1996 to 29.7 percent in 2001 (Oranje, 2003:6). Similar changes have also taken place in participation rates in higher education as well as further education and training (FET). For example, higher education enrolments among Africans increased fourfold from 97 485 (29% of total enrolments) in 1988 to 368 289 (60% of total enrolments) in 2000 (Subotzky, 2003: 364).

As we shall see, these changes have had major implications for the growth of the economically active population and therefore for employment and unemployment rates among young people. A further issue relates to the potential impact that changes in educational levels between the generations have had on gender relationships and, in particular, on women's involvement in the labour market. Table 12 below shows the secondary and tertiary education levels of men and women in the different age groups in 1999. The data show that, for the older generations, men had a consistent advantage in educational levels over women, but that this gap has closed for the youngest (18-30 years) age group. In relation to tertiary qualifications, for example, males 61 years and older produced nearly twice as many graduates as females. However, this gender gap has closed among 18 to 30 year olds, with women having a slightly higher percentage of graduates than men. These changes need to be seen within the context of the enormous growth in educational levels for both men and women. Massive gains in educational levels have been achieved for both young women, and for young men. Among women, for example, nearly three times as many women in the 18 to 30 years age group have grade 8 to 12 qualifications as women older than 60 years.

Table 12: Percentage of respondents with secondary and tertiary education by age group and gender in South Africa (1999 OHS)

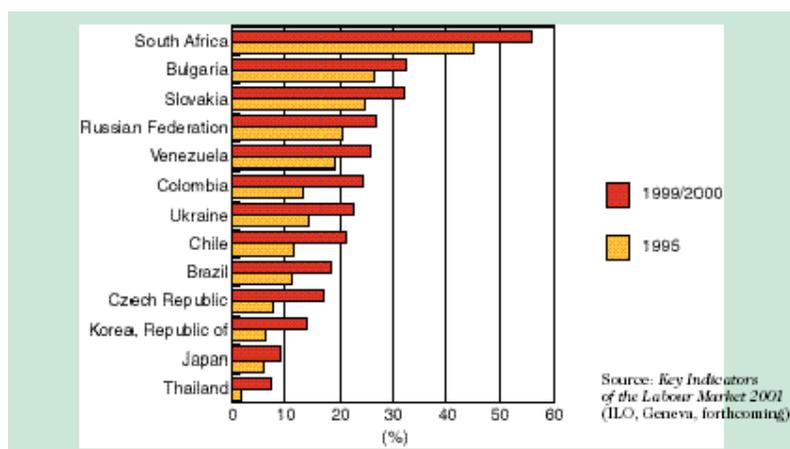
	Grades 8-12		Tertiary education	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
18-30	69.4	71.7	7.9	8.4
31-40	53.0	50.6	13.1	11.8
41-50	40.5	39.4	12.1	9.6
51-60	37.3	32.2	10.1	7.5
61+	28.7	26.3	8.1	4.7

Source: Calculated from the 1999 October Household Survey Data Set

2.2.2 LABOUR MARKET PARTICIPATION

Detailed analyses of labour market trends are presented in Section 4 of this report. These analyses show high rates of unemployment for youth that compare unfavourably with other developing countries in Africa, South America and Asia. Unemployment in South Africa has been steadily growing since the early 1970s. This has been part of a global trend, and according to ILO estimates (International Labour Office, 2001: 3), youth unemployment rose by eight million across the globe between 1995 and 1999. As Figure 1 illustrates, countries in various parts of the world have been affected, with South African rates being particularly high.³

Figure 1: Increases in youth unemployment rates for selected countries, 1995-1999/2000



Source: International Labour Office, 2001: 3

Young people between 15 and 30 years of age make up more than half (56%) of those who are unemployed. The data also demonstrates long waiting periods before most young South Africans find employment. The inequalities in the distribution of employment by race, gender and urban-rural location, increases the vulnerability of certain segments of the youth to chronic joblessness. Participation rates in employment also suggest that a proportion of young people may be discouraged from looking for work.

Using data from the 2002 Labour Force Survey, Table 13 shows the relative percentages of males and females in the different age groups who have ever worked. While slightly more females than males in the 18-25 years age group have had work experience, smaller proportions of women have worked in all the other age groups. The slightly higher percentage of women in the 18-24 year age group who have worked may be an outcome of the application of equity policies in the workplace, particularly as men have higher rates of employment in the other age groups. It may also be related to a general trend of young women leaving school earlier than young men (see Chapter 3). However, for both males and females, percentages of those who have ever worked exceed 50 percent only among the 36-44 year age group. The implication is that more than half of young people 35 years and younger have never worked in their lifetime.

³ However, in making comparisons between the youth unemployment rates of the different countries, it needs to be borne in mind that differences in the measurement of unemployment may exist between countries.

Table 13: Percentages of all members of households who have ever been employed by age and gender

Age group (years)	Male	Female
18-24	9.5	10.4
25-35	41.5	37.2
36-44	72.2	58.8
45-60	81.9	58.5

Source: Calculated from the February 2002 Labour Force Survey

These trends are confirmed by the SYR survey data, which show that one third of the sample of younger people had ever had a job. While 20 percent of the 18-24 years age group had ever had a job, half of the 25-35 cohort reported that they had ever had a job (see Table 99 in Chapter 4). Chapter 4 is devoted to a detailed discussion of youth participation in the labour market.

2.2.3 EDUCATION AND WORK

The relationship between the completion of education and first work experience is an important step in youth development and the transition into adulthood. Table 14 presents data from the KwaZulu-Natal *Transitions* sample. As might be expected, 92 percent of respondents in the 14-15 year old age group and 70 percent of the 16-19 year old group were in school and hence not working. For the 20-22 year age group, 37 percent were in school and not working with a further six percent both in school and working. Thirteen percent were not in school but working and 45 percent were neither in school nor working. A fifth of the 16-19 years age group were also out of school and out of work. More females than males fell into the “out of school and out of work group”, and Africans (both urban and rural) and Coloureds had the largest proportion of respondents in this category. These data are indicative of both gender and racial differences in the transition from school to work, an issue which will be explored in some detail later in this report.

Table 14: Current schooling and work experience for youth 14-22 years of age in KwaZulu-Natal (n=3 097)

	Currently in school and not working %	Currently in school and working %	Currently working and not in school %	Currently not in school or working %
Male	70	7	7	17
Female	65	3	4	27
African rural	68	4	5	24
African urban	69	2	4	25
White	48	36	10	6
Coloured	66	12	2	20
Asian	71	4	10	15
Age 14 – 15	92	3	<1	5
Age 16 – 19	70	5	4	20
Age 20 – 22	37	6	13	45
TOTAL	67	5	5	22

Source: Rutenberg *et al.*, 2001:52

In trying to understand the transition from school to work, the reasons for leaving school, particularly when learners leave before completing their education, are of considerable importance. In the KwaZulu-Natal *Transitions* study, respondents who left school without matriculating were asked what the main reason was

for their truncated schooling. Their answers are presented in Table 15. For males, the most important reasons cited were the inability to pay school fees (31%) and the need to work (22%), while for females 39 percent cited pregnancy or having a baby and a further 30 percent said they were unable to pay school fees. Clearly financial difficulties played a major role in the interruption of schooling for both males and females, while pregnancy was an additional and significant factor for young women.

Table 15: Most important reasons for leaving school before matriculating (n=622)

Reason for leaving school	Male %	Female %
Could not pay school fees	31	30
Pregnant/had a baby	3	39
Needed to work	22	2
Sick	8	5
No interest	8	6

Source: Rutenberg *et al.*, 2001:56

2.2.4 MARITAL STATUS

Using LFS data for 2002, Table 16 below shows the marital status of the different population groups by age. By age 24 years very few young people have married, with lower percentages reported among African people. For the 25-29 years age group, a quarter of Africans were married as compared to 63 percent of Whites and 54 percent of Indians. While marriage rates of Coloureds are higher than those of Africans, the percentage of those married (42.5%) is still less than half. For the 30-34 year age group, the rate of marriage among Africans (44.2%) is below half of this age complement, and only exceeds half in the 35-39 year cohort. Even in the older age groups, the marriage rates of Africans are significantly lower than those of other groups, particularly those of Whites and Indians. For all the population groups, the highest rates of marriage are among the 40-44 year age group. However, even in this group only 62.5 percent of Africans were married in contrast with 72.1 percent of Coloureds, 84.4 percent of Whites, and 85.4 percent of Indians. The data indicates that, in general, marriage patterns differ for the four population groups, with African people and (to a lesser extent) Coloured people marrying at a lower rate and later in life than White and Indian people.

Table 16: Marital status by population group

Marital status	Population group	Age group (years)					
		18-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45+
Married	African	7.4	25.1	44.2	57.3	62.5	55.4
	Coloured	11.6	42.5	58.7	69.5	72.1	62.9
	Indian	14.6	53.9	76.3	76.7	85.4	73.1
	White	14.7	63.3	78.0	83.3	84.4	76.5
Widow/Widower	African	.1	.5	1.4	3.0	4.9	24.9
	Coloured	.2	.2	1.7	1.9	3.7	19.7
	Indian	0	.5	.5	4.0	3.5	16.2
	White	.1	.3	.9	.9	1.2	13.9

Divorced/Separated	African	.2	.8	2.1	3.8	7.0	6.1
	Coloured	.3	.2	3.7	6.1	7.7	5.5
	Indian	.3	.5	3.0	7.4	5.3	4.0
	White	.2	.3	.9	6.8	8.2	5.8
Never married	African	92.2	73.6	52.3	35.9	25.6	13.6
	Coloured	87.9	55.7	35.9	22.4	16.6	11.9
	Indian	85.2	44.7	20.0	11.9	5.8	6.7
	White	85.0	34.2	17.3	9.1	5.9	3.7

Source: Calculated from the February 2002 Labour Force Survey

Marital patterns also differ by gender, with women marrying at younger ages than men, partly as a result of women marrying older men (see Table 17). For the 18-24 years age group, 12 percent of women were married, as against only four percent of men. Similarly, for the 25-35 years category, 45 percent of women were married in comparison with 36 percent of men. However, for the older age groups more men than women were married, with 78.5 percent of men and 57.4 percent of women married in the 45-60 years age groups. Lower rates of marriage among women in the older age groups may be related to a number of factors, including higher rates of widowhood at older ages, and to the freedom older men have, by virtue of their higher rates of employment, to marry women younger than themselves.

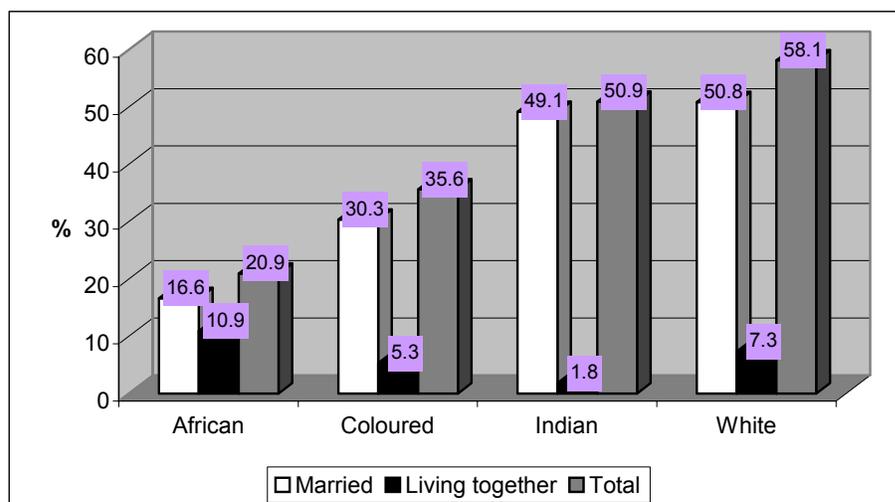
Table 17: Marital status by gender

Marital Status	Gender	Age group (%)			
		18-24	25-35	36-44	45-60
Married	Male	4.4	36.3	68.8	78.5
	Female	12.2	45.2	61.2	57.4
Widow/Widower	Male	.1	.4	1.1	3.6
	Female	.2	1.5	5.8	18.0
Divorced/Separated	Male	.1	1.2	4.7	5.7
	Female	.3	2.2	7.3	8.7
Never married	Male	95.4	62.1	25.4	12.2
	Female	87.3	51.1	25.7	15.8

Source: Calculated from the February 2002 LFS

It is, of course, necessary to bear in mind that there are different forms of marriage (for example, customary marriages), as well as alternative living together arrangements that may displace or supplement more conventional forms of marriage. The results of the SYR survey with respect to cohabitation, as depicted in Figure 2, show that while Indian and Coloured respondents had lower rates of cohabitation than African and White respondents, these differences are relatively small and do not account for the variations in marital rates amongst the groups. It is also unlikely that customary marriages were excluded from the total count of marriages.

Figure 2: Percentages of respondents married and living together by population group, 2003



Using data from household surveys between 1993 and 1999, Posel and Casale (2003: 9) showed a progressive decline in rates of marriage for African women in the 1990s. Table 18 shows this decline in marriage rates from 34.6 percent in 1993 to 30.2 percent in 1999. The percentages of African women who were never married showed a similar trend, with the percentages of women in this category increasing from 38.4 percent in 1993 to 51.5 percent in 1999. The Posel and Casale data also show a progressive increase in the percentages of African women who were 'living together' with partners rather than married and this, to some extent, compensates for the decline in the marriage rate.

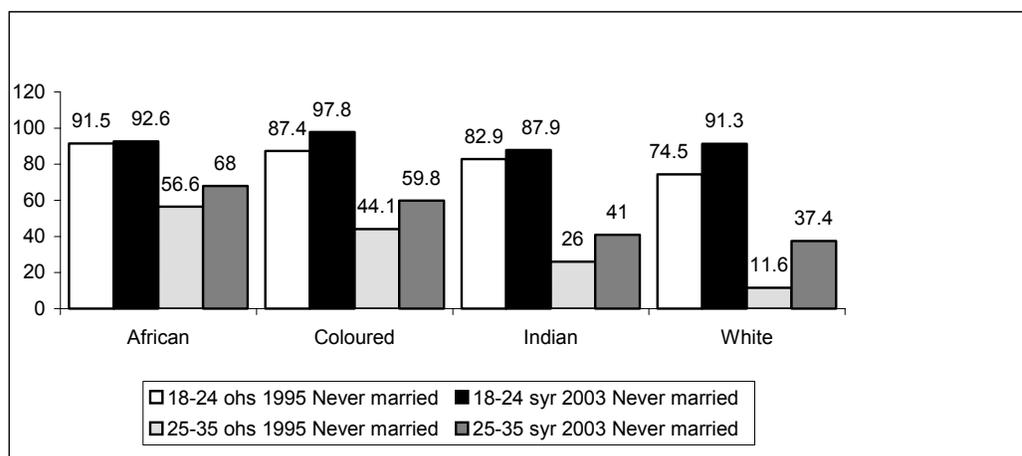
Table 18: Marital rates among African women, 15 years and older (percentages)

Marital status	1993	1995	1997	1999
Married	34.6	34.4	31.2	30.2
Absent spouse/ divorced/separated	13.4	3.0	3.1	3.4
Never married/not married	38.4	49.7	50.6	51.5
Widowed	13.6	9.0	10.4	9.3
Living together	Not identified	3.9	4.7	5.7
TOTAL	100	100	100	100

Source: Posel & Casale, 2003: 9

The trend of declining marriage rates among young people is depicted clearly in Figure 3, which compares the percentages of respondents from the population groups who have never been married using data from the 1995 OHS and the 2003 SYR survey. The data show increases in the percentages of persons who have never married for all the population groups, although the changes in marital rates of White people appear to be most marked.

Figure 3: Percentages of young people who have never married by population group, 1995 and 2003



Source: 1995 OHS and SYR survey 2003

In tandem with these shifts in marital status, there have also been significant increases in the economically active population between 1993 and 1999, with the increase in female labour force participation being nearly twice that of males (see Figure 5 in Chapter 4). These trends have been accompanied by a shift in the gender composition of labour migration, with more women resorting to migrant labour. As Table 19 shows, the proportion of women migrant workers increased from 29.7 percent of the migrant labour force in 1993 to 33.7 percent in 1999.

Table 19: African migrant workers 15 years and older by gender (percentages)

Percentage of migrant workers who were:	1993	1997	1999
Female	29.7	32.4	33.7
Male	70.4	67.6	66.3
Total	100	100	100

Source: Posel & Casale, 2003: 5

Posel and Casale (2003: 6) argue that the increase in female labour migration does not seem to be primarily a product of larger numbers of young women entering the labour market immediately after completion of their education, because most female migrants were in the 25 to 44 years age categories and the highest growth rates between 1993 and 1999 were in the 35 to 44 years group (see Table 20). Instead, they point to changes in household composition and women's marital status as potential explanations for increases in female labour migration. In particular, Posel and Casale focus on declining marital rates among women and the related trend that, in the 1990s, women were less likely to be living with men who were employed, primarily because of high rates of unemployment among men. The authors argue that lower marital rates encourage labour migration among women, not only because of the need for alternative sources of income, but also because women have greater freedom to search for work in areas beyond the household. Increases in skills levels among women as a result of advances in education, as well as a narrowing of the gap in educational achievement between men and women, are also likely to play a role in the labour migration trends of African women.

Table 20: Proportion of African migrant workers by age and gender (percentages)

% in age cohort	1993		1999	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
15-19	1.5	2.8	0.9	1.2
20-24	10.7	12.8	9.5	11.9
25-35	37.2	44.1	35.3	36.2
35-44	24.7	24.6	26.1	28.1
45-54	17.4	11.8	16.9	14.6
56-64	6.8	3.7	7.0	4.4
65+	1.9	0.2	4.3	3.6
Total	100	100	100	100

Source: Posel & Casale, 2003: 5.

2.2.5 SEXUAL BEHAVIOUR

There is comparatively more data on the sexual behaviour of young people in South Africa than on topics such as education, work and financial independence. For example, using data for 15-49 year old women from the 1998 South Africa Demographic and Health Survey (SADHS), Biddecom & Bakilana (2003: 4) calculated a median age at first sexual intercourse of 18 years for all women. Their analysis showed marked differences for first sexual intercourse among different groups, with African women reporting sex at a younger age, followed by Coloured women and then White women. By 20 years of age, 83 percent of African women, 65 percent of Coloured women and 47 percent of White women had experienced sexual intercourse. Analyses of the Nelson Mandela/HSRC Study of HIV/AIDS produced a median age at first sex of 18 years of age for respondents 25 years and older. However, the data also showed that persons in younger age groups were more likely to have had sex at earlier ages than those in older age groups. For example, the median age of first sex for 25-34 year age group was 17, while for the 25-44 year group it was 18 years (Shisana & Simbayi, 2002: 69). This finding is consistent with global trends that show that young people are embarking on sexual relationships at earlier ages.

In the Status of the Youth survey, the median age at sexual debut or first sex was 16 years for males and 17 years for females between 18 and 24 years. The median age of first sex among respondents 25 to 35 years across gender groups was 18 years, which is in line with trends in previous surveys. Table 21 also reflects a trend towards earlier sexual debut by race, with African youth having the youngest median age of sexual debut at 16 years followed by White and Coloured youth at 17 years and Indian youth at 19 years in the 18 to 24 year age cohort. Among 25 to 35 year olds, however, the median age of first sex is 18 years for African and White respondents and 19 years for Coloureds and Indian respondents respectively.

Table 21: Median age of sexual debut by gender and race, 2003

Race	Gender	Age group	
		18-24	25-35
	Male	16	18
	Female	17	18
African		16	18
Coloured		17	19
Indian		19	19
White		17	18

Using data from the Cape Area Panel Study, Biddecom & Bikilana (2003:8) found that by age 17 years, 56 percent of African males and 41 percent of African females had had sex, in contrast with 27 percent of males and less than 20 percent of females from the other population groups. While African males generally initiate sex earlier than African females, by age 20 years more African women have had sex than African men. Jewkes *et al.* (2001, cited by Biddecom & Bikilana 2003: 6) demonstrated that, in Cape Town, early pregnancy was associated with having older, out-of-school partners, having been forced to have a sexual debut, and being physically beaten by partners. A broad range of other studies have also shown associations between early sexual experience and physical abuse and sexual coercion in relationships, as well as trends of young women entering into relationships with older men or 'sugar daddies' (Eaton *et al.*, 2003; MacPhail & Campbell, 2001; Jewkes *et al.*, 2003; Leclerc-Madlala, 2002; Ackermann & De Klerk, 2002; Swart *et al.*, 2002).

Using a sample of young people between the ages of 14 and 22 years in KwaZulu-Natal, Rutenberg *et al.* (2001:37-8) found similar patterns of sexual behaviour to those described above, with half of all respondents reporting having had sex, and a fifth of respondents 16 years and older reporting having had their first experience of sex before 16 years of age. In common with the Cape Town panel study and the SADHS data, males initiated sex earlier than females and Africans had sex at younger ages than other groups (see Table 22).

Table 22: Experience with sexual intercourse among KwaZulu-Natal youth, 14-22 years of age

	Ever had sexual intercourse (n = 3,094) %	Older than 16 who had sex by age (n=2,335) %
Male	52	29
Female	47	14
African rural	52	36
African urban	57	26
Coloured	29	14
Asian	23	7
White	35	10
Age 14 – 15	10	--
Age 16 – 19	51	22
Age 20 – 22	85	18
TOTAL	49	21

Source: Rutenberg *et al.*, 2001:38

2.2.6 PREGNANCY

While South Africa's total fertility rate is relatively low compared to other African countries, South Africa has high levels of fertility among adolescent females. There are also stark differences in early childbearing by population group, with adolescent pregnancy and childbearing about nine times higher for African and Coloured women 15-19 years old than for White women in the same age group. By age 18 years, one in five women in the population had given birth to a child, and by age 20 years more than 40 percent had become mothers. The trajectories in motherhood start to take off at about 16 years of age and, by age 20 years, 45 percent of African women have become mothers as compared to only 15 percent of White women (Biddecom & Bikilana 2003: 5). Moreover, for most young mothers, childbearing occurs outside of marriage. The 1998 SADHS, for example, showed that only three percent of all 15-19 year old year old females were married or living with a partner (Biddecom & Bikilana 2003: 6).

Rutenberg *et al* (2001) found very similar patterns of pregnancy, with nearly a quarter of all females in their sample and 52 percent of those who were sexually active reporting having been pregnant. For the whole

sample in this study, 22 percent of girls reported having given birth. In relation to both pregnancies and births, African females had higher rates than the other groups. Percentages of pregnancies and births by population group, age and gender are set out in Table 23 below. The relatively low rates of males reporting having made girls pregnant or fathered a child are attributed by Rutenberg *et al.* (2001:48) to underreporting by males due to unawareness or denial, but also because some of the girls' sexual partners may have been older and were therefore not part of the sample.

Table 23: Percentage of pregnancy and birth among KwaZulu-Natal youth, 14-22 years of age (n=3 097)

	Ever been pregnant/made a girl pregnant		Gave birth or fathered a child	
	Female %	Male %	Female %	Male %
African rural	30	9	23	8
African urban	27	5	26	5
Coloured	10	9	10	0
Asian	7	2	5	0
White	2	1	2	0

Source: Rutenberg *et al.*, 2001:49

The data also shows that for African females (the numbers of pregnancies for the other population groups were too small to allow for meaningful analysis); the majority of pregnancies were unwanted. Sixty-nine percent of rural women and 74 percent of urban women said that their pregnancies were unwanted, while all respondents in the 14-15 years age group, 71 percent of the 16-19 age group and 72 percent of the 20-22 age group reported unwanted pregnancies.

Table 24 shows the percentages of both males and females who were in school when they first became pregnant or made a girl pregnant, and who left school as a result of a pregnancy. The table shows that, among African women, 75 percent of rural girls and 83 percent of urban girls in the *Transitions* sample were in school when they had their first pregnancy. Of those who were at school, 73 percent of rural girls and 75 percent of urban girls said they left school because of pregnancy. Of the males who reported making someone pregnant, 39 percent of rural African males and 60 percent of urban African males were still in school. In spite of the very small number of males involved, it is noteworthy that 64 percent of rural males and 48 percent of urban males said they left school on account of making someone pregnant. Unplanned or unwanted pregnancy may therefore be a major determinant of delayed or incomplete education among both women and men, with important implications for positive youth development.

Table 24: Percentages pregnancy/making someone pregnant and leaving school due to pregnancy among KwaZulu-Natal youth, 14-22 years of age

	Was in school when first pregnant/made girl pregnant		Ever left school due to pregnancy	
	Male (n=73) %	Female (n=411) %	Male (n=35) %	Female (n=326) %
African rural	39	75	64	73

African urban	60	83	48	77
Coloured	--	--	--	--
Asian	--	47	--	--
White	--	--	--	--
Age 14 – 15	--	--	--	--
Age 16 – 19	52	85	36	78
Age 20 – 22	48	73	58	69
TOTAL	49	79	54	75

Source: Rutenberg *et al.*, 2001:56

In the SYR survey, 32 percent of all respondents had been pregnant or had made someone pregnant. Table 25 presents the pregnancy data according to race, gender and age. African youth had the highest rate of pregnancy followed by Coloured, White and then Indian youth. Just over a quarter of African female respondents aged 18 to 24 years of age in the SYR survey had fallen pregnant.

Table 25: Ever fallen pregnant/made someone pregnant by gender, race and age, 2003

Race	Gender	Age group	
		18-24	25-35
African	Male	11.7	43.3
	Female	26.2	64.4
Coloured	Male	10.1	50.0
	Female	15.1	48.5
Indian	Male	0.00	40.6
	Female	2.6	56.5
White	Male	9.8	71.2
	Female	3.8	49.1

Of those who have been pregnant, 70 percent say the pregnancy was unplanned, a similar proportion to that found in previous surveys. Table 26 shows the number of respondents for whom pregnancies were unplanned by population group, gender and age. African youth had the highest rate of unplanned pregnancies in the 18 to 24 year cohort. Table 27 shows that Coloured young people (16.33%) have the lowest median age for first pregnancy followed by Indian (18%), Whites(19.25) and Africans (19.54) young people aged 18 to 24 years. Median age of first pregnancy is higher for 25 to 35 year olds. Coloured young people continue to have the lowest median age of pregnancy (21.62%).

Table 26: Unplanned pregnancy by gender, race and age, 2003

Race	Gender	Age group %	
		18-24	25-35
African	Female	18.1	26.2

Coloured	Female	14.3	34.4
Indians	Female	0.00	76.9
White	Female	0.00	34.6

Table 27: Median age at first pregnancy by race and age, 2003

Race	Age group %	
	18-24	25-35
African	19.54	23.82
Coloured	16.33	21.62
Indian	18.00	23.19
White	19.25	22.19

Thirty percent of all respondents in the SYR survey have had children (see Table 28). African youth in the 18 to 24 year age cohort comprise the highest group of respondents who have had children, followed by Coloured youth. In the 25 to 35 year age cohort, there was no substantial difference among population groups and around half of all respondents had had a child in this age group

Table 28: Proportion of respondents who have had children by gender, race and age, 2003

Race	Gender	Age group	
		18-24	25-35
African	Male	9.5	42.9
	Female	23.8	60.3
Coloured	Male	6.7	48.5
	Female	18.3	48.5
Indian	Male	100.0	53.1
	Female	100.0	56.5
White	Male	3.7	68.5
	Female	3.8	48.1

2.2.7 FINANCIAL AND RESIDENTIAL INDEPENDENCE

Against the background of the small numbers of respondents who had ever worked, only about a third of the SYR sample (36.3%) were financially self-supporting. The majority of the respondents were also residentially dependent upon parents and other relatives. As Table 29 shows, 58.5 percent of the respondents lived with their parents or grandparents and a further 6.2 percent with other relatives. Of those who may have been residentially independent, 15 percent lived with a spouse or partner, 11.6 percent lived alone, 6.4 percent with their children, and 2.1 percent with people to whom they were not related.

Table 29: People with whom respondents were living, 2003

Person respondent currently lived with	N	%
Parents	1798	50.8
Grandparents	274	7.7
Spouse/partner	536	15.1
Children	227	6.4
Other relatives	219	6.2
Non-relatives	75	2.1
Alone	412	11.6
Total	3541	100

Significant variations in financial dependency were observed among the different social categories of youth. For example, about a third of African and Coloured respondents reported that they were financially self-supporting as against more than half of Indian and White respondents, which could be due to the greater need of their families, as well as the possibility that more White and Indian youth were continuing their education. A slightly higher percentage of males reported being self-supporting than females, and more than half of respondents in the 25-35 years age group said they were self-supporting in contrast with only 21 percent of 18-24 year olds. Respondents in the metropolitan and urban areas were also more likely to be self-supporting than those in rural areas because of increased opportunities for economic activity.

2.2.8 PERCEPTIONS OF THE MEANING OF ADULTHOOD

Table 30 presents data relating to respondents' perceptions of the characteristics that have to be achieved before an individual can be considered an adult. The various characteristics and their associated responses have been arranged in descending order according to the percentages of respondents that felt that these characteristics were necessary for attaining adulthood. The first four characteristics (all of which were supported by 70% or more of the respondents) revolve around caring for families and running households. Fulfilling these roles is significantly challenged by the difficulties young people experience in finding employment and achieving financial independence. The next four characteristics may also be grouped together in that they involve more abstract and individualistic principles associated with adulthood. These in turn are followed by two characteristics that describe financial and residential independence from parents or caregivers, and two further characteristics relating to having a full-time job and completing one's education. With the exception of 'reaching a specific age' (which was considered necessary by just over half of the sample), the remaining five characteristics were selected by 40 percent or fewer respondents.

Table 30: Respondents' perceptions of the characteristics necessary to attaining adulthood, 2003

Characteristics	Respondents believing characteristic is necessary for adulthood	
	n	Percentage
1. Capable of supporting one's family	2 575	72.7
2. Capable of keeping one's family safe	2 557	72.2
3. Capable of running a household	2 541	71.8
4. Capable of caring for children	2 484	70.1
5. Accepting responsibility for the consequences of one's actions	2 422	68.4
6. Learning to have good control of one's emotions	2 286	64.6
7. Establishing relationship with parent or adult as an equal	2 258	63.8
8. Being able to decide on one's personal beliefs and values independently of parents or other adults	2 214	62.5
9. Financially independent from one's parents/caregiver	2 212	62.5
10. No longer living with one's parents/ caregiver	2 175	61.4
11. Being employed full-time	2 115	59.7
12. Having completed one's education	2 023	57.1
13. Capable of bearing or fathering children	1 929	54.5
14. Reaching a specific age	1 801	50.9
15. Being married	1 424	40.2
16. Having sexual intercourse	1 415	40.0
17. Having at least one child	1 233	34.8
18. After traditional initiation/circumcision	1 195	33.7
19. Growing to one's full height	914	25.8

In order to explore whether there were differences in the approach of different categories of youth to these issues, the responses were disaggregated by population group. The results of these analyses are presented in Table 31.

Although for nearly all the variables there were statistically significant differences between Indian and White respondents, on the one hand, and African and Coloured respondents on the other, there are high levels of agreement between all population groups about the *relative importance* (or ordering) of the first 12 variables.

Table 31: Respondents' perceptions of the characteristics necessary to attaining adulthood by population group, 2003 (n=3 541)

Characteristics	African	Coloured	Indian	White
	(n=2767)	(n=314)	(n=121)	(n=221)
	%	%	%	%
Capable of supporting one's family	70	76	95	88
Capable of keeping one's family safe	70	70	91	84
Capable of running a household	69	69	92	86
Capable of caring for children	68	74	80	81
Accepting responsibility for the consequences of one's actions	66	68	97	82
Learning to have good control of one's emotions	62	56	95	84
Establishing relationship with parent or adult as an equal	60	69	86	83
Being able to decide on one's personal beliefs and values independently of parents or other adults	59	61	93	81
Financially independent from one's parents/caregiver	58	69	83	84
No longer living with one's parents/ caregiver	60	62	67	73

Characteristics	African (n=2767)	Coloured (n=314)	Indian (n=121)	White (n=221)
Being employed full-time	58	61	74	65
Having completed one's education	55	65	68	65
Capable of bearing or fathering children	54.9	58.0	49.6	49.3
Reaching a specific age	53	45	31	43
Being married	44	43	7	20
Having sexual intercourse	40	41	27	42
Having at least one child	38	40	7	16
After traditional initiation/circumcision	38	25	6	14
Growing to one's full height	26	22	10	30

With only two exceptions, there were no statistically significant differences in the responses of males and females regarding the characteristics that were considered important for adulthood. Slightly more young men (42.2%) than young women (37.9%) felt that having sexual intercourse was important to adulthood. Similarly, more men (52.7%) indicated that reaching a specific age was important to adulthood than women (49.2%). For those characteristics for which gender differences were not statistically significant, young women tended to place slightly more emphasis than young men on such characteristics as supporting and running households, caring for and bearing children, accepting responsibility for one's actions and controlling one's emotions. Young men, on the other hand, tended to place greater emphasis on keeping one's family safe, completing education, reaching a specific age and having at least one child. However, in both cases the differences were very small, indicating a high level of consensus among men and women on the characteristics necessary to adulthood.

Table 32: Respondents' perceptions of the characteristics necessary to attaining adulthood by gender, 2003 (N=3 541)

Characteristics	Male		Female	
	n	%	n	%
Capable of supporting one's family	1212	71.8*	1363	73.6*
Capable of keeping one's family safe	1224	72.5*	1333	71.9*
Capable of running a household	1191	70.6*	1350	72.9*
Capable of caring for children	1171	69.4*	1313	70.9*
Accepting responsibility for the consequences of one's actions	1133	67.1*	1289	69.6*
Learning to have good control of one's emotions	1072	63.5*	1214	65.5*
Establishing relationship with parent or adult as an equal	1076	63.7*	1182	63.8*
Being able to decide on one's personal beliefs and values independently of parents or other adults	1033	61.2*	1181	63.7*
Financially independent from one's parents/caregiver	1050	62.2*	1162	62.7*
No longer living with one's parents/ caregiver	1030	61.0*	1145	61.8*
Being employed full-time	1009	59.8*	1106	59.7*
Having completed one's education	971	57.5*	1052	56.8*
Capable of bearing or fathering children	893	52.9*	1036	55.9*
Reaching a specific age	889	52.7	912	49.2
Being married	695	41.2*	729	39.3*
Having sexual intercourse	712	42.2	703	37.9
Having at least one child	605	35.8*	628	33.9*
After traditional initiation/circumcision	564	33.4*	631	34.1*
Growing to one's full height	440	26.1*	474	25.6*

* Not statistically significant

There were also few statistically significant differences between the two age groups, and where differences did occur these tended to be small. For example, 70 percent of 18-24 year olds felt that accepting responsibility for the consequences of one's actions was important as against 66 percent of 25-35 year olds. Slightly higher percentages of the younger age group also felt that being employed full time and completing their education was important compared to the older age group. The same trend recurred in relation to keeping one's family safe and learning to control one's emotions.

While some variations in emphases occur among the different social categories of youth, overall the trends are clear. There is a high degree of consensus among all categories of youth that being able to set up and maintain an independent family and household that is financially sustainable, safe and provides a nurturing environment for children, is central to attaining adulthood. Underpinning this vision of adult attainment are two major sets of conditions. One of these relates to establishing financial and residential independence from parents and caregivers and the associated requirements of economic self-sufficiency and the appropriate education to support self-sufficiency. The other set of conditions revolve around psychological and subjective orientations of personal autonomy and responsibility that provide for independent decision making and acceptance of the consequences of one's decisions, and that involve control over one's emotions and the ability to relate to other adults on an equal footing. Other factors such as being married, having sexual intercourse and even attaining a specific age, are given less emphasis, although they might form an integral part of the central vision of setting up an independent and sustainable household.

2.3 CONCLUSION

Overall, the discussion of the various issues and role changes associated with youth development raises some important questions about constraints that young South Africans face in attaining positive youth development and a successful transition to adulthood. As in other parts of the world, South African youth spend longer periods in education than before, hence they have a later entry into the labour market. However, given the high rates of youth unemployment in South Africa, completion of secondary education does not always translate into employment and, by age 35 years, less than half of young people have ever had a job. Marriage also appears to be delayed, perhaps influenced by later entry into the labour market. This may be more relevant to African youth and especially African males. While more than half of White and Indian youth in the 25-29 years age group have married, only a quarter of Africans in this age category have married. For all males, only four percent of those in the 18-24 years age group and 36 percent of those in the 25-35 years age group have married.

The results demonstrate that a significant proportion of young South Africans grapple with unemployment, difficulty to find a job, and economic dependency. Within the context of the increasing and natural desire to achieve material success among young people in South Africa (Everatt, 2000) and other parts of the world (see, for example, Halstead, 1999), these challenges can translate into frustration, despair, envy and resentment. High levels of violence, criminal behaviour and other risk behaviours may be fostered under these conditions. These obstacles also have important implications for young people's sexual and reproductive health, particularly in the context of the HIV/AIDS pandemic. Earlier sexual debut outside of stable relationships increase the likelihood of unplanned and unwanted pregnancy as supported by the data reviewed in this chapter. The cascade of events following early pregnancy is profound in that young girls and, in some cases boys, drop out of school thus decreasing their chances of completing their education and of finding employment.

Rutenberg *et al.* (2001:3-4) argue that “sexual health and youth opportunity outcomes are highly interconnected”:

For example, boys who find jobs in the formal sector are perceived to be more responsible partners in family planning, and anecdotal evidence suggests they may also be likely to use a condom. Boys who work are also thought to be more likely to acknowledge paternity and to continue supporting a child even if there is no marriage. For girls, acquiring and keeping a job may correspond with high motivation to use family planning, to effectively negotiate with partners about sex and condom use, and to delay marriage and childbearing.

As argued at the beginning of this chapter, ‘youth’ is a socially constructed concept, and as such is subject to ideological distortions based in power relations, vested interests and conceptions of how things ‘ought to be’. As McGrath (2001: 485) has argued, young people should not be seen as merely “appendages of the adult world”, but rather as “active social and cultural actors in their own right”. Placing too much emphasis on the transition to adulthood tends to reduce young people to ‘adults in the making’ and to define them as “lacking completeness, competence, maturity or adequacy ‘against an unexplained, unproblematic rational adult world’” (McGrath, 2001: 484; Freedman, 1998 cited by McGrath, 2001). Punch (2002: 124) takes a similar position, arguing that the concept of transition has three principal drawbacks: It “does not allow for greater recognition of the blurred boundaries between dependence and independence. Second, it tends to imply an individualistic transition whilst placing less emphasis on family interrelationships and third, youth becomes conceptualised merely as a transitional period of change and instability rather than being a special category in its own right.”

This report takes a similar position, using the concept of transition to adulthood as a framework within the life cycle approach of youth development only to highlight specific characteristic of and constraints face by young South Africans, and especially to focus on the diversity of transitions and the changes that take place in such transitions.

POLICIES AND PROGRAMMES TO PROMOTE YOUTH DEVELOPMENT

3.1 OVERARCHING FRAMEWORK

Apartheid was particularly insidious for young Black people as it not only ignored their developmental needs but took active steps, through laws and regulations, to frustrate and curtail their potential and bind them into a bleak future of menial jobs and servitude. The dawn of democracy has been marked by several bold legislative steps to entrench basic human rights for all South Africans, and to promulgate policies and programmes to dismantle the inequities generated by *Apartheid* and to create an enabling environment to fast-track child and youth development. While some policies find direct application to youth, many are directed to the South African population as a whole, but through which young people can also expect to benefit. Since 1994 some 789 new laws have been enacted that have effectively changed the direction of the policy landscape from one of discrimination and separation to one of inclusivity, redress and overall human development (Policy Co-ordination and Advisory Services, 2003). No doubt, South Africa has displayed the power of political will to change the shape of the country in 10 years. The challenge that remains is to translate the opportunities presented through enabling legislation into workable programmes that bring about tangible changes to the day-to-day lives of the vast majority of the population.

The South African Constitution, adopted in 1996 as an overarching framework and the ‘cornerstone of democracy’, acknowledges the injustices of the past and honours those who brought about liberation as well as those who are working to rebuild the country. Almost every piece of legislation enacted since 1994 can be tied back to the various struts of the Constitution as the foundation. Lauded as one of the most progressive in the world, the Bill of Rights, affords all citizens human dignity, freedom, equality and protection from discrimination including race, gender, pregnancy, marital status, ethnicity, social origin, colour, age and disability. The Bill of Rights offers protection to the freedom and security of persons including their right to bodily and psychological integrity. Citizens are also guaranteed the right to choose their trade, occupation or profession freely and the right to fair labour practices. It offers protection to the environment to ensure that it is not harmful to health or wellbeing and is maintained for the benefit of present and future generations. All citizens have the right to access basic education, healthcare, food, water and social security if they are unable to support themselves or their dependents. Children, defined as persons under the age of 18 years, receive special mention in the Bill of Rights. They are entitled to family or parental care, to basic nutrition, shelter, basic healthcare and social services. They also enjoy the right to be protected from maltreatment, neglect, abuse and degradation as well as exploitative labour practices. The Bill of Rights emphasizes the child’s best interest as being of paramount importance in matters concerning them.

South Africa has re-entered the global community and asserted its intention to promote and protect the rights, growth and development of young people. On the 16th of June 1995, South Africa ratified the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child that sets global standards to ensure human rights for children throughout the world, aged 0 to 18 years. It recognises the fundamental human dignity of all children and the need to ensure their wellbeing and development. The Convention focuses on the family as the natural environment for children's growth and wellbeing, seeks respect for children and endorses non-discrimination. It places equal emphasis on and acknowledges the inter-relation between all children's rights including human, civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights that are required for holistic development. South Africa's response to the Convention was the launch of the National Programme of Action (NPA) in 1996 that works towards promoting and protecting the rights of children in South Africa. While children's issues are mainstreamed throughout government departments using a holistic approach, the NPA facilitates, co-ordinates and monitors initiatives aimed at protecting and promoting children's rights. The refreshed National Programme of Action: 2000 and Beyond is currently co-ordinated by the Office on the Rights of the Child located in the Office of the Presidency.

South Africa is also a signatory to the World Programme of Action for Youth and in 2005 reflected on a decade of activism. Although significant strides have been made in providing access to primary and secondary education and balancing the male to female ratio in schools, access to higher education remains difficult especially for African youth, mainly as a result of financial constraints. The report also acknowledges that skills development and employment creation remain formidable challenges going forward into the next decade. It outlines facilitating structures developed by government to promote self-employment among youth, although scale remains small and uptake low. Learnerships created by the Sector Education and Training Authorities (SETAs) are a mechanism to promote skills development and practical work experience. The National Youth Services Programme, The Expanded Public Works Programme, income support in the form of social assistance grants, as well as the Integrated Food Security Programme, were launched as government's strategies to address poverty and hunger.

At a regional level, South Africa is playing a catalytic role in promoting the New Partnership for African Development (NEPAD). A recent publication on the Young Faces of NEPAD (African Union et al., 2004) provides unprecedented support for a focus on children and young people as the critical investment in human capital development. Working towards achieving the Millennium Development Goals, with their strong focus on child development, the document proposes combating HIV/AIDS and promoting girls' education as two of the critical strategies required to fast track the development of African children and youth. The four other strategies proposed to make a tangible difference in the lives of young people are to enforce the rights of orphans and vulnerable children to a basic standard of living, to institute decisive steps to control malaria, measles and malnutrition, to provide universal access to healthcare and primary education, as well as to protect young people from violence, discrimination, abuse and exploitation. The document rightly asserts that the situation of young people in a country, as the most vulnerable sector of society, is a telling indicator of the quality of governance.

At a national level, South Africa has also given special recognition to the role that youth played in liberating the country and the role that they will continue to play in creating a prosperous society. In 1996, the promulgation of the National Youth Commission Act enabled the creation of a national youth policy through which young people could be empowered to address the multiple challenges that they face and to access opportunities to maximize their potential. The formation of the National Youth Commission and other youth structures such as the South African Youth Council (1997) and the Umsobomvu Youth Fund (2001) are also indications of the importance and seriousness with which government regards the role of

youth in building the present and future of the country. The weight of such a commitment and the responsibility tacitly attached to such public declarations of faith are, in themselves, achievements for young people. The National Youth Commission was mandated to develop a national youth policy and an integrated national youth development plan, implement measures to redress historical imbalances suffered by youth and to promote a uniform approach towards youth development across all state organs.

In 1997, the National Youth Policy was promulgated following a rigorous process of consultation across all sectors of society. The policy emphasised the active role that young women and men would play in steering their own development and in shaping the transformation of the society. The goals of the policy were to instill in youth an awareness of the Bill of Rights and a sense of national identity, encourage young people to participate in the reconstruction and development of the country as well as in their own development and that of their communities, develop a holistic response to challenges facing youth, and to create enabling environments and communities to support young people. The policy was widely adopted by government and civil society to develop and implement youth development programmes (National Youth Commission, 2001). In 2000, The National Youth Commission Amendment Act was passed to streamline the National Youth Commission and to promote cooperation between national and provincial youth commission structures.

Building on the work of the National Youth Commission, as well as on the experiences of programmes developed across government departments to promote youth development, the National Youth Development Policy Framework was launched as a framework of action for 2002-2007. The framework adopts a holistic and integrated approach to youth development and is designed to provide an outline for the mainstreaming of youth development as part of the broader transformation process in the country. Youth development is regarded as the responsibility of all government institutions and must involve young people themselves as 'protagonists of their own development'. The Framework attempts to strike a balance between the broad definition of youth required to ensure appropriate redress and the need for focused interventions that are financially feasible and practically deliverable. In the Framework, youth are defined as young people aged 15-28 years of age, and three sub-categories of youth are delineated, namely 15 to 19, 20 to 24 and 25 to 28 years of age.

Youth development as defined in the South African cultural context includes the development of holistic and integrated programmes that are cross-sectoral in nature, recognition of the need for redress, a non-discriminatory approach, acknowledgment of the cultural, spiritual and language diversity of young men and women, and initiatives that are responsive to the needs of young people. The approach emphasizes the importance of sustainable programmes that meet the needs of young people without jeopardizing the chances of future generations. It also adopts a life-long developmental approach.

The Framework gives recognition to several priority target groups who, due to their past and present circumstances, find themselves vulnerable and marginalized. Young women, those with disabilities, unemployed young people, school-aged, out-of-school youth, those residing in rural areas, as well as young women and men at risk, are earmarked for specific attention. It also documents strategic areas for intervention in line with the broad cluster approach of government. The *social wellbeing* of youth, access to *education and training, economic participation and empowerment, justice, safety* and *social mobilization, capacity building and advocacy* are intended to be achieved through cross-cutting mechanisms such as increased access to social grants, development of a National Youth Health Action Plan, life skills programmes, access to information through multi-purpose youth centres, widespread involvement of youth in sport and recreation programmes, access to further and higher education, the creation of learnerships for long-time unemployed youth, entrepreneurial and business skills training, alternative strategies for dealing with young people in

conflict with the law, and the development of a National Youth Service Programme. The sections outlined below comment on the policies and programmes instituted to achieve these ends.

3.2 EDUCATION AND SKILLS DEVELOPMENT

As one of the fundamental pillars for human capital development, the democratic dispensation instituted multiple steps to promote access to education. The fragmented and gross inequities of the education system in *Apartheid* South Africa required the institution of a series of legislative steps to bring about coherence in, and access to, education. While exponential progress has been made in many respects, there can be no doubt that transforming such a fragmented and convoluted system would take considerable time. The Education Policy Act of 1995 provided the framework for a unified education system that integrated 18 education departments into one national and nine provincial departments while maintaining service delivery. The government's commitment to bringing education and training together is articulated through the introduction of the South African Qualification Authority (SAQA). This supports the development of a National Qualification Framework (NQF) to link education, training and qualifications. The extent to which the Departments of Education and Labour have been able to synergise their policies and implementation is still a hurdle for education and skills development. However, the joint Human Resources Development Strategy released in 2001 and the closer working relationship forged through the social cluster reporting mechanism is a step in the right direction that will hopefully bridge that gap.

Education in South Africa is divided into several bands namely Early Childhood Development (reception year), General Education and Training (Grade 0-9), Further Education and Training (Grade 10-12), Adult Basic Education and Training, Education for Learners with Special Needs, and Higher Education (diplomas and degrees). SAQA facilitated the registration of National Standard Bodies and Standards Generating Bodies that are responsible for creating and recommending qualifications and standards for registration on the NQF (Akoojee, Gerwer & McGrath, 2005). Regulations were also instituted to accredit Education and Training Quality Assurance Bodies (ETQABs) that would, in turn, accredit providers of education and training. Implementation of the NQF system has not been without challenges. While the NQF aimed to standardize qualifications achieved through the various facets of the education and training system, the complexity of implementing the system has had to take account of the extent of informal training undertaken in South Africa. This led to a review in 2003, the results of which are yet to give rise to a co-ordinated response and revised version from the Departments of Education and Labour.

The South African Schools Act of 1996 that delineated public and independent schools and decentralized governance to school governing bodies, made schooling compulsory for all learners aged 7 to 15 years of age or until the ninth grade. The consequence was an augmentation of the pre-nineties massive increase in the gross enrolment school ratio of almost 98% in primary schools and 87% in secondary schools. Curriculum 2005, introduced in 1997, re-directed teaching and learning from a didactic, teacher-centred and rote learning system to an interactive, learner-centred approach known as outcomes based education. The system laid the foundation for the development of a cadre of learners who are problem-solvers and critical thinkers. However, the resources to implement such a forward-thinking way of teaching in an environment where the quality of teachers and the infrastructure to back-up this teaching methodology were meagre resulted in inevitable problems. The result of a review was the Revised National Curriculum Statement of 2002 which is a more streamlined and strengthened version of the original curriculum (Chisholm, 2004).

School funding norms catered for in the Schools Act, with the purpose of redress, have redirected funding to schools based on need and a more equitable distribution. As an additional means to supplement funding in

schools and to retain middle class learners in the public schooling system, annual school fees were introduced. Provision was also made in the Schools Act to exempt parents unable to afford school fees and active steps are being taken by the Department of Education to ensure that learners are not excluded from schooling because of failure to pay school fees. While the Act achieved its intention of retaining middle class learners in the public school system, the inadvertent consequence was a widening of the gap between schools servicing lower and higher socioeconomic strata. Fees, set by governing bodies based on the affordability of the catchment area, allow richer communities to pay for the resources that they require to improve the quality of teaching (Chisholm, 2005). In effect, school fees have become a limiting factor in affording poorer learners access into former White, Indian and Coloured schools. By and large, assisted by the geographic separation of living areas, schools remain racially intact.

The educational disadvantages created by *Apartheid* have left a legacy of illiteracy and incomplete education among a large proportion of adults. In response, a legislative framework has been created to fast track basic literacy and numeracy, as well as to instill a culture of life-long learning among the adult population. This is provided for in the Constitution (1996), the Adult Basic Education and Training Act (ABET) of 2000 and the mandated development of public and private learning centres, The Adult Education and Training Multi-Year Implementation Plan of 1997, as well as learnerships created for employees through the Skills Development Act (1998). However, the limited resources allocated to this sector as well as the virtual financial and governance collapse of the vibrant non-governmental sector of the 80's and early 90s that carried the literacy torch have crippled the delivery of adult learning. Yet literacy remains one of the most viable ways to assist millions of South Africans to address poverty. Peter Rule (in press), for example, argues that for literacy and numeracy to expand at the rate required for substantial impact on social and economic indicators, comprehensive strategies outside the formality of public and private learning centres need to be adopted. Opportunities presented by the Expanded Public Works Programme, partnerships between co-operatives and NGOs working in the area of literacy as well as between mobilized social structures like the HIV/AIDS movement and the ABET NGOs could offer imaginative and creative solutions to turning the tide on illiteracy.

The post-democracy government recognised the potential of the Further Education and Training sector (FET) to develop intermediate to high level skills that are in demand in the labour market, to lay the foundation for access to higher education, to facilitate the transition from school to work and to provide the opportunity for life-long learning (FET Green Paper, 1998). Further Education and Training also provides a viable safety net and a 'second opportunity' for re-entry into education for the vast number of students who leave school prematurely. FET is therefore regarded as one of the more complex mechanisms to access education as it caters for pre-employed, employed and unemployed learners. Although technical colleges existed pre-democracy, they were racially fragmented and were poorly linked to the labour market, which limited the scope of practical training. These factors led to the promulgation of the Further Education and Training Act in 1998 that provides training through secondary schools, public colleges, independent schools, independent colleges and work-based education and training. A significant level of streamlining occurred in FET colleges when they were reduced from 152 to 50 institutions as a mechanism to increase access to resources. The sector is credited with de-racialisation and growing student numbers. However, the extent to which the curricula have been transformed to strike a balance between theory, practice and work experience is questionable. Furthermore, linkages with SETAs for the provision of learnerships, that seems a natural link, have not been actively pursued nor adequately financed. The inherent contradiction in the system is illustrated by the fact that SETAs regard the limited training provider base as one of the constraining factors on the uptake of learnerships, whereas the FET sector, a potential training provider that is well spread across

the country, struggles to access funding for these purposes through the National Skills Fund (Akoojee, Gerwer & McGrath, 2005). Colleges are also currently grappling with issues such as access to in-service training, capacity and quality of staff, together with inadequate resources and infrastructure (Akoojee, Gerwer & McGrath, 2005). However, the intended recapitalisation of colleges as a vehicle for skills development to address youth unemployment in the next decade will hopefully confront some of these challenges. The FET sector also has to consider introducing a social redress mechanism similar to that of the NSFAS system for higher education, or learnerships in the labour market to improve access for disadvantaged students.

Higher Education too in South Africa has had to undertake a complex process of transformation to address the dual challenge of the *Apartheid* legacy and to keep pace with global developments that could enable the country to achieve a competitive edge in the global economy (Council on Higher Education, 2004). The process of transformation has been primarily driven and directed by the Council of Higher Education (CHE), a body set up through the Higher Education Act of 1997 to advise the Minister on wide-ranging issues pertaining to Higher Education. The 1997 White Paper on Higher Education set the course for a single and co-ordinated system that would expand participation and ensure equity, efficiency and effectiveness. These principles were entrenched in the Higher Education Act while the National Plan elaborated the operational steps to achieve transformation. One of the mammoth tasks undertaken, for all intents and purposes a centrally driven process, was to restructure higher education from 36 racially and spatially skewed institutions to 22 merged public higher education institutions. Concomitantly, a process of programme level rationalization and co-ordination is being undertaken alongside accreditation of the quality of programmes through the Higher Education Quality Committee. Private Higher Education has also been streamlined and subject to quality control much like that of public institutions. The challenge remains for private institutions to find their niche in higher education and to sustain quality programme delivery. Teacher education was also rationalized from 120 to 50 colleges and incorporated into universities and technikons. A similar intention exists for colleges of nursing and agriculture.

The rapid deracialisation and gender equity achieved in enrollments at higher education institutions is indeed a significant achievement. However, the under-representation of Black candidates and women in science, engineering and technology, business and management, as well as post graduate studies, remains a significant challenge. The racial profile of administrative and academic staff also presents a racially skewed picture. Although recent policy formulation has placed greater emphasis on efficiency and alignment with labour market requirements while redress and equity seem to play second fiddle, the National Student Financial Aid Scheme Act (NSFSAS, 1999), as a tool of social redress, has played an important role in facilitating access to higher education for disadvantaged students. While the policy context of higher education moves into a monitoring and evaluation role at the central level, institutions need to assimilate new institutional cultures and identities as part of the merger process and exert their academic independence, sustain and consolidate equity standards, ensure the delivery of quality programmes that incorporate community engagement and become increasingly responsive to the needs of the private and public sector while keeping pace with international developments.

3.3 ECONOMIC PARTICIPATION AND POVERTY

The scourge of unemployment and poverty in South Africa, driven by structural imbalances in the supply and demand sides of the labour market, not helped by rapid globalization, presents a fundamental development objective for the country. In response, government has set as its vision the halving of

unemployment and poverty by 2014 (Mbeki, 2004). The youth sector lobbied extensively at the Presidential Job Summit of 1998 and the Growth and Development Summit in 2003 for a targeted approach towards youth skills development and job creation, because young people represent almost 70% of the unemployed group. A range of strategies have been devised to respond in a comprehensive way. Government's astute and rigorous macroeconomic policies aimed at stabilizing the economy are now starting to offer an attractive environment for foreign direct investment, greater job creation and social spending.

The promulgation of the Basic Conditions of Employment Act in 1997 and the Employment Equity Act in 1998 were instrumental in entrenching the rights of workers and creating an enabling framework for equal access to employment. The former act outlawed discrimination in terms of employment, occupation and income and provided the basis for affirmative action policies to greatly diversify the workforce and ensure that it is representative of the population at large. The latter act sets standards of working conditions for all employees in the areas of working hours, leave, remuneration and termination, among others. It also criminalized the employment of children below the age of 15 years. These policies are a significant victory for indigent workers who were subject to labour violations under the *Apartheid* regime. Despite the introduction of these landmark policies and considerable progress in facilitating access to work for many Black people, the diversification of the upper echelons of management in terms of Black and women candidates has been painfully slow. What is more, opportunities created for disabled workers are also well below the benchmarks set for employment equity.

As a more focused strategy, government introduced the Broad Based Black Economic Empowerment Strategic Framework (2004), the Act of 2003 and subsequent sector specific charters to provide an enabling framework for Black people to participate in the economy in a meaningful way. The Act goes beyond changes in the racial composition of ownership of existing and new enterprises to include substantial changes in management structures and skilled occupations through employment equity and human resources development strategies. Women, workers, youth, people with disabilities and people living in rural areas are ear-marked to benefit from socio-economic development strategies. However, the extent to which young Black men and women involved in co-operatives, SMMEs and other such collective enterprises are deriving specific benefit from this strategy, is as yet unclear.

The chasm between education and training presents one of the major constraints on employability. The Human Resources Development Strategy (HRDS, 2001) gives recognition to the integral link between education and training and sets out a plan of action to stem the tide of unemployment and poverty. The development of relevant knowledge and skills for the South African labour market is regarded as central to socio-economic development. The HRDS has the dual purpose of ensuring that the response to human development is achieved through an integrated and co-ordinated mechanism and that disadvantaged groups are at the forefront of these initiatives. The pillars of this strategy are to ensure early childhood development, general education and training in the school setting and adult education and training; the availability of scarce skills through the further and higher education sectors that is responsive to the needs of the society and that promotes lifelong learning; greater elaboration of the skills required in the work setting; and research and innovation that underpins growth policies.

Complementary to the HRDS is the National Skills Development Strategy, launched in 2001, that proposed five key objectives to address the structural problems in the labour market. These objectives include life-long learning, skills development in the formal economy and in small businesses, matching skills development with the demands of the labour market and that foster sustainable livelihoods, as well as guiding the trajectory of new entrants in the labour market. At the heart of this strategy is the combination of benefits

offered by structured learning and work experience as tools to improve the employability of labour market participants.

As far back as 1998, government set in motion a plan to realign the skills profile of the workforce with the demands of the economy for more skilled labour. The Skills Development Act of 1998 facilitated the formation of the National Skills Authority and 25 Sector Education and Training Authorities. SETAs were tasked with overseeing the development of workplace skills plans and the re-imburement for training undertaken against levies that were solicited from employers through the Skills Development Levies Act of 1999. The latter act phased in a monthly levy of 0.5% in 2000 to 1% in 2001. SETA's were also mandated with developing sector skills plans, quality-assuring training provision and developing and registering learnerships. Two types of learnerships were introduced, targeted at different segments of the labour market. Learnerships were created to upgrade the skills set of existing employees as part of on-the-job training (18.1 learnerships), and to offer opportunities to pre-employed and unemployed young people to develop knowledge, skills and work experience as an entry point into the labour market (18.2 learnerhsips). The training funded through these learnerships is accredited through the National Qualification Framework predominantly at the further education and training level and in some cases at the higher education level.

In February 2001, through the National Skills Development Strategy, the Department of Labour set as its target, the creation of at least 80 000 learnerships for young people under the age of 30 to be achieved by March 2005. A discussion paper on the performance of the SETAs pointed to several difficulties encountered in the set up of the SETAs, the disbursement of funds, the slow process for the registration of learnerships and the lack of linkages between the SETAs and public FET colleges where the majority of training should ideally occur (Lundall, 2003). On a more promising note, a 2004 review of learnerships, five years after their introduction, demonstrated that learners, employers, supervisors and SETAs were overwhelmingly positive about the programme. Participants reported that learnerships had positively impacted on their confidence and other soft skills and that the learnerships for the unemployed had generated high levels of full or part-time work particularly for those on NQF levels 1-3 (Jennings, Everatt & Smith, 2004). Some of the challenges noted were the inadequate level of information dissemination by the SETAs as primary drivers of learnerships, the limited service provider base and the lack of milestones, and monitoring and evaluation by SETAs of whether learnerships were achieving their desired outcomes. In fact the report concluded that a monitoring culture is largely absent within most SETAs. Furthermore, the lack of clear guidelines for the recruitment of 18.2 learnerships means that many employers recruit learners through workforce networks bringing into question the equity and transparency of the process. Nevertheless, learnerships are a critical and, largely, effective strategy in government's armoury for economic growth and human capital development. It is envisaged that a refocus on the performance of SETAs will yield the desired outcomes (Policy Co-ordination and Advisory Services, 2003).

While skills development through SETAs and others structures are an investment towards the growth of the economy over time, short to medium term measures are needed to literally 'put food on the table'. The Presidential Job Summit of 1998 was the catalyst for the Expanded Public Works Programme (EPWP) that identified four sectors within government's service delivery functions (infrastructure, economic, environmental and social development) to grow the work experience of, and provide training to, unemployed people. In this regard, labour intensive practices are being instituted in projects such as the construction of roads and laying of pipelines, environmental clean-up and development projects such as the Land Care Programme and the Working for Water initiatives, as well as social development projects such as home-based care and early childhood development. The engagement of local people in these projects will hopefully serve as the springboard for successful integration into the formal labour market. Government's

ten year policy review (2003) reported that the EPWP had created employment for 124 808 persons since 1998. However most jobs created were temporary and the conversion to permanent employment was limited. While the programme has been shown to be successful in alleviating asset poverty of communities, it is not as efficient as income grants in alleviating income poverty (Policy Co-ordination and Advisory Services, 2003).

One of the strategies to promote service and learning, particularly targeting young people, is the National Youth Service Programme adopted by government in 2003. This initiative was designed against a backdrop of very high unemployment among young people, with the aim of providing an opportunity for skills development and hence greater chance of accessing the labour market within the context of rebuilding and reintegrating youth into communities. The programme hopes to engender a culture of nation building through service and volunteerism. The primary target groups are students in higher and further education and training who will render their skills and training through compulsory community service as part of their formal education; unemployed youth who will access opportunities for technical training, life skills and civic value development by providing a specific and tangible service to the community; and youth in conflict with the law as part of the restorative justice process. While this service learning is not geared towards financial reparation, programmes will include incentives to ensure adequate participation such as subsidised meals and transport. Furthermore, to advance skills recognition, the system is striving to accredit learning within the National Qualification Framework. The UYF and the Joint Enrichment Programme are currently developing expertise in and testing youth service programmes in the areas of construction and infrastructure development, agriculture and health care.

The South African government, attuned with the thinking and experience of international counterparts, acknowledges the potential of self-employment to generate jobs, economic growth and to promote equity. The White Paper on the National Strategy for the Development and Promotion of Small Business in South Africa (1995), aimed to create an enabling environment for small, medium and micro enterprises, provided the impetus for the promulgation of the National Small Businesses Act of 1996. It was recognized that encouraging a culture of entrepreneurship in the absence of social capital to support such endeavours and skills in business management would be fruitless if not accompanied by both financial and non-financial interventions. The act facilitated the formation of Ntsika Enterprise Promotion Agency and the National Small Business Council to promote and support small businesses. Khula Enterprise Finance Limited represents the financial arm of the Department of Trade and Industry's SMME strategy. It provides financial support to SMMEs via various intermediary channels. It also runs a mentorship programme to support entrepreneurs in the successful management of their businesses. The Micro Finance Regulatory Council was also developed to regulate the micro-lending industry that services the credit needs of consumers including enterprise financing. However, concerns have been expressed that enforcement of rules and regulations to bring in line consumer based funding, may be stifling the flexibility needed to fund entrepreneurship opportunities for young people through agencies such as NICRO Enterprise Finance and Nation's Trust.

A review of very small enterprises in South Africa from the perspective of entrepreneurs revealed a vibrant sector that has grown out of a survivalist need to display 'strong entrepreneurial flavour', high levels of education and significant employment generation (McGrath, 2005). The government's ten year review also reported that the SMME sector is making a significant contribution to employment even though a large proportion is for self-employment or survivalist in nature (Policy Co-ordination and Advisory Services, 2003). However, the interface between state created financial and business development structures and SMMEs is at best weak (McGrath, 2005; Policy Co-ordination and Advisory Services, 2003) and the revised small business strategy needs to look into distinguishing strategies for the various sectors within SMMEs.

The Institute for Democracy in South Africa (IDASA) is particularly critical of the National Small Business Strategy because of its overt reliance on NGO's to deliver financial and non-financial support to SMMEs, when clearly their geographical spread especially in poorer provinces and rural areas as well as their limited capacity, truncate their reach (von Broembsen, 2003). Furthermore, the courses offered for business development are evaluated as being too short and generic in nature without a focused link to a market niche. The result is a mushrooming of new survivalist businesses and hence saturation of the same, narrow markets that tend to shut down other existing ventures. These activities are detracting from the employment creation, economic growth and economic empowerment function to which SMMEs should be aspiring.

McGrath (2005) reports that despite a commitment by very small enterprises to training that has, in the most cases, been informal, the impact of skills development catered for through SETAs has been limited. This may be as a result of the mismatch between the focused skills requirements of such enterprises and the complexity and formality of the NQF system. However, these micro and small enterprises are committed to growing skills for both their workforce and for unemployed learners as part of a broader social development process (McGrath, 2005). The potential remains to be harnessed.

Irregularities in the performance of the Small Business Council, led to the passing of the amendment act in 2003 that dissolved the council and replaced it with an Advisory Body to add the voice of small business to decisions regarding the support that they require for sustainable growth. Government's response to the modest impact of small business support structures was an amendment to the Act in 2004 that heralded the formation of the Small Enterprise Development Agency (SEDA), which merged Ntsika Enterprise Promotion Agency and the NAMAC Trust in order to provide non-financial business support and capacity development opportunities to small businesses in a coordinated manner. Local Business Service and Tender Centres will now fall under the ambit of SEDA and will continue to provide business development support. Additionally, SEDA's reach will be extended to support co-operative enterprises particularly from rural areas.

The diversity of people's engagement in self-employment coupled with historical disadvantages has necessitated some targeted support interventions for sub-groups within this field. As an entrepreneurship initiative specifically directed at women, in 1998 the Department of Trade and Industry developed the National Programme of Technology for Women in Business (TWIB) that aims to promote the uptake of science and technology as a tool to enhance business practices, especially in SMMEs. The programme also has a long-term developmental focus by encouraging girls to take up careers in science and technology. Additionally, in response to the gendered obstacles faced by women entrepreneurs and to facilitate access to resources and support for women in business, the Department of Trade and Industry launched the South African Women Entrepreneurs' Network (SAWEN). Khula Enterprises has also recognised the potential of, and challenges faced by, rural women. In this regard, it has initiated Khula Start to provide financial support to such businesses.

The Umsobomvu Youth Fund (UYF) has been instrumental in lobbying and facilitating access to funding for youth entrepreneurs through mechanisms such as Khula Enterprises that previously regarded youth as a high risk category. The development of the UYF voucher programme enables young entrepreneurs to purchase services, and the Nations Trust Youth Enterprise Finance are two examples of funding programmes specifically directed at young people. The latter programme is offered through a non-profit organization that derives its funds through Khula Enterprises and other local and international partners with the specific purpose of providing mainly start-up business loans. It also offers a mentorship programme to promote skills development and business management for young people entering the field for the first time. UYF also interfaces with the NICRO Economic Opportunity Project that provides financial

and non-financial support to people who have experienced difficulty in making a living in the past, including ex-offenders, victims of crime, and young people who have been through NICRO's diversion programmes.

Recently, the Department of Trade and Industry announced the formation of the South African Micro Finance Apex Fund (SAMAF) to provide developmental financial support to members of the 'second economy', including unemployed and uneducated youth who attempt to develop micro businesses as a means to enter the mainstream economy (Hendricks, 2004). The suite of financial services offered, including micro loans, will be provided by financial intermediaries much like the case of Khula Enterprises.

The resurgence of co-operatives in South Africa also presents an opportunity for the poorer sectors of society to improve their financial situation. The recent renewed focus on co-operatives is regarded as an extension of the historical use of collectives in communities as a bottom-up approach, a response to the modest achievements of SMMEs, a natural outcome of growing unemployment, and as a dedicated tool for job creation and income generation (National Co-operative Association of South Africa, 2003). Government's response to the potential of co-operatives was the tabling of the Co-operatives Bill in 2005 that outlines a framework for the creation and management of co-operatives. UYF also has a vested interest in co-operatives as a mechanism to generate self-employment for young people. Their study on youth participation in co-operatives in partnership with the National Co-operative Association (NCASA) is an important lever to garner support for such ventures (National Co-operative Association of South Africa, 2003). The report points out that co-operatives face very similar challenges to SMMEs, including limited access to financial resources, skills development and markets. The report also indicates that youth are often embedded in co-operatives covering a wider age span, and that support to the whole co-operative sector might be the best vehicle through which to support youth. The role of NCASA is seen as central to increasing the capacity of existing co-operatives through skills development programmes.

The non-governmental sector has also played a pivotal role in skilling young people to take up employment opportunities. The Joint Enrichment Programme has a long history of promoting youth development in South Africa and was instrumental in facilitating the development of youth policy post 1994. The programme, geared towards 14-35-year-olds, focuses on youth service programmes that foster community development and, in turn, encourages communities to serve as supportive structures for young people. It also uses its knowledge development function to advocate for youth-focused policies and programmes and builds the capacity of youth service providers to develop more effective youth development programmes. The Youth Development Network (YDN, 2003) is another example of civil society activism for youth development. YDN is an umbrella body for seven youth development organizations that are geared towards youth skills development, entrepreneurship and community-based development. Its strategic tasks include advancing youth policy development, capacity strengthening for its partners, as well as a research and documentation function. The network is currently serving as the coordinating centre for the Southern African chapter of the Youth Employment Summit (YES) campaign. This project, that is part of a global, decade-long campaign, aims to stimulate employment opportunities for young people. Some of the YES projects include developing a database on the status of youth in the SADC region, testing entrepreneurial education in secondary schools and vocational centres, as well as providing training for youth employment service providers.

While income generation initiatives are underway, social assistance has also been expanded to assist particularly vulnerable sectors of society. The Social Assistance Act of 2004 outlines these grants and the conditions under which beneficiaries are eligible. The Child Support Grant has recently been extended to children up to 14 years of age. Children also benefit through the Foster Care Grant and the Care Dependency

Grant (1-17 years) for children with disabilities. Disability Grants are also made available to adults aged 18-64 years with a confirmed disability. Many households in South Africa are reliant on the Old Age Grant (adults older than 60 years), directed at pensioners. A grant in aid is also made available to families who provide full time care to the physical or mentally disabled. There have been massive expansions in the value and the reach of social assistance grants since 1994. Expenditure on social grants has increased from R10 billion in 1993 to R38.8 billion in 2003 with a concomitant increase in beneficiaries from 2.6 million to 6.8 million over this period (Policy Co-ordination and Advisory Services, 2003). However, the poor service delivery of social grants, extended application periods, as well as corruption in the system, are some of the factors that motivated the promulgation of the South African Social Security Agency Act of 2004 that created an agency whose mandate is to ensure equitable access and quality service delivery of social assistance grants. There is a strong lobby group in South Africa that argues that the wide gap between the lower (14 years) and upper (60 years) age qualifiers for social assistance, in an environment of soaring unemployment, poverty and deepening insecurity, provides a substantial argument for implementing a basic income grant. However, government is reluctant to go this route for fear of generating a culture of dependency.

South Africa has also instituted an Integrated Nutrition Programme as part of the primary health care approach to provide food, health and care security. In the long term, the programme aims to build the capacity of communities to become self-sufficient in terms of their food and nutritional needs. However, in the short term, the programme offers protection to the health of women and young people as two vulnerable groups and to society at large through mandatory fortification of bread and maize meal with specified micronutrients. Some of the hallmark programmes are the Primary School Nutrition Programme implemented in 1994 to improve the nutrition, and hence the learning capacity and concentration, of school children. This programme is currently run by the Department of Education and caters for over 4.5 million learners involving 15 000 schools (Tshabala-Msimang, 2004). The programme also serves as a local economic development opportunity and is trying to create employment opportunities for women. However the programme faced challenges, such as limited coverage, lack of consistency, inappropriate timing of the meal, substandard quality and quantity, and inadequate balance of calories and nutrients (Child Health Unit, 1997).

3.4 HEALTH AND SOCIAL WELLBEING

The reciprocally re-inforcing relationship between health and social wellbeing on the one hand and participation in education and meaningful employment on the other hand, are well known. Deprivation or an imbalance in either domain has a negative and lasting impact on the other domain. Finding equilibrium between the two is therefore essential to holistic youth development. Government has put in place a variety of mechanism to strike that balance. One of the first health-related policy changes introduced by the democratic dispensation was to facilitate universal access to health services especially for vulnerable groups through the provision of free healthcare for pregnant and lactating women, children under the age of six, people with disabilities, and later for women opting to terminate pregnancy (National Health Act, 2003). The paradigm shift from a curative, medical model of health care to a decentralized, primary health care approach has resulted in the construction of 701 additional clinics to increase access to healthcare, bringing the total number of clinic access points to 4 350 (Policy Co-ordination and Advisory Services, 2003). However, the per capita annual visits to primary health care clinics (1.3-2.7) still lags behind the WHO recommendation of 3-3.5 per capita per annum (Policy Co-ordination and Advisory Services, 2003). Ready access to healthcare in rural areas remains an obstacle. Furthermore, mixed successes have been recorded on key developmental indicators. While antenatal care utilization increased from 89% to 94% between 1994 and

1998, infant mortality also increased from 40 to 45 per 100 000 live births in the same period, and maternal mortality remains high at 150 per 100 000 live births (Policy Co-ordination and Advisory Services, 2003). The contribution of HIV/AIDS to elevated infant and maternal mortality cannot be underestimated. Clearly the health and social development challenges are formidable.

The multiple personal, social, economic and environmental factors that determine health status require cross-cutting initiatives to promote health and wellbeing. Health promotion, defined as a process of enabling people to increase control over and improve their health, has been adopted as a strategy by the Department of Health. Using the Ottawa Charter as a guiding framework, health promotion is being implemented in South Africa through health strategies that aim to develop personal and social skills, build healthy public policy, provide support to economic interventions that promote health, create supportive environments in which people work and live, strengthen community participation, and reorient health services away from the curative paradigm to include a health promoting and preventative approach (Department of Health, September 2003).

While many health initiatives directed at youth find their roots in health policies developed for the population at large, the introduction of Policy Guidelines for Youth and Adolescent Health in 2001, in line with the recommendations of the National Youth Policy, has filled the gap for a youth-specific policy framework. The policy has the twin goal of preventing and responding to specific health problems facing young people as well as promoting healthy development of adolescents and youth aged 10 to 24 years. Guiding principles of the framework are a focus on positive youth development to prevent health problems through processes such as information dissemination, skill building, participation in safe and supportive social environments, building positive relationships with adults, offering counseling services and access to health services. The policy identifies eight priority areas for intervention namely sexual and reproductive health, mental health, substance abuse, violence, unintentional injuries, birth defects and inherited disorders, nutrition and oral health. These interventions will be delivered in diverse settings that influence individuals and their social environment, including homes, schools, workplaces and health facilities.

There is little doubt that South Africa's most pressing health challenge is HIV/AIDS. The country has implemented a multi-modal preventative approach for almost 15 years, the benefits of which are starting to be reaped through signs of increased uptake of preventative behaviour especially among young people. However, the toll of HIV/AIDS on the society, coupled with rising domestic and international pressure, requires a more encompassing policy that includes antiretroviral treatment of HIV/AIDS. The announcement of an Operational Plan for comprehensive HIV and AIDS care, management and treatment in 2003 provided the vehicle to achieve. The cornerstone of the plan remains a preventative one to ensure that the majority of South Africans who are not infected remain uninfected. This multi-pronged prevention strategy includes behaviour change messages, greater access to barrier methods such as male and female condoms, rapid expansion of voluntary counseling and testing facilities, prevention of mother to child transmission, post-exposure prophylaxis, the syndromic management of sexually transmitted infections, as well as tuberculosis management. The plan also includes efforts to enhance prophylaxis and treatment of opportunistic infections, as well as improve nutritional intake. The roll out of anti-retroviral therapy and supportive programmes to ensure the safe use of the drugs is the third tenet of the HIV/AIDS plan. According to the September 2004 progress report on the implementation of the operational plan, 68 798 patients have been assessed and 11 253 patients are currently on antiretroviral treatment. The key challenges to the implementation of the plan remain the upgrading of the health system through the availability of suitably trained personnel, and sustainable drug procurement for the safe delivery of anti-retrovirals (Department of Health, 2004). At the recent South African AIDS Conference held in Durban (2005), the Treatment Action

Campaign together with other lobby groups argued strongly, that the widespread distribution of anti-retroviral drugs cannot be held hostage by an imperfect health system. Government's approach to HIV/AIDS is also premised on addressing the larger developmental goals that together create fertile ground for the proliferation of infections. Efforts to reduce poverty, improve nutrition, create jobs, provide access to social support, and promote moral renewal are therefore regarded as important components of the long term plan to curb the HIV/AIDS epidemic.

Young people represent the most vulnerable group to HIV/AIDS with most new infections occurring between 18 and 24 years of age. At the same time, this age group is the most open to change. While several governmental and non-governmental organizations have put their weight behind youth-focused HIV/AIDS initiatives, loveLife is South Africa's largest national HIV prevention programme for young people. The programme is delivered in partnership with a wide consortium of institutions including government. It has a triadic focus on reducing the HIV/AIDS epidemic, teenage pregnancy and sexually transmitted infections. The loveLife programme taps into youth culture and language to provide health promoting message using a wide array of strategies.

loveLife has engaged in a sustained national media campaign, including youth focused television and radio programmes, print media, billboards, messages on water towers and taxis as well as an interactive website, to provide sexual health information, counseling and referrals to clinical services. It also runs a helpline for both youth (thethajunction) and parents to access sexual health information. The media campaigns are supported by outreach programmes through youth centres (Y-centres) that provide sexual health education, accessible adolescent health services in a non-clinical environment, combined with other opportunities including computer training and recreational activities.

loveLife has also been instrumental in introducing and disseminating the concept of youth friendly clinics through the National Adolescent-Friendly Clinic Initiative (NAFCI). Access to health services is precarious for young people, particularly those living in poverty and in rural areas. Furthermore, young people question the degree of confidentiality afforded to them and the moralistic stance adopted by health personnel, especially towards sexuality. The lack of training of health personnel in adolescent and youth health further compromises young people's access to services. The move by UYF to professionalise youth work, together with the introduction of adolescent friendly clinics, is an important milestone to increase access to health services for young people. NAFCI is a collaborative project between loveLife, the Reproductive Health Research Unit and the Department of Health. Together they have established national standards for public health clinics to be accredited as adolescent-friendly. NAFCI has currently reached 270 clinics spread across the country and hopes to reach 370 clinics by July 2005. A key part of the NAFCI service is peer outreach that encourages young people to use health care services. This outreach is provided by groundBREAKERS who are trained peer educators located at each clinic with the purpose of promoting positive lifestyles and healthy sexuality.

The Departments of Health and Education enjoy a long standing relationship in optimizing the health and development of learners and their communities through schools. This relationship has been formalized through the School Health Policy and Implementation Guidelines of 2003. The policy is premised on the primary health care approach and is located within the Health Promoting Schools Initiative to support educators and the school community in creating schools that minimize or remove barriers to learning, provide access to health services, and assist with the delivery of health education and health promotion. Even before the introduction of this policy, the two departments used the opportunity offered by schools to educate young people on how to prevent HIV infection. By 2003, 130 000 educators had been trained and Lifeskills Programme was being offered in over 60% of schools. An evaluation of the programme in schools

in KwaZulu-Natal showed that the programme did impact on factors such as learners' knowledge about the non-sexual transmission of HIV/AIDS and attitudes towards condom use, but that interventions beyond information dissemination were required to influence communication about, and implementation of, safe sex (Reddy & James, 2003). Visser and colleagues (2004) also reported limited effects of the programme. They recommended that the programme content move beyond creating awareness and knowledge to greater involvement of the participants during programme development, testing peer education methodology, as well as changes in the culture of the educational system, the school and the community to accommodate sexual education. The Departments of Health, Education and Social Development (Deutsch & Swartz, 2002), in collaboration with local and international partners, are using peer education to move the life skills, HIV/AIDS and STI message agenda beyond awareness creation to building skills through the Rutanang programme ("learning from one another").

Life skills training as part of the life orientation learning area in schools is designed to reach beyond HIV/AIDS to guide and prepare learners for life within a rapidly changing society. In the interest of holistic development life orientation brings to the fore the inter-relationships between social, personal, intellectual, emotional and physical growth aspects of young lives. Learners are schooled in respect for human rights, the need to foster meaningful social relationships with people from diverse cultural backgrounds, an appreciation and respect for diverse religious practices and the promotion of civic rights and responsibilities. Learners are also sensitized to their physical and emotional growth processes, concepts of the self, empowerment, and the importance of engaging in sport, recreation and play for positive human development. Life orientation is also geared towards preparing learners for the world of work by focusing on career information gathering and planning skills, general work, further studies, and fostering work ethics (Department of Education, 2002). The extent to which teachers are trained and able to deliver such diverse concepts of human development will be tested when life orientation becomes an externally moderated assessment area for learners in grade 10-12 in 2006.

Early, unwanted pregnancy, that carries with it lifelong consequences for the child and the young parents, is both a health and social challenge with which both South Africa and several Western nations are faced. Several strategies have been implemented to cope with teenage pregnancy, from preventative approaches such as life skills training offered in various settings by a range of providers, increased access to family planning counseling and contraceptives, to free access to pre- and antenatal care, and post pregnancy integration into society through return to educational institutions. One additional strategy that is also available to young people as part of the reproductive rights of women is the right to terminate an unwanted pregnancy up to 20 weeks gestation as gazetted by the Termination of Pregnancy Act of 1996. Minors do not require parental consent for the procedure; however in light of the weight of the decision, healthcare workers are required to advise the minor to consult with their parents or other supportive network.

An assessment of morbidity associated with incomplete abortion in 1994 and repeated in 2000, showed that the introduction of the law immediately decreased morbidity but that the magnitude was not significant (Jewkes *et al.*, 2002). However, a 2005 paper reported on the massive impact the legislation has had on decreasing mortality as a result of unsafe abortion (Jewkes & Rees, 2005). Like any developmental system that has moral undertones, termination of pregnancy (TOP) is challenged by several limitations that include failure of designated facilities to provide TOPs, limited or lack of uptake of health care providers willing to undergo training thus overburdening the existing providers, lack of access to second trimester terminations, conscientious objections, limited awareness of the law among women, poor access to services outside of urban areas, and long waiting periods (Thom, 2003). Qualitative studies among adolescent girls in particular also report persistent use of backstreet abortions due to the dual social stigma of becoming pregnant and

opting for an abortion, poor understanding of the legality of abortion and a misperception that high fees are required for legal abortions (Varga, 2002; Kaufman, de Wet & Stadler, 2001). Adolescent girls also refer to obstacles encountered in the health system, with services being largely inaccessible in rural areas, and girls being confronted with moralistic and negative attitudes of healthcare providers who sometimes refused to provide the service (Varga, 2002). The success of the NAFCI project is therefore critical to opening up access to safe and acceptable reproductive health services to young women.

The advent of open markets and the advance of globalization since 1994 have seen the docking of both legal and illegal substances on our ports. The mix of addictive substances in an environment of poverty, unemployment and frustrated aspirations makes for a lethal combination. Government has displayed the political will to take on the money and power of giants such as the tobacco industry. The promulgation of the Tobacco Products Control Amendment Act of 1999 as well as sustained increases in excise taxes over time was government's legislative and fiscal response to protect the public from the harms of tobacco use. The act banned all advertising and promotion of tobacco products including sponsorship and free distribution, restricted smoking in public places including work places and public transport, stipulated penalties for transgression of the law and specified the maximum permissible levels of tar and nicotine. The law has been credited with the decline in smoking rates among adults - from 34% in 1995 (Reddy *et al.*, 1996) to 24% in 1998 (Department of Health, 2002) - and among adolescents, from 23% in 1999 (Swart *et al.*, 2004) to 18.5% in 2002 (Swart *et al.*, 2004).

The law is currently being strengthened to align itself with the Framework Convention on Tobacco Control, the first international public health treaty, which South Africa has recently ratified. While South Africa is a world leader in tobacco control legislation, the gains achieved through this framework will be eventually whittled away without the introduction of evidence-based programmes to prevent smoking uptake among young people and to promote cessation.

Government has also been active in trying to control the increase in alcohol and drug abuse by passing the Prevention and Treatment of Drug Dependency Amendment Act of 1999 that essentially facilitated setting up the Central Drug Authority (CDA). CDA is responsible for developing the blueprint for South Africa's response to drug abuse, the South African National Drug Master Plan. The focus on youth as part of the plan is largely an educative one supported by access to care and rehabilitation for young people dependent on drugs. The drug master plan of 1999, currently under review, details the wide array of existing programmes across government and the NGO sector to prevent drug abuse among youth. A recent public education campaign, Ke Moja ("no thanks"), was launched by the Department of Social Development in 2005 to raise awareness among South Africans, particularly young people, on the dangers of drug abuse. In response to growing drug abuse among learners and as a complementary tool to the National Drug Master Plan, in 2002 the Department of Education promulgated a National Policy on the Management of Drug Abuse by learners in schools and FET institutions. The policy intends to support learners who abuse drugs, as well as staff and learners who are affected by drug abuse, and contribute to the effective prevention, management and treatment of drug use.

The rapid political transition in South Africa, the historical culture of violence that engulfed the country during the *Apartheid* era, the malaise of poverty and underdevelopment, as well as unfulfilled aspirations and expectations eagerly anticipated with the onset of democracy, are factors that have acted together to maintain the high levels of violence and crime experienced in the country. In response, the National Crime Prevention Strategy (1996) as an overarching, proactive and comprehensive strategy was introduced to address crime. The National Crime Combating Strategy, largely a shift in approach accompanied by a change in management, and the Integrated Justice System are two interventions under the larger preventive

umbrella that have been credited with stabilizing serious crime trends in South Africa albeit at a high level (Policy Co-ordination and Advisory Services, 2003). A comprehensive strategy has required extensive collaboration with key stakeholders including business and the community at large. The revival of Community Policing Forums is helping police improve the efficiency of crime prevention programmes and re-build the trust between themselves and the community. However, police presence, simply as a deterrent to crime, still remains thin on the ground especially in previously Black, Coloured and Indian areas.

Special efforts are also being made to keep young offenders out of the formal prison system through the Child Justice Bill. Provision is made in the Bill to redirect children aged between 10 and 18 into diversion programmes. Although diversion programmes have been applied in some courts since 1990 without a legal mandate, their use is inconsistently applied across the judicial system. Diversion is based on a humanitarian response to reintegrate young offenders into family care, and to limit the stigma attached to crime. As part of the restorative justice wave currently being applied in correctional services, diversion programmes also attempt to repair harm as a result of crime. The National Institute for Crime Prevention and the Reintegration of Offenders (NICRO) diversion programmes are innovations in this field and are being ably supported by similar initiatives across the country. The Department of Social Development and UYF are also harnessing the potential of the National Youth Service Programmes to build the supportive structure required for diversion programmes by training young people to serve as probation officers in providing home-based care. This is an excellent example of the potential that exists in government for inter-sectoral collaboration in meeting multiple objectives. As a safety net, secure care centres located across the country, also offer opportunities for skills development and rehabilitation for young people who find themselves in conflict with the law.

The Department of Correctional Services White Paper on Corrections in South Africa (2005) rests firmly on fostering family and community cohesion as a primary and secondary mechanism to discourage crime. The state's role is regarded as the final level of intervention to correct involvement in criminal activities. The White Paper presents a paradigm shift in the approach to correctional services from punishment and stigma to a holistic approach that attempts to restore dignity, build morals and values, and offer correction and rehabilitation. It recognises social re-integration as the biggest hurdle to rehabilitation and offers concrete steps to enable successful 'after-care' or re-integration. While the plan is an ambitious one to be delivered over a 20 year period, it does acknowledge the multiple challenges that it has to overcome to re-orient correctional services in the country. Some of these challenges include overcrowding, poor infrastructure, the current destructive prison culture that labels itself as a crime school, corruption and maladministration, inducting new and existing staff into the rehabilitation paradigm and establishing a plan of action to cope with special groups such as women, children under 18 years of age, youth, and the disabled. The 18 to 35 year age group, over represented in the awaiting trial prisoner group, fall on the fringes of the correctional services system without a coherent policy to enable their rehabilitation.

3.5 SOCIAL INTEGRATION AND CIVIC PARTICIPATION

The advent of globalization and technological advancements has changed the nature of the interface between young people and society on a global scale. In the South African context, party political activism espoused during the height of *Apartheid* in the 80s and 90s is slowly being replaced by issue-based activism, such as HIV/AIDS, environmental protection, homelessness and, recently, around poor service delivery. Disaffection of young people with voting as one index of political participation cannot be assigned simply to apathy or disillusionment. This is an under-researched field and the contribution of focused registration

drives that afford young, poor South Africans living in far-flung areas the tools to be able to vote must be explored. Furthermore, the seriousness with which political parties have pursued and motivated young people to vote by concentrating on issues that hit home strongly for them also needs investigation. While the African National Congress is able to draw over 500 000 young people into its membership books as recently as 2004, its ability to translate that membership into tangible votes at the polls going forward remains to be tested. The changing nature of social interaction among young people could also mean that we need to realign our measures of social participation to the issues that do find favour with young people and generate activism among them.

The *Apartheid* machinery worked to foster ignorance, subservience, and reliance by limiting the public's access to information. While some forms of social participation, such as religious involvement, find resonance among young people, technology is penetrating deeply into South African society and presenting a novel way of social interaction between young people and across generations. Cellular phone usage is widespread and texting is an increasingly used mode of communication. Arcade game houses present a new access point for social interaction. The designers of civic programmes need to step outside of the traditional communication box and start to tap into these new modes of communication to reach young people.

Progress is being made in opening up traditional and new channels of communication for the majority of South Africans. Multi-Purpose Community Centres (National Information Technology Forum, 1998) are structures geared towards promoting community development by making available information, facilities, resources and training opportunities required to manage community development. To date the concept is implemented in thirty seven centres across the country and plans are afoot to enhance the functionality of such centres through Community Development Workers (Policy Co-ordination and Advisory Services, 2003). The Department of Social Development is now extending the success of multi-purpose centres to youth services. Youth focused services already in existence are the loveLife's Y-Centres and the UYF initiatives that have opened up channels of communication and training by linking young people to the 'technology super highway'. The UYF has used a wide array of information media to target the needs of as many youth as possible through initiatives such as their interactive internet portal, walk-in youth advisory centres staffed by 'infomediaries' and traditional call centres. Additionally, the launch of the South African Youth Card, popularly known as SAY, is a novel idea to afford youth discounts on a wide variety of products and services.

For sustainable change, we must return to the foundation where the values that shape our social interaction and social participation are formed. Families and communities are the bedrock of any thriving society. *Apartheid* was particularly destructive at this levels, and generated mistrust and division between and within communities. Violence is one of the manifestations of the systematic stress suffered by families and communities. Functional families offer the social, financial and emotional nurture and care that are essential to the development of well rounded citizens (Amoateng & Richter, 2004). Policy development in South Africa is increasingly paying attention to the family as an institution that haemorrhaged under the weight of poverty, unemployment, discrimination and daily hardship. The Department of Social Development, in 2005, launched the Integrated National Family Policy which sets out steps to meet the basic needs of families and to make resources available for the systematic rebuilding of families.

The Social Cluster of government, in partnership with civil society, through various initiatives such as the Moral Regeneration Movement, safer cities and safe schools projects, are also reweaving the social fabric of society to serve as a platform for both individual and collective growth. Concerted efforts are also required to bridge the divide across race groups and generate national identity, a combined sense of shared nationhood, belonging and social cohesion through programmes such as the Proudly South African

Campaign (Policy Co-ordination and Advisory Services, 2003). The Siyadlala Mass Participation Programme, and other such initiatives, are using sport and recreation to foster national development in disadvantaged, rural and high crime areas. This programme works in tandem with the Building for Sport and Recreation Programme, which is employing youth to build and manage sport and recreation facilities in disadvantaged communities. Young people, with their idealism, hope for the future and openness to change, should be at the forefront of building a unique South African identity while holding on to the strengths offered by our diverse cultures.

3.6 SPECIAL TARGET GROUPS

The Constitution also provides for the prevention of discrimination on the basis of gender and disability. A patriarchal system that asserted and affirmed discrimination had no place for women's empowerment or the rights of the disabled. Watershed documents such as the White Paper on an Integrated National Disability Strategy published in 1997 were instrumental in highlighting the extent of exclusion experienced by disabled people from mainstream society and violations to their fundamental human rights that they endured. The Office on the Status of Disabled Persons currently situated in the Office of the Presidency and a network of non-governmental bodies work together to realize the rights and response to the needs of disabled people.

As a signatory to the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination (CEDAW), the Beijing Platform for Action as well as SADC agreements to promote gender equality, South Africa has instituted a number of legislative steps to protect and promote the rights of women. The passing of the Commission on Gender Equality Act in 1996 led to the formation of the Commission of Gender Equality that has as its mandate the promotion of gender equality. The Office on the Status of Women located in the Presidency also provides support to efforts to mainstreaming gender equality through provincial departmental programmes. Despite some initial strategic hurdles (Hassim, 2005), the gender machinery in South Africa, including non-governmental partners, has provided the impetus for the promulgation of several landmark pieces of legislation including the Termination of Pregnancy Act (1996) (largely supported by reproductive rights lobbyists), the Domestic Violence Act (1998), the Recognition of Customary Marriages, and The Maintenance Act (1998). The Employment Equity Act also entrenches the rights of women to equal employment opportunities and efforts are being made to redress gender imbalances in the labour market, although progress is notably slow especially at higher management levels.

3.7 CONCLUSION

This chapter bears testament to the multiple policy steps that have been instituted to turn around from *Apartheid* almost every facet of South African society. For the creation of an enabling environment, government and civil society are both winners. And yet, looming in the background after 10 years of democracy, are questions regarding the extent to which policy formulation has been translated into practice and become reality for ordinary South Africans. Youth are mainstreamed in many of these policies with some focused policies on their special needs. The country has made worthy, yet time intensive investments in structures such as the Youth Commission, the Umsobomvu Youth Fund and the Commission on Gender Equality to fast-track and monitor the advancement of special target groups. The second decade of democracy is in fact dedicated to reaping the rewards of those investments through the implementation of quality service delivery across the length and breadth of the country. The call for this from the public is increasingly finding its voice and gaining momentum. Even at the local governmental level, through integrated development plans, youth now have the opportunity to shape community priorities. However,

the capacity of provincial and local government structures to unpack youth issues and deliver services remains a considerable constraint (Policy Co-ordination and Advisory Services, 2003). The National Youth Policy asserts that young people are expected to grasp the reigns and lead their own development. The mass base of young people and society at large eagerly anticipate this leadership.

There is no doubt that ten years of youth work in South Africa has advanced, at least when judged on efforts to create an enabling environment. A reflection on the goals set out in the National Youth Policy and the subsequent Youth Development Framework reveal that the majority of the programmes identified to build youth development have given birth to policy frameworks or are in fact being tested in pilot projects. It is clear, though, that fledgling projects of proven efficiency and effectiveness need to be taken to scale.

Holistic and wide-scale youth development cannot be achieved through vertical programmes. Opportunities abound in governmental projects to achieve multiple objectives through inter-sectoral collaboration. The National Youth Service Programme with opportunities for skills development, and service and community building, is a case in point. Inter-sectoral collaboration however, is easier advanced as a concept than implemented on the ground. In this regard, the establishment of the cluster approach in government is a step in the right direction. But even government cannot expand the reach of sustained service delivery, especially to the most marginalized sectors of the population, without the help of a vibrant non-governmental sector. Yet NGOs are struggling under the weight of funding crises and an exodus of leadership talent into government and the private sector. Opening up funding channels to NGOs with sound governance structures and a proven history of service delivery must be optimized in order to complete the circle of service delivery for young people.

EDUCATION AND SKILLS DEVELOPMENT

Summary points:

1. Democratised South Africa inherited an unequal education system, with poor quality institutions, curricula, teaching and infrastructure provided to Black people, especially African people.
2. Over the last three decades there has been a dramatic expansion of both public and private education and especially in the enrolment of African youth and women. The number of young people in historically disadvantaged groups who complete their secondary schooling has risen significantly. However, reduction in the numbers of young people with little or no schooling has been limited. Lack of education affects young women and African youth in particular.
3. With increasing education among large segments of the population, young people with low levels of education are especially vulnerable to unemployment and exclusion from economic opportunity.
4. The majority of young people place a high value on education. However, racial and gender inequalities in access to education remain and their effects are evident in determining which young people are able to continue their education. Close to half of Black youth who are not studying cite financial reasons for not continuing their education.
5. As a result of repetitions and dropouts, the average number of years needed to reach Grade 12 is 60 percent higher than the minimum requirement of 12 years.
6. More effective measures need to be instituted to change the perception among young people that school environments are unsafe or unsupportive. In particular, more emphasis should be placed on disadvantaged schools that report high levels of bullying, fighting (including with weapons), and vandalism.
7. Unemployment is inversely related to education, with better educated young people being less likely to be unemployed. However, the largest growth in unemployment since 1995 has been amongst people with matric and tertiary education. Educated young Africans are worst affected by this trend. This may be related to the types of tertiary qualifications they have, and the kinds of institutions from which they have graduated.

Don't sweat it ...

Born and raised in Lenasia, 20-year-old Muhammed Patel, the only son in a family of four, speaks passionately of his vision for the future and his role in it. He describes himself as incredibly zealous and as having a special sense for business.

Upon completing matric, he took a six month break, which he used to better orient himself in his religion, which he believes holds his life together. He enrolled in a cultural studies course with an organization in Lenasia, in which he memorized sections of the Quran (the Islamic sacred book). Having completed the course, he found part time employment at Queens Park, a retail factory in Lenasia.

After six months of working at the factory he was promoted and the company drew up a new contract for him – he became a permanent casual and took on a supervisory position in the cashier department. In his new position he was responsible for authorizing sale returns and sale vouchers. He also received additional training in various management-related areas. As if that was not enough, he was later promoted to become a co-administrator, responsible for reconciliation and stocktaking, and also for the overall operations of the ladies department. At the age of 18, Muhammed had moved up through the ranks of the factory and finished up as a member of the management team.

Muhammed's experience at the factory set the tone and foundation for his interest and choice of study – and he soon enrolled with the University of the Witwatersrand in Johannesburg. Currently in his second year, Muhammed is pursuing a Bachelor of Commerce, majoring in Finance and Management. From an early age he has always wanted to be an entrepreneur.

When his father started his own business, Mohammed assisted him in overcoming the operational challenges of setting up a new business and with the basic management of the business. Given the knowledge and skills he had gained at the factory, Muhammed was ready for the challenge.

It is at university where Muhammed heard about Junior Achievement and its Mini-Enterprise Programme from a friend. He called Junior Achievement to ask about their programme. Though he had missed the deadline, he begged to be allowed into the programme. Fortunately, he was admitted to the Mini Enterprise programme. an engaging programme which provides business and related life skills training to young people. These skills include learning how to actively participate in corporate or industrial employment and how to start your own business. The programme runs for a period of 11 weeks in which the participants from different cultural backgrounds set up and run a mini company of their choice. Continuous mentoring is provided to the participants throughout the duration of the project.

Instead of working in a group, Muhammed decided to go at it alone as he says he had been dreaming and planning his business for a long time. He did all the groundwork with regards to the product prior to participating in the programme. He wanted to develop a substitute deodorant stick – using a catchy and trendy label **"BOD-X DON'T SWEAT IT!"** he proceeded to tell friends and contacts about his idea. To his surprise, the idea was met with great enthusiasm from key people. This not only confirmed the viability of his idea but also its possible success.

As part of the Mini-Enterprise programme activities, Muhammed was expected to develop a one-page business plan in which he was expected to clearly articulate his business idea as well as how he would execute it. He presented his idea in front of an audience, competing against 100 other students in Gauteng, and to his delight he made the top 3 students. He will soon be competing at a regional level, and to date he has also registered his product.

It is obvious that Muhammed's energy and passion will take him far. However, the business is still being set up and a great deal still needs to happen. There is no doubt that Muhammed has an innate business mind and that has been demonstrated in his brief tenure in his working and academic life.

"Being young at times is an obstacle, as people do not always take you seriously," he said. Again there is that anxiety that people might steal your idea, which is why he does not elaborate much on his advances. As a religious person, Muhammed indicated that wanting business success can at times create conflict in one's heart, and that is something he wanted to guard against. However, his family and friends had been incredibly supportive. He says being in the small league comes with its own dynamics. As part of his immediate development plans, Muhammed hopes to subcontract his services, while completing his degree over the next two years.

"I want to better the manufacturing industry within South Africa. I believe that by the third year of production, my product would have entered international trade, allowing the proudly South African logo to hold more weight. **BOD-X** will not only be limited to a deodorant but a range of cosmetic products which will follow."

"Espirit Descores!" meaning reach and strive for the best, do not limit yourself.

Source: Profile compiled by the Youth Development Network for the 'Celebrating Youth' function

This section addresses the issue of education and the role that it plays in the transitions of young South Africans into the world of work. Given the broad focus of the SYR survey, the topic of education could not be pursued in as much detail as it could have. For this reason, this section draws extensively on secondary sources to supplement the survey data.

In line with the global trend, young people spend more years acquiring the requisite levels of education, and therefore enter the labour market later than previous generations. As a result they remain financially and residentially dependent on their families of origin for a prolonged period. The impact of this change has been particularly pronounced in South Africa where massive growth of the education system in the last three decades has profoundly altered the life courses of young people, in particular, Black youth for whom access to education has undergone a considerable expansion post *Apartheid*.

Over half of the SYR respondents indicated that the completion of education was important or very important in their lives. Education is central to the development of young people because it prepares them for access to work. Employment in turn allows young people to attain financial independence and provides the means necessary to establish and take care of their own families. Education in South Africa has long been characterised by deep inequalities that impact profoundly on the life chances of young South Africans. This chapter focuses attention particularly on the persistence of inequalities in the education system and on the diverse impacts that inequalities have on the different categories of youth that form part of South Africa's diverse population.

4.1 THE FOUNDATIONS OF INEQUALITY IN SOUTH AFRICAN EDUCATION

South Africa is burdened with a grossly unequal education system created by *Apartheid* that "reserved the best education institutions for Whites and allocated third-rate institutions to blacks, particularly Africans" (Kraak, 2003: 10). Educational institutions that were created for Black people were characterised by poor quality curricula, teaching and infrastructure. Spatial and residential segregation also ensured that the main educational institutions for Black students were located in "isolated, rural and poorly resourced neighbourhoods". Continuing residential segregation, especially of low-income Africans in urban townships and predominantly Black rural areas, and differences in the structure of school fees, have ensured that the majority of African people continue to attend schools that were designed for them by the *Apartheid* system. In spite of large increases in Black enrolment rates and educational reforms instituted since 1994, educational

institutions that were inherited from *Apartheid* and continue to serve the majority of African people have remained “highly resilient in the face of change” (Kraak, 2003: 10).

The highly stratified educational system is matched by an extremely segmented labour market created by job reservation, residential segregation and labour coercion that were designed to provide cheap labour for South Africa’s early industrialization. Here again, in spite of reforms introduced first by the *Apartheid* state to address the problem of skilled labour shortages, as well as by the democratic government after 1994, the segmented labour market has remained largely intact (Kraak, 2003: 11).

Tables 33 and 34 provide an indication of the inequalities that existed in the education systems in *Apartheid* South Africa. The first of these tables shows learner enrolment in the various racially segregated education departments with the relative proportions of learners writing and passing the Senior Certificate Examination (SCE). While learners in the Houses of Assembly (Whites), Delegates (Indians) and Representatives (Coloureds) achieved SCE pass rates of 94.5 percent, 92.8 percent and 85.8 percent respectively, African learners in the Department of Education and Training had a pass rate of only 34.6 percent. For the various homelands, pass rates ranged between 25.3 percent in KwaNdebele and 63.3 percent in Bophuthatswana.

Table 33: Learner enrolment by former departments in 1994 and proportions of learners writing and passing Senior Certificate Examinations (SCE)

Former department	Learner enrolment	Proportion of learners writing the SCE (percentage)	SCE pass rate (percentage)
House of Assembly	976 450	6.5	94.5
House of Delegates	285 890	5.3	92.8
House of representatives	920 469	2.8	85.8
Department of Education and Training	2713 438	3.4	34.6
Qwaqwa	122 438	5.1	30.9
Bophuthatswana	662 996	4.0	63.3
Ciskei	281 244	4.5	35.2
Transkei	1 580 089	1.9	44.5
KwaZulu	1 758 241	2.4	42.3
KaNdwane	289 516	3.8	32.1
KwaNdebele	165 273	5.1	25.3
Gazankulu	386 532	4.9	50.4
Lebowa	1 144 039	6.8	29.0
Venda	274 571	5.2	52.6
Total	11 561 234	3.8	51.3

Source: Perry & Arends, 2003: 306

Table 34 provides information on infrastructure backlogs in schools in the different provinces in 1996. The data show that for those provinces which incorporated large areas of the former homelands (i.e. Eastern Cape, Limpopo, KwaZulu-Natal, North West, Mpumalanga and the Free State) backlogs in infrastructure such as classrooms, toilets, electricity and telephones were disproportionately greater than in the other provinces (i.e. Western Cape, Gauteng and Northern Cape).

Table 34: Infrastructure backlogs in the schools, 1996

Province	Percent of the national shortfall of:		Percentages of schools lacking:			
	Class-rooms	Toilets	Water in walking distance	Flush or improved pit toilets	Electricity	Telephones
E. Cape	26%	19%	34%	71%	73%	81%
KwaZulu-Natal	24%	25%	24%	65%	57%	66%
Limpopo	22%	21%	6%	83%	70%	62%
Free State	5%	6%	22%	70%	55%	74%
Gauteng	5%	6%	2%	7%	9%	14%
North West	5%	8%	8%	62%	47%	62%
Mpumala	8%	9%	16%	56%	37%	62%
Western Cape	3%	5%	4%	16%	10%	12%
Northern Cape	2%	1%	4%	26%	17%	22%
Total	100%	100%	17%	60%	52%	60%
Provinces with large homeland areas	91%	86%	20%	69%	60%	68%
Other provinces	9%	14%	3%	13%	10%	14%

Source: National Youth Commission, 2002: 25

4.2 EXPANSION OF THE EDUCATION SYSTEM

There has been dramatic expansion of both public and private education in South Africa and, more specifically, in the enrolment of African people over the past three decades. African public school enrolments grew from 3 688 432 in 1975 to 6 013 050 in 1985, and 9 378 425 in 1994, a growth rate of 154 percent over 20 years (Perry & Arends, 2003: 305). From only 8 378 candidates in 1975, African matriculation candidates grew to 337 821 in 1993. This growth was driven by a number of factors, including the need for a more skilled urban workforce in the late 1970s and the consequent acceptance of the permanency of Black workers in urban areas, demands for education by Black South Africans, and the growth of autonomous schooling systems in some of the homelands.

Similar changes were taking place in public higher education and further education and training (FET). African higher education enrolments increased fourfold from 97 485 in 1988 to 368 289 in 2000. The same period saw a decrease in White enrolments from 196 204 to 165 978. Parallel changes in FET colleges saw student enrolment in technical colleges grow from 76 435 in 1991 to 350 465 by 2000. This growth was largely accounted for by African enrolments. Changes in the racial composition of tertiary education institutions have been profound, with Black students constituting the majority in all institutions of higher learning, including those previously reserved for White students.

Expansion has also taken place in private education institutions, particularly from 1990 onwards, with more than 60 percent of all current independent schools being registered since that time. Enrolments in independent schools increased from 103 854 in 1990 to 382 239 in 2002, although independent school enrolments still constitute only a very small part (about 3.2%) of the total school population. Black students now make up a majority (70.6%) of learners in independent schools. Furthermore, there has been significant growth in the private FET sector, with about 70 percent of institutions being established in the period between 1992 and 2001. Here also, Black students now constitute a majority, with 73 percent African

students, 6 percent Indian students, 11 percent Coloured students and 10 percent White students (Du Toit, 2003; Kraak, 2003).

Using census data, Oranje (2003) has analysed trends in the educational achievement of young people (19-35 years) between 1996 and 2001. In general, his analysis shows significant improvements in the educational levels of young people in this period. In particular, the percentages of young people in historically disadvantaged groups who obtained matriculation or higher education qualifications showed strong improvement. For example, the number of young people with matric increased by 1 085 492 persons between 1996 and 2001 and rose from 23.6 percent of the age group in 1996 to 29.8 percent in 2001 (Oranje, 2003: 5). The percentage of youth with higher education qualifications increased by 2.6 percent from 6.28 percent of the age group in 1996 to 8.9 percent in 2001 (Oranje, 2003:29).

While progress appears to have taken place at the upper end of the education scale in that there have been significant increases in the numbers of matriculants and young people with higher education qualifications (with a corresponding reduction in the percentage of young people with some secondary schooling), this does not appear to be the case in relation to young people with little or no schooling. Oranje's analysis shows that between 1996 and 2001 a reduction of only 0.4 percent occurred in the numbers of young people without education. This reduction was also unevenly spread between males and females, with males showing a decrease of 0.7 percent of those without schooling as against a corresponding reduction of 0.1 percent for young women. Differences were also apparent in relation to the provinces. While most provinces experienced a decline in the percentage of young people without schooling, this figure increased in the Eastern Cape from 8.6 percent in 1996 to 11.0 percent in 2001.

These trends suggest that while considerable progress has been made in raising the educational levels of young people as a whole, nearly a tenth of young South Africans remain vulnerable as they have to take on adult responsibilities without the benefit of education. While the differences between the percentages of young men and young women with no schooling may be relatively small, they are indicative of a greater vulnerability of young women. In both 1996 and 2001 there were slightly more young women than young men without education (see Table 35 below). In contrast, young women improved their position in relation to higher education - in 2001 there were more young women (9.4%) than young men (8.4%) with higher education qualifications.

Table 35: Highest levels of education of youth (19-35 years) by gender, 1996 and 2001

Category	Male (%)			Female (%)			Both/Total (%)		
	1996	2001	Difference	1996	2001	Difference	1996	2001	Difference
No Schooling	8.70	8.03	-0.67	9.24	9.14	-0.10	8.98	8.59	-0.39
Some Secondary	38.91	36.06	-2.85	40.18	36.43	-3.75	39.58	36.24	-3.34
Matric	23.79	29.86	6.07	23.62	29.74	6.12	23.70	29.80	6.10
Higher	6.27	8.38	2.11	6.29	9.41	3.12	6.28	8.90	2.62

Source: Oranje, 2003: 29

Similar trends are evident in relation to African youth. The percentage of African youth with a matric increased from 20.1 percent in 1996 to 27.1 percent in 2001, while the percentage of young Africans with higher education qualifications nearly doubled, increasing from 3.6 percent in 1996 to 6.4 percent in 2001. In contrast to these gains, the percentage of African youth with no schooling remained at about ten percent. In spite of a minimal proportionate decline from 10.8 percent (842 814 persons) in 1996 to 10.1 percent (948 621

persons) in 2001, the absolute numbers of young Africans without schooling increased, reaching nearly a million young people.

In order to obtain a broader perspective on how the educational levels of the different population groups have been changing over the last decade, data on the highest educational levels of the population groups from the 1994 October Household Survey and the Labour Force Survey of February 2002 were compared (see Table 36). Although the two sets of data are not strictly comparable due to differences in the period covered, the age groups and of course the datasets show strong similarities with Oranje's analysis. The comparison suggests a somewhat more optimistic scenario possibly because it covers a longer time period. For example, in relation to people without education the OHS/LFS data show a larger and more consistent decline for all races not only between 1995 and 2002, but also between the age cohorts, with the younger cohort having consistently lower percentages of young people without education. Increases in the percentages of young people with matric and tertiary education are also apparent, with particularly large gains by Indian and White young people in the 25-35 years cohort.

Against the background of nearly 40 percent of young people with matric and over 15 percent of those with tertiary qualifications being unemployed, young people who enter the labour market with lesser qualifications are even more vulnerable. In 2002 the highest rates of unemployment were among those (adults and young people) with a primary education (41.4%) and those with incomplete secondary education (48.4%) - see Table 67 in section 3.12. The gains in the number of matriculants and people with tertiary qualifications tend to overshadow young people with lesser schooling. Yet in 2002, young people with incomplete secondary education made up 51 percent of the youth population between 18 and 35 years, while those with primary qualifications made up a further 15 percent. While some of these young people were still at school and might go on to obtain matric or even tertiary qualification, this sub-group is likely to constitute a small minority. For those who do not improve their educational qualifications, obtaining employment (except perhaps for the most menial jobs) will prove to be a substantial challenge. Many of these young people are functionally illiterate and perhaps even unemployable.

Table 36: Highest levels of education of youth by age and race, 1995 and 2002

Level of education	African		Coloured		Indian		White	
	1995	2002	1995	2002	1995	2002	1995	2002
No education								
18-24 years	4.2	1.5	2.2	0.9	0.4	0.3	0.2	0.1
25-35 years	8.0	4.8	4.1	3.8	0.8	0.4	0.2	-
Primary								
18-24 years	21.6	15.8	19.1	18.8	2.2	1.4	0.5	0.9
25-35 years	29.1	21.8	27.8	27.9	5.1	1.9	0.3	0.3
Incomplete secondary								
18-24 years	56.3	55.0	50.1	45.2	31.9	18.5	23.6	19.0
25-35 years	38.6	38.1	45.6	37.4	42.0	22.7	23.8	15.6
Matric								
18-24 years	15.7	23.9	25.5	31.1	57.3	69.1	59.0	61.0
25-35 years	17.2	25.3	17.1	22.7	39.5	53.6	44.4	44.5
Tertiary								
18-24 years	2.2	3.8	3.3	4.0	8.3	10.7	16.0	19.0
25-35 years	7.1	10.0	5.4	8.2	12.5	21.2	31.5	39.7

Source: Calculated from Statistics-South Africa's OHS, 1995 and LFS, February 2002

Table 37 confirms the trends in Oranje's data, showing that young women have improved their position in relation to higher education, with more young women in both age groups having higher education qualifications than men. The table also shows that women in the 18-24 years cohort have a higher percentage of matriculants than their male counterparts. Furthermore the data suggest that the gender gap in relation to young people without education is being closed.

Table 37: Highest levels of education of youth by age and gender, 1995 and 2002

Level of education	Male		Female	
	1995	2002	1995	2002
No education				
18-24 years	3.5	1.3	3.4	1.4
25-35 years	6.1	3.8	6.6	4.6
Primary				
18-24 years	19.7	16.5	17.6	13.5
25-35 years	24.0	21.1	24.6	19.6
Incomplete secondary				
18-24 years	50.9	51.9	52.4	50.3
25-35 years	36.6	35.2	38.1	36.4
Matric				
18-24 years	22.1	25.9	22.5	29.6
25-35 years	22.1	27.9	21.1	26.7
Tertiary				
18-24 years	3.9	4.3	4.0	5.2
25-35 years	11.3	12.1	9.6	12.7

SOURCE: CALCULATED FROM STATISTICS-SOUTH AFRICA'S OHS, 1995 AND LFS, FEBRUARY 2002

4.3 REGISTRATION AT EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

Having considered the broad trends relating to educational provision and enrolment, we now turn our attention to the current involvement of young people in education based on the SYR survey conducted at the end of 2003. Just over a quarter (27.3%) of young people sampled in the SYR survey were registered with an educational institution at the time of the survey. Of these, 70 percent were African, 15 percent White, 10 percent Coloured and 4.6 percent Indian, illustrating the lag of Africans in the educational system. Nearly equal proportions of males (50.5%) and females (49.5%) were registered. Of those who were registered at educational institutions, 46 percent were at school and 54 percent were attending tertiary institutions, with 49.4 percent at university, 25.7 percent at technikons, 14.6 percent at technical colleges and 10.1 percent at other colleges.

As Table 38 shows, there was considerably higher registration in educational institutions at ages 18-24 years among White and Indian youth than for the rest of the population. On the other hand, higher proportions of African and White young people in the 25-35 age groups were registered at educational institutions. Considerably fewer women were still registered at ages 25-35 years suggesting that more males than females only complete Grade 12 after age 25 years. Some confirmation of this is provided by Table 38. This data shows that, for equivalent levels of education, women have a lower mean number of years spent in education. It was only among African youth, that more males than females were registered at educational institutions. For other race groups, a considerably higher proportion of females were registered.

Table 38: Youth currently registered at a learning institution, 2003

Race	Gender	Age group			
		18-24		25-35	
		n	%	n	%
	Male	381	39.0	107	15.1
	Female	413	37.5	66	8.8
African		561	33.5	120	11.0
Coloured		87	47.8	10	7.6
Indian		43	65.2	2	3.6
White		104	65.0	41	22.9

Table 39: Mean number of years of education completed by gender, 2003

Gender	What is the highest level of education that you have completed?	At what age did you leave school?
Male	13.20	19.24
Female	13.20	18.98
Total	13.20	19.19

Table 40 provides an analysis of young people in the SYR sample who were still attending school by race and gender. In terms of gender, the data show that slightly more young women than young men in the 18-24 year age group were attending school, while for the 25-35 year cohort slightly more men than women were attending school. This provides some confirmation that women tend to leave school earlier than men, but it should be noted that the differences are relatively small. In terms of the population groups, more Coloured and African respondents were attending school than Indian and White respondents. In particular, very few Indian youth were attending school, with only three respondents in the 18-24 years cohort and no respondents in the 25-35 years cohort. This may be due to the small numbers of Indians in the SYR sample (Indians make up a relatively small proportion of the South African population). However, other trends to be discussed below also suggest that Indian youth may make the transition through education faster than other population groups. The very high percentage of Coloured respondents who were still at school is more difficult to explain, except that this may be attributed to a sampling distortion.

Table 40: Young people attending school, 2003

Race	Gender	Age group			
		18-24		25-35	
		n	%	n	%
	Male	184	18.8	24	3.4
	Female	217	19.7	20	2.7
African		318	19.0	41	3.7
Coloured		55	30.2	1	0.8
Indian		3	4.5	-	-
White		25	15.6	2	1.1

In relation to registration at tertiary institutions, the data show slightly more women attending tertiary institutions than men in the 18-24 year cohort and considerably fewer women than men in the 25-35 year cohort (see Table 41). This trend is consistent with the means presented in Table 38 and suggests that women make the transition through education faster than men. In terms of race, the data show a clear advantage of White and Indian young people over African and Coloured young people in their access to tertiary education. The overall percentages of students attending tertiary institutions were 7.5 percent for African youth, 10.2 percent for Coloured youth, 29.8 percent for Indian youth and 33.6 percent for White youth. Also noteworthy is that while Indian respondents in the 18-25 years cohort had the highest percentage of registration in tertiary education, there were no Indian respondents attending tertiary institutions in the 25-35 years cohort, again suggesting that Indians may complete their education faster than the other groups. Some confirmation of this is provided in Table 42, which shows that Indian young people have a high mean for level of education but a relatively low mean age of leaving school. While the White sample had a relatively large percentage of tertiary students in the 18-24 year cohort (although lower than that of Indian youth), they were also well represented in the 25-35 year cohort, with four times as many tertiary students as African and Coloured youth.

Table 41: Young people registered in tertiary education institutions, 2003

Race	Gender	Age group			
		18-24		25-35	
		n	%	n	%
	Male	133	13.6	70	9.9
	Female	157	14.2	29	3.9
African		152	9.1	55	5.0
Coloured		25	13.7	7	5.3
Indian		36	54.5	-	-
White		77	48.1	37	20.7

With respect to the mean number of years of education successfully completed⁴, Table 42 shows considerable variation in the highest level of education for the population groups, with White young people attaining the highest levels and African young people the lowest levels of education. The mean age difference at which young people leave school is much narrower among the groups. This may indicate that African youth, with the lowest number of years of education completed, both start school later and repeat more grades, and thus

⁴ "Mean number of years of education successfully completed" was calculated on the basis of the number of years necessary to complete an educational qualification rather than the number of years spent in an educational setting.

end up leaving school at approximately the same age as their counterparts in the other population groups. As discussed above, Indian young people also have a high mean level of education that is only 0.13 lower than that of White young people, while their mean age of leaving school is lower than that of White youth.

Table 42: Mean number of years of education successfully completed and age of leaving school by race, 2003

Race	Mean number of years successfully completed	Age of leaving school
Black African	12.70	19.11
Coloured	13.64	19.63
Indian	15.95	19.29
White	16.08	19.45
Total	13.20	19.19

Very similar patterns are apparent in relation to respondents who live in urban and rural areas. Table 43 shows that respondents in metropolitan and other urban areas, on average, had higher levels of education than young people in rural areas. On the other hand, young people in metropolitan areas tend to leave school at a later age than those in rural and other (non-metropolitan areas). The likely explanation for this is that more learners in rural and non-metropolitan areas drop out of school before completing grade 12.

Table 43: Mean number of years of education completed and age of leaving school by type of area, 2003

Area type	Mean number of years successfully completed	Age of leaving school
Metropolitan/city	13.73	19.54
Urban-non-metropolitan	13.41	19.00
Rural	12.66	19.06
Total	13.20	19.19

A further indicator of inequalities in access to education between youth in urban and rural areas is presented in Table 44 below. This shows that a considerably smaller percentage of young people in rural areas were attending tertiary institutions than young people living in urban areas. The very low percentage of rural respondents who were attending tertiary institutions is probably a product of both lower levels (and quality) of education in rural areas and of the urban location of most institutions of higher learning.

Table 44: Youth attending tertiary institutions by area type, 2003

Area type	Attending tertiary institutions	
	n	Percentage
Metropolitan	177	14.8
Non-metropolitan urban	124	14.7
Rural	88	5.9
Total	389	11.0

Table 45 shows the distribution of students among the different kinds of institutions of higher learning. A clear majority of tertiary students were registered at universities (54%), followed by those attending technikons (28%) and technical colleges (16%). As Kraak (2003:14-15) points out, South African learners and their parents tend to be prejudiced against school-based technical or college-based vocational education, resulting in lower enrolments in technical and training colleges than in universities and technikons. This has the effect of "creating the 'inverted triangle' institutional landscape unique to South Africa.

Table 45: Population of young people registered with tertiary educational institutions, 2003

Institution	n	Percentage
Technical college	58	16.0
Training college	6	1.7
Technikon	102	28.2
University	196	54.1

4.4 CONSTRAINTS AND COMMITMENTS TO STUDYING

Of all young people who were not registered at educational institutions, affordability was the main reason given for not studying. In addition to the 38.3 percent of young people who directly stated that they could not afford to study, an additional 4.2 percent stated that their parents wanted them to support the family, while 2.8 percent said their parents wanted them to be independent. Furthermore, a substantial number of young people (11.5%) reported that they had stopped studying in order to get a job so that they could become independent, while a further 9.2 percent said they stopped studying in order to get a job so that they could save to study further. All of these reasons are related to affordability or financial constraints and, taken together, account for two-thirds of the respondents who answered the question as to why they were not currently studying. There were marked differences in the extent to which the affordability of education impacted on members of the different racial groups. Of the 38 percent of young people who cited financial constraints as their reason for not studying, 40.7 percent of African young people who were not studying directly cited financial reasons for not studying, with corresponding percentages of 34.4 percent for Coloured youth, 19.7 percent for Indian youth and 16.4 percent for White youth (see Table 46).

Table 46: Reasons provided by respondents for why they are no longer studying, 2003

Reason	n	Percentage
I do not need to study further because I have a job	242	10.6
I wanted to get a job so that I could become independent	261	11.5
I wanted to get a job so that I can save for further studies	209	9.2
My marks are not good enough to allow me to study further	82	3.6
I failed the last course/year of study I undertook	20	.9
My parents wanted me to be independent	63	2.8
My parents wanted me to support the family	96	4.2
I can't afford to study	865	38.3
I think I can get a job without to study further	38	1.7
I had to look after family/relatives	48	2.1
I got pregnant	132	5.8
I am/was tired of studying	40	1.8
I have completed my educational goals	150	6.6
I have an illness that prevents me from studying further	30	1.3
Total	2276	100.0

A further indicator of how affordability impacts on the education of the different population groups can be gauged from the responses of young people to a question regarding whether they had received financial support from their parents or families while studying. While 98 percent of Indian respondents, 90 percent of

White respondents and 89 percent of Coloured respondents reported receiving financial support, only 79 percent of African respondents said that they had received financial support (see Table 47).

Table 47: Respondents who received financial support while studying by race

Population group	Received financial support	
	n	Percentage
African	2 077	78.6
Coloured	259	89.3
Indian	116	97.5
White	292	89.8
Total	2 744	81.3

This pattern is even clearer in relation to inequalities between urban and rural areas, in that only 72 percent of respondents from rural areas reported receiving financial support for their education in contrast with 87 percent of respondents from the metropolitan areas and 90 percent from other urban areas. Of the 18.7 percent of respondents who reported not receiving financial support, a majority of these (64%) were from rural areas (see Table 48).

Table 48: Respondents who received financial support while studying by area type

Area type	Received financial support	
	n	Percentage
Metropolitan	991	86.9
Non-metropolitan urban	726	90.0
Rural	1 027	71.9
Total	2 744	81.3

Against the background of financial difficulties associated with studying and the high levels of unemployment including among matriculants and graduates, there is a threat that young people might begin to lose interest in education. However, responses to a question about whether respondents in the SYR survey would like to continue studying at some later stage in their lives showed that three-quarters of respondents in the survey wanted to study further. Table 49, which provides a breakdown of these responses by age group, gender and race, shows very high levels of commitment to studying further among the 18-25 year cohort across both race and gender. Lower percentages in the 25-35 year cohort can probably be attributed to this older age group having higher levels of employment than the younger age group, as well as to their having been out of school and other institutions of learning for longer periods of time. Young women were marginally more committed to further study than young men, while White and African respondents showed higher levels of commitment than Indian and Coloured respondents. The relatively low percentage of Indian respondents in the 25-35 year age group who said they would like to study further may be indicative of a more pragmatic approach to education among this group. As we saw earlier, while Indian respondents had relatively high levels of education, they tended to spend less time in obtaining qualifications, and there were very few Indian respondents who were still registered at tertiary institutions in the 25-35 year age group.

Table 49: Respondents who said they would like to study further by age group, race and gender

Race	Gender	Age group			
		18-24		25-35	
		n	%	n	%
	Male	785	80.2	460	64.9
	Female	887	80.5	518	69.0
African		1 352	80.8	749	68.5
Coloured		140	76.9	78	59.1
Indian		49	74.2	23	41.8
White		131	81.9	128	71.5

In relation to location, somewhat more respondents in the metropolitan areas than in the rural and non-metropolitan areas said that they would like to continue studying. This may be as a result of the higher value placed on education and skills in highly industrialised contexts, the greater demands for highly skilled labour, and the greater exposure of young people to information (see Table 50).

Table 50: Respondents who said they would like to study further by type of area

Area type	Would like to continue studying	
	n	Percentage
Metropolitan	968	80.8
Non-metropolitan urban	612	72.4
Rural	1 070	71.4
Total	2 650	74.8

Respondents were also asked to rate how important studying was in their lives. Nearly nine-tenths of respondents (88.8%) rated studying as either important or very important, with small differences between the responses of males and females. There were no statistically significant differences between the population groups regarding the value and importance of studying in young people's lives. However, respondents in the metropolitan and other urban areas placed somewhat more value on studying than those in the rural areas, although it should be noted that nearly 84 percent of rural respondents rated studying as important or very important (see Table 51). Differences between the age groups were less pronounced than in relation to studying further (see Table 49 above), although generally the 25-35 year cohort was slightly less likely to rate studying as important than was the younger age group.

Table 51: Respondents' ratings of the importance of studying in their lives, 2003

	Metropolitan		Urban non-metropolitan		Rural
	n	%	n	%	%
Very important/Important	2 950	94.0		90.2	83.7
Somewhat important	209	3.0		5.9	9.1
Not important/Not at all important	163	2.9		3.8	7.1
Total	3 322	100		100	100

4.5 REPETITIONS AND DROPOUTS

It is noteworthy that growth in the educational sector has allowed South Africa to achieve one of the highest gross school enrolment rates in Africa. However, growth rates have begun to level off in the past five years

and participation rates in higher education and FET remain low (Kraak, 2003:18). Moreover, growth in institutional capacity has not kept up with the expansion of student numbers, and the limitations on throughput imposed by *Apartheid* policies continue to plague the system. For example, it is estimated that about nine percent of secondary school learners drop out of school before completing Grade 12 (Perry & Arends, 2003: 309).

Table 52 shows repetition and dropout rates in 1997 for the various school grades based on a model developed by Perry and Arends (2003). In terms of this model, the overall average dropout rate in the primary phase was 3 percent, and Perry and Arends suggest that most of these learners dropped out because they were over-aged. In relation to the secondary grades, drop out rates increased steadily to Grade 11 with 14 percent of learners dropping out of school at this grade. Repetition rates were also high, particularly in Grade 1. Perry and Arends (2003: 311) attribute this high Grade 1 repetition rate to the “baby-sitting function that Grade 1 performed for under-age learners”. This problem has since been addressed in 2000 by the implementation of an age-grade admissions policy, which requires that learners must turn seven in the year of their admission to Grade 1. Repetition rates were also high for Grades 8-12. Perry and Arends calculate that, as a result of high repetition and dropout rates, the average number of learner years needed to reach Grade 12 was 60 percent higher than the minimum requirement of 12 years in both 1997 and 2000.

Table 52: Repetition and dropout rates, 1997

Grade	Repeater rate (percentage)	Drop out (percentage)
1	24.0	-
2	9.8	3.9
3	9.6	3.1
4	10.2	4.7
5	9.3	4.4
6	7.2	5.2
7	6.2	-
8	16.7	7.5
9	16.1	7.3
10	18.1	9.7
11	19.4	14.1
12	17.8	-

Source: Perry & Arends, 2003: 11

A further cause for concern is associated with the reduction of the total school population between 1997 and 2000 and the levelling off of Grade 12 enrolments. The largest reductions were in the primary phase where enrolments dropped by 8.5 percent between 1997 and 2000. While most of this reduction can be attributed to the policy on age requirements, reductions in primary phase learners of 15 percent in KwaZulu-Natal and 14 percent in the Eastern Cape, as well as a reduction of nine percent in the secondary phase in the Eastern Cape, are disquieting. Although the reasons for these high dropout rates have not yet been determined, Kraak (2003: 15) suggests that they may be a result of “poverty, the application of the policy to prevent serial repetition, HIV/AIDS and a general feeling of despondency as to the relevance of education in conditions of high unemployment.”

In relation to Grade 12 enrolments, following rapid growth in Senior Certificate Examination (SCE) candidates from the mid-1970s, the number of SCE candidates reached a plateau in the mid-1990s and then started to decline (see Table 53). Various reasons have been suggested for this decrease including the impact of HIV/AIDS on learners and their families, the policy of excluding repeaters, and dropping out by weaker

candidates prior to writing the SCE. Some support for this last reason is provided by increases in the SCE pass rate since 1997.

Table 53: Number of full time candidates enrolled for and passing the SCE from 1996 to 2001

Year	Number of candidates	Increase or decrease over previous year	Candidates passing	Increase or decrease over previous year	Pass rate	Candidates passing with exemption	Increase or decrease over previous year
1996	518 032		278 958		53.8%	79 768	
1997	556 246	7.4%	261 400	-6.3%	47.0%	69 007	-13.5%
1998	554 187	-0.4%	273 118	4.5%	49.3%	69 891	1.3%
1999	511 474	-7.7%	249 831	-8.5%	48.8%	63 715	-8.8%
2000	489 941	-4.2%	283 294	13.4%	57.8%	68 626	7.7%
2001	449 371	-8.3%	277 206	-2.1%	61.7%	67 707	-1.3%

Source: Perry & Arends, 2003: 318

4.6 LEARNING ACHIEVEMENT

Table 54 shows the Senior Certificate Examination (SCE) pass rate trends between 1994 and 2001 for the provinces. While a national net change in pass rates of 6.4 percent was achieved between 1994 and 2001, the provincial data show a number of fluctuations and differences in the performance of the various provinces. The poorest achievements over the period were for the Eastern Cape (-19.7%) and North West (-11%), while other provinces such as Limpopo (34%) and Gauteng (20.1%), for example, demonstrated large net gains in pass rates.

Table 54: SCE pass rates for full-time candidates with six or more subjects by province, 1994-2001

Province	Pass rates (Percentages)								Net change 1994-2001
	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	
EC	56.8	47.8	49.0	46.2	45.1	40.2	49.8	45.6	-19.7
FS	55.8	49.7	51.1	42.5	43.4	42.1	52.7	59.0	5.7
GAU	61.3	58.0	58.3	51.7	55.6	57.0	67.5	73.6	20.1
KZN	67.6	69.3	61.8	53.7	50.3	50.7	57.2	62.8	-7.1
LIM	44.4	37.8	38.8	31.9	35.2	37.5	51.4	59.5	34.0
MPU	47.5	38.2	47.4	46.0	52.7	48.3	53.2	46.9	-1.2
NW	70.2	66.3	69.6	50.0	54.6	52.1	58.3	62.5	-11.0
NC	77.7	74.5	74.1	63.8	65.4	64.3	71.2	84.2	8.3
WC	85.6	82.7	80.2	76.2	79.0	78.8	80.6	82.7	-3.4
National	58.0	53.4	54.4	47.4	49.3	48.9	57.9	61.7	6.4

Source: Department of Education, 2003: 28

A number of international projects have tested the achievements of South African learners against learners in other countries. Two of the recent instruments that have been applied in South Africa are the Third International Mathematics and Science Study Repeat (TIMSS-R) and the Monitoring Learning Achievement (MLA) project. The TIMSS-R tested the mathematics and science competence of Grade 8 learners in 38 countries. The test scores of South African learners in both mathematics and science were significantly lower than all other countries tested, including Malaysia, Tunisia, Indonesia, Chile and Morocco. Perry and Arends (2003: 316) suggest that this poor performance by South African learners should be seen against the higher

gross enrolment ratio in South Africa, a potential indication that the secondary school systems in other countries may be more selective of learners.

However, the MLA, which tested Grade 4 learners in literacy, numeracy and life skills, also produced results for South African learners which compared unfavourably with other participating African countries. These results, presented in Table 55 below, show that South Africa had the lowest average score on numeracy, as well as relatively low scores on literacy and life skills. In terms of life skills, for example, South Africa's average score fell below that of other southern African countries, such as Botswana, Zambia and Malawi.

Table 55: MLA average scores for numeracy, literacy and life skills tests by percentage

Country	Numeracy average	Literacy average	Life skills average
Tunisia	60.4	77.9	74.7
Mauritius	58.5	61.0	58.0
Morocco	56.4	67.6	62.3
Botswana	51.0	48.0	56.0
Uganda	49.3	58.7	66.8
Madagascar	43.7	54.7	72.1
Mali	43.6	51.8	56.9
Malawi	43.0	35.0	77.0
Senegal	39.7	48.9	45.7
Niger	37.3	41.1	44.7
Zambia	36.0	43.0	51.0
South Africa	30.2	48.1	47.1

Sources: Perry & Arends, 2003: 316

4.7 GENDER EQUITY

Since 1996, substantially more female learners have enrolled for the SCE than male learners. In general, however, female pass rates have been poorer than those of males, but as Perry and Arends (2003: 320) observe, this gap has been closing, with the female pass rate in 2001 only 3.5 percentage points lower than that of their male counterparts. Moreover, of those candidates who passed with merit, 58 percent were female, and of those obtaining distinctions, 61 percent were female. This means that women outperform men at the higher levels of achievement. A breakdown of male and female pass rates for the provinces is presented in Table 56.

Table 56: Senior Certificate examination results by province, gender and type of pass in 2001

Provinces	Gender	Type of pass (Percentages)		
		Ordinary pass	Pass with merit	Pass with distinction
Eastern Cape	Female	90.1%	8.4%	1.5%
	Male	91.6%	7.2%	1.1%
	Total	90.7%	7.9%	1.4%
Free State	Female	83.6%	13.5%	2.9%
	Male	88.2%	10.3%	1.5%
	Total	85.9%	11.9%	2.2%
Gauteng	Female	77.4%	18.0%	4.6%
	Male	81.9%	14.7%	3.4%
	Total	79.4%	16.5%	4.1%
KwaZulu-Natal	Female	83.8%	13.5%	2.7%
	Male	87.0%	10.9%	2.1%

	Total	85.3%	12.3%	2.4%
Limpopo	Female	95.7%	3.9%	0.4%
	Male	94.6%	5.1%	0.3%
	Total	95.2%	4.5%	0.4%
Mpumalanga	Female	89.2%	9.4%	1.4%
	Male	91.1%	7.9%	1.0%
	Total	90.1%	8.7%	1.2%
North West	Female	90.0%	8.8%	1.2%
	Male	91.4%	7.8%	0.8%
	Total	90.7%	8.3%	1.0%
Northern Cape	Female	81.1%	16.4%	2.4%
	Male	85.6%	11.9%	2.5%
	Total	83.3%	14.3%	2.5%
Western Cape	Female	73.4%	21.1%	5.5%
	Male	78.2%	17.3%	4.5%
	Total	75.6%	19.4%	5.0%
National	Female	85.0%	12.4%	2.6%
	Male	87.8%	10.3%	1.9%
	Total	86.3%	11.4%	2.3%

Source: Department of Education, 2003: 23

4.8 SCHOOL FEES AND INEQUALITY

Two sources of inequalities in the education system can be identified: Those that originate from the inequitable distribution of resources to schools under *Apartheid* (such as poor facilities, unqualified and poorly-trained teachers), and those that stem from education policy or from the indirect effects of *Apartheid* (such as the spatial distribution of poverty and the overlap between race and class). An example of the latter, that is policy effect, is the decision of the post-*Apartheid* government to encourage public schools to supplement public funding with school fees (Fiske & Ladd, 2003). This decision was taken, not only to increase the resources available to schools, but also to prevent the mass movement of middle class and, in particular, privileged White learners, to private schools. While the school fees policy has been successful in keeping the majority of more privileged learners within the public school system, it has also had the unanticipated effect of perpetuating, and possibly even reinforcing, inequalities between public schools.

Within the context of overlapping racial and economic inequalities and persisting residential segregation, differential school fees have had a significant impact on enrolment patterns in schools. This is because parents select schools for their children that they are able to afford, while schools adjust their fees according to what is affordable to the communities they serve. In wealthy areas, therefore, school fees tend to be higher than in poorer areas, not only because parents can afford to pay higher fees but also because it is in the interest of schools to provide the highest level of education that is affordable to parents. Using data from the Western Cape, Fiske & Ladd (2003: 72-73) showed that the average annual fees for primary schools that primarily served African communities was R45 in contrast with R2 077 for the former House of Assembly (HOA) or 'White schools'. For secondary schools, the average annual fees were R105 and R2 700 in the former Department of Education and Training (DET) and HOA schools, respectively. While fees in the former Coloured or House of Representative (HOR) schools were higher than the DET schools, they were also significantly lower than those of the former HOA schools (see Table 57).

The outcome of such a fee structure, in conjunction with pre-existing racial segregation of schools under *Apartheid*, has been to perpetuate inequalities between schools and to limit racial integration of the schools. In the Western Cape, for example, 99 percent of learners in former DET schools were African in 2001, while 91 percent of learners in the former HOR schools were Coloured. Former HOA schools were racially more diverse with 65 percent White learners, 30 percent Coloured learners and five percent African learners.⁵ However, given the small numbers of learners with fee exemptions in HOA schools (4.1% in primary schools and 5.7% in secondary schools), it is likely that the majority of learners in HOA schools were from relatively better off households that were able to afford the higher school fees. One might therefore conclude, “to some extent race is being replaced by economic class as the determinant of who is able to go to the formerly White schools” (Fiske & Ladd, 2003: 74).

Table 57: Percentages of students with fee exemptions, primary and secondary schools by former department, Western Cape, 2002

	DET (African)	HoR (Coloured)	HoA (White)	Total
Average annual fee charged (in Rand)				
Primary	45	99	2077	443
Secondary	105	333	2701	1126
Percentages of students with fee exemption (no. of schools in parentheses)				
Primary schools (by fee quintile)				
1(low)	1.9 (67)	3.6 (156)	-	2.5 (226)
2	1.7 (37)	1.7 (188)	-	1.7 (225)
3	4.3 (6)	1.9 (219)	-	2.1 (225)
4	13.3 (4)	2.3 (218)	10.6 (2)	2.7 (225)
5(high)	0.0	1.3 (26)	4.1(197)	3.7 (226)
Total	2.5 (115)	2.2(810)	4.1 (199)	2.5 (1127)
Secondary schools (by fee quintile)				
1 (low)	0.9 (46)	1.7 (20)	0.0 (2)	1.1 (68)
2	2.5 (9)	3.6 (56)	0.0 (1)	3.4 (66)
3	-	4.0 (63)	-	4.2 (66)
4	-	3.8 (810)	6.9 (51)	5.9 (65)
5 (high)	-	-	5.1 (65)	5.1 (65)
Total	1.2 (55)	3.6 (154)	5.7 (119)	3.7 (331)

Source: Fiske & Ladd, 2003: 73

As Fiske and Ladd (2003: 74) point out, school fees will only have an impact on school quality “to the extent that they permit schools to significantly augment the resources provided by the state”. Tables 58 and 59 show the distribution of public and private resources in primary and secondary schools in the Western Cape. The data show that school fees were only likely to have an impact on the former HOA or White schools, in that the average annual fee of R2 077 per learner in primary schools, for example, would increase public funding by 54 percent. In contrast, the average annual fee of R45 in former DET schools would account for only one percent of their total revenue. Fees collected in the different categories of schools would allow former DET schools to hire less than a fifth (0.16) of an additional teacher, while former HOA schools would be able to hire close to four (3.82) additional teachers. Similarly, former HOR schools would be able to

⁵ Similar trends in the distribution of population groups among the different categories of schools are likely also to occur in other parts of the country. For example, a survey conducted by the HSRC in Gauteng schools in 2003 showed that 83% of African learners were in the former DET schools. Similar circumstances applied to White and Coloured learners, with 78% of White learners in the former Transvaal Education Department (TED) schools and 67% of Coloured learners in the former HOR schools. The biggest change appears to have taken place in the former House of Delegates (HOD) schools where African learners made up 77% of the sample (although accounting for only about 6% of the African school population) as against only about 20% of Indian learners. New Education Department (NED) schools included in the sample appeared to cater mainly for White (47%) and Indian (43%) learners, with the remainder made up of African (8%) and Coloured (2%) learners.

hire less than a third of a teacher, and former House of Delegates (HOD) schools one and a third teachers. The differences in private revenue generated by the various categories of schools may even be larger than indicated in the two tables as schools serving poor communities also experience greater difficulties in collecting fees from impoverished parents, and the fees themselves are usually too low to justify taking legal action against defaulting parents (Fiske & Ladd, 2003: 70).

Table 58: Public and private resources in primary schools, by former department, Western Cape, 2001

	DET (African)	HoR (Coloured)	HoD (Indian)	HoA (White)	Total
Resources per student (Rand)					
Annual fees charged	45	99	327	2 077	443
Total public funds per Learner	3 002	3 613	4 142	3 857	3 594
Teachers and teacher qualifications					
SGB teachers (number per school)					
	0.16	0.29	1.33	3.82	0.90
SGB teachers as a percentage of state paid teachers					
	0.60	2.20	12.50	28.50	6.30
Learners per state paid teacher					
	38.40	36.30	37.10	35.90	36.60
Average qualifications					
	13.41	13.10	13.51	14.05	13.30
Percentage of unqualified teachers					
	6.50	20.90	9.40	0.80	15.00

Source: Fiske & Ladd, 2003: 75

Tables 58 and 59 also provide information on teachers appointed by the school governing body (SGB) as a proportion of state-paid teachers. For secondary schools, Table 59, for example, shows that the percentage of SGB teachers was 0.4 percent for former DET schools, three percent for former HOR schools, 2.5 percent for former HOD schools, and 29.5 percent for former HOA schools. The remaining data provide information on learner-teacher ratios, the average qualifications of teachers and the percentages of unqualified teachers in the different categories of schools. For both primary and secondary schools, the former White schools are advantaged in relation to the other categories of schools, even though the differences between learner-teacher ratios are relatively small.

Table 59: Public and private resources in secondary schools, by former department, Western Cape, 2001

	DET (African)	HoR (Coloured)	HoD (Indian)	HoA (White)	Total
Resources per student (Rand)					
Annual fees charged	105	333	283	2 701	1 126
Total public funds per Learner	3 402	3 972	3 803	4 419	4 034
Teachers and teacher qualifications					
SGB teachers (number per school)					
	0.13	0.94	0.67	5.96	2.60
SGB teachers as a percentage of state paid teachers					
	0.40	3.00	2.50	29.50	9.40
Learners per state paid teacher					
	33.60	33.20	35.30	32.40	33.10
Average qualifications					
	13.83	14.10	14.17	14.48	13.30
Percentage of unqualified teachers					
	2.60	0.80	1.20	0.00	0.90

Source: Fiske & Ladd, 2003: 76

The expectation that the school fees collected by schools serving wealthier communities would release scarce state funds for poor schools did not materialise. Nor did popular pressure lead to increased state funding of education. Instead, the fees policy “did little, if anything to help historically disadvantaged schools. The policy as implemented included no explicit provision to free up more funds to be distributed to historically

disadvantaged schools". Fiscal austerity and the slow down of the economy associated with the Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) strategy left little leeway for additional public spending. Furthermore, as South Africa was already spending more on education than most other developing countries, policy makers were reluctant to devote more public funds to education (Fiske & Ladd, 2003: 64 & 79-81).

4.9 RURAL SCHOOLS AND INEQUALITY

As Gordon (2000: 7) points out, "education in rural areas has been shaped by the political and economic goals of *Apartheid* and colonialism". The two predominant types of schools in rural areas prior to the South African Schools Act in 1996 were the community schools in the homelands and farm schools located on commercial farms.

While farm schools were ostensibly created to provide schooling for the children of farm workers, they served the interests of farmers by keeping women and children on the farms and therefore securing a cheap and accessible labour force (Law, *et al.* 2002: 13; Gordon, 1997: 7) Under the Bantu Education Act of 1953 farmers' exercised considerable power over these schools. They were entitled to open and close schools on their properties and to make decisions about which learners were allowed to enrol as well as about the educational levels of schools. They also had the final say in the appointment of teachers, and, as property owners, had the right to evict learners and educators from the schools. Until 1987 farmers were also entitled to withdraw children from school to work on the farms (Gordon, 1997 & 1999).

Community schools in the homelands were usually built and maintained by communities, often without subsidies from the state. Most of these schools were in a very poor condition and had difficulty in attracting experienced teachers. Traditional leaders often played a key role in the governance of rural schools although their power varied from community to community. However, they were usually responsible for allocating the land on which schools were built and often controlled the collection of community funds for building and maintaining schools. Their position of power within the community also gave them considerable influence over key decisions relating to the schools (Gordon, 1997:7).

Funding policies of the *Apartheid* state resulted in a lower proportion of the budget being allocated to rural education. As a result, per capita expenditure on rural learners tended to be lower than that of other public schools. Teacher-pupil ratios were also higher than in other public schools and school buildings were poorly built and maintained. The School Register of Needs (SRN) survey conducted in 1996 showed that both farm and community rural schools had less equipment, fewer teaching resources and fewer specialised rooms such as libraries and science laboratories than urban schools. More schools in rural areas were also without basic services such as water, electricity and telephones than schools in urban areas. Furthermore, provinces that had higher proportions of rural schools tended to have larger percentages of unqualified or under-qualified teachers. For example, 69% of teachers in both the Eastern Cape and Free State were under- or unqualified. The enrolment of over-age learners resulting from high failure rates and re-entry of learners to schools was particularly prevalent in provinces with high proportions of rural learners. At secondary levels, the highest proportions of overage learners were in the Eastern Cape, Free State, Limpopo and North West (Gordon, 2000: 7-10).

However, some progress has been made since 1996 in addressing the problems associated with rural schools. For example, the 2000 School Register of Needs (SRN) found that there was less overcrowding in schools and that the average number of learners per classroom had declined from 43 learners in 1996 to 35 learners in 2000. During this time classroom shortages decreased from 49% to 40%. Gains were also made in reducing

the number of schools without access to potable water, toilet facilities and telephones. In spite of these gains, there were also some reversals, with the number of school buildings in good condition declining from 9 000 to 4 000, with at least 12 000 buildings in need of repair (Law *et al.* 2002:12). Moreover, as Table 60 illustrates, while considerable progress has been made in improving school infrastructure in all provinces, significant inequalities still exist between provinces, and the provision of infrastructure is especially low in those provinces with large and impoverished rural populations associated with the former homelands, such as the Eastern Cape, Mpumalanga, North West, Limpopo and KwaZulu-Natal.

Table 60: Percentage of schools with telephones, water, electricity, toilets and classroom shortages, 1996 and 2000

Province	Telephone		Water		Electricity		Toilets		Schools with classrooms shortages	
	1996	2000	1996	2000	1996	2000	1996	2000	1996	2000
Eastern Cape	19	59	57	59	22	40	75	81	65	47
Free State	26	59	61	68	42	54	83	87	24	16
Gauteng	91	96	94	97	86	93	98	99	26	26
KwaZulu-Natal	35	68	65	68	38	43	90	94	61	48
Mpumalanga	39	52	73	62	51	51	88	93	50	55
Northern Cape	76	92	90	97	81	88	98	98	16	10
Limpopo	38	49	34	63	21	51	91	93	66	49
North West	37	57	82	89	45	64	95	92	42	28
Western Cape	94	98	94	98	88	95	100	100	16	17
National	40	64	65	71	42	55	88	91	50	40

Source: Perry & Arends, 2003: 314

Rural schools not only have the historical disadvantage of larger backlogs in services and infrastructure than their urban counterparts, they are also located within contexts of more extensive and concentrated poverty. In South Africa poverty has a strong spatial dimension, with the majority of poor people living in rural areas. The concentration of poverty in rural areas (particularly the rural areas of the former homelands) is also crucial to the distribution of poverty between the provinces. (These issues are explored in greater detail in Section 5, which covers Poverty and Inequality).

Table 61 shows the distribution of learners between the provinces, the proportions of rural learners, and provincial poverty rates in 1996. The highest percentages of rural learners were in the Eastern Cape and Limpopo. These two provinces also had the highest poverty rates, with 78 percent and 77 percent of their populations, respectively, living in poverty. Together the two provinces accounted for 42 percent of the total population living in poverty in South Africa, with the Eastern Cape accounting for nearly a quarter of the country's poverty. While KwaZulu-Natal also bore a disproportionate share of the country's poverty (together the three provinces accounted for 63% of the country's poverty), it had a substantially lower poverty rate, in part a reflection of the relatively higher income levels in the urban areas. However, this should not allow one to underestimate the degree and extent of poverty in KwaZulu-Natal, nor the impact of poverty on rural education in the province.

Table 61: Rural population, learners in rural areas, nationally and by province, share of poverty and poverty rates per province, 1996

	Total learners	Percentage rural learners	Provincial poverty shares	Poverty Rate	Percentage non-urban population
National	11 951 618	56,7		40	44,6
Eastern Cape	2 221 807	79,4	24	78	62,7
Free State	786 348	32,7	9	66	30,4
Gauteng	1 421 396	8,3	6	19	3,6
KwaZulu-Natal	2 681 019	60,4	21	53	56,5
Mpumalanga	910 597	56,9	9	52	61,7
Northern Province/Limpopo	1 909 580	91,7	18	77	88,1
North West	955 680	66,0	9	57	65,2
Northern Cape	193 631	20,3	1	57	28,3
Western Cape	871 560	8,4	4	23	10,1

Source: Gordon, 1999: 10

Poverty, more specifically, rural poverty impacts on education in various ways. As discussed above, poor people are limited in their capacity to pay school fees, and low school fees in turn have the effect of limiting both the quality and outcomes of education. However, even with the relatively low fees of schools that serves impoverished communities, school fees and related costs such as school uniforms and transport lead to non-attendance of school by young people in rural areas (Gordon, 1999: 13). Moreover, poverty is not simply a lack of income, but has many inter-related dimensions, including poor health and nutrition, low levels of education, limited access to services, social isolation and vulnerability to economic and social shocks. For example, numerous studies have shown that better health improves school attendance and performance. Some buffers have been put in place to facilitate the learning capacity of poorer learners. The School Nutrition Programme is currently feeding almost 4.5 million primary school children across 15 000 schools (Policy Co-ordinating and Advisory Services, 2003). Attempts are also made to secure the health status of learners through the School Health Policy and Implementation Guidelines of 2003. The policy is premised on the primary health care approach and is located within the Health Promoting Schools Initiative to support educators and the school community in creating health promoting schools, to minimize or remove barriers to learning, to provide access to health services and to assist with the delivery of health education and health promotion. Mothers' education has also been shown to have a positive impact on their children's health (Kanbur & Squire, 1999: 16). Furthermore, poorly educated parents are limited in the extent to which they are able to help their children with schoolwork.

As Kanbur and Squire (1999: 20) point out, poverty is not just "a state of having little, but also of being vulnerable to losing the little one has", and therefore of being plunged even deeper into poverty:

Increasingly we are realizing that even such victories as the poor can achieve in improving their lot, no matter how virtuously linked to increasingly better outcomes, ultimately suffer from excessive fragility. Risks associated with being poor may wipe out hard-won gains overnight. ... In many cases, risk prevents the poor from undertaking possibly high-return activities. The problem of risk has at least two-dimensions, then: keeping the poor in low-risk, low-return activities, and endangering what they already have (Kanbur & Squire, 1999: 23).

Under conditions of severe stress and the absence of more conventional strategies to protect themselves against risk, poor people have often to resort to survival and coping strategies that may provide temporary relief, but are counter-productive to their livelihoods in the long-term. For example, it has been shown that when poor households face a loss of income, they often withdraw their children from school, thus limiting their children's future prospects of escaping poverty (Kanbur & Squire, 1999:24).

The vulnerabilities associated with poverty in general are compounded by conditions in rural areas. While unemployment is rife throughout the country, opportunities for employment are even scarcer in rural areas. As Gordon (2000: 2) observes, “rural schools, at best, provide an education that secures graduates a place in the city, so continuing the process of depleting the communities’ resources of their most talented youths.” Long distances, lack of transport and, where available, the cost of transport often means that rural learners have to walk long distances to school (Gordon, 1999: 13). Lack of safety infrastructure such as fences and gates make rural schools more vulnerable to crime and drug dealing (Law *et al.*, 2002: 40). Farm schools face special problems relating to farm ownership and the power this gives farmers over learners and parents (Law *et al.*, 2002: 31).

These and other vulnerabilities create and reinforce inequalities in education between rural and urban areas, lowering the quality and value of rural education, and creating further challenges for young people in rural areas to access employment, gain independence from their parents, establish their own families and, in general, find a productive place for themselves in society.

4.10 PERSONAL SAFETY AND LEARNING ENVIRONMENTS

A further source of inequality between the different categories of schools that is associated with the legacies of *Apartheid* and that has the effect of perpetuating educational inequalities, relates to the personal safety of learners and the quality of learning environments in schools. The findings of a survey conducted in 42 schools in Gauteng showed that, in spite of major shifts in educational policy and the redistribution of resources between schools, there were still major differences and inequalities between schools in Gauteng (Emmett, 2004). These differences were evident in relation to learners’ sense of safety in their schools, as well as to a broad range of behaviours of both learners and teachers that not only threaten the safety of certain categories of learners, but also were disruptive of the learning environment in certain schools. Generally, it was those schools that largely catered for historically disadvantaged groups where conditions were most severe, and those learners who were most deprived that suffered most from the impact of these conditions.

Differences between the various categories of schools were often stark. For example, while 52 percent of former House of Representative (HOR) learners, 45 percent of former House of Delegates (HOD) learners and 35 percent of former Department of Education and Training (DET) learners indicated that they did not feel safe in their schools, only 22 percent of former Transvaal Education Department (TED) learners and three percent of former New Education Department (NED) learners reported not feeling safe in their schools (see Table 62). These trends are closely mirrored by racial and economic status differences, with 42 percent of Coloured learners, 34 percent of African learners, 26 percent of Indian learners and 22 percent of White learners indicating feeling unsafe in their schools. There was also a progressive increase in feelings of safety as the socio-economic status of learners’ households increased, with 39 percent of learners in the poorest category feeling unsafe as against 21 percent in the best-off category.⁶

Table 62: School safety by types of schools, population group, and economic status

⁶ While these results and others reported in this section were based on the perceptions of learners, it is important to note that the learner questionnaire was supplemented with direct observation questionnaires completed by the fieldworkers who reported on general conditions in the schools they visited. A short questionnaire was also administered to six teachers in each of the schools. The answers provided by learners and educators were then compared for a selection of questions relating to safety and learning environments in the schools. While, on the whole, educators appeared to be a great deal more optimistic about conditions in the schools than the learners, there were some marked similarities in the responses of the two groups. In particular the extent to which the trends in the answers of learners and educators coincided with one another was striking. Comparison of the results of the direct observation with the responses of learners and educators also showed relatively high levels of agreement in relation to the identification of the most ‘problematic’ schools.

VARIABLE	Students feel safe in our school	
	Not true/slightly true	True/Definitely true
Departmental designation of schools		
DET	34.5	65.5
TED	22.2	77.8
NED	2.8	97.2
HOD	44.6	55.4
HOR	51.9	48.1
Population category		
African	34.3	65.7
White	21.8	78.2
Coloured	41.7	58.3
Indian	26.0	74.0
Economic status of household		
Not enough money for basic things like food and clothes		60.6
Have money for food and clothes, but short of many other things	35.0	65.0
Have most important things, but few luxury goods	29.5	78.9
Some money for extras like holidays and luxury goods	21.1	

Source: Emmett, 2004

With a few exceptions, reporting of incidents of violence in the schools closely follows learners' perceptions of safety. Thus 63.6 percent of former HOR learners maintained that there had been serious incidents of violence in their schools in comparison with 58.7 percent of former HOD learners, 51.8 percent of former DET learners, 44 percent of former NED learners and 29.5 percent of former TED learners. Of the different population groups, 69.2 percent of Indian learners indicated that there had been serious incidents of violence in their schools, followed by Coloured learners (58.3%), African learners (51%) and White learners (28.2%). There is a clear relationship between learners reporting incidents of violence in schools and the economic status of households, with learners from poorer households more likely to report incidents of violence. A similar association exists in terms of the academic performance of learners. Learners who obtained higher grades were less likely to report incidents of violence.

Detailed analyses of four problem behaviours (bullying, fighting, vandalism and bringing weapons to school) show consistent trends, with former HOR schools consistently having the highest percentages of learners reporting the four behaviours, followed by former HOD or DET learners, and then by former TED and NED learners. For example, the percentages of learners who reported bringing weapons to school by the different types of schools were as follows: former HOR 39 percent, former DET 29 percent, former HOD 26 percent and former NED 4 percent.

Similar trends were apparent in relation to population group, with Coloured respondents indicating the highest levels of the four behaviours, followed by African learners and then Indian learners, with White learners reporting the lowest levels. Consistent trends were also apparent in relation to economic status, with learners from poorer households reporting higher levels of all four behaviours than learners from better off households.

The extent to which educators monitor learners during school breaks show significant differences between the various categories of schools, with former NED learners reporting the highest rates of regular monitoring and former DET learners the lowest. In terms of population group, the highest rates of monitoring were reported by Indian learners (86%) followed by White learners (60%), with African learners reporting the lowest rates of regular monitoring (37%). Learners from poorer households also reported consistently lower

rates of monitoring than learners from more affluent households. In general therefore those learners most in need of monitoring by teachers were monitored least frequently.

A number of indicators were also used to assess the extent to which learners behaved well or poorly in class and how behaviour impacted on both learners and teachers. Responses to the four variables listed below, showed common underlying patterns.

- The learners are generally well behaved
- I feel I could learn more in class if students would behave better
- My teachers have a hard time dealing with disruptive students, and
- There is a lack of discipline in this school.

In general, responses indicated that learners in independent and especially former NED schools were perceived as better behaved with considerably less disruption of classes. Former HOR learners had the highest percentages of learners who felt that their teachers had a hard time dealing with disruptive students (82%) and that there was a lack of discipline in the school (55%). Former HOD learners also tended to indicate relatively high rates of disruptive behaviour and lack of discipline. Former DET learners indicated medium to high rates, and appeared to be particularly concerned about not being able to learn in class because of the poor behaviour of learners (87%). On the other hand, former TED learners indicated medium to low rates of misbehaviour, although their rates tended to be considerably higher than those of NED learners.

In terms of population groups, White and Indian learners generally reported the lowest rates of disruptive behaviours and lack of discipline, while Coloured learners generally had the highest rates. The one exception was in relation to being able to learn more in class if students would behave better, where slightly more African learners (85.8%) than Coloured learners (80%) agreed with the statement. Together with the responses of former DET learners, this may be indicative of a high level of concern among Black and former DET learners that they were not getting the full benefits of their education because of the misbehaviour of learners in their schools. For all four of these variables, learners from poorer households indicated higher rates of lack of discipline and disruption of learning environments.

In general, therefore, it is the most disadvantaged learners, both economically and historically, who have to cope with difficult learning environments, along with the many other challenges associated with impoverished family and community contexts.

4.11 CAREER GUIDANCE AT SCHOOLS

Against the background of very high rates of youth unemployment in South Africa, career choices can play a crucial role in whether young people are able to secure employment after completing their education. As Kraak (2003: 14) points out, the fundamental contradiction in the youth labour market is that while the school system has grown, the number of formal sector jobs available to school leavers has shrunk. Among other reasons for this disjuncture (such as low economic growth and the actual or perceived poor quality of South African schooling), Kraak (2003: 14-15) cites poor subject choices as contributing to the weak throughput from school to work. Besides social and cultural values that bias learners and their parents against school-based technical education and college-based vocational training, good career choices are also dependent on access to appropriate information about potential careers and their requirements. As only a

small minority of school leavers enter tertiary education, most school leavers are dependent on their school for guidance in making career choices.

However, as George (1996:1) points out, guidance and counselling services in South Africa have a chequered history. Guidance was only introduced into African schools in 1981, and although guidance and counseling had been in place in White, Coloured and Indian schools for far longer, by the mid-1990s all guidance services were experiencing problems due to financial constraints, the low status accorded to guidance practitioners, and the suspicion of African students who were challenging the system of education when career guidance was introduced in these schools.

Only 56 percent of respondents in the SYR survey reported receiving career guidance from their schools. There were no statistically significant differences between young men and young women with regard to receiving career guidance at school. As Table 63 shows, however, there were clear racial differences in the provision of career guidance at schools. Just fewer than 50 percent of African respondents reported receiving career guidance in contrast with 90 percent of White, 80 percent of Indian and 67 percent of Coloured respondents.

Table 63: Percentage of respondents who received career guidance at school by race, 2003

Population group	Received career guidance	
	n	Percentage
African	1370	49.5
Coloured	210	66.9
Indian	97	80.2
White	308	90.5
Total	1985	56.1

Similar inequalities existed in relation to residential areas in which respondents lived, with respondents living in the more urbanised areas being more likely to have received career guidance of any sort than those living in rural areas (see Table 64).

Table 64: Percentage of respondents who received career guidance at school by area, 2003

Area type	Received career guidance	
	n	Percentage
Metropolitan	766	63.9
Non-metropolitan urban	479	56.7
Rural	740	49.4
Total	1985	56.1

For those respondents who did receive career guidance at school, the majority appeared to receive guidance that was of questionable value in helping them to make informed choices on the kinds of careers to pursue. As Table 65 shows, more than half of the respondents (52.9%) were simply provided with information on educational institutions. The majority of these respondents (36.5%) were given lists of universities and technikons. Only about a fifth (19.3 %) had had the opportunity to discuss career options with teachers (6%) or career guidance experts (9.4%), or were given aptitude tests to determine career options for which they were best suited (3.9%).

Table 65: Kinds of career guidance provided at school, 2003

Kind of career guidance provided	n	Percentage
A list of universities and technikons	769	36.5
Information on the study programmes offered by different universities and technikons	345	16.4
A visit to one or more universities or technikons to expose you to different career options	234	11.1
A visit to one or more work places to expose you to different career options	129	6.1
A visit from one or more companies / organizations to expose you to different career options	99	4.7
A visit to a Career EXPO to expose you to different career options	88	4.2
Personal discussion with a teacher about career options	126	6.0
Personal discussion with a career guidance expert from outside the school about career options	199	9.4
Aptitude tests to assess what kind of career you are best suited for	83	3.9
Other	36	1.7
Total	2 108	100

Differences in the kinds of career guidance provided to learners of the different population groups are difficult to interpret perhaps as the categories of guidance can include a broad range of options of varying quality. The results suggest that Indian and African learners were more likely to receive information on educational institutions, while larger proportions of White and Coloured learners paid visits to institutions of learning/workplaces or received visits from companies/organisations. Coloured learners were also more likely than any of the other groups to have had discussions with teachers or guidance experts and to have taken aptitude tests (see Table 66).

Table 66: Kinds of career guidance provided at schools by population group, 2003

Population group	n	Information on educational institutions %	Visits to institutions and from companies %	Discussion with teachers and guidance experts/ aptitude tests %
African	1 488	57.1	23.2	19.8
Coloured	216	42.1	32.9	25.0
Indian	71	69.0	16.9	14.1
White	297	42.1	41.1	16.8
Total	2 072	53.8	26.5	19.7

In relation to the different types of areas in which people lived, the provision of information on educational institutions appears to have been more common in rural and non-metropolitan areas than metropolitan areas, while more personal attention such as discussions about career options were more likely to take place in metropolitan contexts (see Table 67).

Table 67: Kinds of career guidance provided at schools by type of area, 2003

Type of area	n	Information on educational institutions	Visits to institutions and from companies	Discussion with teachers and guidance experts/ aptitude tests
Metropolitan	803	47.1	26.4	26.5
Non-metropolitan urban	474	57.8	28.7	13.5
Rural	795	58.1	25.4	16.5
Total	2 072	53.8	26.5	19.7

4.12 EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT

Using data from the 1995 October Household Survey and the February 2002 Labour Force Survey, Borat (2003:41-47) analysed employment trends for the different levels of education between 1995 and 2002. His

analysis shows an increase in unemployment rates across all education categories, except for those with no schooling. While in both 1995 and 2002 the unemployment rates of those with matric and tertiary qualifications were lower than those with primary and incomplete secondary education, the largest *growth* in unemployment over this period occurred among people with matric and tertiary education. Unemployment rates grew by 56 percent for those with matric and by 139 percent for those with tertiary qualifications. It should also be noted that, by 2002, the unemployment rate of those with matric is only slightly lower than those with a primary education and has surpassed the unemployment rate of people with no schooling (see Table 68). Besides indicating, overall, the limited capacity of the economy to generate employment, these trends suggest that the rapid growth in unemployment at the top end of the education scale may be related to the expansion of education in general and to the difficulties that new entrants into the labour market have in finding jobs. It may therefore be indicative of growth specifically in *youth* unemployment. This is taken up in more detail in Section 4 which deals with Labour Market Issues.

Table 68: Unemployment rates by education level, 1995 and 2002

Education level	1995	2002
No schooling	33.12	32.20
Primary	35.49	41.38
Incomplete secondary	33.85	48.39
Matric	25.28	39.51
Tertiary	6.44	15.37
Total	29.24	39.51

Source: Borat, 2003: 43

The breakdown of tertiary unemployment rates by race shows that while all population groups experienced a growth in unemployment between 1995 and 2002, the greatest increase among those with tertiary qualifications was among African people (see Table 69). The increase in unemployment among this segment of the population from ten percent in 1995 to 26 percent in 2002 represents an increase of 160 percent. Although the unemployment rate among White people remains below that of the other population groups, the increase in unemployment for this group was higher than that of both Coloured and Indian people, with unemployment among White people with tertiary qualifications doubling between 1995 and 2002. However, as Borat observes, it is essentially the growth in African tertiary unemployment that largely accounts for the rise in national tertiary unemployment from six percent in 1995 to 15 percent in 2002.

Table 69: Tertiary unemployment rates by race, 1995 and 2002

Race	1995	2002
African	10.01	25.95
Coloured	8.49	9.86
Indian	5.56	8.21
White	2.26	4.63
Total	6.44	15.37

Source: Borat, 2003: 44

Unemployment rates for university graduates are lower than those for all persons with tertiary qualifications. For example, among African university graduates the unemployment rate in 2002 was 16.4 percent compared with 26 percent for all tertiary qualified African people, while for White people the corresponding figures were 3.15 percent and 4.63 percent. However, as Table 70 demonstrates, in spite of their lower rates of unemployment, the increase in the rates of unemployment of university graduates between 1995 and 2002 was considerably higher than that for all tertiary qualified labour market participants. Thus, the unemployment rates of degreed African people more than quadrupled between 1995

and 2002 and unemployment among White graduates increased by 141 percent in the same period. Both these rates of increase are considerably higher than those for tertiary unemployment presented in Table 69 above. For Borhat (2003: 45), these trends leave “no doubt that we are witnessing the beginning of a graduate unemployment problem in South Africa.”

Table 70: Unemployment of university graduates: African and White, 1995 and 2002

	African	White
Unemployment numbers		
1995	8 834	5 645
2002	45 959	13 597
Change (percentage)	420.25	140.87
Unemployment rates		
1995	5.87 (0.015)	0.01 (0.006)
2002	16.41 (0.018)	3.15 (0.008)

Source: Borhat, 2003: 45

Bhorat also examined the distribution of university graduate unemployment according to fields of study. The results of his analysis are presented in Table 71. Overall, the data indicate that the highest rates of unemployment are in Education, Training and Development, Business Commerce and Management studies, and Health sciences, with these three fields accounting for about 63 percent of unemployed university graduates. Unemployment in Education, Training and Development is concentrated among African and Coloured people, and Borhat attributes the high levels of unemployment in this field to restructuring of the public sector with teachers bearing the main brunt of this process. Relatively high levels of unemployment for graduates with degrees in the Health and Social Sciences may also reflect a contraction of employment opportunities in public health services. Finally, high unemployment levels among both White and African graduates in Business, Commerce and Management studies raise questions about the appropriateness of the skills provided by institutions of higher learning. Borhat (2003: 47) tentatively suggests that “institutions of higher learning may not be matching their curriculum design effectively enough with the labour demand needs of employers or that the quality of degrees is poor, or both.”

Table 71: Degreed unemployed distribution by field of study and race (percentage)

Area of study	African	Coloured	Indian	White	Total
Communication Studies & Languages	4.33	0.00	100.00	7.35	5.58
Education, Training & Development	32.87	41.37	0.00	10.47	28.04
Manufacturing, Engineering & Development	3.9	0.00	0.00	0.00	2.87
Human & Social studies	8.55	0.00	0.00	14.66	9.50
Law, Military science, Security	5.22	22.18	0.00	3.57	5.48
Health Sciences & Social Service	11.43	36.45	0.00	10.57	12.08
Agriculture & Nature Conservation	2.2	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.62
Culture & Arts	6.62	0.00	0.00	3.92	5.74
Business, Commerce & Management Studies	21.5	0.00	0.00	30.32	22.46
Physical, Mathematical, Computer & Life sciences	3.39	0.00	0.00	13.92	5.53
Physical Planning & Construction	0.00	0.00	0.00	5.02	1.10
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Source: Borhat, 2003: 46

Further information about unemployment among university graduates in South Africa comes from a study conducted by Moleke (2003). Based on the findings of a postal survey of university graduates, Moleke (2003) argues that the unemployment rate of graduates is “low, and where it exists, it is of a short duration”. In her study she showed that 60 percent of graduates found employment immediately, 28 percent found employment within six months, six percent between 7 and 12 months, a further six percent took more than a year, and two percent more than two years. These variations in waiting periods were often influenced by the field of study and occupational choice. For example, graduates in fields with a more professional focus, such as the medical sciences (79%) and engineering (77%) had higher rates of immediate employment than those in fields, that were more general in nature (see Table 72, below). However, this did not apply to all professional fields and law, for example, had a longer waiting period, with only half of the law graduates finding employment immediately. More general fields such as the humanities and arts also had longer waiting periods than the natural sciences, the economic and management sciences as well as fields with a more professional focus.

Table 72: Period before finding employment, by field of study

Field of study	Immediately	Between 1 & 6 months	Between 7 & 12 months	Between 1 & 2 years	More than 2 years	Total
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Natural sciences	55,0	38,8	3,8	2,1	0,4	100
Engineering	77,2	18,3	3,0	1,0	0,5	100
Agriculture	61,6	31,4	5,8	1,2	0,0	100
Medical sciences	79,3	18,5	2,2	0,0	0,0	100
Humanities and arts	46,8	33,1	8,5	7,3	4,2	100
Education	57,0	33,8	3,9	4,4	0,9	100
Law	49,6	30,2	8,6	7,2	4,1	100
Economics and Management Sciences	65,4	23,3	6,2	3,7	4,3	100
Total	59,5	28,4	5,9	4,2	2,0	100

Source: Moleke, 2003

The period of waiting before finding employment was also influenced by race and gender. Thus 70 percent of White graduates found immediate employment in comparison with 58 percent of African, 57 percent of Coloured and 52 percent of Indian graduates. The fact that African students were concentrated in fields of study with smaller employment ‘prospects’ may provide part of the explanation for these differences. However, comparisons within specific study fields indicated that White graduates still held the advantage. For example, while more than 50 percent of White graduates found immediate employment in all study fields, the only fields where more than 50 percent of African graduates found employment immediately were engineering (88%), medical sciences (66%) and agriculture (53%). It was only in engineering that African graduates held the advantage of having the highest percentage of immediate employment in relation to other population groups. In general, African and Coloured graduates appeared to be most disadvantaged, particularly in more general fields such as the humanities and arts and the economic and management sciences (See Table 73).

Differences between male and female graduates were smaller with 62 percent of males and 57 percent of females finding work immediately. Education was the only field in which a higher proportion of women graduates found immediate employment.

Table 73: Immediate employment by race

Field of study	Asian		African		Coloured		White	
	Not immediately employed	Immediately employed						
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Natural sciences	70.0	30.0	54.1	45.9	47.8	52.2	40.1	59.9
Engineering	50.0	50.0	11.1	88.9	50.0	50.0	21.7	78.3
Agriculture	100.0		46.7	53.3	16.7	83.3	35.7	64.3
Medical sciences	54.0	46.0	34.3	65.7	67.5	32.5	8.8	91.2
Humanities & arts	46.4	53.6	61.3	38.7	66.7	33.3	43.6	56.4
Education	28.6	71.4	50.7	49.3	71.4	28.6	25.0	75.0
Law	63.6	36.4	73.2	26.8	48.4	51.6	30.4	69.6
EMS*	46.5	53.5	62.5	37.5	57.8	42.2	25.2	74.8
Total	52.4	47.6	57.0	43.0	57.8	42.2	29.6	70.4

Source: Moleke, 2003 (*EMS: Economic and Management Sciences)

An adjunct to the racial differences in waiting periods was that graduates from historically White universities (HWUs) were more likely to find jobs quicker than those from historically Black universities (HBUs). Fields of study also played some role in these differences because HBUs had higher proportions of graduates in fields with lower employment prospects, such as the humanities and arts, and education. Hence HBUs had a higher proportion of those with lower employment prospects. Of those who found employment immediately, only 40 percent were from HBU in contrast to 69 percent from HWU. However, even within similar fields of study, those graduating from HBUs appeared to be disadvantaged. For example, only 27 percent of law graduates from HBUs found employment immediately, compared to 67.5 percent from HWUs. The figures in the economic and management sciences were 38.5 percent for HBUs, and 73.5 percent for HWUs respectively.

4.13 RELEVANCE OF EDUCATION AND OTHER SKILLS

In the previous section questions were raised about the appropriateness of skills provided by institutions of learning, and we cited Bhorat (2003: 47) who suggests that “institutions of higher learning may not be matching their curriculum design effectively enough with the labour demand needs of employers or that the quality of degrees is poor, or both.” While it is not possible on the basis of available information to establish objectively whether there is a mismatch between education and the needs of the labour market, the SYR survey asked respondents to assess the extent to which they were able to use the skills they learned at school and in institutions of higher learning in their jobs.

Overall, the results of the analysis suggest that respondents perceived relatively limited use of school-learned knowledge and skills in their current or past jobs. In most cases, about half of the respondents in the different social categories conceded that they ‘sometimes’ used the skills and knowledge that they had learned in schools in their current or passed jobs. A second general trend is that respondents in the older (25-35 years) age group appeared to place somewhat higher value on school-learned skills than the younger (18-24 year) age group. This could be a function of the greater work experience and maturity of the older age

group. However, because only about a third of young people in the sample had ever had a job, the numbers of respondents are relatively small, particularly when disaggregated into the different social categories, and the results of the more detailed analyses have therefore to be treated with some caution.

Table 74 presents the responses of male and female respondents in the two age groups. For the 18-25 year age group, young women generally placed greater value on the knowledge and skills that they had acquired in school than young men, with 25 percent of young women reporting that they had used school-learned skills 'most of the time' in their jobs in contrast with 19 percent of young men. This trend is reversed for the 25-35 year age group, with 34 percent of males saying that they used the skills acquired in school 'most of the time' as against 26% of women. This pattern of responses may be related to the larger percentages of women who are forced by personal circumstances and the shortage of jobs to accept menial work, such as domestic service, in which school-based skills may be of limited use (see Chapter 4). Young women in the older age group are more likely to have dependents and therefore to be under greater pressure to accept menial jobs.

Table 74: Extent to which respondents used knowledge and skills learned in school in current or past jobs by age group and gender, 2003

	18-24 years				25-35 years			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Not at all	50	28.2	49	23.7	79	23.2	102	31.4
Sometimes	93	52.5	106	51.2	146	42.8	140	43.1
Most of the time	34	19.2	52	25.1	116	34.0	83	25.5
TOTAL	177	100	207	100	341	100	325	100

Analysis of responses according to the race groups suggests that African and Coloured young people may place greater value on school-based learning than Indian and White young people. This is more apparent for the 25-35 year age group than for the 18-24 year age group. In relation to the former, 37 percent of African and Coloured respondents reported using knowledge and skills acquired in school 'most of the time' in their current and past jobs, in contrast with only five percent of Indian respondents and 11 percent of White respondents. This might be a product of White and Indian youth generally having higher levels of education, and in particular higher education, than African and Coloured youth. It should be borne in mind, however, that the numbers of respondents are relatively small, particularly in the case of Indian youth. In relation to the 18-24 year age group, it is more difficult to discern clear trends for the different population groups. While a relatively large proportion of African respondents (30%) indicated that they did 'not at all' use school-learned skills in their jobs (a possible indication of the kinds of work in which they were involved), differences between the percentages of respondents who reported using school-learned skills 'most of the time' in their jobs are relatively small for this age group.

Table 75: Extent to which respondents used knowledge and skills learned in school in current or past jobs by age group and race, 2003

	18-24 years								25-35 years							
	African		Coloured		Indian		White		African		Coloured		Indian		White	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Not at all	74	30.2	6	15	4	21.1	15	18.8	107	24.9	4	6.2	20	50	50	37.9
Sometimes	117	47.8	24	60	10	52.6	48	60	164	38.2	37	56.9	18	45.	67	50.8
Most of the time	54	22.0	10	25	5	26.3	17	21.3	158	36.8	24	36.9	2	5	15	11.4
TOTAL	245	100	40	100	19	100	80	100	429	100	65	100	40	100	132	100

Similar trends are apparent in relation to the responses of young people in the different areas, with differences being more apparent for the 25-35 year age group than for the 18-24 year age group. In relation to the older age group, respondents from rural areas appeared to place the highest value on school-learned skills, while respondents from metropolitan areas placed the least value on the knowledge they had gained from school. Thus, 36 percent of rural respondents reported using school-based skills 'most of the time' in their jobs as against only 25 percent of metropolitan respondents and 30 percent of respondents from other urban areas. Furthermore, 34 percent of respondents from metropolitan areas said they did not use school-learned skills 'at all', in contrast with about 22 percent of both rural and other urban respondents. Given the greater range of jobs available in metropolitan areas, these results raise questions about the relevance of school-based learning to the labour market, or at the very least about the *perceptions* that young people have of the relevance and value of what they learn in school.

Table 76: Extent to which respondents used knowledge and skills learned in school in current or past jobs by age group and location, 2003

	18-24 years						25-35 years					
	Metropolitan		Other urban		Rural		Metropolitan		Other urban		Rural	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Not at all	40	22.9	26	33.8	33	25	95	34.1	39	22.5	47	22
Sometimes	69	54.9	35	45.5	68	51.5	114	40.9	82	47.4	90	42
Most of the time	39	22.3	16	20.8	31	23.5	70	25.1	52	30.1	77	36
TOTAL	175	100	77	100	132	100	279	100	173	100	214	100

Overall, respondents in the SYR survey appeared to place greater value on post-school education than on school education as useful in their work. While a majority of respondents were likely to say that school learning was 'sometimes' useful in their work, those respondents with post-school education were more likely to report that they used the skills they learned in post-school institutions 'most of the time'. Secondly, as in the case of school learning, respondents in the older (25-35 years) age group were more likely to acknowledge the value of the post-school education than respondents in the younger (18-24 years) age group.

Table 77, which provides an analysis of responses to the usefulness of post-school education by age group and gender, shows similar trends to those found in relation to the usefulness of school education. As in Table 74, more young women in the 18-24 years age group reported using skills acquired in post-school education 'most of the time' than young men, while considerably fewer women than men in the 25-35 year age group said that they used post-school skills in their jobs. While further research is required to establish the reasons for these trends, there are a number of potential explanations. Firstly, as suggested above, some women may be forced by personal and social circumstances to accept jobs that are not commensurate with

their educational qualifications, as, for example, in the case of a university graduate being employed as a secretary or clerk. Secondly, changes in the educational levels of younger women and the application of gender equity in the work place may have opened up employment opportunities for younger women that were not available to their older counterparts.

Table 77: Extent to which respondents used knowledge and skills learned in post-school educational institutions in current or past jobs by age group and gender, 2003

	18-24 years				25-35 years			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Not at all	47	31.5	38	27.1	63	22.7	80	34.2
Sometimes	46	30.9	40	28.6	74	26.7	70	29.9
Most of the time	56	37.6	62	44.3	140	50.5	84	35.9
TOTAL	149	100	140	100	277	100	234	100

Table 78 provides a breakdown of responses on the usefulness of post-school education in terms of age and population group. In general, the data suggest that young African people may place less value on the usefulness of post-school education than the other population groups. These trends are particularly clear in relation to the 18-24 years age group, where 31 percent of Africans reported using post-school skills 'most of the time' in their jobs, in contrast with 50 percent of Coloured and Indian youth and 56 percent of White youth. The trend is less clear for the 25-35 years age group, although Indian and Coloured respondents reported higher rates of using post-school skills than African and White respondents. It should also be noted that more than a third of White respondents (36.5%) said that they did not use their skills in their jobs, as against 29 percent of African, 24 percent of Indian and 10 percent of Coloured respondents. The relatively small numbers of respondents in the different categories, and in particular Indian and Coloured respondents, should be noted, and the necessary caution exercised in drawing conclusions from the data.

Table 78: Extent to which respondents used knowledge and skills learned in post-school educational institutions in current or past jobs by age group and race, 2003

	18-24 years								25-35 years							
	African		Coloured		Indian		White		African		Coloured		Indian		White	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Not at all	60	36.6	4	13.3	7	35	14	18.7	89	28.8	6	9.7	6	24	42	36.5
Sometimes	53	32.3	11	36.7	3	15	19	25.3	96	31.1	21	33.9	-	-	27	23.5
Most of the time	51	31.1	15	50	10	50	42	56	124	40.1	35	56.5	19	76	46	40.0
TOTAL	164	100	30	100	20	100	75	100	309	100	62	100	25	100	115	100

Finally, Table 79 shows that for both age groups, young people in the metropolitan areas tended to place less value on the workplace relevance of post-school education than respondents in rural and non-metropolitan urban areas. These differences are particularly pronounced for the 25-35 years age group, where 32 percent of metropolitan respondents reported using post-school skills 'most of the time', in comparison with 51 percent of rural respondents and 58 percent of respondents living in non-metropolitan urban areas. Furthermore, nearly forty percent of metropolitan respondents said that they did not use their post-school skills 'at all' in their jobs. In general, therefore, while young people attach higher value to post-school than to school education, their perceptions of the relevance of post-school education to work remains a source of concern.

Table 79: Extent to which respondents used knowledge and skills learned in post-school educational institutions in current or past jobs by age group and locations, 2003

	18-24 years						25-35 years					
	Metropolitan		Other urban		Rural		Metropolitan		Other urban		Rural	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Not at all	51	32.3	20	34.5	14	19.2	95	39.6	19	13.8	29	21.8
Sometimes	45	28.5	13	22.4	28	38.4	69	28.8	39	28.2	36	27.1
Most of the time	62	39.2	25	43.1	31	31.3	76	31.7	80	58	68	51.1
TOTAL	158	100	58	100	73	100	240	100	138	100	133	100

Learning does not only take place within the context of the formal education system, but also within informal contexts such as homes, families and peer groups. Respondents in the SYR survey were therefore asked whether the skills they had learned in their homes and communities were of great use to them in their current or past jobs. The most striking feature of Table 80 is the extent to which members of the 25-35 years age group placed greater value on the skills they had acquired from their homes and communities than those in the 18-24 years age group. Proportionately, nearly twice as many 25-35 year olds (61.4%) reported that the skills they had learned from their homes and communities were of great use to them as 18-24 year olds (38.6%). This relationship held across all the social categories of youth considered in the table. Differences in the perceptions of the two age groups may be attributable to a number of factors, including differences in the educational levels of the two groups that may have influenced perceptions of what was learnt and the potential role of maturity and experience in recognising the value of what was learnt. There were no noteworthy differences between the various social categories of youth, with the possible exception of Indian youth, but the numbers of Indian youth were too small to draw any conclusions from the data.

Table 80: Young people who learned skills from their homes or communities that were of great use to them in their jobs, 2003

	Age group			
	18-24		25-35	
Gender	N	%	N	%
Male	67	40.9	97	59.1
Female	68	36.6	118	63.4
Total	135	38.6	215	61.4
Race				
African	66	36.1	117	63.9
Coloured	14	33.3	28	66.7
Indian	7	63.6	4	36.4
White	48	42.1	66	57.9
Total	135	38.6	215	61.4
Area Type				
Metropolitan	81	41.8	113	58.2
Urban non-metropolitan	25	32.9	51	67.1
Rural	29	36.3	51	63.8
Total	135	38.6	215	61.4

Additional job training is generally low among young people, with gender, racial and spatial inequalities apparent. Only 18.1 percent of the SYR sample had received job-related training outside of the formal educational institutions. In terms of gender, more males (27.8%) than females (22.8) in the 25-35 years age group had received job-related training. However, for the 18-24 year age group, this trend is reversed, with

slightly more young women (14%) reporting that they had had job-related training than young men (11.8%). While the numbers are relatively small and have therefore to be treated with caution, these trends may be indicative of greater gender equity been established in job-related training in recent years. However, racial inequalities persist, with Whites in both age groups enjoying a considerable advantage over other population groups and Africans being underrepresented in terms of job-related training. For both age groups, respondents from metropolitan areas enjoy a clear advantage over other areas.

Table 81: Young people who received job-related training, 2003

	Age group			
	18-24		25-35	
Gender	N	%	N	%
Male	104	11.8	179	27.8
Female	134	14.0	150	22.8
Total	238	12.9	329	25.3
Race				
African	152	10.2	208	21.2
Coloured	29	20.6	31	28.7
Indian	9	15.8	9	16.7
White	48	31.4	81	51.9
Total	238	12.9	329	25.3
Area Type				
Metropolitan	104	16.8	139	31.4
Urban non-metropolitan	64	14.7	67	20.5
Rural	70	8.9	123	23.2
Total	238	12.9	329	25.3

As Table 82 demonstrates, similar trends are apparent in relation to apprenticeships under the industrial training boards, with only about 6 percent of the SYR sample having undergone apprenticeships. For both age groups, young men enjoy an advantage over young women. Racial inequalities are also apparent, with White youth having access to proportionately more apprenticeships than the other race groups. As in the case of job-related training, the metropolitan areas enjoy a clear advantage over other areas in terms of the number of respondents who have undergone apprenticeships.

Table 82: Young people apprenticed under contract with an Industry Training Board, 2003

	Age group			
	18-24		25-35	
Gender	N	%	N	%
Male	45	5.3	59	9.3
Female	30	3.2	53	8.1
Total	75	4.2	112	8.7
Race				
African	42	3.0	76	7.8
Coloured	4	2.7	5	4.8
Indian	5	7.9	5	9.4
White	24	15.4	26	16.3
Total	75	4.2	112	8.7

	Age group			
	18-24		25-35	
Area Type				
Metropolitan	42	6.8	47	10.5
Urban non-metropolitan	16	3.9	25	7.7
Rural	17	2.3	40	7.7
Total	75	4.2	112	8.7

A motor vehicle license is an example of a life skill that young people generally acquire outside of the formal educational institutions. As shown in Table 83, access to driver's licenses display strong gender and racial biases. While young women generally have less access to driver's licenses than young men, the differences are far more pronounced for the older (25-35 years) age group than for the 18-24 years age group, suggesting that this is another gender gap that may be closing. Racial inequalities in terms of driver's licences are clear, with more than three times as many White and Indian respondents having driver's licences than African respondents. As in the case of so many other variables, respondents in metropolitan areas held a clear advantage over other areas, while respondents in rural areas had the fewest drivers' licences. It should be noted that having a driver's licence has little meaning without access to a motor vehicle, and therefore that the distribution of driver's licences is likely to be closely associated with both income levels and access to employment.

Table 83: Young people with a motor vehicle driver's license, 2003

	Age group			
	18-24		25-35	
Gender	N	%	N	%
Male	174	17.8	289	40.8
Female	159	14.4	196	26.1
Total	333	16.0	485	33.2
Race				
African	160	9.6	232	21.2
Coloured	26	14.3	71	53.8
Indian	36	54.5	41	74.5
White	111	69.4	141	78.8
Total	333	16.0	485	33.2
Area Type				
Metropolitan	152	22.2	221	43.0
Urban non-metropolitan	96	19.8	120	33.4
Rural	85	9.3	144	24.5
Total	333	16.0	485	33.2

The data reviewed in this sub-section of the report raise various questions about the appropriateness of education and training to the employment needs of young people. In general, it would appear that young South Africans perceive both school and post-school education as of limited value and relevance to their jobs. These perceptions are particularly pronounced in relation to the knowledge and skills acquired in schools, although substantial numbers of respondents also perceived post-school education as of limited use in their jobs. The data also suggest that very few young people have been exposed to job-related training and apprenticeships outside of the formal educational institutions, despite the opportunity for government funded learnerships to promote skills development among employees. Furthermore, job-related training and

apprenticeships are still characterised by racial, gender and spatial inequalities. Especially against the backdrop of very high levels of youth unemployment, these trends are cause for concern.

4.14 CONCLUSION

This section focused on gains and persisting inequalities in the South African education system. The rapid growth of enrolment in educational institutions since the 1970s, particularly for historically disadvantaged groups, represents a significant achievement in education. Despite, extensive reforms instituted since 1994, inequalities in the education system have persisted. These inequalities have their origins in a variety of factors, including the backlogs created during the *Apartheid* and colonial eras, the under-resourcing of schools that served poor and historically disadvantaged communities, the persistence of *de facto* spatial and residential segregation, and the limited integration of the different population groups in the schools.

The trends over the past decade show significant educational gains by all population groups, and that young women have established parity with (and in some case even surpassed) their male counterparts in educational achievement. However, disparities still exist between the race groups. With their head start in access to secondary and tertiary education and command over greater financial resources, White (and increasingly, Indian) youth maintain a large lead over African and Coloured youth in terms of the numbers of matriculants and persons with higher education qualifications. It is noteworthy that young people from all population groups expressed a high commitment towards education. However, learners and students from poor families continue to battle with financial constraints, drop out, repetitions, and interruptions of education. Educational outcomes and resources are also unevenly spread among the provinces, with particularly those provinces that incorporated large sections of former homelands struggling under the burdens of poverty. As a means to improve access to education, The National Student Financial Aid Scheme has been particularly successful in providing financial assistance to students from disadvantaged backgrounds to access higher education. Furthermore, the merger process of Further Education and Training colleges from 150 to 50 and in the Higher Education Sector from 36 to 22 institutions are also decisive steps to improve the consistency in the quality of education delivered across the country.

Existing inequalities play themselves out in various ways that threaten to widen rather than narrow the gap between advantaged and disadvantaged groups. The decision to supplement public funding with school fees, for example, has advantaged schools that serve more affluent communities that can afford to pay higher fees for higher quality education. School fees were never intended to prevent learners from attending school. The South African Schools Act of 1996 exempts parents living in poverty from having to pay school fees. In recent years, the Department of Education has attempted to ensure that school fees are not used as a mechanism to keep indigent children out of the school system. Schools in rural areas face the double disadvantage of under-resourcing and political constraints inherited from *Apartheid*, as well as high concentrations of poverty. However, even within a highly urbanised province such as Gauteng, residential segregation and urban poverty undermines the personal safety of learners and creates difficult learning circumstances. As part of the health promoting schools initiative, some provinces have been active in promoting safer schools that involve safety and security partnerships between the school, the community and the police. Long standing initiatives in the Western Cape and Gauteng are now finding application in other provinces such as KwaZulu-Natal.

The accumulation of inequalities results in differential outcomes both in terms of educational achievement and the quality of education, which in turn impact on employment opportunities. In spite of considerable

education gains by young people, unemployment and, in particular, youth unemployment is growing – and the main burden of this unemployment is being borne by the most disadvantaged sectors of our society.

Chances of acquiring a good education are loaded against the poor and those who live in rural areas. Education is not only an investment in time spent studying, but also in financial resources, and gross inequalities both in the education system and the kinds of education that are affordable to different sectors of the population are often decisive in determining lasting positive outcomes. As the findings of the SYR survey show, affordability of education was a major factor in young people discontinuing or interrupting their education. Under conditions of high unemployment dropping out of school or even not proceeding to the tertiary level can play a decisive role in whether one is able to get a job and how long one will wait in order to find employment. Even when young people complete their education, the quality of their education also plays a role in whether they are able to develop marketable skills and secure employment.

Moreover, investments and returns from education, regardless of differences in the quality of education provided, also differ among the various categories of young people. For example, as noted in Section 2 and confirmed by trends in the SYR data on age of leaving school and levels of qualifications obtained, African learners generally spend longer periods in school with lower returns in terms of qualifications than other population groups. This is because of higher rates of repetition of grades, interruptions in education and later starting ages. Spending more time in school is not only costly in terms of the expenses associated with education itself, but also in terms of the opportunity costs involved in starting work later in life and the subsequent loss in earnings.

In contrast to African youth, Indian youth seem to move most rapidly through the education system and, with higher levels of employment, are able to reap the benefits of an early start in the labour market. In general, young women also seem to get better returns on their education than men in that they leave school at earlier ages than young men. Similarly, learners in rural areas appear to spend longer periods of time in school for lower returns in the levels of education they attain.

The rise in unemployment among people with tertiary qualifications from 6.4 percent in 1995 to 15.4 percent in 2002 can largely be accounted for by the increase in tertiary unemployment among Africans, who had an unemployment rate of 26 percent in 2002 compared to rates of less than ten percent for all other population groups. Periods of waiting between completion of education and finding employment also show racial disparities. Research findings suggest that graduates from historically White universities were more likely to find jobs sooner than graduates from historically Black universities regardless of race. While racism cannot be ruled out, all of these findings suggest that employers may be discriminating on the basis of the quality of education at the different kinds of institutions of learning, whether actual or perceived.

A more encouraging aspect of the findings on education is that young women have made enormous strides in acquiring higher levels of education and appear to have established parity with young men. These gains have important implications for gender relations and in particular for freeing women from economic dependence on men. In as far as higher levels of education allow women better access to employment, this also gives women greater leverage in negotiating equality with men. Declining marriage rates among young people, discussed in the previous section of the report, suggest that this may be one of the outcomes of higher levels of education among women. Another indicator that women are exploiting their freedom provided by higher education levels is the increase in recent years of migrant labour among women. Higher education levels among women may therefore also contribute to their greater mobility.

LABOUR MARKET PARTICIPATION

Summary Points

1. More than two-thirds of South Africans between 18 and 35 years are unemployed and more than two-thirds of the SYR survey respondents have never had a job. African youth and women make up the largest proportions of unemployed.
2. Although employment has increased for all races since 1995, employment opportunities are tempered by the increase in the number of people who are potentially economically active. Between 1997 and 2002, the economically active population of people between 18 and 35 years of age increased from 6 million to 8.4 million while the number of young people who were employed rose from 4.3 to 4.9 million. During this period, the number of unemployed young people increased from 1.7 to 3.5 million.
3. Unemployment affects women in particular. There are higher rates of unemployment among women (just over 50%), with African women and especially those living in rural areas being most severely affected.
4. Increases in education improve prospects of employment, but unemployment nonetheless remains high for persons with secondary (33% unemployed) and tertiary qualifications (5.1% unemployed).
5. Some young people spend close to two years looking for work. Increased education reduces this time, with youth who have completed their secondary education spending an average of a year looking for employment.
6. Personal contacts and networks are the most important resource for young people to find their first job, although *curriculum vitae* become more important once young people have some work experience. A third of youth say that they found their first jobs through personal contacts, while 15% obtained employment by sending out their *curriculum vitae*. In the case of second jobs, 23.5% found employment by sending out *curriculum vitae*.
7. Many youth, at least a quarter of all working young people, are employed in temporary positions.

8. Most young people are employed in the services sector. Of those youth between 18 and 35 years who are employed, over two thirds are employed in the services sector.
9. Employment still reflects racial divisions with African and Coloured youth most likely to be working in elementary occupations.
10. A third of survey respondents, mainly African and Coloured youth, work in the informal sector.
11. Almost two-thirds of employed youth work in the private sector, one-fifth work for government, a tenth work for NGOs and CBOs and just over five percent are domestic workers.
12. Only a small proportion of young people are self-employed (6% of respondents) of which two-thirds are male. Fifty-one percent of the self-employed youth are so due to the lack of formal employment. Finding work and gaining experience may be necessary before youth can succeed as entrepreneurs.

The challenge, the chance, and the ... change

Thandokazi Mashiya is a 22-year-old young woman from Queenstown in the Eastern Cape. She participated in the Inner City Youth Service Project hosted by the Joint Empowerment Project (JEP) between September 2002 and September 2003.

Thando matriculated in 1999 in East London and immediately set off to Pretoria University where she pursued a Law degree. However, in her first year at university her family experienced serious strains with the divorce of her parents. As a result of the divorce, she was unable to further her LLB degree the following year. Her dreams were shattered, she was devastated and as if that was not enough, her life went from bad to worse.

In 2001, Thando was forced to return to the Eastern Cape, as she no longer had financial support from her parents. For a period of six months she stayed in the Eastern Cape. Later she decided to return to Johannesburg and explore the job market, staying with friends for the most part of that year.

She experienced rejection after rejection. Slowly Thando crept into depression as she lost all hope and self-worth. She blamed her parents for the break-up of her family. For a while she carried a lot of anger and frustration with her.

In 2002, she gained the courage to look for a job, but was rejected and told that she had no work experience. What crushed her spirit most was "the lack of faith people had towards young people," she says. Soon she moved in with her father who then had relocated to Johannesburg.

Upon her return from one of her trips - looking for employment, Thando found forms attached to the door of a flat she shared with her father. A Project Coordinator from JEP had left the forms for the Inner City Youth Service Project. Uninterested, she put the forms away. She certainly was not interested in some youth development project. All she wanted to do at the time was to go back to university and pursue her studies.

Her father encouraged her to apply for the programme especially since she was not doing anything. She finally completed the application and sent it to JEP. A few days later she received a call from JEP to come through for an interview and assessment. To her delight she made it through the assessment and was selected to participate in the project.

"It felt good to be selected for something, it made me feel good about myself, a feeling I had not felt for two years, I had forgotten about what it felt like to be wanted."

The Inner City Youth Service Programme is a year-long programme that targets inner city youth. Its primary objective is to develop the abilities of young people through service and learning. The programme seeks to enable young people to develop their skills, knowledge and ability - necessary to make the transition to healthy independent adulthood. It also seeks to give young people a way out of long-term unemployment by providing them with tangible opportunities that increase their likelihood of accessing the economy.

Having gone through the orientation, Thando was convinced that this was "for real" and not some "bogus" programme. The participants were taken to camp for the introductory phase of the programme. Thando says that she initially struggled to integrate with other participants especially those who were different from her. She says that the most difficult part was learning to integrate with ex-convicts. "I didn't understand why they mixed the group up, that made

me feel highly uncomfortable.”

However, after a while in the project her fears were soon laid to rest by the Life Skills component of the programme. “This component of the programme made me realise so many things I thought I knew about myself, it helped build my confidence again.”

An additional component of the programme was participating in the tourism course. Thando’s horizons were widened beyond being a law student. She now holds a tour-guiding certificate and has applied to the Gauteng Tourism and the proposed Constitutional Hill for further training and employment.

Listening to her speak, says a lot about the programme and its impact. She boldly speaks of her other untold passions and dreams. “This is evidence of regaining your self-worth as a young person,” she says. Thando would still like to become lawyer one day.

“I think I am now ready for the challenges that I am almost certain life will present especially out of the project. I am scared because after a year of being in a project like this one, it becomes your only source of confidence, strength and almost restores your faith in the world. However I am confident that it has at least given me the tools to know how to deal with rejection, disappointment and sometimes failure. I am nervous but confident at the same time.”

Source: Profile compiled by the Youth Development Network for the ‘Celebrating Youth’ function

More than two thirds of young South Africans are unemployed - high rates of youth unemployment are not only related to very low levels of job creation, but also to the increase in the economically active population (EAP), especially among women. While women are finding jobs – there are still higher rates of unemployment among women with African women being the most severely affected by unemployment. Higher educational levels improve the prospects of finding employment, but unemployment rates remain high for persons with secondary and tertiary qualifications. The SYR results revealed that the average time unemployed youth had spent looking for work was almost two years. More than two thirds of the respondents in the survey indicated that they had never had a job. About a third of the employed respondents worked in the informal sector, and only a small portion (6.2%) of the respondents were self-employed, mostly men.

The South African labour market is characterized by strong racial segmentation, with high and growing levels of unemployment and negligible job creation. Both the African population and unskilled people are disproportionately affected by unemployment.

McCord & Bhorat (2003: 134) argue that South Africa does not have one labour market but rather “a series of linked labour markets, with diverse characteristics related to race, location, gender and education.” In terms of race they draw a distinction between two segments, one made up of African and Coloured workers and the other of White and Indian workers. Spatially, the labour market is divided into an urban and a rural component, with the latter being characterised by lower labour demand. This has the greatest impact on African people, because of their comparatively greater concentration in rural areas.

The foundations of South Africa’s labour market were created by *Apartheid* policies that protected White interests by limiting Black participation in the labour market. From the 1970s international sanctions, the growth of Black labour unions and poor economic performance led to the partial dismantling of racial legislation in the South African labour market. However, racial segmentation of the labour market persisted, particularly as a result of inequalities generated by the education and labour policies of the past, but also because of structural changes in the economy. The latter involve the long-term decline of primary production in agriculture and mining, and the concomitant growth of the service sector.

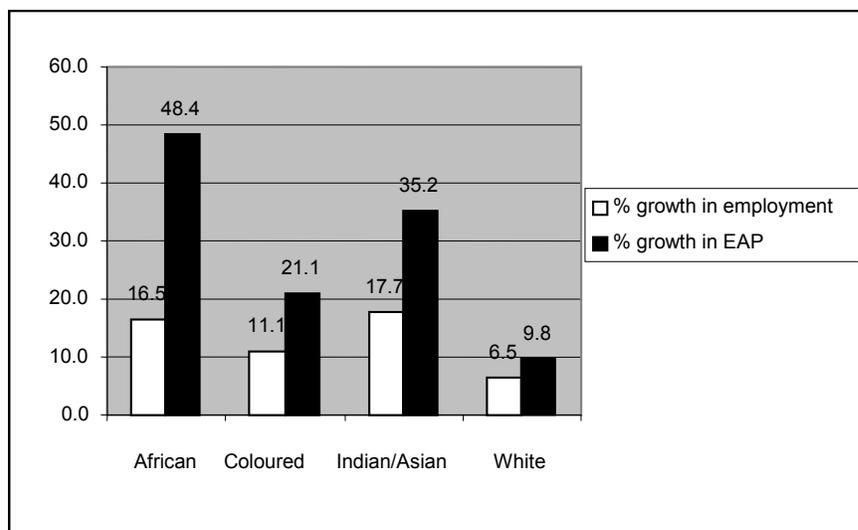
Transformation in the structure of the economy prompted changes in labour demand, involving capital intensification, rising demands for skilled labour and significant reductions in the demand for unskilled labour. Across all industries, the complexity of jobs is increasing. This trend is not only driven by the introduction of information technology, but also organisational change, and trade and technology dynamics that induces skill-biased technological change. In particular, Africans who were predominantly involved in primary production were adversely affected by the shift away from primary production and technological changes demanding more skilled labour. In essence, this has meant that unskilled workers experienced a decline in the demand for their labour, while more skilled workers have experienced an increase. Given the racially biased distribution of education in South Africa, these changes contributed significantly to unemployment among historically disadvantaged groups, although it also had the effect of partially counteracting gender biases in labour demand. (McCord & Bhorat, 2003).

5.1 EMPLOYMENT TRENDS

Data from the 1995 October Household Survey and the September 2002 Labour Force Survey indicate that between 1995 and 2002 employment grew by 13.9 percent (representing 1,3 million jobs), while the labour supply grew by 38.0 percent (representing 4.3 million new labour market entrants). This means there was a shortfall of 3.0 million jobs. In this period labour demand increases were most marked for professionals, managers and craftsmen, with no other categories of job creation keeping pace with the growth of the economically active population, as will be shown in data presented in this section.

During this period employment increased for all races, but because of the significantly larger increase in the African economically active population, only 27.4 percent of new African labour market entrants were absorbed in comparison with 45.4 percent of Indian, 45.1 percent of Coloured and 64.3 percent of White labour market entrants. The relative changes in the economically active populations and employment by race group are represented in Figure 4.

Figure 4: Percentage growth in employment and economically active population by race, between 1995 and 2002

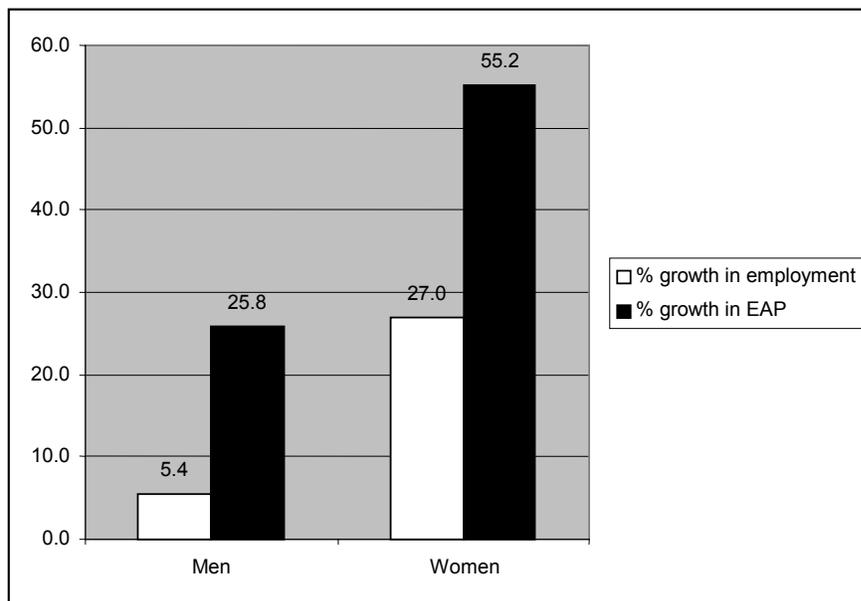


Source: Stats SA OHS 1995 and LFS Sept 2002

Both the male and female economically active population increased during this period, but women entered the labour market at a greater pace, partly reflecting the previously low rate of their participation (see Figure 5 below). There are several possible reasons for the large increase in the economically active female population. Firstly, it is likely that the massive gains in secondary and tertiary educational levels since the 1970s have played a role. Besides helping to close the gap between the educational levels of men and women, rising educational levels have clearly increased the pool of women with marketable skills, opening up new opportunities for women to enter the labour market. Indirectly, these educational gains by women (particularly in the context of increasing emphasis on gender equality since 1994) are also likely to have had an impact on gender relations. Casale and Posel (2001, cited by McCord & Borat, 2003: 123) argued that increasing unemployment may have undermined traditional sources of household income and therefore encouraged larger numbers of women to supplement declining household income by entering the labour market. However, as Posel and Casale (2003:7) point out in a later paper, increases in female economic participation (and in labour migration in particular) may not only be a product of increasing rates of male unemployment, but also of declining marital rates and of fewer women living with men. Economic necessity and greater gender equality may therefore be seen as complementary processes encouraging more women to enter the labour market over the last decade:

The increase in labour migration has been driven by the rising proportion of women leaving rural areas to work or find work. This trend has coincided with a decrease in marital rates among African women and a fall in the proportion of women living with men, and employed men in particular. It is likely that these changes, on the one hand, have created greater income insecurity in rural households pushing women into finding employment, and on the other hand, have allowed women greater freedom to leave the household to work or search for work (Posel & Casale, 2003:14).

Figure 5: Percentage growth in employment and economically active population by gender, between 1995 and 2002

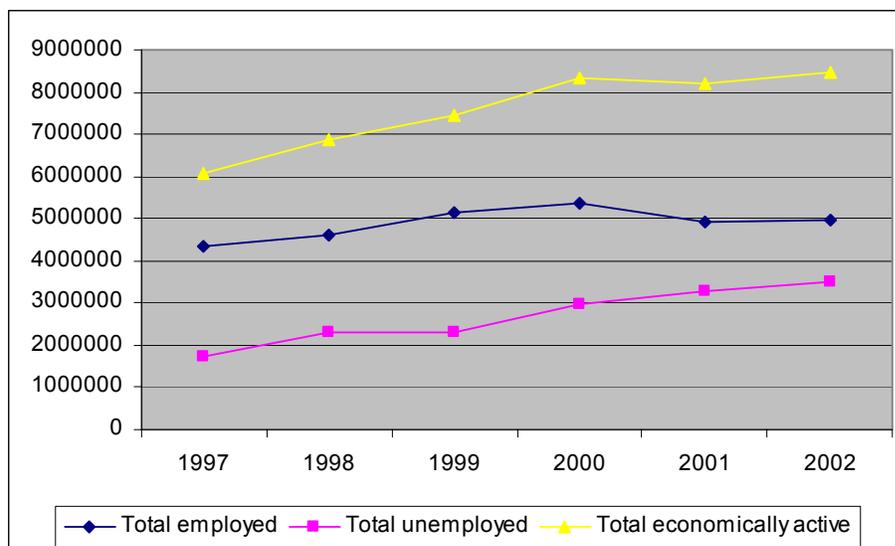


Source: Stats SA OHS 1995 and LFS Sept 2002

The economically active population between the ages of 18 and 35 years has grown from 6.0 million in 1997 to 8.4 million in 2002. This represents a growth rate of 39.7 percent between 1997 and 2002 (an average growth rate of 6.9% per annum). During this same period the number of employed youth has only

increased from 4.3 to 4.9 million, while the number of unemployed youth has increased substantially, from 1.7 million in 1997 to 3.5 million in 2002. This represents an average increase of youth unemployment of 15.2 percent per annum (see Figure 6).

Figure 6: Economically active populations between the ages from 18 to 35 years (1997-2002)

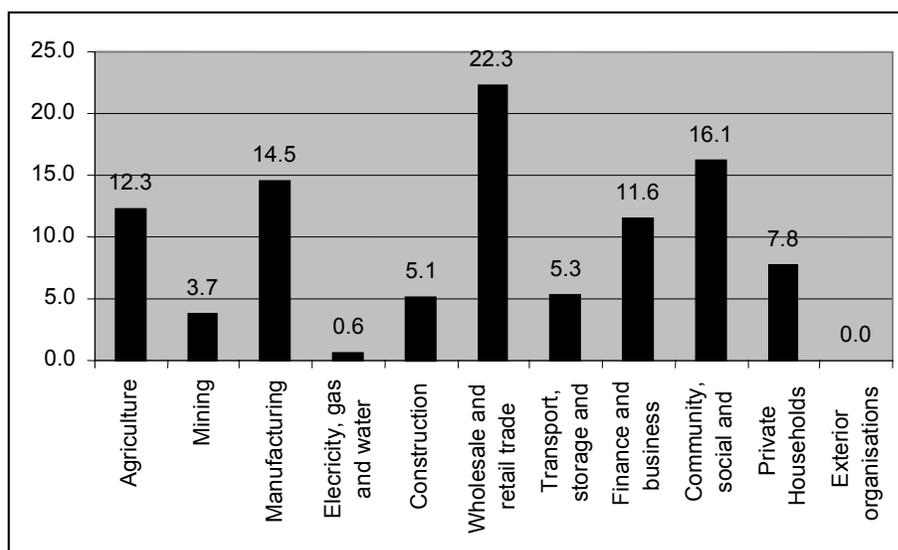


Source: Stats SA OHS 1997-1999 & LFS Sept 2000-2002

The proportion of jobs in manufacturing has decreased markedly since two decades ago, while employment in services has risen considerably. Currently, services account for large shares of production and employment in most economies around the world. In developed countries, this share typically falls between 60 and 70 percent and is, on average, smaller in developing and least developed countries (World Bank, 2002). In South Africa, the contribution of the services sector to the national economy more closely resembles the structure of developed economies. The services sector dominates the South African economy. In 2001 it accounted for 70.4 percent of GDP, 65.4 percent of formal employment and 73.7 percent of informal employment. Output in this sector has been growing faster than in the primary and secondary sectors, averaging three percent over the 1994–2001 periods, compared to a growth rate of 2.4 percent for the entire economy. In 2001, 67 percent of total employment (formal and informal) was in service industries. Significantly, the services sector accounted for only 17 000 of the 500 000 jobs lost in the formal sector between 1996 and 2001. Informal sector employment in the services sector more than doubled between 1996 and 2001, increasing from 555 377 to 1 282 828 jobs.

This growth in the services sector is illustrated by employment data. According to the September 2002 LFS, more than two thirds (68.8%) of youth between the ages of 18 and 35 years were employed in the broad services sector. Almost a quarter (22.3%) were employed in the wholesale and retail trade sector; 16.1 percent in the community, social and personal services sector; and the finance and business services sector employed 11.6 percent. Private households (domestic work) employed 7.8 percent of this age group. The manufacturing sector only employed 14.5 percent of youth and the agriculture sector 12.3 percent (see Figure 7). The rapid growth in business process outsourcing (i.e. call centres) might lead to further opportunities of employment in the services sector, especially for young people.

Figure 7: The percentages of youth between the ages of 18-35 employed in the different sectors of the economy, 2002



Source: Stats SA, LFS Sept. 2002

The analysis of employment data by occupational level (see Table 84) shows that more than a quarter (27%) of young people between 18 and 35 years were employed as sales workers, shop and market sales workers as well as clerks. Just more than a fifth (21%) worked in elementary occupations, while just more than a tenth (12.4%) worked as craft and related trades workers. Professionals and technical and associate professionals constituted 14.5 percent of young people who were employed.

Most African (25.5%) and Coloured youth (27.9%) worked in elementary occupations, while most Indian and White youth were employed as sales workers, and shop and market sales workers. The different races were almost evenly distributed on the clerical level. More White (16.9%) and Indian youth (10.2%) were employed on the management level than African (1.8%) and Coloured youth (2.5%).

Table 84: Distribution of 18-35 years olds according to occupational category and race

Occupational categories	Occupational distribution		Race distribution (%)			
	n	%	African	Coloured	Indian	White
Legislators, senior officials and managers	242	4.9	1.8	2.5	10.2	16.9
Professionals	192	3.9	2.3	2.4	4.9	10.9
Technical & associate professionals	525	10.6	8.0	10.1	16.9	19.1
Sales workers and shops and market sales workers	618	12.5	8.1	16.1	29.1	21.2
Clerks	717	14.5	14.7	13.5	16.5	13.5
Skilled agricultural and fishery workers	258	5.2	6.9	1.9		2.6
Craft and related trades workers	613	12.4	13.5	11.4	6.8	10.6
Plant and machine operators	430	8.7	10.5	8.8	7.4	2.1
Elementary Occupation	1,041	21.0	25.5	27.9	7.8	2.1
Domestic workers	305	6.2	8.4	5.3		0.1
Occupation not adequately defined	8	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.4	0.5
Unspecified	8	0.2	0.1	0.1		0.5
Total	4,963	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Stats SA LFS Sept. 2002

The SYR survey sample was slightly skewed towards the higher occupational groups (among all race groups, as well among men and women), as professionals and technical and associate professionals constituted almost a quarter (22.7%) of the respondents, while elementary workers (1%) and craft and related trades workers (3.3%) were under represented as compared to the LFS 2002. The sales, shop and market sales workers and clerks (24.3%) were, however, almost an exact match to the 2002 LFS, as shown in Table 85.

Table 85: Distribution of respondents across occupational category and race for first job (n=1 144), 2003

Occupational categories	Occupation distribution		Race distribution (%)			
	n	%	African	Coloured	Indian	White
Legislators, senior officials and managers	46	4.0	4.9	3.3	0.0	2.7
Professionals	203	17.7	11.6	18.0	41.0	31.7
Technical & associate professionals	57	5.0	4.1	5.7	1.6	8.6
Sales workers and shops and market sales workers	137	12.0	13.1	13.1	13.1	7.2
Clerks	141	12.3	9.7	8.2	19.7	21.3
Skilled agricultural and fishery workers	19	1.7	1.8	0.0	0.0	2.7
Craft and related trades workers	38	3.3	3.5	2.5	8.2	1.8
Plant and machine operators	44	3.8	3.1	5.7	9.8	3.6
Elementary Occupation	15	1.3	1.6	2.5	0.0	0.0
Domestic workers	58	5.1	7.3	3.3	0.0	0.0
Not applicable	58	5.1	6.1	5.7	0.0	2.7
Occupation not adequately defined	108	9.4	12.4	6.6	4.9	2.3
Occupation not elsewhere defined	220	19.2	20.8	25.4	1.6	15.4
Total	1144	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

These data did not indicate whether the youth who were employed held permanent or temporary (also known as non-standard employment) positions. The increase in temporary work among youth is a major global trend in employment. According to the 1997 OHS and the September 2002 LFS, temporary employment amongst the 18-35 year age category has doubled for this period, during which it increased from 11.7 to 23.3 percent. This figure corresponds with results found in SYF survey – 24.4 percent of the participants in employment indicated that they hold part-time jobs.

In many countries temporary work contributes to growth in employment and people get the chance to improve their skills through training provided by temporary work agencies. Many economists see temporary employment as an important economic indicator. The reason for this is that companies can immediately adjust to changes in demand by scaling up or down their use of temporary workers. The staffing industry has grown and the range of business sectors supplied by temporary employment services have increased, and temporary employees can be shifted from shrinking sectors to expanding sectors. Temporary agencies are currently seen as an essential part of efficient labour markets, because they meet the demands of:

- Employers – they provide for the fluctuating needs of employers regarding staffing.
- Workers – they provide flexibility, training (addressing lifelong learning issues), work experience, as well as a stepping stone to longer term job opportunities for workers.
- Governments – they create jobs, increase the employability of the workforce, and assists with the reintegration of unemployed and disadvantaged workers.

This portion of the dual labour market is referred to as secondary workers and the picture is far from ideal. There are some important differences in terms of pay, job security, training, sector and occupational status, as well as the private/public character of the firm in which temporary employees are involved. Little evidence has been found for improvements in job quality, and employment stability in particular. In most countries, transition rates from temporary jobs into unemployment and persistence in low quality employment, remain high.

In 1997 (OHS), 17 percent of the 4.3 million youth worked in the informal sector. This figure increased to 25.3 percent in 2002 (LFS September 2002). The results of the SYR survey indicate that almost a third (31.7%) of the respondents said that they worked in the informal sector (see Figure 8). Almost all the White (97.7%) and Indian respondents (85.0%) worked in the formal sector in comparison with only 68.3 percent of African and 60.8 percent of Coloured respondents. The distribution according to gender in the different sectors was even (see Figure 8).

Figure 8: Sector the respondents were working in during their first job according to race, 2003

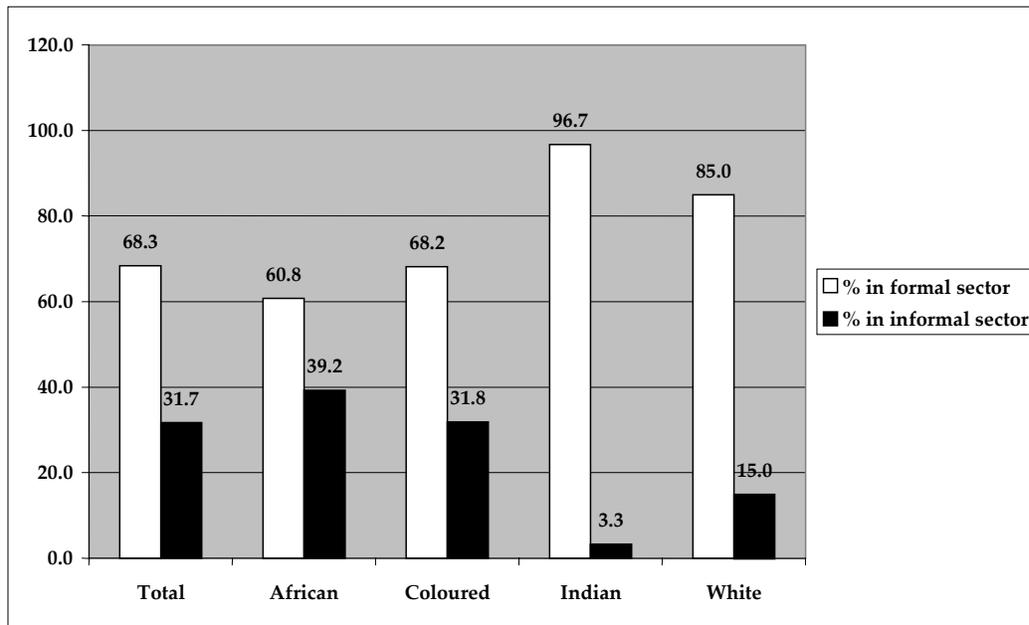
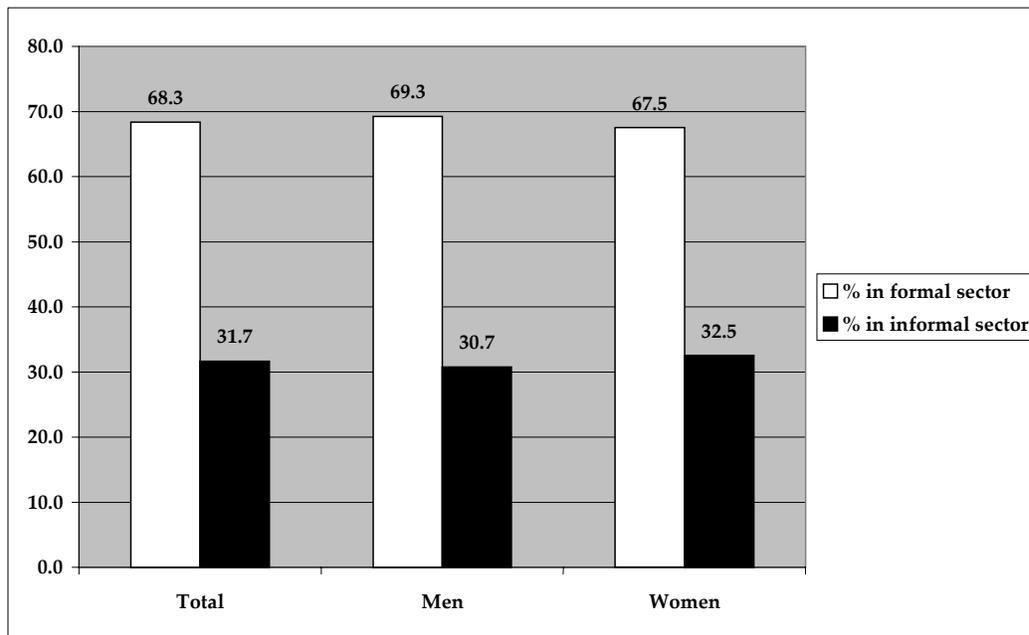


Figure 9: Sector the respondents were working in during their first job according to gender, 2003



In a context of stagnant formal sector employment growth, rising skills intensity, but a low skills profile in the labour force and a large labour surplus, it is not surprising that young labour market entrants resort to the informal sector. While it is well known that the formal sector has not generated net new jobs, this is not true at a disaggregated level. There are a small number of industries that demonstrate growth, albeit mostly of skilled labour. Some examples are tourism, selected ICT sectors, and community services.

The informal sector showed substantial net employment growth until 2001, but this was mainly found in trade and, earlier, in domestic work. While the statistics on informal agriculture indicate there has been growth, other work by the HSRC, as yet unpublished, shows that much of this change might be related to improved enumeration. The informal sector might expand for three main reasons, usually in some relation to the health of the formal sector. Firstly, apparent employment growth in the informal sector may largely be a result of formal sector job losses, with people who lose their jobs being forced to engage in survivalist economic activity. Alternatively, owners may prefer to stay informal to avoid regulation and tax. In these two cases, informal sector growth might not always be understood as a benchmark of policy success; in fact in some ways it could actually be a manifestation of problems in the rest of the economy. Finally, the informal sector might expand in line with formal sector growth. For example, the expansion of formal firms and employment might bring forth demand for domestic workers, informal retail, and services. In South Africa, it appears that informal sector growth has mainly arisen due to deregulation and survival strategies. Earnings in the informal sector are about half those in the formal sector for individuals with equivalent levels of educational attainment. This means the returns to education have fallen over the 1990s, as people have been increasingly absorbed into informal work. It should be noted, though, that even the informal sector does not seem to offer much future comfort. Informal employment has also been falling since 2001. In addition, for many young people, informal sector participation is often perceived to be no more than a “temporary solution”.

According to Table 86 the majority of the SYR respondents who had ever had a job, were employed in the private sector during their first job (61.1%), while a fifth (20.8%) worked for government. Almost a tenth (8.3%) were in NGOs and CBOs and 5.8 percent indicated that they were employed as domestic workers. Only a very small number (3.3%) were self-employed. Except for one White respondent indicating that he worked for a NGO, the remaining young people who worked for NGOs and CBOs were African and Coloured. Men and women were evenly distributed across the different types of employers, except for domestic employment, where considerably more women were employed (see Table 87).

Table 86: Distribution of respondents across different types of employers in their first job according to race, 2003

Types of employers	Types of employers distribution		Race distribution (%)				Total
	n	%	African	Coloured	Indian	White	
Government	219	20.8	21.0	23.6	23.0	17.7	20.8
Private company	645	61.1	55.9	58.2	65.6	78.8	61.1
NGO	40	3.8	5.1	3.6	0.0	0.5	3.8
CBO	47	4.5	6.0	5.5	0.0	0.0	4.5
Domestic employment	61	5.8	8.7	1.8	0.0	0.0	5.8
Self-employed	35	3.3	2.9	5.5	11.5	1.0	3.3
Other	8	0.8	0.3	1.8	0.0	2.0	0.8
Total	1 055	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 87: Distribution of respondents across different types of employers in their first job according to gender, 2003

Types of employers	Types of employers distribution		Gender distribution (%)	
	n	%	Men	Women
Government	219	20.8	19.8	21.6
Private company	645	61.1	65.4	57.1
NGO	40	3.8	3.5	4.0
CBO	47	4.5	4.5	4.4
Domestic employment	61	5.8	2.0	9.3
Self-employed	35	3.3	3.5	3.1
Other	8	0.8	1.2	0.4
Total	1055	100.0	100.0	100.0

Growth in employment opportunities for youth depend both on macro- and micro-economic factors. The labour absorption capacity of the economy depends on output growth and the number of jobs created directly and indirectly per Rand of output. Output growth depends on a wide range of factors such as interest rates, faith in the economy, input prices, and domestic and foreign demand. The number of jobs created directly is linked to technology choice, work organisation and the composition of industry. The number of jobs created indirectly depends on the depth of the economy – the extent to which firm’s source goods and services locally, and the extent to which firms are encouraged to invest in response to demand signals. The growth in employment also substantially depends on identification of the few employment-absorbing niches that do exist, such as tourism and business process outsourcing, as well as more commitment by government to increase the delivery of basic services, as examples. Pre-labour market interventions such as education, provision of career guidance and assistance with job searches are also critical to the success of labour absorption.

5.2 FINDING EMPLOYMENT

The effective absorption of labour market entrants depends largely on the preparation of the cohort and their ability to use networks to find jobs. Their capacity to do this relies on various factors: (i) the quality of their education and its relevance to employers; (ii) access to relevant information on careers; (iii) skills gaps and remuneration; (iv) enrolment at suitable educational institutions that are respected amongst employers; (v) access to finance for FET or HET studies; and (vi) access to networks or relationships with prospective employers (often found either through internships or family networks). For Black graduates and women, implicit discrimination may limit opportunity, where employers do not recognise capability or qualifications.

The participants in the SYR survey were asked about the approaches they followed in order to get access to their first and second job (see Table 88). In both instances, almost a third (33% and 34.1%) indicate that they found employment through personal contacts, such as friends and family. This confirms the importance of networks in the modern labour market. About 15 percent of the group indicate that they found first employment by sending their CVs to employers, compared to almost a quarter (23.5%) of the participants who reported this regarding their second job. Around a tenth (9.6% and 11.2%) mentioned that they had access to a first and second job by using the services of an employment agency. It is often found that employment agencies are more inclined to help people who move between jobs than people who are seeking initial employment. Only 3.9 percent of the respondents indicated that the school or training institution to which they were attached had assisted them with finding their first employment. However, it is becoming practice for tertiary institutions to assist in the role of placement agencies after graduation of their students. Some best practices already exist and some institutions are well known for their effective contact and liaison with potential employers of their graduates in the different sectors of the economy. These institutions are usually in the position to react to demand for certain skills from the market and these institutions often respond by aligning their courses according to the needs of the market.

Table 88: Different ways of getting access to a job, 2003

	First job		Second job	
	n	%	n	%
Through an employment agency	111	9.6	19	11.2
Through an advertisement I found in a newspaper	142	12.3	22	12.9
By sending my CV to potential employers	178	15.4	40	23.5
I moved to another area	94	8.1	9	5.3
I joined a family business	17	1.5		
Through placing my own advertisement in a newspaper	12	1.0	1	.6
With the help of my school/another educational institution	45	3.9	4	2.4
Through a holiday job that I had	27	2.3	5	2.9
Through my friends or contacts	258	22.4	43	25.3
Through my family or family connections	122	10.6	15	8.8
Through paying back a loan/bursary from an employer	9	0.8		
I am self-employed	22	1.9	2	1.2
I did look for a job/I was approached by the employer	117	10.1	10	5.9
Total	1 154	100.0	170	100.0

The average time it took respondents in the SYR survey, to find a job after completion of their education was 14.5 months (see Table 89). Coloured women took the longest of all the groups to attain employment after their education (an average of 18.5 months), while Indian women had the fastest access to jobs (4.4 months).

Table 89: Average time in months it took the respondents to find a job after completing education, 2003

Race	Gender	Average time in months	n
African	Men	15.1	299
	Women	16.3	281
	Total	15.7	580
Coloured	Men	12.4	45
	Women	18.5	31
	Total	14.9	76
Indian	Men	11.0	32
	Women	4.4	27
	Total	8.0	59
White	Men	10.9	77
	Women	13.6	109
	Total	12.4	186

In response to the difficulties that labour market groups, such as young workers and women, experience being absorbed into the labour market, governments usually assist by increasing their spending on active labour market policies. The main objective of these programmes is to increase the employability of the long-term unemployed. With regard to job search, an interesting study was conducted in Portugal in order to determine the impact of a large mandatory job search programme implemented in the country (Novo, Centeno & Centeno, 2004). The results show a positive effect on the unemployment duration of participants; in real terms, a reduction between 1-4 months of unemployment duration after being part of the programme. Similar endeavours could be of great value to youth people in South Africa in order to assist them to get access to jobs.

5.3 WORK-LIFE TRAJECTORY OF THE SYR 2003 SURVEY GROUP

A number of employment-related questions were asked in the survey in order to form a picture of the work-life trajectory of young people. A group of 1 044 young people stated the date on which they commenced employment (see Table 90). Sufficient information is available on 544 cases on the variables needed to sketch their work-life trajectories. As shown in Table 91 almost three quarters (72.4%) of these 544 respondents are still working in their first jobs. Reasons for leaving their first job were provided by 95 of the 150 respondents who left or lost their jobs (see Table 92). The most commonly given reason for leaving their first job (23.2%) was the fact that their previous jobs had only been a temporary arrangement. This is consistent with the predominance of informal employment for young people. Another important reason (20.0%) was the ability of some young people to find other employment with a better salary. Other reasons for leaving their first job included: companies that closed down or moved (15.8%), retrenchments (13.7%), and family matters that needed their attention (11.6%). A few young people (13.7%) also indicated that they found jobs where their skills could be better applied. Only 11 percent of these respondents indicated that they pursued further studies after they left or lost their jobs. The average time in months it took them to find their second job was 10.3 months – 4.2 months less than finding employment directly after completing their education. This is an indication that young people had easier access to jobs after gaining some workplace experience. In this regard, learnerships, as gazetted through the Skills Development Act of 1998 and the Skills Development Levies Act of 1999 are playing an important role in improving employability because of the structured workplace learning and experience they are offering to pre-employed and unemployed young people. Other

initiatives such as the Expanded Public Works Programme and the National Youth Service Programme are also playing important roles in improving skills and generating work experience for young people.

Table 90: Distribution of respondents commencing employment over five year intervals, 2003

Years	Start employment	
	n	%
1975-1979	3	0.3
1980-1984	25	2.4
1985-1989	18	1.7
1990-1994	119	11.4
1995-1999	362	34.7
2000-2004	517	49.5
Total	1 044	100.0

Table 91: Number of respondents still working after commencement of employment, 2003

Years	Start employment		Still working		
	n	%	n	% of still working	% of start of employment
1975-1979					
1980-1984	14	2.6	10	2.5	71.4
1985-1989	10	1.8	10	2.5	100.0
1990-1994	55	10.1	40	10.2	72.7
1995-1999	193	35.5	137	34.8	71.0
2000-2004	272	50.0	197	50.0	72.4
Total	544	100.0	394	100.0	72.4

Table 92: Reasons for leaving their first job, 2003

Reason	n	%
It was a temporary/part-time job	19	20.0
I found a better paying job	22	23.2
I found a job that better my skills and qualifications	13	13.7
The company I worked for closed/moved	15	15.8
I started studying	2	2.1
I had to take on family/social responsibilities	11	11.6
I was retrenched/dismissed	13	13.7
Total	95	100.0
Missing	55	
Total	150	

5.4 SELF EMPLOYMENT

Despite the difficulty in finding work, self-employment among young people is not necessarily the answer to their labour market participation. In South Africa many new businesses are started. The ability to generate sufficient income or potential for capital gain is a critical measure of success and separates those businesses that fail or merely survive as a job substitute from those that succeed. Self-employment is truly entrepreneurial only when value and benefits are created and distributed to individuals, groups, organisations, and society (Timmons 1994:3-10). It is therefore a given that entrepreneurs have to create

employment, increase income levels and stimulate economic growth in order to be seen as critical mechanisms in the economic and social development of a country.

The private sector in South Africa is largely characterised by informal, unregulated, and unrecorded activities that fulfil a survival function rather than self-employment in the entrepreneurial sector (Naudé 1998:303-308). Most self-employed young people lack the technical, managerial, accounting, communication, marketing, and sales skills required for successful entrepreneurship. Quality education and experience in entrepreneurship is thus required.

The 2003 SYR survey investigated the following aspects of self-employment/entrepreneurship: (i) demographics of entrepreneurs; (ii) the role of training in entrepreneurship; (iii) the experience of previous employment; (iv) motivation for self-employment; (v) monetary issues including access to credit, providers of credit, sufficiency of credit; and (vi) the sustainability of self-employment.

The survey results indicate that only around 6 percent of all youth respondents in the survey were ever self-employed. This is very much in line with self-employment among the total work force in South Africa, as 9 percent of the work force in South Africa were self-employed at the time of the Population Census in 1996. The Global Entrepreneurship Monitor (GEM) studies (2002,2003) show that there is a link between demographic data and entrepreneurship. For example, in terms of social disadvantage it is usually found that women are less likely to get involved in entrepreneurial endeavours than men. The participation in entrepreneurial activities also varies across race groups.

According to Figure 10 the percentage of Indian youth who were self-employed (9%) was higher than the average of self-employed youth (6%), while the percentage of African youth who were self-employed (7%) was very close to the average. White and Coloured self-employed youth were below the average. As shown in Table 93, more than two-thirds (69%) of the self-employed youth were men, which is a reflection of self-employment among men in the total workforce (67%) in the country (Stats SA, 1996). Only about a third of self-employed youth were women (as also among self-employed women in the total work force).

Figure 10: Percentage self-employed among respondents by population group, 2003 (n=221)

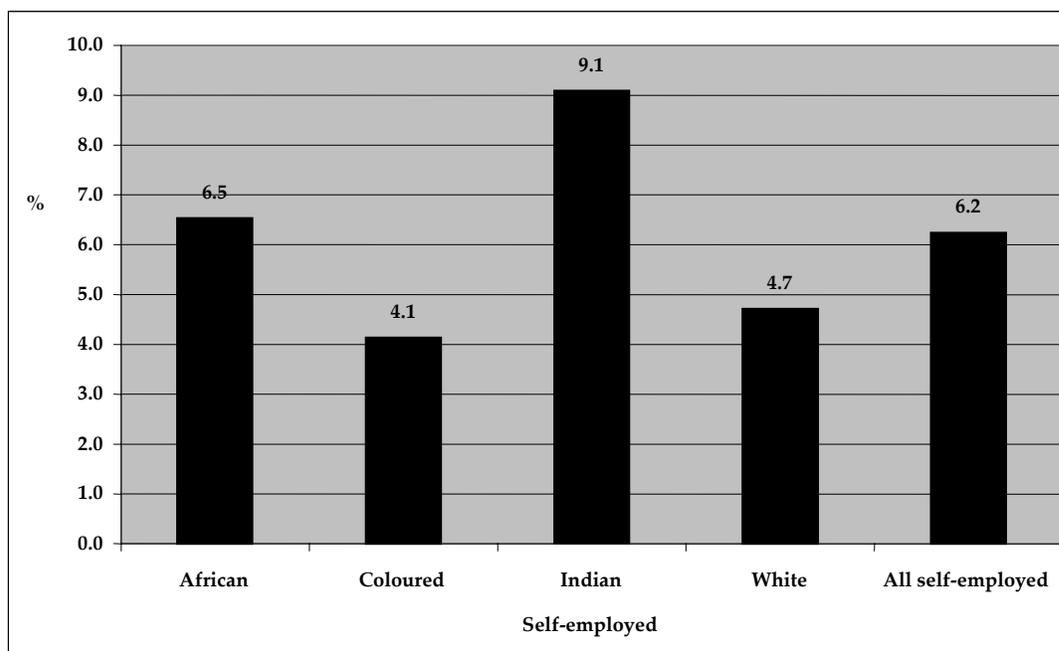


Table 93: Self-employment according to gender, 2003

Gender	Self-employed		Not self-employed		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Men	152	68.8	153	46.3	1 688	47.7
Women	69	31.2	1 784	53.7	1 853	52.3
Total	221	100	3 320	100	3 541	100
%	6.2		93.8		100	

Education and training play a critical role in developing an entrepreneurial culture. Higher education in South Africa is currently seen as an important agent in developing entrepreneurs. However a World Bank study of integrated entrepreneurship education (IEE) in Botswana, Uganda and Kenya (Farstad, 2002) revealed that the teaching of entrepreneurship in the general education curriculum – whether integrated into other subjects (like Business Studies), delivered within the framework of career guidance, or offered as a separate subject – does not translate into self-employment within two years of learners' leaving school. A report in the Financial Mail suggested that entrepreneurship training in South Africa is inadequate (January, 2003). The 2002 Global Entrepreneurship Monitor study confirmed this assertion and added that insufficient financial support is another obstacle that limits the development of entrepreneurship in South Africa. The Services SETA has now registered a learnership to contribute to entrepreneurship development in South Africa - the Venture Creation Learnership. In fact 20% of levies collected through the Skills Development Act (1998) are held by the National Skills Fund for special projects. SMMEs were identified as one of the key areas for development.

According to the SYR survey, only a third of the self-employed youth attended a course on entrepreneurship/business and this applies to both men and women. Among the White respondents, almost half of the self-employed young people had attended a course; among African respondents a third attended a course, while most Coloured and Indian respondents did not attend any course on entrepreneurship/business, as shown in Table 94.

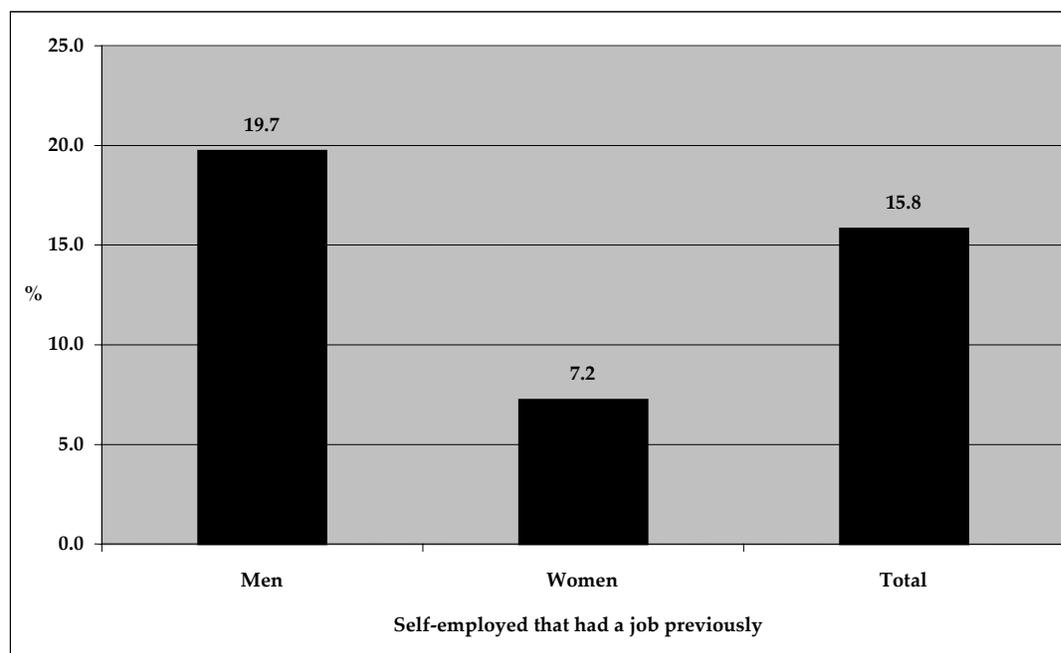
Previous research has indicated that poor *managerial skills* and inadequate *knowledge of the industry* contribute to 80 percent of business failures (Naudé 1996:11). It seems that in the light of the importance of *communication* in the management process (Aula 1998:10), training in communication skills, along with the necessary experience of communication within an organisation, is crucial for successful self-employment. Many businesses also fail because of poor *financial planning*. Owning a business requires at least some basic understanding of accounting and bookkeeping functions (Hiam & Olander 1996:257, 260). Another important reason for failure among SMMEs is poor *marketing*. The market can change faster than the firm's ability to compete effectively (Sexton & Bowman-Upton 1991:96). A marketing strategy must fit three factors in the external environment: customers, competition, and technology. Customer demands and competitors' behaviour determine the basic character of the service/product market (Itami & Roehl 1987:169). Training as well as experience is thus important for successful self-employment. In this regard, the Department of Trade and Industry's Ntsika Enterprise Promotion Agency and UYF Business Development Support Unit are providing the social capital through skills development and mentorship required for successful entrepreneurship.

Table 94: Self-employed youth's attendance of entrepreneurship/business courses according to race and gender, 2003

Gender	Attended a course	Did not attend a course	All
Men	53	99	152
%	34.9	65.1	100
Women	22	47	69
%	31.9	68.1	100
Total	75	146	221
%	33.9	66.1	100
RACE			
African	63	118	181
%	34.8	65.2	100
Coloured	2	11	13
%	15.4	84.6	100
Indian	3	8	11
%	27.3	72.7	100
White	7	9	16
%	43.8	56.3	100

Only around 16 percent of all the self-employed respondents had been employed previously. The percentage self-employed men that previously had a job (20%) was higher than the average percentage of all self-employed youth that previously had a job (16%), while women who previously had a job (7%) were below the average, as shown in Figure 11. This is in line with previous research that has found that women are subject to barriers that limit their access to important social networks to obtain employment (Sexton & Bowman-Upton 1991:210). Hisrich (1986:8-16) found that women are confronted with problems such as a lack of business training, lack of experience, lack of guidance, and a relative absence of a defined women's network for referrals of business, and inroads to other successful business. However, Hirschowitz (1994:4) indicates that self-employed women are steadily overcoming obstacles, as women show considerable strength in coping with their circumstances and are forming networks to facilitate business opportunities. An objective of the national small-business strategy is also to redress women's access to opportunities (White Paper 1995:16). Business associations also need to be encouraged to become more representative and inclusive in terms of gender (White Paper 1995:39). However, associations are voluntary and the only requirement to join professional associations is appropriate qualifications. Women thus need to take more initiative, themselves, to become members of existing associations or form new associations that could open up doors to networks and employment. The South African Women Entrepreneurs' Network (SAWEN) is attempting to overcome the obstacles faced by women entrepreneurs and open up access to resources. Khula Start is another project dedicated to provide financial support to women in rural areas involved in business.

Figure 11: Percentage of self-employed youth that had a job previously according to gender, 2003



Although it was mostly African youth (57%) who had been employed previously, the figure is not that high when it takes into account that African youth comprised 82 percent of all self-employed youth. While White youth formed only about seven percent of the self-employed youth respondents, a third of the self-employed young people who were previously employed, were White. The percentage of Indian youth who were previously employed (7%) was also higher in comparison to the percentage of Indians self-employed (5%). Very few self-employed Coloured youth (3%) had the opportunity for employment before they became self-employed, as they formed around six percent of the self-employed, as indicated in Table 95.

Previous employment and experience is an important factor in becoming self-employed. Opportunity seeking and risk taking are not synonymous. The intuition of true entrepreneurs, as opposed to those who are self-employed purely to survive, is often the result of many years of experience and learning. Opportunity taking by an entrepreneur is not to be confused with aimless speculation (Sweeney 1997). An entrepreneur walks confidently into an uncertain future (Mintzberg & Waters 1982:465-499).

Table 95: Self-employed youth who were employed before becoming self-employed according to race, 2003

Race	Had a job previously		Not previously employed		Total self-employed	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
African	17	56.7	164	85.9	181	81.9
Coloured	1	3.3	12	6.3	13	5.9
Indian	2	6.7	9	4.7	11	5.0
White	10	33.3	6	3.1	16	7.2
Total	30	100	191	100	221	100

Growth in self-employment in South Africa has mainly been motivated by low labour absorption in the formal economy (Whiteford, *et al.* 1999:121), and this is reinforced by the current study among youth. The main reason why most self-employed youth became self-employed was the unavailability of formal

employment (51%); secondly, to be an own boss (15%). This was the case for both men and women, as indicated in Table 96. It was thus more 'push' than 'pull' into self-employment. Manning (cited in Hirschowitz & Orkin 1994:18) also indicated that there are few instances of people entering the micro-enterprise economy out of choice rather than the need to survive. However, among self-employed university graduates, it was found that they were predominantly 'pulled' into self-employment to become independent and take on a challenge, and they were predominantly successful (Roodt 2002:111).

Table 96: Reason for self-employment according to gender, 2003

Reason	Men		Women		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Joined the family business	14	10.9	1	1.6	15	7.9
No job in formal employment	54	42.2	43	68.3	97	50.8
No job in the specific field of training	7	5.5	1		7	3.7
Lost job in the formal sector	2	1.6	8	12.7	3	1.6
Prefer to be own boss	20	15.6	2	3.2	28	14.7
Prefer flexible working hours	7	5.5			9	4.7
Higher income than in the formal sector	5	3.9			5	2.6
More opportunity for preferable work	17	13.3	4	6.3	21	11.0
Prefer to work at home			1	1.6	1	0.5
Other	2	1.6	3	4.8	5	2.6
Total	128	100	63	100	191	100

When looking at the differences between race groups in the SYR survey, it is interesting to note the difference in motivation for self-employment (see Table 97). Most African and Coloured respondents became self-employed because they could not find employment in the formal sector. However, in the case of Indian respondents, most became self-employed because they could earn a higher salary in self-employment than in the formal sector. White respondents mainly became self-employed because they preferred to be their own boss and do the work they wanted to do.

Table 97: Reason for becoming self-employed according to race, 2003

Reason	African		Coloured		India n		White		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Joined the family business	12	7.9			2	18.2	1	6.3	15	7.9
No job in formal employment	90	59.2	6	50.0			1	6.3	97	50.8
No job in the specific field of training	6	3.9	1	8.3					7	3.7
Lost job in the formal sector	3	2.0							3	1.6
Prefer to be own boss	17	11.2	2	16.7	2	18.2	7	43.8	28	14.7
Prefer flexible working hours	5	3.3			3	27.3	1	6.3	9	4.7
Higher income than in the formal sector			1	8.3	4	36.4			5	2.6
More opportunity for preferable work	15	9.9					6	37.5	21	20.9
Prefer to work at home	1	0.7							1	0.5
Other	3	2.0	2	16.7					5	2.6
Total	152	100	12	100	11	100	16	100	191	100

The different motivations of young people in becoming self-employed are reflected in their education levels, as the data in Table 98 illustrates. While some young people resort to self-employment out of necessity because they are unable to find jobs, others are motivated by the prospect of making money or being one's own boss. One would therefore expect their levels of education to vary. While the numbers of self-employed young people are small and the differences in Table 98 were not statistically significant, the data suggest that the educational levels of the self-employed are both lower and higher than the general population. Thus a slightly higher proportion of the self-employed young people had no or only primary education, while a larger proportion of the self-employed also had tertiary qualifications.

Table 98: Educational levels of self-employed and not self-employed youth, 2003

Level of education	Self-employed		Not self-employed	
	n	%	n	%
None/Primary	14	6.5	141	4.4
Incomplete secondary	53	24.7	961	30.3
Matric	91	42.3	1383	43.6
Tertiary	57	26.5	685	21.6
Total	215	100	3170	100

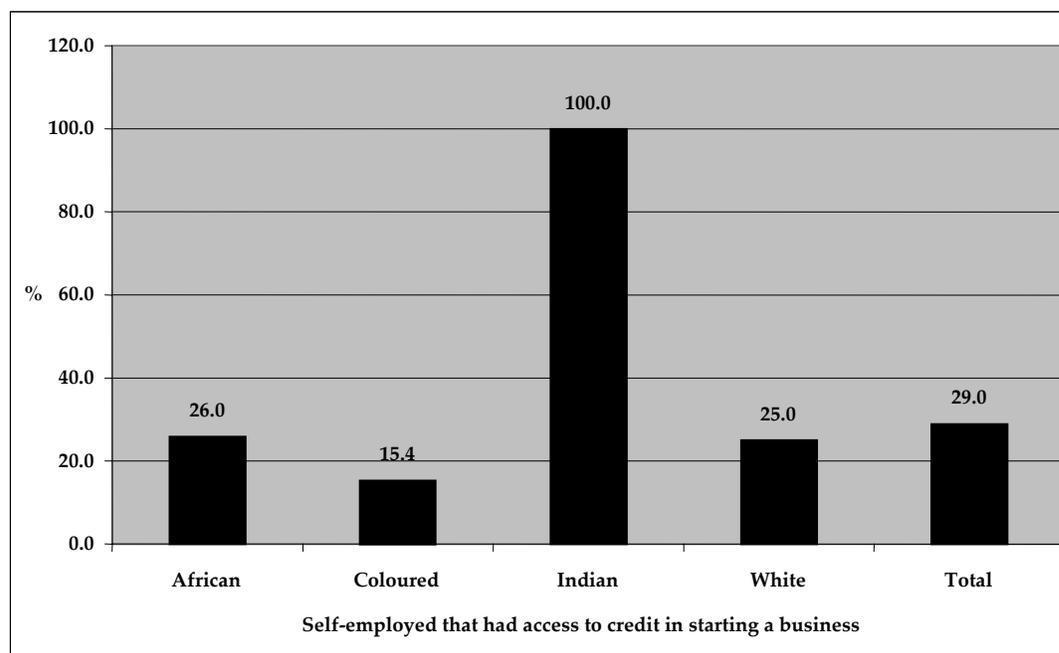
During *et al.* (cited in Landström, *et al.* 1997:217) found that financial constraints on entering the market acts as the single most important factor affecting the size of a new enterprise and its development plans. Only *one-third* of the self-employed youth respondents in the SYR survey indicated that they had access to credit when they started their own business, and most of them (78%) that obtained credit were men, as indicated in Table 99.

Table 99: Access to credit in starting a business, 2003

Gender	Had access to credit		Did not have access to credit		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Men	50	78.1	74	59.2	124	65.6
Women	14	21.9	51	40.8	65	34.4
Total	64	100	125	100	189	100
%	33.9		55.1		100	

All self-employed Indian respondents (100%) had access to credit in becoming self-employed, as opposed to 29 percent average for all the other groups combined, as indicated in Figure 12. African (26%) and White (25%) self-employed youth who had access to credit were both close to the average for all (29%) who obtained access to credit, while self-employed Coloured (15%) youth who had access to credit, were well below the average of 29 percent for all self-employed youth who had access to credit.

Figure 12: Self-employed that had access to credit in becoming self-employed according to race, 2003



About a *third* of self-employed youth indicated that it was difficult to get access to credit in starting a business. A third of the self-employed men found it difficult, while more than half of the self-employed women reported it to be neither difficult nor easy to obtain credit. Most White self-employed youth (64%) found it easy to obtain credit, while half of the Indian self-employed found it easy and the other half found it difficult. Most Coloured and African respondents reported it to be neither difficult nor easy to get access to credit, as shown in Table 100. This underpins previous research that has found that commercial and parastatal banks are active in lending to SMMEs, and collateral requirements of South African banks are relatively liberal by the standards of developing countries (Levy 1996: 11, 26, 28).

Table 100: Accessibility to credit according to race and gender, 2003

	Very easy	Easy	Neither easy nor difficult	Difficult	Very difficult	Total
Gender						
Men	8	18	15	26	9	76
%	10.5	23.7	19.7	34.2	11.8	100
Women	2	1	12	4	2	21
%	9.5	4.8	57.1	19.0	9.5	100
Total	10	19	27	30	11	97
%	10.3	19.6	27.8	30.9	11.3	100
Race						
African	5	8	25	23	11	72
%	6.9	11.1	34.7	31.9	15.3	100
Coloured	1		1	1		3
%	33.3		33.3	33.3		100
Indian	2	4	1	4		11
%	18.2	36.4	9.1	36.4		100
White	2	7		2		11
%	18.2	63.6		18.2		100

Total	10	19	27	30	11	97
%	10.3	19.6	27.8	30.9	11.3	100

Despite these results, it has been found that the smallest African-owned firms may be subject to some discrimination. For historically disadvantaged borrowers in particular, collateral problems appear especially acute (Levy 1996:11, 26, 28). This is underlined by the fact that almost half of the self-employed youth in the SYR survey obtained credit from relatives, only 17 percent got credit from a commercial bank, around 14 percent had friends that provided them with credit, 11 percent got credit from personal savings, five percent from cash loans, four percent from development agencies, three percent did not specify how, and around one percent obtained it from a Stokvel, as shown in Table 101. Half of the self-employed men and a quarter of women got credit from relatives. Another quarter of the self-employed women obtained credit from personal savings, while 18 percent of men made use of a commercial bank. Three-quarters of self-employed White respondents and almost half of the self-employed African respondents got credit from relatives. Half of the Coloured self-employed obtained credit from personal savings, while almost all self-employed Indian respondents (91%) got credit at a commercial bank.

Table 101: Providers of credit in starting a business by race and gender, 2003

Credit provider	Gender						
	Men	%	Women	%	Total	%	
Commercial bank	16	18.4	3	12.5	19	17.1	
Cash loans	3	3.4	3	12.5	6	5.4	
Friends	10	11.5	5	20.8	15	13.5	
Relatives	45	51.7	6	25.0	51	45.9	
Personal savings	6	6.9	6	25.0	12	10.8	
Stokvel			1	4.2	1	0.9	
Small business	4	4.6			4	3.6	
Other	3	3.4			3	2.7	
Total	87	100	24	100	111	100	
Race							
	African	%	Coloured	%	Indian	White	%
Commercial bank	7	8.8			10	2	12.5
Cash loans	6	7.5					
Friends	14	17.5	1	25.0			
Relatives	37	46.3	1	25.0	1	12	75.0
Personal savings	8	10.0	2	50.0		2	12.5
Stokvel	1	1.3					
Small business	4	5.0					
Other	3	3.8					
Total	80	100	4	100	11	16	100

Most of the self-employed youth that obtained credit thought that the credit was sufficient to start a business and this applies to men as well as women (81%). Among all race groups, the self-employed youth interviewed were of the opinion that the credit they obtained sufficed, as indicated in Table 102.

This finding again emphasises the previous point made, that commercial and parastatal banks are active in lending to start-up businesses and that collateral requirements of South African banks are relatively liberal by the standards of developing countries (Levy 1996:11, 26, 28). The Department of Trade and Industry's Khula Enterprises has used a number of financial intermediaries to make available financial support for

SMMEs. While these initiatives are not directed at youth, the UYF has been particularly active in generating support among such agencies to invest in youth businesses.

Table 102: Sufficiency of credit obtained in order to start a business according to race and gender, 2003

Gender	Sufficient credit	Insufficient credit	All
Men	69	17	86
%	80.2	19.8	100
Women	24	5	29
%	82.8	17.2	100
Total	93	22	115
%	80.9	19.1	100
Race			
African	73	17	90
%	81.1	18.9	100
Coloured	3		3
%	100		100
Indian	10	1	11
%	90.9	9.1	100
White	7	4	11
%	63.6	36.4	100

Research indicates that more new jobs come from small businesses than from large firms, but that sustainability is an important issue (Timmons 1994:5). Although the majority of business failures occur in the first two to five years, it may take considerably longer for some to fail. One study found that over 53 percent of failures occurred in the first 5 years; nearly 30 percent occurred in years 6 through 10; and the remaining 17 percent involved firms in existence for more than 10 years (Timmons 1994:5-11).

The SYR survey reveals that more than two thirds of the self-employed youth have been self-employed for one to 4 years; 16 percent were self-employed for 5 to 9 years; and 19 percent were self-employed for 10 years and more, as can be seen in Table 102. More of the self-employed men (22%), than self-employed women (10%), were in self-employment for 10 years and more. Three-quarters of the self-employed women (77%), as opposed to 60 percent of the men were self-employed for one to 4 years.

A quarter of White self-employed youth have been in self-employment for 10 years or more, 19 percent of the African self-employed youth, and 15 percent of the Coloured self-employed youth, but none of the Indian self-employed youth (see Table 103). Most of the African (71%) and Coloured (77%) youth were self-employed for one to 4 years; most Indian youth were self-employed for 5 to 9 years; while most White youth (56%) were self-employed for 5 to 9 years.

Table 103: Period self-employed according to race and gender, 2003

Gender	Years self-employed			Total
	One to 4 years	5 to 9 years	10 or more years	
Men	92	26	34	152
%	60.5	17.1	22.4	100
Women	53	9	7	69
%	76.8	13.0	10.1	100
Total	145	35	41	221
%	65.6	15.8	18.6	100
Race				
African	128	18	35	181
%	70.7	9.9	19.3	100

Coloured	10	1	2	13
%	76.9	7.7	15.4	100
Indian	4	7	0	11
%	36.4	63.3	0	100
White	3	9	4	16
%	18.8	56.3	25.0	100
Total	145	35	41	221
%	65.6	15.8	18.6	100

The data presented in this section illustrate overall low levels of entrepreneurship for youth. Training, experience and access to credit play an important role in the success of self-employment. While the promotion of self-employment and entrepreneurship is an important thrust over time, it is probable that it won't be the main source of success in promoting youth economic participation. Finding first work and gaining work experiences may be more important for most young people before they can think of becoming entrepreneurs.

5.5 UNEMPLOYMENT

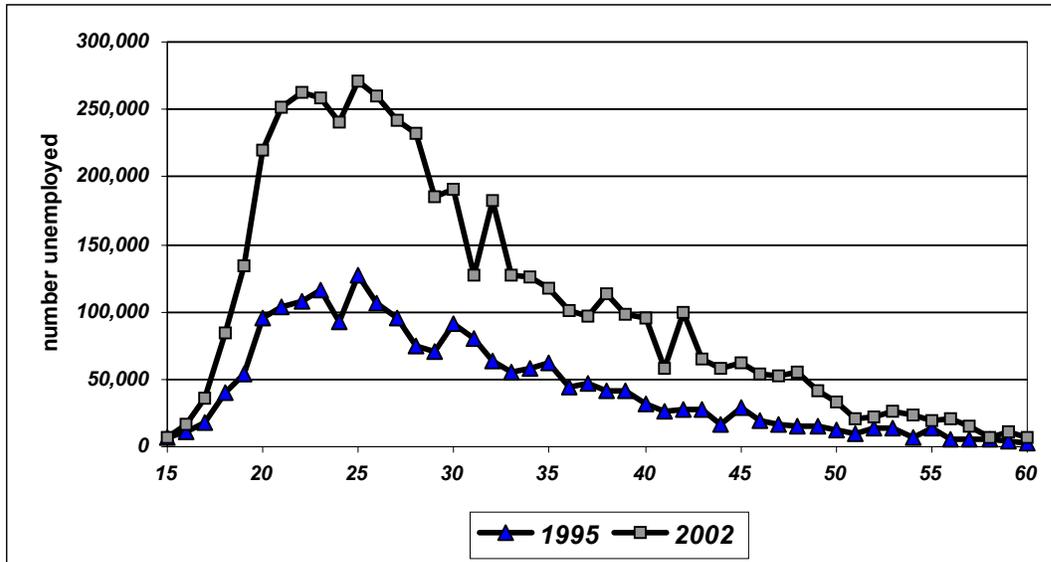
Work is seldom seen only as a means by which an individual sustains life. It is also viewed as having other dimensions, including economic, social, and psychological. Research shows that unemployed people often experience feelings of low self-esteem resulting from not being involved in activities that are valued by other people. The functions of work are therefore of great importance to both society and to the individual. Youth unemployment specifically has become a contentious issue. An estimate of the International Labour Office (ILO) in their World Employment Report (1998) indicated that at least 60 million young people are unemployed and that youth unemployment rates can be as high as three times adult rates. The estimate is that between now and 2010, 700 million young people will try to enter the labour market in developing countries (more than the entire labour force of the developed countries in 1990), and the ILO projects that this requires the creation of more than a billion jobs in order to give these new workers access to labour markets and to reduce unemployment.

As McCord and Borat, (2003) point out, South Africa's unemployment rates are higher than "most developing countries in Africa, Latin America or Asia, and significantly higher... than those of the middle- or higher-income countries". Unemployment has been steadily growing since the early 1970s, and in 2002 stood at 30.5 percent (4.8 million people using the strict definition) and 41.8 percent (using the expanded definition, which includes discouraged workers who are not actively seeking employment). However, whether one uses the strict or expanded definition, the impact of such high levels of unemployment are acute, particularly when one takes into consideration the skewed distribution of unemployment among different segments of the population.

The extent to which young South Africans suffer unemployment is vividly depicted by the graph below. Young people between 15 and 24 years of age make up 31.4 percent (1.5 million) of the total unemployed, and those between the ages of 25 and 34 years account for 40 percent (1.9 million) of the unemployed. While the distribution of the population by age does play a role in the structure of unemployment, other factors, such as young people's relative lack of work experience and skills, also contribute to the high levels of youth unemployment. More important, however, is the inability of the economy to absorb the large numbers of new entrants into the labour market each year. As stated earlier, it is estimated that between 1995 and 2002 employment grew by 13.9 percent (representing 1.3 million jobs), while labour supply grew by 38.0 percent

(representing 4.3 million new labour market entrants). While young people entering the labour market for the first time may generally have better qualifications than those with jobs, they cannot simply displace people who are already employed.

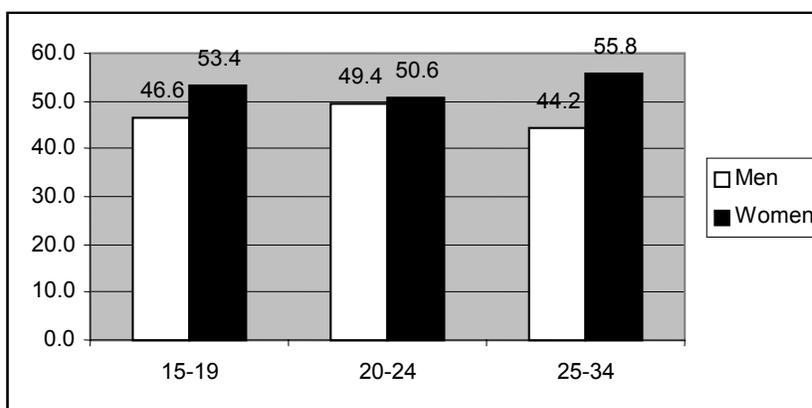
Figure 13: Number of unemployed by age, 1995 & 2002



Source: Woolard and Altman (2004), forthcoming, calculated from Stats SA: OHS 1995 and LFS Sept 2002.

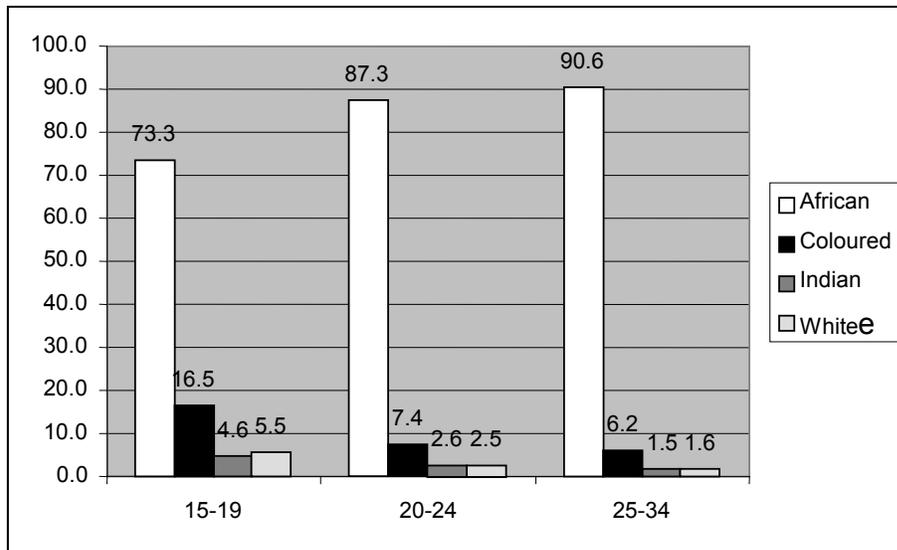
Many young people find work only after a lengthy search period, some only after the age of 30 years. Of those young people who do find work, many have low levels of job satisfaction as a result of low pay and the absence of career prospects. Unemployment among young people is complicated further by inequalities relating to gender and race. Of the 3.4 million young people who were unemployed in 2002, 1.8 million (53.7%) were young women and 1.5 million (46.3%) were young men. As Figure 14 shows, inequalities in employment rates between young women and young men appear to exist for the 15-19 years and 25-34 years age groups. Figure 14 shows that African people in the age group 25-34 are even more vulnerable than the 15-19 and 20-24 age groups.

Figure 14: Unemployment rates by age and gender, 2002



Source: Stats SA, LFS Sept 2002

Figure 15: Unemployment by age and race, 2002



Source: Stats SA, LFS Sept 2002

In order to obtain a more comprehensive picture of youth unemployment, it is also necessary to determine how specific segments of the youth population feature in relation to employment. As youth make up the larger part of the total unemployed population, conditions applying to gender, race and location also impact on young people. Women, for example, consistently experience higher levels of unemployment in both urban and rural areas. The very high rates of unemployment among women (53.2% overall and 57.1% in the rural areas) are particularly disturbing, given the large numbers of female-headed households, especially among African and Coloured people. According to the UNDP (1997), the poverty rate of female-headed households (60%) is twice as high as that of male-headed households (31%). Another noteworthy feature of the data (see Table 104) is that, while the differences in unemployment rates for urban and rural areas according to the strict definition of unemployment, are relatively small, they are significantly bigger when the expanded definition is used. As McCord & Bhorat, (2003: 125) observe, this is probably an indication that, because of limited employment opportunities in rural areas, unemployed rural people are less likely to be actively seeking work. However, Figure 16 illustrates that the broad employment rate is decreasing. This means that an increasing proportion of the unemployed labour force continues to look for work. Active labour market policies such as the Expanded Public Works Programme (EPWP) of the Department of Public Works have been put in place to address crises such as these.

The EPWP will be implemented over the 2004/05 – 2008/09 financial years. It is defined as a nation-wide programme to draw significant numbers of unemployed people into productive work accompanied by training - so that they increase their capacity to earn an income. The overarching objective is to create 1 million short-term job opportunities for unskilled unemployed people over the next 5 years. In order to create jobs in a short period of time, the approach is to expand both existing best-practice PWP that are labour-intensive and to introduce labour-intensive, production techniques by, for example, replacing machines with labour in civil construction. The EPWP comprises four sectors: infrastructure, environmental, social and economic. Each of the sectoral programmes is focused on unemployed, under-skilled and under-qualified persons. While the EPWP provides an important avenue for labour absorption and income

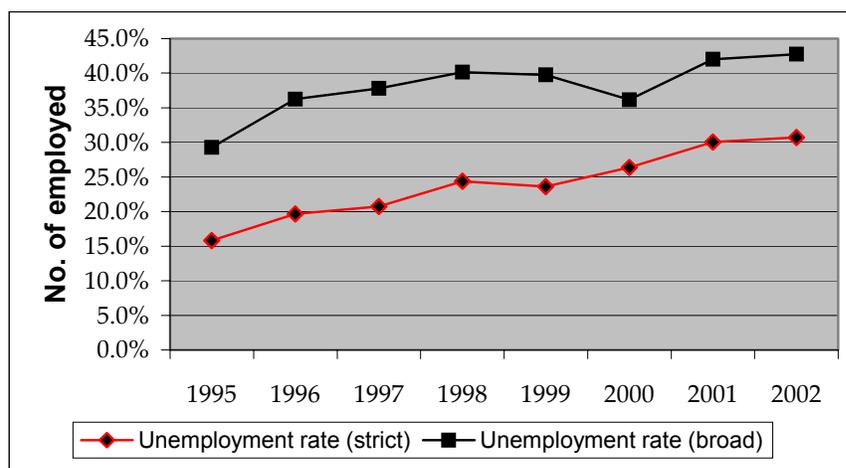
transfers to poor households in the short to medium-term, it is not designed as a policy instrument to address the structural nature of the unemployment crisis.

Table 104: Unemployment by location and gender (strict vs. expanded definition)

Location	Strict definition of unemployment			Expanded definition of unemployment		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Urban	26.3	34.1	30.2	32.6	43.3	38.0
Non-urban	27.6	35.6	31.6	43.2	57.1	50.2
Total	27.0	34.9	30.9	37.9	50.2	44.1

Source: Calculated from Stats SA, LFS Sept 2002

Figure 16: Unemployment rates – by broad and strict definitions, 1995 - 2002



Source: Calculated from Stats SA: OHS and Sept LFS

Table 105 below provides clear evidence of the racial segmentation of the South African labour market. In comparison with international norms, unemployment is high for all race groups, but the unemployment rate for African people is “severe” and considerably higher than that of the other groups. Unemployment rates for women are also higher than those of men across all the race groups.

Table 105: Unemployment by race, location and gender, 2002

Race	Expanded definition of unemployment	
	Male	Female
All race groups		
Urban	26.4%	34.2%
Non-urban	27.6%	35.6%
African	32.9%	41.2%
Coloured	19.4%	23.5%
Indian	16.2%	28.4%
White	5.1%	7.6%

Source: Stats SA LFS Sept 2002

While the rate of unemployment does decrease with increased education and, in particular, tertiary education, the very high level of unemployed youth with matric (33.3%) and even the 5.1 percent

unemployment of those with higher education qualifications, suggests that the relationship between education and employment may not be clear-cut. Among the African unemployed (who make up the majority of the total unemployed), 34 percent of unemployed youth between 15 and 24 years had Grade 12 or tertiary qualifications, in contrast with between three and 11 percent of those aged 35 and above. The educational levels of unemployed persons over 45 years were even lower, with 69 percent having either no education or only primary education. If the relationship between education and employment was linear, then one would expect far lower levels of unemployment among young people with their substantially higher levels of education.

Although the relationship between education and employment may not be straight forward, education plays an important role in employment, particularly for certain categories of the population. McCord & Bhorat, (2003: 135), for example, argue that education is “a key determinant of the decision to participate” in labour markets by seeking work. This is particularly the case for urban women whose increasing levels of education are associated with higher participation rates.

Participation increases with age, with older people more likely to have a job or to be seeking work. The analysis suggests that a significant proportion of the youth cohort (16 to 24 years) may already comprise discouraged work seekers. Drawing this cohort into the labour market represents a major policy challenge.

In relation to the impact of education on earnings, the picture is less clear, with some analysts maintaining that each year of primary and secondary education has a positive impact on earnings, while others argue that only tertiary education is associated with significant financial returns. If the latter argument is correct, then as McCord & Bhorat (2003: 136) argue, “incentives for participation in primary and secondary education are poor and need to be addressed”.

The results of the SYR survey show, in Table 106, that the average time youth, who are currently unemployed, have been looking for jobs, is almost two years (20.7 months). It seems that African and Coloured women struggle the most to find work. Whites as well as Indian women have the shortest time duration in this regard.

Table 106: Average time in months people currently unemployed were looking for jobs, 2003

Race	Gender	Average in months	n
African	Men	18.9	384
	Women	22.7	470
	Total	21.0	854
Coloured	Men	18.9	48
	Women	23.0	40
	Total	20.8	88
Indian	Men	12.4	11
	Women	3.7	9
	Total	8.5	20
White	Men	2.8	20
	Women	4.7	19
	Total	3.7	39

The views of respondents were solicited regarding the reasons for their unemployment. Table 107 provides a summary of the results. Participants did not see any of the reasons below as having a significant effect on unemployment. However, almost a quarter (23.4%) indicated that the lack of qualifications might be a

reason. Just over a fifth (21.4%) said there were no jobs available in the area where they live. A large percentage (86.4%) is of the view that work experience does not play a role.

Table 107: Respondents views on the reasons for unemployment, 2003

	% Yes	% No
No employer wants me because I don't have the qualification for this job	23,4	76,6
No employer wants me because my qualification is not at the right level	16,6	83,4
No employer wants me because of my field of study	11,3	88,7
No employer wants me because of the institution where I received my qualification	7,6	92,4
Although I have the right qualification no employer wants me because I don't have experience	13,6	86,4
No jobs available in the area	21,4	78,6
Lack of money for transport, CV, clothes to go to an interview, etc.	11,7	88,3

Respondents were also asked what the role of race, gender, physical disabilities, and chronic diseases play in unemployment. Table 108 depicts their responses. The majority of youth who replied to this question indicate that race plays an important role in being unemployed. This view is held by the better part of Africans (60.2%). According to respondents, the rest of the factors did not seem to have an influence on unemployment. There were also no differences between the views of the different race and gender groups on the part played by gender, disability and chronic diseases.

Table 108: The role that race, gender, physical disabilities, and chronic diseases play in unemployment, 2003

	Important		Not important		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Race	764	69.0	343	31.0	1 107	100.0
Gender	777	21.9	2 764	78.1	3 541	100.0
Disability	332	9.4	3 209	90.6	3 541	100.0
Chronic disease	323	9.1	3 218	90.9	3 541	100.0

More than two thirds (67.7%) of respondents indicated that they have never had a job in their life (see Table 109). This figure corresponds with data from the September 2002 Labour Force Survey, in which it was found that almost three quarters (74.5%: 4.1 million) of unemployed youth had never worked for pay, profit or family gain. Close to three quarters of African (73.3%) and 60.8 percent of Coloured young people say that they have never had a job in comparison with only 49.6 percent of Indian, and 34.8 percent of White young people.

Table 109: Percentage of respondents who ever had a job according to race, 2003

Ever had a job	Distribution for all		Race distribution (%)			
	n	%	African	Coloured	Indian	White
Yes	1 145	32.3	26.7	39.2	50.4	65.2
No	2 396	67.7	73.3	60.8	49.6	34.8
Total	3 541	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

As one might expect, a considerably greater proportion of youth in the 25-35 year age group were employed than in the 18-24 year age group (see Table 110). This is not only because a greater percentage of 18-24 year olds were still completing their education, but also because members of the older age group, by virtue of

their age, had had more time to find work. While only 20 percent of the 18-24 years cohort had ever had a job, just under half of the older age group had been employed at some stage in their lives.

Table 110: Percentage of respondents who ever had a job by age group, 2003

Ever had a job	18-24 years		25-35 years	
	n	%	n	%
Yes	417	20.0	728	49.9
No	1 664	80.0	732	50.1
Total	2 081	100	1 460	100

Differences between young men and young women were less apparent than for the two age groups. While slightly more young men (33.5%) than young women (31.3%) had ever had a job, this difference was not statistically significant – see Table 111.

Table 111: Percentage of respondents who ever had a job by gender, 2003

Ever had a job	Males		Females	
	n	%	n	%
Yes	565	33.5	580	31.3
No	1 123	66.5	1 273	68.7
Total	1 145	100	2 396	100

In relation to location, young people who lived in the metropolitan areas enjoyed a clear advantage over those in non-metropolitan urban areas and rural areas. While nearly 41 percent of metropolitan youth reported that they had ever had a job, the percentages of youth who had had jobs in non-metropolitan urban areas and rural areas were 31 percent and 27 percent, respectively (see Table 112).

Table 112: Percentage of respondents who ever had a job by location, 2003

Ever had a job	Metropolitan		Other urban		Rural	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Yes	487	40.7	260	30.8	398	26.6
No	711	59.3	585	69.2	1 100	73.4
Total	1 198	100	845	100	1 498	100

Unemployment has economic, social and psychological consequences. In societies whose socio-economic structure is mainly defined by the importance and division of labour, unemployed people are defined by what they are not. According to this definition they are not part of the structure that enables people to earn a living, feel productive, and part of a country's or community's economic development, and/or experience positive feelings about being engaged in activities that they enjoy (i.e. living out vocational interests). Whether the causes of their unemployment are at the macro-economic level (due to structural problems in an economy), or at the micro-economic level of the individual (e.g. lack of appropriate qualifications or skills), it is to be expected that unemployment would affect the individual and his or her behaviour to a certain extent.

There can therefore be no illusions about the consequences of unemployment. Most studies conducted on this topic confirm the relationship between unemployment and psychosocial distress (Axelson & Ejlertson 2002:111-119; Winkelman, & Winkelman 1998:1-15). The most important questions that remain if the consequences of unemployment are taken into consideration are: What is the durability of the adverse effects, do the scars fade, and what can be done to relieve the distress of this group?

5.6 CONCLUSION

What can young people expect with regard to their working lives in South Africa? Unemployment rates in South Africa are higher than in most developing countries in Africa, Latin America or Asia, and unemployment has been steadily growing since the early 1970s. Unemployment is highest among the youth, with young people between 15 and 34 years making up more than two thirds of the unemployed whether one uses the strict or expanded definition of unemployment. These high rates of unemployment are not only related to very low levels of job creation, but also to the massive growth in the economically active population, especially among women. The ability of young people to find work varies strongly by gender and race. In spite of increased uptake of employment by women, higher rates of unemployment among women are still seen, with the African woman the most severely affected

A large proportion of young people are excluded from the labour market for long periods of time with more than two thirds of respondents in the SYR survey indicating that they had never had a job. What is more the average time unemployed youth in the SYR had spent looking for work was almost two years. While higher educational levels do improve the prospects of finding employment, unemployment rates remain high even for persons with secondary and tertiary education. The majority of young people who enter the labour market, are engaged in temporary employment or in the informal sector. At least a quarter of respondents in the SYR survey who had worked were employed in temporary positions, and trends suggest that temporary employment for youth is growing. Many young people, particularly African and Coloured youth, were also employed in elementary occupations and in domestic work.

A substantial number of young people were also employed in the informal sector, probably because they had been unable to find jobs in the formal economy. Comparison of 1997 OHS data and 2002 LFS data show an increase in youth involvement in the informal sector from 17% in 1997 to 25% in 2002. Youth who were most vulnerable to unemployment, such as African and Coloured young people, were far more likely to be employed in the informal sector than White or Indian young people, who had higher overall rates of employment. Although only a minority of youth were self-employed, the main reason for self-employment given by respondents was the unavailability of jobs in the formal sector. Waiting times between school and work and one job and the next have also increased. Data from the SYR survey show that respondents took an average of 14.5 months to find a job after completing their education, and that the waiting times between jobs was 10.3 months.

While growth in the employment rates of women has substantially increased since 1995, women still have higher rates of unemployment than men. Young women are also more likely to be involved in the informal sector than men, and are more than four times more likely to be employed in domestic work than young men. With the exception of Indian women, young women on average take a longer time to find jobs after completing their education than men. Self-employment among women is also low in relation to men, and young women appear to have greater difficulty in accessing credit than men. In recent years, there have also

been signs of increased labour migration of women from rural areas. This new trend appears to be associated with declining marital rates among African women and with increased pressures on women to provide for their families.

With two thirds of the SYR sample never having worked before, the majority of young South Africans seem to have a tenuous relationship with the labour market. The youth labour market is also characterised by inequalities. While only 27 percent of African youth and 39 percent of Coloured youth in the SYR survey had ever worked, the corresponding percentages for White and Indian youth were 65 percent and 50 percent, respectively.

The past decade has been marked by consistent economic growth (an average annual rate of 2.4%). The re-positioning and stabilisation of the economy in the global arena as well as a number of active labour market policies or institutions that have been put in place augur well for higher rates of labour absorption. These growth and employment strategies should result in economic development that is broad-based, equitable and sustainable over time. Young people through the Youth Commission lobbied extensively at the Presidential Job Summit of 1998 and the Growth and Development Summit of 2003 to place youth unemployment firmly on the development agenda. Broad Based Black Economic Empowerment (2003) represents a focused strategy, over and above Employment Equity and affirmative action policies to realign and diversify ownership, management and representation in skilled occupations. The Human Resources Development Strategy (2001) and the National Skills Development Strategy (2001) are also two policy frameworks dedicated to realigning the skills of the workforce to the needs of the labour market by bridging the gap between structured learning and work experience. The Sector Education and Training Authorities have been active in this arena by promoting learnerships for existing employees, and pre-employed and unemployed people, as a means to develop formal skills and work experience. In the short to medium term, the Expanded Public Works Programme is using government's service delivery function to create temporary jobs and hence work experience for the unemployed. Similarly, the National Youth Service Programme (1998) has the dual objective of community service, on the one hand, and skills development and work experience, on the other hand, specifically directed at young people.

It is unlikely that the formal economy will be able to generate near as many jobs required to alleviate unemployment. A number of strategies have been instituted to promote self-employment. The Small Business Act of 1996 facilitated the creation of financial and non-financial business development support for small, medium and micro enterprises (SMMEs). Umsobomvu Youth Fund has been particularly active in promoting and providing the tools required for an entrepreneurial culture among young people. Similar structures have been developed for women entrepreneurs especially from disadvantaged groups and from rural areas. However, young people still struggle to access the kind of resources and markets required for successful integration into the SMME sector. This access is vital for the sector to have a substantial impact on generating employment and economic growth.

POVERTY AND INEQUALITY

Summary points

1. This section explores poverty and inequality in South Africa and in particular the impact of poverty on youth. As such, it offers the first comprehensive analysis of youth poverty in South Africa.
2. There is consensus among most analysts that about 40 percent of South Africans are living in poverty. While debate exists as to whether poverty has decreased over the past decade, in the long term the evidence suggests that while the absolute numbers of poor people have increased as a result of overall population growth, the proportion of people living in poverty appears to have declined between 1970 and 2000.
3. South Africa is also characterised by very high levels of income inequality. Although inequality between racial groups remains important, the inter-racial income gap has narrowed considerably since the 1970s, and income distribution within race groups has come to play a prominent, if not leading, role in patterns of inequality.
4. Urban-rural location plays a key role in the distribution of poverty, with the majority of poor people living in rural areas. The concentration of poverty in rural areas (particularly the rural areas of the former homelands) is also crucial to the distribution of poverty among the provinces.
5. Nearly three-quarters of the sample (72.3%) reported growing up under circumstances of poverty or deprivation, in which they either did not have enough money for basics like food and clothing or were short of many other things. Clear majorities of African and Coloured respondents grew up under conditions of deprivation, and far fewer White and Indian respondents grew up deprived.
6. A relative majority (46.3%) of respondents felt that their financial situation had improved since childhood, with 17.6 percent stating that it had deteriorated, and 36.1 percent reporting that it had stayed the same. However, African and Coloured respondents, those in the 18-24 year age group, and those who lived in rural areas, were *less likely* to report improvements in their financial situations and more likely to see a deterioration in their circumstances.
7. While considerable attention has been focused on child poverty, youth poverty has not received as much attention, both in South Africa and internationally.

8. Approximately a third (34%) of young South Africans between the ages of 18 and 35 years were living in poverty in 2000, with 16% characterised as ultra poor.
9. There were higher rates of poverty among 18 to 24 year olds than among 25 to 35 year olds, with 41 percent of the younger age group living in poverty as against 29 percent of the older age group.
10. Poverty is most severe among African youth, with 48 percent of African youth in the 18-24 years age group and 35 percent of African youth in the 25-35 age group classified as poor.
11. The relationship between youth poverty and employment is complex as poverty originates from both unemployment and from being economically dependent on poor households. Poverty rates were higher among 18 to 24 year olds, primarily because of the dependence of a majority of this age group on poor families.
12. Age is a key factor in the distribution of poverty. The youth poverty analysis shows that children under 18 years of age were the poorest of all age groups. However, while they were not as poor as children, youth in the 18-24 year age group had higher rates of poverty than all of the remaining age groups, including pensioners.
13. Nearly two-thirds of the sample (64%) reported that they were not able to support themselves financially, and only 22 percent indicated that they were the main breadwinners in their households. Fewer African and Coloured youth, and respondents living in rural areas, were able to support themselves.
14. It is difficult for those who grow up poor to escape from poverty, because childhood poverty tends to produce negative outcomes that perpetuate poverty, often across generations.
15. Analysis of census data suggests that, overall there was little if any change in youth earnings between 1996 and 2001 when inflation is taken into account. It is likely that youth income has dropped during this period because of higher levels of unemployment.

The sure bet of Operation Hope ...

Thirty-year-old Sandra Jacobs is familiar with the harsh realities of poverty, gangsterism and other forms of abuse. Raised in Ravensmead in the Western Cape, Sandra was abused as a child and fell pregnant while still a teenager; she then left school in standard seven to take care of her father who was paralysed in an accident. In addition, her family moved often and she didn't have the chance to establish a sense of stability or develop a concept of "home". The pressures often seemed unbearable, and Sandra struggled with depression. However, through the support she received from others and self-determination, Sandra overcame these barriers and today she runs a security-training company. While her company offers security to others, for Sandra the greatest security has been in gaining her self-confidence. She is currently living with a friend, and is raising her thirteen-year-old daughter and her fourteen-year-old younger sister. She says, "I want to give my child what I don't have – education."

Sandra's journey to owning her own company and developing a sense of self-confidence and stability for her family has been a long and bumpy one. After leaving school and caring for her disabled father, Sandra spent a number of years in and out of employment. During this period, Sandra enrolled for training as a security guard and worked for several security companies. Despite the fact that she was progressing in the security field, managing even to be promoted to management positions, she was unable to sustain these jobs for long. She notes that the challenges she encountered in sustaining a job were due largely to a lack of self confidence as well as company-related problems.

After a period of being unemployed, Sandra saw an advertisement in the Metro Burger for a computer course being offered by the Resource Action Group (RAG). It was February 2004, and without wasting any time, she enrolled in RAG's Operation Hope Computer Training Programme. The way in which RAG welcomed and oriented Sandra to the programme made a deep impression on her. She says, "I even got a phone call to remind me that the classes were starting. If it wasn't for that phone call, I may never have started the course [Operation Hope]."

Sandra found it quite challenging when she started the programme. She was confused by all the new things she was being exposed to and the new environment. She made peace, however, with the fact that she had to start anew at the age of thirty. As she progressed through the programme, Sandra became conscious of her worth and developed an "I can do it" attitude. "The practical skills that I learned included confidence skills. I realised that there was no one like me and this made me more secure. [Until then] people always made me believe that I was stupid."

After completing the RAG programme, Sandra was motivated to open her own business, but she needed finances to register the business. She approached the director of Accordian (another security company) to partner with her in starting a security business. Driven by a new sense of determination, Jacobs managed to secure office space and to get a friend to advertise for the business at no cost. Her drive and determination to succeed is evident when she says, "I won't let anyone or anything stand in my way." To date the company has been running for three months. The core business of the company is to provide training for security guards. In addition, the company provides a placement service for those trainees who are not employed at a security company. The number of people enrolling for training and placement is growing. "We are understanding; people feel proud to come to us; we help them even if they have no money. When someone can't pay I let them train and the money comes off their first paycheque. The smile that I get makes what I do worth it." Sandra is determined to make a success of her business. The money that is made is put back into the business and she networks extensively.

Sandra's struggle to be fully independent continues, but she approaches it with a new sense of commitment and confidence. "I never thought that I'd have the power to deal with these challenges. I never thought that anyone would have the confidence in me." Sandra believes that young people can achieve a lot if they have people who believe in them and they trust in God's help. She sees herself as one of those people who believes in others. Sandra holds firm to her dreams of creating employment for other young people, and ensuring that others, who were raised in similar circumstances as her own, have access to opportunities.

Source: Profile compiled by the Youth Development Network for the Celebrating Youth' function

Against the background of the extremely high levels of poverty and inequality inherited from *Apartheid* and the concerted efforts of the democratic government that came to power in 1994 to create a just society, poverty and inequality are arguably the two most important challenges facing South Africa.

Poverty is principally concerned with deprivation, and while most efforts to measure poverty have focused on material deprivation (in particular income and consumption); there is growing consensus that poverty is multidimensional. Over the past few decades the definition of poverty has been expanded to include first living standards such as longevity, literacy, nutrition and health, then vulnerability and risk, and finally powerlessness and lack of voice (Kambur & Squire, 1999). This broadening of the definition of poverty has not only contributed to our understanding of its causes, but has also focused attention on the ways in which the different elements of poverty interact with and reinforce one another (United Nations Development Programme, 2004:15). However, as measuring the different dimensions of poverty involves various methodological problems, income (or expenditure) is commonly used to measure poverty and serves as a *proxy* for the broader conception of deprivation. The measurement of income poverty usually involves the use of poverty lines, that is, the calculation of a minimum amount of money needed to support a family or household. All households falling below this poverty line are then defined as poor.

While in public discourse poverty and inequality are often linked and treated as expressions of the same problem, they form two distinct, but inter-related problems. This is because high levels of poverty can coexist with low levels of inequality, as can low levels of poverty with high levels of inequality. While poverty is essentially concerned with the levels of deprivation of individuals and social groups, inequality focuses attention on the *distribution* of resources (and deprivation) within societies. In a perfectly equal society income would be evenly distributed among all members of the society, so that, for example, 10 per cent of the population would receive 10 per cent of the income or be responsible for 10 percent of expenditure. However, this is seldom or ever the case and all societies are characterised by some degree of

inequality in terms of income and expenditure. In South Africa, for example, it has been shown that while the poorest 40 percent of households were responsible for less than 10 percent of total expenditure, the richest 10 percent of households accounted for 45% of total spending (Woolard, 2002: 6). The most common measurement of inequality is the Gini coefficient, which measures the distribution of national income on a scale between '0' and '1'. While '0' represents perfect equality, the closer the coefficient approaches '1' the greater the inequality of the society is.

While poverty and inequality are distinct from one another, high levels of inequality can exacerbate poverty. Van der Berg & Louw (2003:2) cite the example of Turkey, which has a lower per capita income than South Africa but, because of the higher levels of inequality in South Africa, poverty is twice as high in South Africa as it is in Turkey. High levels of inequality also involve an added dimension to poverty, that of relative deprivation - which has often been associated with high levels of crime and violence, among other social ills.

While estimates of the extent and depth of poverty in South Africa vary, often because of the different methods that are used to measure poverty, there is consensus among most analysts that about 40 percent of South Africans are living in poverty. One recent estimate based on the Minimum Living Level (MLL)⁷ as a cut-off point, estimated that in 2000 about 20.5 million people or 46 percent of the population were living in poverty (Landman, 2003:5). This estimate is very similar to that of the *South Africa Human Development Report 2003* (United Nations Development Programme, 2004:41), which estimated that 48.5 percent of the population were living in poverty in 2002. According to Cheru (2001: 506) estimates of the incidence of poverty in South Africa have varied from 56% to 36%. In 1995, for example, the Reconstruction and Development Plan Office (cited by Cheru, 2001: 5006) estimated that about 53 percent of the population was living in poverty. This estimate also compares well with the *Human Development Report 2003* (United Nations Development Programme, 2004:41) estimate of 51.1 percent for 1995.

6.1 TRENDS IN POVERTY, INEQUALITY AND RACE

Considerable debate exists about whether poverty has decreased or increased in the past ten years and about the quality and comparability of available data on which to base estimates (see, for example, Van der Berg & Louw, 2003:2). Taking a more long-term view of this issue, the Ecumenical Foundation of South Africa (EFGSA) task team came to the conclusion that between 1970 and 2000 the proportion of people living in poverty had declined, but that there had been an increase in the absolute numbers of poor people because of the growth of the population (Landman, 2003:6). Their estimates are represented in Table 113, below.

Table 113: Trends in poverty in South Africa between 1970 and 2000

Year	Population	Number of people in poverty	Proportion of people in poverty
1970	22 million	11 million	50%
2000	44.6 million	17 million	38%
Change between 1970 and 2000	+22.6 million	+ 6 million	-12%

Source: Landman, 2003:6

⁷ The MLL is regularly calculated by the Bureau of Market Research at the University of South Africa. In March 2003 the MLL was determined at R1 871 per month for a household of 4.7 people and adjusted to rand values for 2000 to a monthly income of R1 489.

Using a poverty line of R3 000 per capita per annum, Van der Berg and Louw (2003: 18) calculated estimates of poverty headcount ratios for selected years between 1970 and 2000 (see Table 114). They came up with an overall headcount of 17.2 million people or 39 percent of the population living in poverty in 2000. This means an increase in absolute numbers from 11.3 million people in 1970, but a proportionate decline from nearly 50 percent of the population in 1970 to 39 percent in 2000. The data show proportionate declines in poverty rates for all the population groups between 1970 and 2000, from 64.6 percent to 47.4 percent for Africans, 34.1 percent to 19 percent for Coloureds, 17.9 percent to 4.7 percent for Indians, and 2.7 percent to 1.4 percent for Whites. However, in absolute numbers, while Africans experienced an increase in poverty rates from 10.4 million in 1970 to 16.4 million in 2000, the other three population groups all experienced declines in absolute numbers of people living in poverty, with Indians having the highest declines and Coloureds the lowest.

Table 114: Estimates of poverty headcount based on a poverty line of R3000 per capita by population group, 1970 to 2000

Year	African		Coloured		Indians		Whites		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
1970	10 397 430	64.6	729 291	34.1	117 653	17.9	103 391	2.7	11 349 734	49.8
1975	9 761 669	52.9	735 241	30.2	735 241	15.3	99 401	2.3	11 333 527	43.7
1980	10 427 844	49.3	735 241	28.3	102 322	12.5	93 716	2.1	11 361 103	38.9
1985	12 003 438	49.1	685 275	22.9	95 828	10.6	87 997	1.8	12 874 522	38.8
1990	13 026 970	45.9	85 024	17.4	85 024	8.7	76 652	1.5	13 273 670	35.3
1993	14 614 503	48.0	502 091	14.8	79 107	7.8	74 008	1.5	15 269 709	38.2
1995	15 311 490	48.4	605 010	17.3	54 638	5.2	62 810	1.2	16 033 948	38.8
2000	16 400 691	47.4	713 164	19.0	51 971	4.7	73 885	1.4	17 239 710	38.6

Source: Van der Berg & Louw, 2003:18

With an overall Gini coefficient of 0.6, South Africa has the dubious distinction of having one of the highest rates of income inequality in the world. The very high levels of income inequality have been based, up to now, predominantly on racial differences in income. However, following dramatic changes in racial income distribution patterns since the 1970s, the inter-racial income gap has narrowed considerably and income distribution *within* race groups has come to play a more prominent role. In fact, Landman (2003:7) asserts that the “main driver of inequality currently in SA is no longer the Black/White divide, but rather the intra-group divide between rich Blacks and poor Blacks”. For example, the Gini coefficient for African households increased from 0.49 in 1970 to 0.59 in 2000, while for Whites the change was from 0.42 to 0.51, for Indians from 0.42 to 0.51 and for Coloureds from 0.53 to 0.55. A breakdown of the Gini coefficients for intra-group distributions of income (or expenditure) between 1970 and 2000 are presented in Table 115 below. The table suggests that intra-group inequality for Africans started increasing prior to 1994, but may have been given impetus by changes in government policies (such as employment equity and African economic empowerment) since then. Using the Theil-T index, Woolard (2002: 6) has also demonstrated that 40% of inequality in South Africa is due to inequality between the races, with the remaining 60 percent due to intra-group inequality. Of the 60 percent of intra-group inequality, 33% was due to inequality between Africans and 21% due to inequality between Whites.

Table 115: Gini coefficients for intra-group distributions of income or expenditure for the major population groups in South Africa, 1970 to 2000

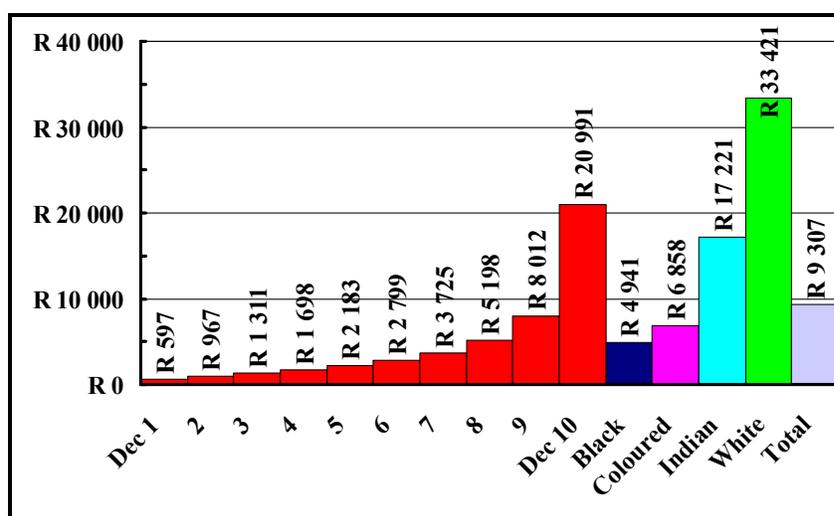
Year	Africans	Coloureds	Indians	Whites
1970	..	0.53	0.42	0.43
1975	0.49
1993	0.56	0.47	0.50	0.47
1993 (Expenditure)	0.48	0.44	0.42	0.38
1995	0.57	0.52	0.49	0.47
1995 (Expenditure)	0.58	0.52	0.49	0.47
1996	0.68	0.57	0.53	0.52
2000	0.59	0.55	0.51	0.49

Source: Van der Berg & Louw, 2003:15

In general, rising African incomes since the 1970s, coupled with increasing unemployment among disadvantaged segments of the African population, have contributed to narrowing the *inter-racial* income gap while widening *intra-racial* inequalities. However, in spite of the increasing importance of intra-group inequality, racial disparities in income remain significant, as Figure 17 illustrates.

While White per capita incomes in 1995 were nearly seven times that of Africans, the great diversity of incomes within the African population is clear. As Van der Berg (2003: 3-4) notes, the top decile of the African population not only moved far ahead of other members of the group, but also exceeded the per capita income of Indians and was not far behind that of Whites. These and other more recent trends in income distribution led Van der Berg (2003: 5) to conclude that “although most whites are affluent, they have been joined by large numbers of coloureds, Indians and particularly now also blacks, so that the dividing line between the affluent and the rest of the population is no longer race – although race self-evidently is still a major determinant of affluence.”

Figure 17: Per capita income by population group and deciles of the black population, 1995



Source: Van der Berg, 2003

6.2 SPATIAL DISTRIBUTION OF POVERTY

While the distribution of poverty and inequality between and within racial groups is a dominant issue, other factors are also important in influencing the distribution of poverty and inequality in South Africa. For example, significant disparities exist between urban and rural areas and the provinces. These spatial inequalities often intersect with racial inequalities, particularly because of the strong influence of spatial segregation within *Apartheid* policies and planning.

Table 116 shows the estimated distributions of poverty status across urban and rural areas in 2000. Using the 40th and 20th percentile of the population arranged by income/expenditure per capita, Van de Berg (2003:6-7) distinguished between the 'poor' (or moderately poor) and the 'ultra poor', respectively. Overall, the table shows how poverty has become concentrated in rural areas. While 51 percent of the total population was urbanised in 2000, 65 percent of the non-poor were located in urban areas. In contrast, only about a quarter of the ultra poor and 35 percent of the poor were urbanised. Of the 18 million people classified as poor or ultra poor, nearly 13 million were based in rural areas. Conversely, while more than half of the rural population (55.8%) were poor/ultra poor, this applied to less than a quarter of the urban population (23%). From these trends, Van der Berg (2003:6) concludes that poverty in South Africa is "first and foremost a rural phenomenon".

Table 116: Estimated population by poverty status and urban-rural location, 2000

	Urban	Rural	Total	Percentage urban
Poverty status:				
Ultra-poor	2 157 202	6 617 307	8 774 509	24.6%
Poor	3 182 752	6 030 770	9 213 522	34.5%
Non-poor	18 311 047	10 037 505	28 348 552	64.6%
Total	23 651 001	22 685 582	46 336 583	51.0%
Percentage of urban-rural location				
Ultra-poor	9.1%	29.2%	18.9%	
Poor	13.5%	26.6%	19.9%	
Non-poor	77.4%	44.2%	61.2%	
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

Source: Van der Berg, 2003: 7

Further evidence of the concentration of poverty in rural areas is provided in Table 117, which shows that 61 percent of people classified as poor and 71 percent as ultra poor live in rural areas. While the prevalence of poverty is higher in the urban informal areas than the urban formal areas, data show that larger percentages of the poor are located in the formal urban areas than in the informal urban areas. This is because a larger proportion of the urban population live in formal rather than informal areas.

Table 117: Population by poverty status, location and residence type, 2000

	Non-poor	Poor	Ultra poor	Total
Rural	32.2%	61.1%	71.1%	45.3%
Urban informal	9.5%	12.9%	10.2%	10.3%
Urban formal	58.3%	26.0%	18.7%	44.4%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

Source: Van der Berg, 2003: 7

Because of the uneven distribution of the former homelands in the nine provinces and the concentration of poverty in, especially, the rural areas of the homelands, the distribution of poverty is strongly reflected in the poverty rates of the provinces. Table 118, for example, shows very strong concentrations of both poor people and ultra poor people in the Eastern Cape and Limpopo. In contrast, the Western Cape and Gauteng, which did not have former homelands incorporated into their territory and which also have very high levels of urbanization, have very small percentages of poor and ultra poor, relative to the other provinces.

Table 118: Poverty status by province, 2000

	Non-poor	Poor	Ultra poor	Total	Poor & ultra poor	Ultra-poor
Western Cape	3 515 766	373 330	126 918	4016014	12.5%	3.2%
Eastern Cape	2 713 617	1 789 600	2 299 636	6802853	60.1%	33.8%
Northern Cape	558 350	176 353	127051	861754	35.2%	14.7%
Free State	1 471 903	604 195	670193	2746291	46.4%	24.4%
KwaZulu-Natal	4 859 113	1 953 251	2 118 689	8931053	45.6%	23.7%
Northwest	2 160 548	685 663	701 982	3548193	39.1%	19.8%
Gauteng	6 402 665	847 964	510 421	7761050	17.5%	6.6%
Mpumalanga	1 834 717	667 538	484 386	2986641	38.6%	16.2%
Limpopo	2 400 564	1 550 405	1 602 506	5553475	56.8%	28.9%
Total	25 917243	8 648 299	8 641 782	43 207 324	40.0%	20.0%

Source: Van der Berg, 2003: 8

6.3 POVERTY AND YOUTH

As the *World Youth Report* for 2003 (United Nations, 2004: 83) observes, “easily accessible information on youth poverty is difficult to find”. The same situation applies to South Africa where poverty among young people has attracted very little attention by researchers⁸. While investigators, both locally and internationally, have focused considerable attention on child poverty and its measurement, youth poverty remains a relatively neglected topic both in South Africa and abroad.

In order to address this gap in our knowledge, comprehensive analyses were undertaken for the SYR report using data from Statistics South Africa’s Income and Expenditure Survey (IES) of 2000 and the September 2000 Labour Force Survey (LFS). These two datasets were merged⁹ in order to obtain a broader range of information on youth than either of the two datasets allow on their own. For purposes of the analyses, poverty lines were set at 20% per capita household expenditure¹⁰ (R1 305) and 40 percent per capita household expenditure (R2 352). Individuals falling within the lowest 20 percent per capita expenditure category were classified as ultra poor while those falling within the 20 percent-40 percent lowest per capita expenditure category were classified as moderately poor. Together these two poverty categories constitute the total poor, or the overall poverty rate.

Analysis of this data shows that, in 2000, approximately a third (34%) of young South Africans between the ages of 18 and 35 years were living in poverty, with 16 percent being ultra poor. When divided into the two

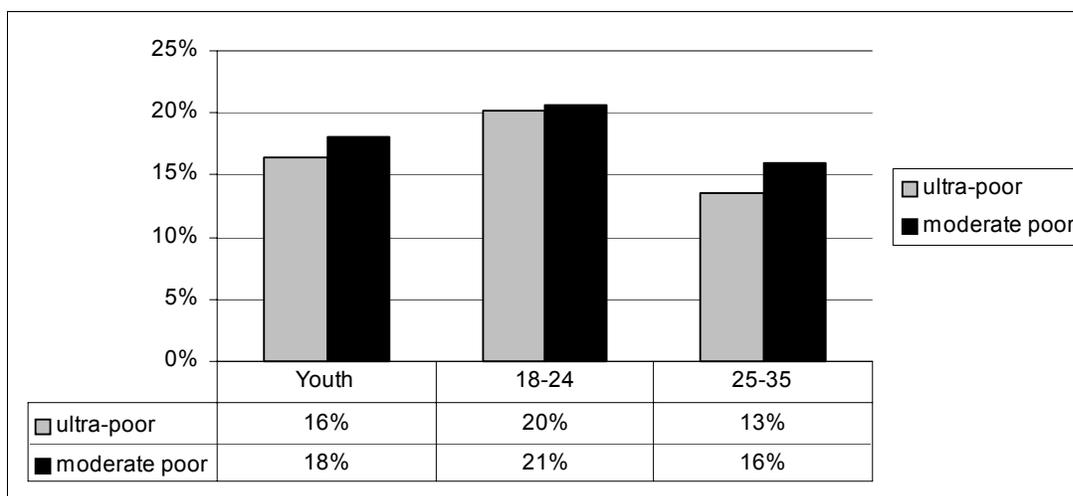
⁸ A notable exception is Natrass, 2002.

⁹ This process involved first merging the IES2000 person and household files to obtain per capita household expenditure data while still maintaining individual level data. The LFS2000 person and worker files were also merged to obtain employment data. These merged LFS and IES data files were then combined, and observations with missing expenditure data were discarded. This approach allows individual level data analysis enabling a deeper exploration of the state of youth poverty and trends.

¹⁰ The use of expenditure as opposed to income as a measure has been well documented in a number of poverty analysis texts.

age categories, 18-24 and 25-35 years, the data show higher rates of both ultra and moderate poverty among 18 to 24 year olds than among 25-35 year olds, with 41 percent of the younger age group living in poverty as against 29 percent of the older age group (see Figure 18). This greater vulnerability of the 18-24 year cohort may be related to a number of factors, including lower rates of employment among 18 to 24 year olds – many of whom are still at school or studying in tertiary institutions. Furthermore, as a result of migration, a higher percentage of this younger age group lives in rural areas (42%) than the 25-35 years cohort (33%).

Figure 18: Youth poverty in South Africa, 2000



Source: IES/LFS2000, Stats SA: calculated for SYR

As discussed above, while the income gap between racial groups has narrowed over the past decade, racial inequalities continue to play a decisive role in the distribution of poverty in South Africa. Table 119 shows that race is a key factor in the distribution of youth poverty. African youth have significantly higher incidences of moderate and ultra poverty in comparison with other race groups. In contrast, the poverty rates of Coloured youth are less than half that of African youth, although by no means insignificant by itself, while poverty among White and Indian youth is minimal. The differences between the two age cohorts become even starker when poverty is disaggregated by race. Almost half (48%) of African 18-24 year olds were poor compared to 35 percent of African 25-35 year olds. While there is an even split between the ultra and moderately poor among 18-24 year olds, there were fewer ultra poor than moderately poor youth among 25-35 year olds. The same pattern exists for the Coloured population, with the prevalence of poverty lower in the older age group.

Table 119: Race by youth poverty status, 2000

	Ultra poor	Moderately poor	Non poor	Total
18-24				
African	24%	24%	53%	100%
Coloured	5%	11%	83%	100%
Indian	1%	0%	99%	100%
White	0%	1%	99%	100%
25-35				
African	16%	19%	65%	100%
Coloured	4%	10%	86%	100%
Indian	0%	1%	98%	100%
White	0%	0%	100%	100%

Source: IES/LFS2000, Stats SA: calculated for SYR

As Table 120 shows, women also experience a higher incidence of poverty than men in both age categories, although the differences are not as large as for race. It should be noted, however, that the gender effect in the 18-24 years age category is not as pronounced as that for the 25-35 year category. A more prominent gender effect is evident when taking the entire population into account, indicating that age in itself does not drive the poverty disparity between young men and women. These trends suggest that, in relation to income, women are beginning to close the gap with men. This is in keeping, for example, with higher levels of education among younger women than older women, and is probably also related to higher percentages of female headed households among older women.

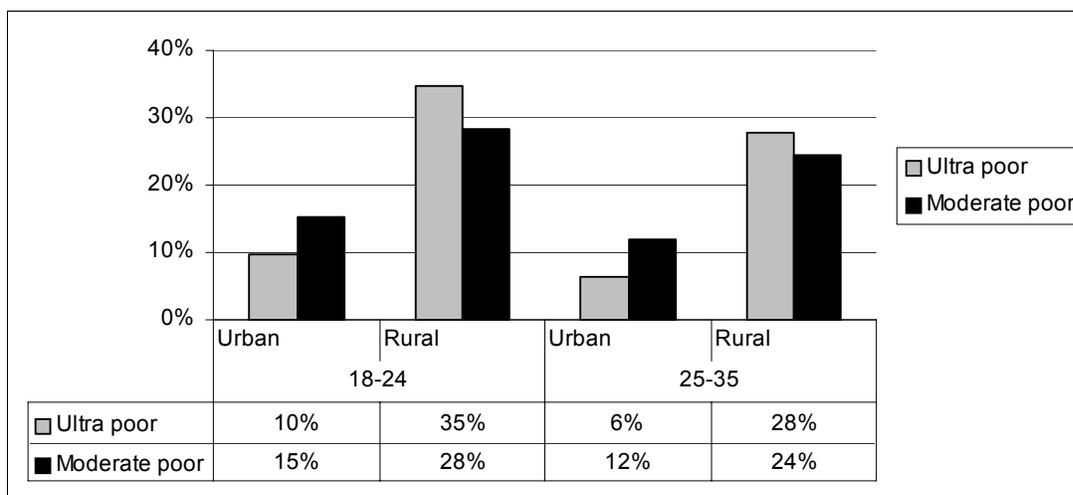
Table 120: Gender by youth poverty status, 2000

	Ultra poor	Moderately poor	Non poor	Total
18-24				
Male	19%	20%	61%	100%
Female	21%	21%	58%	100%
25-35				
Male	11%	14%	75%	100%
Female	16%	17%	67%	100%

Source: IES/LFS2000, Stats SA: calculated for SYR

Location has also been identified as a factor contributing to poverty, with the majority of poor people residing in rural areas. Given this finding and the shortage of employment opportunities in rural areas, it is not surprising to find that a majority of young people – 58 percent of 18-24 year olds and 67 percent of 25-35 year olds - resides in urban areas. When poverty is disaggregated by location, we find a significantly higher incidence of poverty among youth residing in rural areas. The larger numbers of youth in the 18-24 years category living in rural areas contributes to the higher incidence of both moderate and ultra poverty among this age group.

Figure 19: Location by youth poverty status, 2000



Source: IES/LFS2000, Stats SA: calculated for SYR

A provincial breakdown of youth poverty rates shows that the highest prevalence of youth poverty is in Limpopo and the Eastern Cape, followed by the Free State and KwaZulu-Natal (see Table 121). On the other hand, poverty rates are relative low in the more urbanized and industrialized provinces such as the Western Cape and Gauteng where employment opportunities are greater.

Table 121: Provincial youth distribution by poverty status, 2000

Province	Ultra poor	Moderate poor	Non poor	Total
Western Cape	3%	9%	88%	100%
Eastern Cape	29%	26%	45%	100%
Northern Cape	16%	20%	64%	100%
Free State	22%	23%	55%	100%
KwaZulu-Natal	23%	21%	55%	100%
North West	18%	18%	65%	100%
Gauteng	6%	11%	83%	100%
Mpumalanga	12%	21%	67%	100%
Limpopo	31%	26%	43%	100%

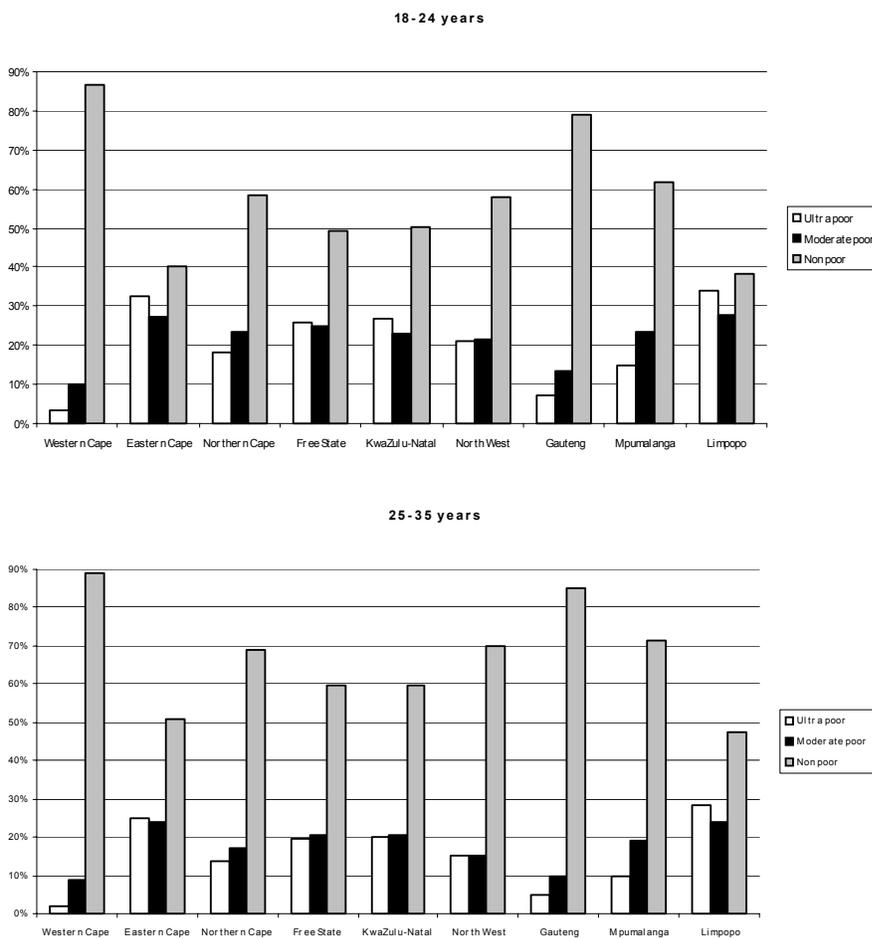
Source: IES/LFS2000, Stats SA: calculated for SYR

Figure 20 shows the distributions of youth poverty among the provinces for the 18-24 years and 25-35 years age categories. For all the provinces, the poverty rates of the younger age category are higher than those of the older age category. Poverty analyses consistently show that the Eastern Cape and Limpopo have the highest rates of poverty. The *Human Development Report 2003* (United Nations Development Programme, 2004: 41), for example, estimates that 68.3 percent of people in the Eastern Cape and 60.7 per cent of people in Limpopo were below the poverty line in 2002. These provinces were followed by the Free State (59.9%), North West (56.5%), Mpumalanga (54.8%), Northern Cape (54.4%), KwaZulu-Natal (50.5%), Western Cape (28.8%) and Gauteng (20%). However, because of their large populations, the Eastern Cape and KwaZulu-Natal have the highest provincial shares of poverty, accounting for 23 and 22 percent respectively of the

country's poor people. Limpopo's provincial poverty share was 16 percent and North West 11 percent. All other provinces had provincial poverty shares of less than 10 percent (Woolard, 2002: 10).

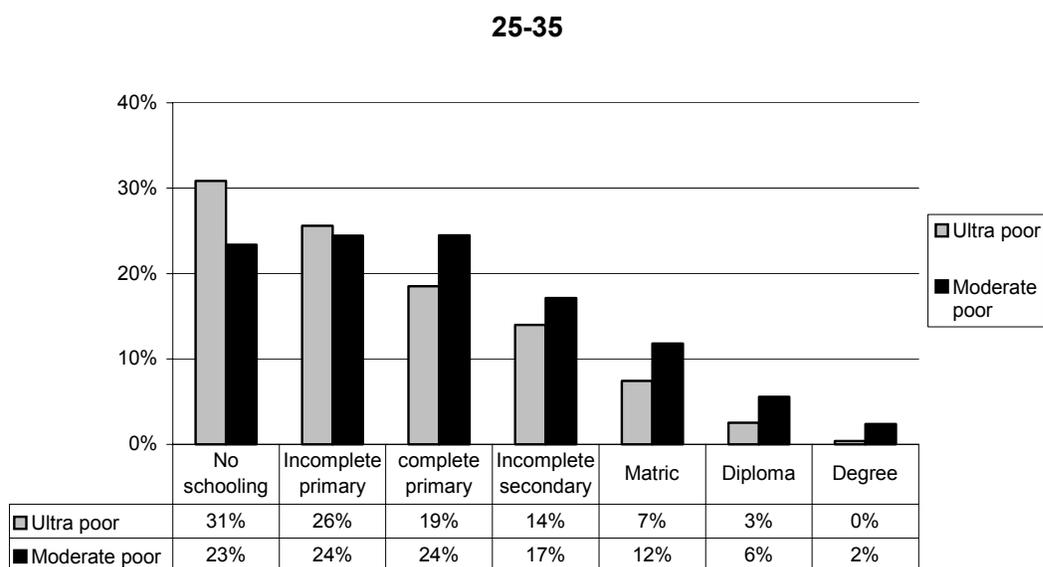
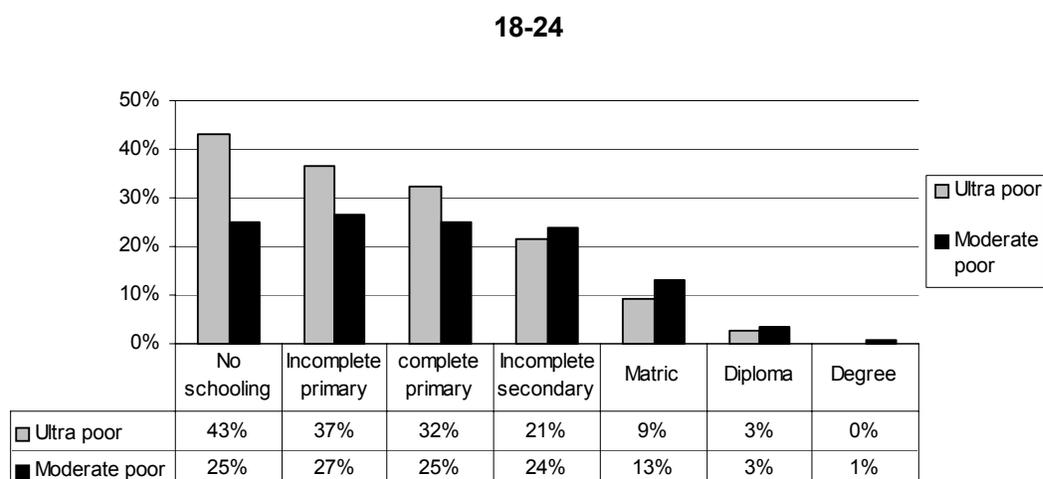
Figure 21 shows the relationship between educational attainment and poverty. There is a marked and consistent reduction in poverty as the level of educational attainment increases. It is likely that the association between poverty and education works in both directions. On the one hand, young people with low levels of education are less likely to find jobs to improve their economic situation and, on the other hand, young people who grow up in poor families have more limited opportunities for attaining higher levels of education. When one compares the two age groups, higher rates of poverty are evident for the 18-24 years age category up to the matric level. Thereafter, higher levels of moderate poverty are discernible for the 25-35 years age category. This may be a reflection of the growth of unemployment among people with tertiary education, discussed earlier. As 25-35 year olds have been in the job market longer, they are more likely to experience the impact of tertiary level unemployment than 18-24 year olds.

Figure 20: Provincial youth distribution by poverty status and age category, 2000



Source: IES/LFS2000, Stats SA: calculated for SYR

Figure 21: Youth poverty status by education, 2000



Source: IES/LFS2000, Stats SA; calculated for SYR

The relationship between unemployment and poverty in South Africa is well-established (Nattrass, 2002; Budlender, 2003). For example, comparisons between longitudinal data in KwaZulu-Natal showed that 50.5 percent of the households that moved into poverty between 1993 and 1998 did so as a result of a household member losing a job or experiencing a drop in labour earnings. In comparison, 55.7 percent of households that moved out of poverty did so mainly as a result of a household member finding employment or earning higher wages (Budlender, 2003: 173). The relationship between *youth* unemployment and poverty is complicated, however, by the diverse circumstances of young people and the large proportions of youth, particularly in the younger cohort, who are not economically active.

Using the strict definition of unemployment, Table 122 shows that, in 2000, 58 percent of 18-24 year olds were economically inactive, largely due to continued studies, compared to 23 percent of 25-35 year olds. Further analysis showed that 49 percent of 18-24 year olds were dependent upon other household members

because they were studying. As might be expected, a larger percentage of the 25-35 year age group (53%) were employed than among the 18-24 year age group - of whom only 21 percent were employed. However, because a majority of 18-24 year olds were economically inactive, the unemployment rate of 25-35 year olds (24%) was slightly higher than that of 18-24 year olds (21%).

Table 122: Youth employment status: 2000

Employment status	18-24	25-35
Inactive	58%	23%
Employed	21%	53%
Unemployed	21%	24%
Total	100%	100%

Source: IES/LFS2000, Stats SA: calculated for SYR

When employment status is disaggregated by poverty status, a higher incidence of poverty is apparent among people who are unemployed and economically inactive. For both age groups, however, poverty rates are higher for the economically inactive than for the unemployed. This suggests that there are two major sources of poverty for youth: unemployment and poverty associated with households of origin. Because of the large numbers of 18-24 year olds who are economically inactive, poverty associated with their households of origin has a greater impact on this group than on the older age group. A contributory factor to poverty in the 18-24 year age group may be related to the kinds of employment accessed by this group and the length of time that this group has been working, in that there are higher levels of poverty among employed 18-24 year olds than among employed 25-35 year olds.

However, given that an absolute majority (58%) of 18-24 year olds were economically inactive, as against only 21 percent who were unemployed, the higher rates of poverty in this age group are mainly attributable to their households of origin rather than to unemployment. Conversely, it can be argued that the lower rates of poverty among 25-35 year olds is largely a product of higher levels of economic activity in this age group; in that, according to the strict definition of employment, 53 percent of this group were employed, while 23 percent were economically inactive. In other words, in spite of high rates of unemployment in the older age group, a significant number were able to escape the poverty of their households of origin by involvement in the labour market. This observation should not detract, however, from the plight of those young people in this age group who were unemployed and, especially those who originated from poor households and who were, therefore, unable to escape the poverty of their households of origin. According to the strict definition of unemployment, nearly a quarter (24%) of young people in this age group was unemployed. Table 123 shows that 41 percent of unemployed young people in the 25-35 years age category were living in poverty and that 19 percent of these were ultra poor, while 48 percent of economically inactive 25 to 35 year olds were living in poverty with half of these being ultra-poor.

Table 123: Youth employment by poverty status: 2000

	Ultra poor	Moderate poor	Non poor	Total
18-24 years				
Inactive	23%	23%	54%	100%
Employed	11%	13%	76%	100%
Unemployed	21%	21%	57%	100%
25-35 years				
Inactive	24%	24%	52%	100%
Employed	6%	10%	84%	100%
Unemployed	19%	22%	59%	100%

Source: IES/LFS2000, Stats SA: calculated for SYR

To sum up, the foregoing analysis demonstrates that a third of young people between 18 and 35 years are living in poverty and that there are higher rates of poverty among 18 to 24 year olds than among 25 to 35 year olds. Poverty is most apparent among African youth, with 48 percent of Africans in the 18-24 years cohort and 35 percent of Africans in the 25-35 cohort classified as poor. While there is a higher prevalence of poverty among women than among men, the indications are that gender inequality in income poverty is greater among older members of the population than among youth. Youth poverty is considerably higher in the rural areas than in the urban areas, and in provinces with large rural populations. There is a strong association between poverty and educational attainment, with a marked reduction in poverty as the level of educational attainment increases. The relationship between youth poverty and employment is complex as poverty originates from both unemployment and from being economically dependent on a poor household. Poverty rates were higher among 18 to 24 year olds, primarily because of the dependence of a majority of this age group on poor families. With more than half of 25 to 35 year olds employed and 23 percent economically inactive, the origins of poverty differ markedly between the two age groups. The differences in levels and origins of poverty between the two age groups, however, should not allow one to lose sight of the extreme vulnerability of those who have entered this age group with little or no prospects for employment.

6.3.1 ARE YOUTH POORER THAN OTHER AGE GROUPS?

A question that arises in the context of this discussion on youth poverty is whether youth, as a social and demographic category, are worse off than their older counterparts. It has already been noted that while substantial attention has been devoted to child poverty, there is a dearth of information about youth poverty. This lack of attention may, in part, reflect the difficulties associated with youth as a transitional category that overlaps with both childhood and adulthood. At different stages in their transition to adulthood, young people can be financially dependent on their households of origin, their own incomes, or a combination of the two.

One area in which more attention has been given to young people is in relation to employment. As the previous section of the report (Labour Market Issues) showed, young people have very high levels of unemployment and the trends suggest that youth unemployment growing and, as unemployment as a whole rises, young people may be disproportionately affected by the burden of unemployment. The association between unemployment and poverty has been well established (see, for example, Natrass, 2002: 207) and, for this reason, it is sometimes argued that young people are poorer than older members of the population.

Youth poverty is a complex issue because a great deal depends upon the extent to which young people have been able to retain their ties to their households of origin and are financially dependent upon these households. The degree to which such households are able and willing to provide financial support to unemployed youth is also relevant, as is the structure of their households. For example, Van der Berg (2003:20) has argued that households in rural areas often form themselves around sources of income. "Unemployed adults attach themselves and their dependents to pensioner households. Along with intra-household distribution, this plays a key role in rural poverty."

In this context, it is sometimes suggested that special welfare measures should be devised to target unemployed youth. Natrass (2002:209) has taken issue with this view arguing, among other things, that in spite of their relative inexperience in the workplace, younger job seekers may not be more disadvantaged than their older counterparts. For example, existing data show that proportionately older job seekers than younger job seekers have been looking for work for more than three years. Older job seekers who have been unemployed for long periods may therefore be less likely to be able to find employment than more recent school-leavers. It must be borne in mind, however, that by virtue of their youth, young people are limited in the amount of time that they *could* spend looking for work and, given enough time, they might *potentially* spend as much (or even more) time looking for work than their older counterparts.

Using data from the 1999 OHS, Natrass (2002) tested the hypothesis that young unemployed people were poorer in terms of income poverty than older unemployed people (see Table 124). She found that while, *in absolute terms*, there were more unemployed younger people living in poor households (i.e. households with incomes of less than R800); *proportionately* older unemployed people lived in poor households. Similar results were obtained on a second indicator, namely whether children under seven years of age living in the household had reportedly gone hungry in the past year. Here again, the data show that, while a majority of reports of child hunger were associated with younger unemployed people, "the relative burden of hunger was higher for those in the age groups 36-55" (Natrass, 2002: 214).

Table 124: Unemployment by age and household income

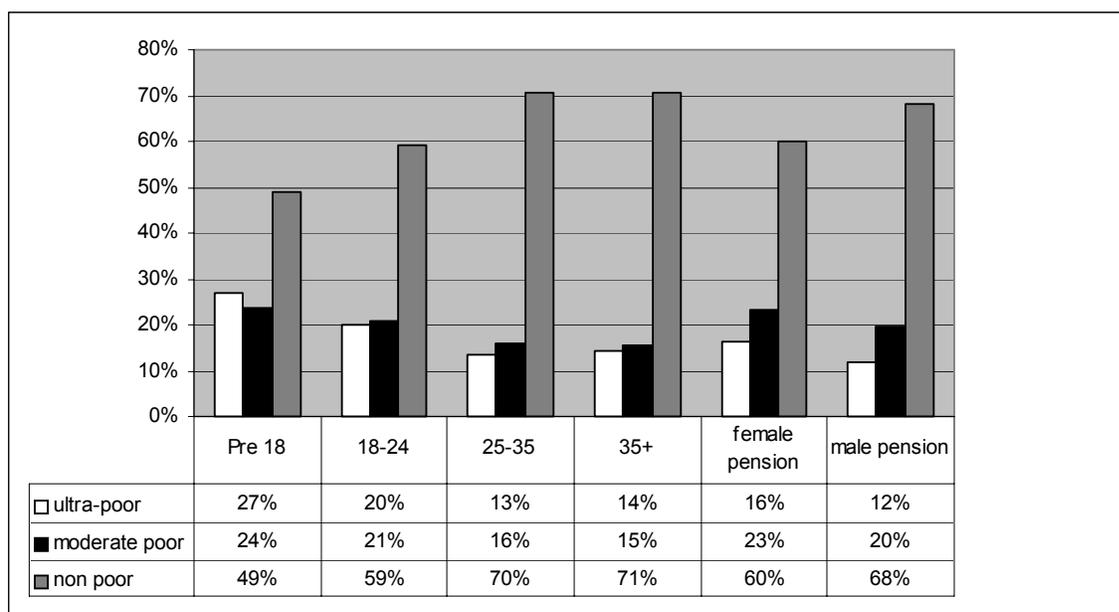
	16-25	26-35	36-45	46-55	56-65	Total
Percentage of unemployed in each age category living in households with an income of less than R800 a month						
Strict	45.1	47.7	53.4	60.9	53.9	48.9
Broad	48.8	50.5	55.9	61.5	61.2	52.1
Age distribution of unemployed living in households with an income of less than R800 a month						
Strict	32.0	36.1	20.1	8.9	1.8	100
Broad	32.5	34.7	20.5	9.4	2.3	100
Percentage of unemployed in each age category living in households where children under 7 went hungry because there was no money to buy food						
Strict	33.1	33.1	36.1	36.4	36.1	33.9
Broad	32.3	30.3	33.6	32.1	32.0	31.8
Age distribution of unemployed living in households where children under 7 went hungry because there was no money to buy food						
Strict	34.6	38.0	18.6	6.9	1.5	100
Broad	36.1	35.6	19.0	7.1	1.7	100

Source: Natrass, 2002: 213

On the basis of this analysis, Natrass concludes that because older unemployed people are disproportionately poorer than unemployed youth (who are more numerous), the age of unemployed people cannot be seen as “a driving factor behind poverty”. In order to test Natrass’ conclusion, analyses were performed on the poverty rates of a range of age groups using the more comprehensive IES/LFS2000 dataset. The population was divided into six age groups, including the two age cohorts (18-24 years and 25-35 years) used in the SYR survey. The additional age groups were ‘Pre 18’ (children between 0 and 17 years), ‘Female pensioners’ (all women who were older than 59 years), ‘Male pensioners’ (all men above the age of 64 years), and a ‘35+’ category, which included women between the ages of 36 and 59 years and men between 36 and 64 years.

Figure 22 provides a general breakdown of poverty rates for the six age groups. Firstly, it should be noted that the highest rates of poverty are among children in the ‘Pre 18’ age group. This is in keeping with international and South African research findings that have consistently demonstrated higher poverty rates among children as compared to the rest of the population. After children, the highest poverty rates are for the 18-25 years age group, which has a slightly higher overall poverty rate than even for female pensioners, as well as a higher ultra poverty rate than that of female pensioners. In contrast, the 25-35 years age group has considerably lower rates of both ultra and moderate poverty and is difficult to distinguish, in terms of poverty rates, from the ‘35+’ age category. The poverty rates of the 25-35 years cohort are also lower than the poverty rates of both female and male pensioners.

Figure 22: Poverty by age group in South Africa, 2000



Source: IES/LFS2000, Stats SA: calculated for SYR

With a few exceptions, when disaggregated by population group (see Table 125), the patterns observed in Figure 22 remain. The highest rates of poverty are found among children less than 18 years of age, followed by the 18-24 years cohort and female pensioners. African female pensioners have a higher overall poverty rate, while African 18 to 24 year olds have a higher rate of ultra poverty. For Coloureds, both the ultra and moderate poverty rates (and therefore the overall poverty rate) are higher for the 18-24 years cohort than for

female pensioners. In keeping with the general trends depicted in Figure 22, the poverty rates of the 25-35 years age group are considerably lower than those of 18 to 24 year olds. This age cohort has the lowest overall poverty rate of all the African age groups. For Coloureds, the poverty rates of 25 to 35 year olds are identical to those of the '35+' age category, although lower than those of female and male pensioners. In general, therefore, youth in the 18-24 years age cohort are poorer than their older counterparts, but this does not apply to the 25-35 years age cohort.

Table 125: Population group by age group and poverty status, 2000

Group	Ultra poor	Moderate poor	Non poor	Total
Pre 18 years				
African	31%	27%	42%	100%
Coloured	6%	14%	80%	100%
Indian	1%	3%	96%	100%
White	0%	1%	99%	100%
18-24 years				
African	24%	24%	53%	100%
Coloured	5%	11%	83%	100%
Indian	1%	0%	99%	100%
White	0%	1%	99%	100%
25-35 years				
African	16%	19%	65%	100%
Coloured	4%	10%	86%	100%
Indian	0%	1%	98%	100%
White	0%	0%	100%	100%
35+ years				
African	19%	19%	62%	100%
Coloured	4%	10%	86%	100%
Indian	0%	1%	99%	100%
White	0%	0%	99%	100%
Female pensioners				
African	21%	30%	49%	100%
Coloured	2%	9%	89%	100%
Indian	0%	1%	99%	100%
White	0%	0%	100%	100%
Male pensioners				
African	17%	27%	56%	100%
Coloured	3%	10%	87%	100%
Indian	2%	3%	94%	100%
White	0%	0%	100%	100%

Source: IES/LFS2000, Stats SA: calculated for SYR

Very similar trends are apparent in relation to gender, with children under 18 years having the highest rates of poverty, followed by the 18-24 years age cohort and female pensioners. Again, poverty rates in the 25-35

years age cohort are considerably lower than those of the younger youth group and very similar to those of the '35+' age group. For all the age groups, there is greater poverty among women than among men, although the gender gap is wider for the older age groups than for younger age groups (see Table 126).

Table 126: Gender by age group and poverty status, 2000

	Ultra poor	Moderate poor	Non poor	Total
Pre 18 years				
Male	24%	24%	51%	100%
Female	25%	25%	50%	100%
18-24 years				
Male	19%	20%	61%	100%
Female	21%	21%	58%	100%
25-35 years				
Male	11%	14%	75%	100%
Female	16%	17%	67%	100%
35+ years				
Male	12%	13%	75%	100%
Female	16%	17%	66%	100%
Female pensioner				
	16%	23%	60%	100%
Male pensioner				
	12%	20%	68%	100%

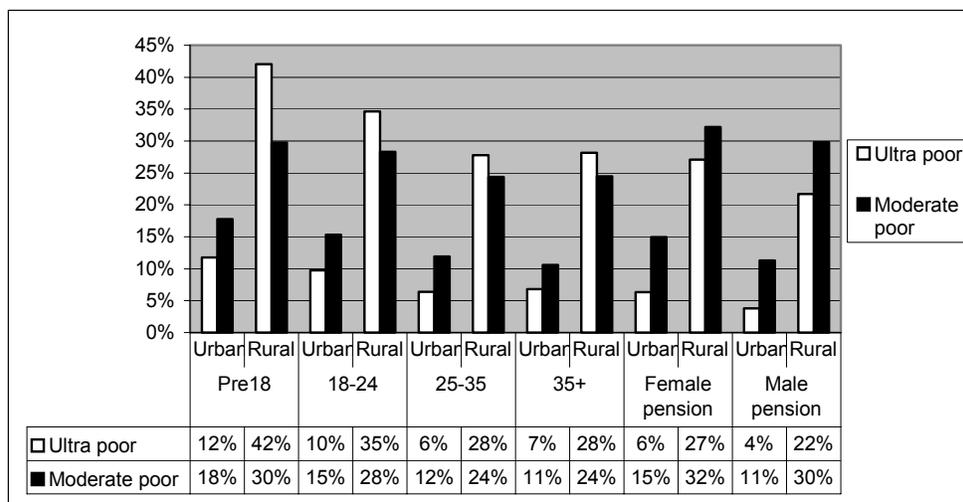
Source: IES/LFS2000, Stats SA: calculated for SYR

Figure 23 dramatically depicts the concentration of poverty in rural areas for all age groups. The interface between age and location produces some stark inequalities, showing that 72 percent of under-18 year-old children living in rural areas were poor in contrast with 30 percent of urban children. After the under-18s, young people in the 18-24 years age group had the highest poverty rates in both rural and urban areas, with overall poverty rates of 63 percent and 2 percent, respectively. Once again, the poverty profiles of the 25-35 years age group and the '35+' age group are nearly indistinguishable from one another and are clearly differentiated from the 18-25 years age group (and female pensioners) by lower rates of poverty in both rural and urban areas.

Table 127 shows the poverty rates of the different age groups by employment status. In order to accommodate employment patterns, only 15-17 year olds were included in the 'Pre-18' age category and pensioners were excluded. Among economically inactive people, poverty rates are high for all age groups, although they are slightly higher for the 'Pre-18' and 25-35 years age groups than for the other two age groups. In relation to employed people, poverty rates are highest for the 'Pre-18' age category. These high rates of poverty among employed 15-17 year olds are likely to reflect not only the low wages paid to child labourers, but also the dire circumstances that originally forced these children to become employed at a young age. Only 5 percent of this age group was employed in comparison with 21 percent of 18-24 year olds, 53 percent of 25-35 year olds, and 63 percent of the '35+' age category. For the remaining three age groups, the highest poverty rates among the employed groups were for the 18-24 years cohort. For the unemployed group, the highest poverty rates were for 15 to 17 year olds, although it should be noted that the

unemployed constituted only two percent of this age group. The poverty rates of the remaining age groups do not differ substantially between the groups, but were highest for the 25-35 year age group, followed by the 18-24 year old group.

Figure 23: Location by age group and poverty status, 2000



Source: IES/LFS2000, Stats SA: calculated for SYR

Table 127: Employment by poverty status: 2000

	Ultra poor	Moderate poor	Non poor	Total
Pre 18 years				
Inactive	25%	23%	52%	100%
Employed	34%	30%	36%	100%
Unemployed	41%	24%	35%	100%
18-24 years				
Inactive	23%	23%	54%	100%
Employed	11%	13%	76%	100%
Unemployed	21%	21%	57%	100%
25-35 years				
Inactive	24%	24%	52%	100%
Employed	6%	10%	84%	100%
Unemployed	19%	22%	59%	100%
35+ years				
Inactive	22%	21%	57%	100%
Employed	9%	12%	79%	100%
Unemployed	24%	23%	54%	100%

Source: IES/LFS2000, Stats SA: calculated for SYR

The foregoing analysis clearly demonstrates that age is a key factor in the distribution of poverty in South Africa. Firstly, the data show that poverty rates are higher among children younger than 18 years of age than

in any of the other age groups. This is in keeping with the findings of international and local studies that have shown that children generally suffer higher rates of poverty than adults (UNICEF, 2002; UNICEF, 1996; Streak, 2003).

In the United States, for example, the rate of poverty among children in 1992 was 21.9 percent in contrast to a rate of 14.4 percent among adults. This discrepancy in child and adult poverty rates has been attributed to poorer families having, on average, more children, than better off families (Betson & Michael, 1997: 30-31). Families that have more children have increased financial needs because they have more people to support. As a result, children make up a substantial and growing proportion of the poor by virtue of their numbers.

Although young people in the 18-24 year age group had somewhat lower rates of poverty than children, they were significantly poorer than any of the older age groups, including female pensioners. On the other hand, young people in the 25-35 year age group had considerably lower poverty rates than 18 to 24 year olds. The poverty rates of the older youth group were comparable with those of the '35+' age group and lower than those of pensioners. Unlike the 18-24 years age group, the 25-35 years age group cannot therefore be said to be poorer than other age groups.

While poverty within the 25-35 years cohort (as well as the '35+' cohort) can be attributed to high rates of unemployment, this is not the case with the 18-24 year cohort because a majority of this age group was economically inactive (see Table 128). Rather than unemployment, the main driving factor behind poverty in this younger youth group appears to be chronic or inter-generational poverty, in that a majority of young people in this age group was poor because they were economically dependent on poor households. This is not to suggest that unemployment played no role in the poverty of this age group – 21 percent of 18-24 year olds were unemployed – but rather that the main source of poverty for this group arose from their dependence on poor households. In this respect, the 18-24 year age group may have more in common with the under-18 age group (93 percent of whom were economically inactive) than with the 25-35 year age group (53 percent of whom were employed). Analysis of the SYR data shows that a majority (72%) of the 18-24 years age cohort reported receiving financial support from their families or others, as against 46% of the 25-35 year age group. Of those 18-24 year olds without external financial support, 59 per cent had never had a job. In contrast, only a third (34%) of 25-35 year olds who received no external financial support had never worked.

Table 128: Employment status: 2000

	Pre 18	18-24	25-35	35+
Inactive	93%	58%	23%	26%
Employed	5%	21%	53%	63%
Unemployed	2%	21%	24%	11%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

Source: IES/LFS2000, Stats SA: calculated for SYR

6.4 CHANGES IN THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC CIRCUMSTANCES OF YOUTH SINCE CHILDHOOD

In the previous section, it was argued that higher poverty rates among 18 to 24 year olds could largely be attributed to their economic dependence on poor households. Growing up poor can have major implications both for the economic status of young people and for their transition to adulthood. Research has shown that poverty during childhood is associated with a broad range of negative outcomes in health, nutrition and mortality, in cognitive and emotional development, school achievement, and in the perpetuation and transmission of poverty over both the life course and between generations.

For example, it has been demonstrated that children who are raised in poverty are at increased risk of a wide range of health risks and outcomes. Poor children are not only prone to be in a poorer state of health than non-poor children, but they are also at greater risk for accidents and injuries that can result in physical impairments. Poor children are also more likely to spend increased time in hospitals or in bed than children from more affluent backgrounds. Furthermore, low income adolescents are more likely to become involved in risky and health compromising behaviours such as smoking or engaging in early sexual activity (Brooks-Gunn & Duncan, 1997:58; Moore & Redd, 2002:3).

Poor children have also been shown to be 1.3 times more likely than non-poor children to experience learning disabilities and developmental delays (Brooks-Gunn & Duncan, 1997:61). Studies have shown that poor children were twice as likely to repeat grades than non-poor children, were at greater risk of expulsion or suspension from school, and were more than twice as likely to drop out of high school (Brooks-Gunn & Duncan, 1997:58).

Poverty is also strongly related to children's social and emotional development. For example, long-term poverty has been associated with children's feelings of anxiety, unhappiness and dependence, while current poverty has been shown to be related to externalising or acting out behaviours, such as disobedience and aggression (Moore & Redd, 2002:4). Research has also shown that poor children are more prone to emotional and behavioural problems, at least as reported by their parents (Brooks-Gunn & Duncan, 1997:58).

Against this background, it is not surprising that children who experience persistent poverty are more likely to be poor as adults than children who were not poor during their childhood or who experienced shorter spells of poverty. For example, adolescents who have experienced poverty are more likely to earn lower wages than those who had not experienced poverty during their childhood. Similarly, children who had experienced poverty during their childhood were almost twice as likely as their non-poor peers to be economically inactive at age 24 years. While upward mobility of adults who grew up poor is not uncommon, research in the United States has shown that one in four Whites and about one in two African Americans who were poor for at least half of their childhood, also experienced poverty during adulthood (Moore & Redd, 2002:4-5; Brooks-Gunn & Duncan, 1997:58).

Furthermore, because young people are in a process of transition between financial and residential dependence on their households of origin, and financial independence and setting up independent households, their financial situation during childhood plays a crucial role in understanding their current economic positions.

6.4.1 SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS DURING CHILDHOOD

In order to investigate the impact of childhood poverty on the current situations of young people and to obtain an understanding of how their circumstances may have changed since childhood, an indicator¹¹ of socio-economic status (SES) during childhood was used in the SYR survey to assess the financial circumstances under which respondents grew up. This indicator has successfully been used in a number of other studies, including the Nelson Mandela/ HSRC study of HIV/AIDS (Shisana & Simbayi, 2002).

Table 129 provides a breakdown of responses based on the question: 'Thinking back to your childhood, which of the following statements best describes the financial situation in which you grew up?' The table shows that 72.3 percent of respondents reported growing up under circumstances of poverty or deprivation in which they either did not have enough money for basics like food and clothing (29.8%) or were short of many other things (42.5%). In contrast, 16.4 percent said that during childhood they had had most of the important things, and 6.7 percent reported living in households that were able to afford luxuries.

Table 129: Financial situation of respondents during childhood, 2003

Financial situation during childhood	n	%
Not enough money for basic things like food and clothes	1 055	29.8
Had money for food and clothes, but are short of many other things	1 505	42.5
Had most of the important things, but few luxury goods	581	16.4
Some money for extra things such as going away for holidays and luxury	238	6.7
Don't know	162	4.6
Total	3 541	100

Evidence of the effectiveness of this indicator is apparent from the patterns of responses elicited from different categories of youth for which poverty rates are already known. For example, while 81 percent of African respondents and 68 percent of Coloured respondents fell within the first two socio-economic categories, only 22 percent of White and 32 percent of Indian respondents fell into these categories. Differences are also apparent in relation to area type, with respondents in the rural areas being more likely to perceive the financial situation in which they grew up as poor than those living in urban areas. Eighty five percent of respondents from rural areas saw their financial situation in childhood as falling within the first two categories, in contrast with 63 percent of respondents in the metropolitan areas and 64 percent of respondents in the non-metropolitan urban areas.

To what extent have differences in the socio-economic status of the households in which young people grew up impacted on their current situations? To explore this question, we compared the situation of youth during childhood with a range of variables associated with their current situations and perceptions.

The first of these relate to whether respondents had ever had a job. Table 130 shows that respondents who grew up in poor households were considerably less likely to have ever worked than those from more affluent households. The data show a progressive increase from 27.1 percent for the first or poorest category

¹¹ An indicator is an indirect measuring device that serves as a proxy for the measurement of something other than itself, as, for example, when one takes a child's temperature in order to determine whether the child is ill. The thermometer does not measure illness itself, but body temperature which indicates the presence of an infection. In this case, it was necessary to make use of an indicator, rather than a more direct measure such as income or expenditure, because children are usually not aware of how much their parents or other providers earn or spend.

to nearly 60 percent in the most well off category. Those who grew up in more affluent households were therefore twice as likely to have had a job than those who grew up within the first two categories of poorer households. The depth of this inequality is even more striking when one takes into account that more than a third of the sample was studying.

Table 130: Respondents who had ever had jobs by financial situation of household during childhood, 2003

Financial situation on growing up	Percentage who have had jobs	Percentage who have never had jobs
Not enough money for basic things like food and clothes	27.1	72.9
Had money for food and clothes, but are short of many other things	27.7	72.3
Had most of the important things, but few luxury goods	45.4	54.6
Some money for extra things such as going away for holidays and luxury goods	59.2	40.8

The data in Table 131 show that young people who grew up in better off households were also consistently more likely to be able to support themselves (with or without parental and other support) than young people who grew up in poor households. Furthermore, the data show that respondents from poorer households were *more* likely than their more affluent counterparts to have the additional burden of having to support others financially.

Table 131: Percentages of respondents reporting that they were a) financially self-supporting and b) were supporting others financially, by socio-economic status of household during childhood, 2003

Financial situation on growing up	Able to support self without parental or other help		Support others financially*	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
Not enough money for basic things	30.1	69.9	31.2	68.8
Had money for food and clothes	33.5	66.5	32.0	68.0
Had most of the important things	47.7	52.3	29.4	70.6
Some money for extra things such as holidays	52.1	47.9	23.1	76.9

Further confirmation of these trends is provided in Table 132, which shows that young people from poor households were less likely to be the main breadwinners in their households and to have greater financial dependence on mothers and grandparents than those from better off households. Besides being more likely to be the main breadwinners in their households, respondents from more affluent households were also more likely than their poorer counterparts to share the responsibility of heading their households with others. On the other hand, respondents from more affluent households were more likely to be dependent on their fathers as breadwinners than their poorer counterparts – an indication of a higher prevalence of female-headed households among poorer people.

Table 132: Distribution of main breadwinners in households by socio-economic status of household during childhood, 2003

Financial situation on growing up	Main breadwinner in household						
	Mother	Father	Grand parent	Spouse/partner	In-laws	Self	Shared
Not enough money for basic things	29.2	21.1	9.0	7.0	0.8	20.4	7.5
Money for food and clothes	29.1	23.3	6.1	5.1	0.6	21.8	7.5
Had most of the important things	25.2	29.5	2.2	9.8	-	22.6	9.6
Some money for extra things	12.6	32.6	1.3	7.4	0.4	28.7	15.7

As Table 133 shows, respondents who had grown up in poorer households were more likely to be living in households headed by their parents and other relatives than their more affluent counterparts. Conversely, respondents from poorer households were also less likely to be heads of household themselves than respondents who grew up in wealthier households. Respondents from better off households therefore enjoyed greater residential, as well as financial, independence from their parents or households of origin.

Table 133: Relationships of respondents to the head of household by financial situation of household during childhood, 2003

Financial situation on growing up	Relationship of respondent to head of household				
	Head of household	Spouse	Son/daughter	Other relation	Not related
Not enough money for basic things	23.2	7.4	53.1	15.0	1.3
Had money for food and clothes	21.8	9.1	53.1	14.1	1.9
Had most of the important things	26.9	17.4	49.1	5.9	0.9
Some money for extra things such as holidays	27.3	10.9	46.6	4.6	10.5

6.4.2 CHANGES IN YOUTH FINANCIAL STATUS

Respondents were also asked to assess how their financial situations had changed since childhood (17 years or younger). Comparing their childhood financial situation with the present, Table 134 shows that a relative majority of youth (46.3%) felt that their financial situation had improved since childhood, with 17.6 percent stating that it had deteriorated, and 36.1 percent reporting that their financial situation had stayed the same. In spite of high levels of youth unemployment and persistent poverty, it is encouraging that nearly three times more young people perceived their financial situation to have improved than those who perceived deterioration in their financial circumstances. This may indicate that even small changes in material circumstances may lead to altered perceptions about one's life circumstances.

Table 134: Changes in financial situation since childhood, 2003

Changes in financial situation since childhood	n	%
Improved	1 641	46.3
Stayed the same	1 277	36.1
Got worse	623	17.6
Total	3 541	100

In order to probe further into how the financial situation of youth might have changed over time, respondents were also asked whether their households were poorer or richer than they had been a decade ago. In line with the trends shown in Table 134, Table 135 shows that 27.6 percent of respondents reported that their households were richer (in 2003) than they had been ten years earlier, in contrast with 20.8 percent who said their households had got poorer during the same period. However, while both variables suggest that more young people had experienced improvements in their financial situations, they do not tell us which youth had benefited.

Table 135: Perceived change in household economic situation over the past decade, 2003

Household richer or poorer	n	%
Poorer	737	20.8
Richer	976	27.6
Same	1 124	31.7
Not sure	704	19.9
Total	3 541	100

In order to explore how different social groups of youth perceived themselves as having been benefited or disadvantaged financially, a number of analyses were performed. The results of the first of these analyses are presented in Tables 136 and 137. These tables show how respondents in the different categories of childhood socio-economic status rated their financial situation. Both tables reveal very similar trends, with respondents from poorer households most likely to report that their financial situation had deteriorated and their households had become poorer than those who originated from better off households. Conversely, respondents who grew up in more affluent households were most likely to report improvements in their financial situations and least likely to report deterioration.

In Table 136, for example, it can be seen that about twice as many respondents who grew up in more affluent households, as compared to respondents who grew up in the category of poorest households, reported that their financial situations had improved since childhood. In contrast, nearly 15 times more respondents from the poorest households than from the best off households reported that their situation had deteriorated. It should be noted, though, that 30 percent of those in the poorest category of childhood households and 50 percent in second poorest category reported some improvement in their financial situations. This is particularly noteworthy if one takes into account that respondents who classified themselves in these two categories made up 72 percent of the entire sample.

Table 136: Respondents who reported an improvement or deterioration in their financial situation since childhood by socio-economic status of household during childhood, 2003

Financial situation on growing up	Change in financial situation since 17 or younger		
	Improved	Stayed the same	Got worse
Not enough money for basic things like food and clothes	30.1	38.5	31.4
Had money for food and clothes, but are short of many other things	49.8	38.4	11.8
Had most of the important things, but few luxury goods	62.1	28.4	9.5
Some money for extra things such as going away for holidays and luxury goods	58.8	39.1	2.1

Table 137: Respondents reporting that their households were richer or poorer than ten years ago by socio-economic status of household during childhood, 2003

Financial situation on growing up	Household richer or poorer than 10 years ago			
	Poorer	Richer	Same	Not sure
Not enough money for basic things like food and clothes	34.2	17.1	27.1	21.6
Had money for food and clothes, but are short of many other things	18.0	26.3	37.9	17.8
Had most of the important things, but few luxury goods	9.5	44.6	29.6	16.4
Some money for extra things such as going away for holidays and luxury goods	14.3	48.3	23.9	13.4

The two variables, socio-economic circumstances and perception of change, were further disaggregated by race, gender, age group and location. Table 138 shows the percentages of respondents who reported that their financial situation has improved or deteriorated since they were 17 years of age or younger. The data show that African respondents were least likely to say that their situation had improved and most likely to say that it had deteriorated or stayed the same. Following Africans, Coloureds were next least likely to see their financial situation as having improved, while Indians were most likely to perceive a positive change in their situation. There were no statistically significant differences for gender.

Respondents in the 25-35 year age group were also more likely to report a positive change in their financial situation as compared to those in the younger age group. This finding is consistent with the lower rates of poverty and higher rates of employment among 25 to 35 year olds. The older age group has also had more time than 18-24 year olds to improve their situation by finding employment, earning income and increasing their educational qualifications. In general, more respondents who lived in the urban and metropolitan areas reported an improvement in their financial situations than those who lived in rural areas. This is also consistent with other trends relating to location.

Table 138: Perceived changes in financial situation since childhood by race, age and area type, 2003

Category of population	Improved	Stayed the same	Got worse
Race			
African	41.8	37.5	20.7
Coloured	54.1	35.4	10.5
Indian	76.9	22.3	0.8
White	65.2	30.1	4.7
Age group			
18-24	42.7	38.8	18.5
25-35	51.5	32.2	16.3
Type of area			
Metropolitan/City	50.3	35.1	14.6
Urban – Non-metro	54.9	28.3	16.8
Rural	38.3	41.3	20.4

Very similar trends to those reported in Table 138 are evident in Table 139 in relation to respondent reports about whether their households had become richer or poorer in the last ten years. Africans, the 18-24 year age group, and those living in rural areas were least likely to report that their households had become richer and most likely to report that their households had become poorer. Gender differences were statistically significant, although relatively small, with male respondents being more likely than female respondents to report that their households had become richer.

Table 139: Perceived change in household economic situation over the past decade by race, gender, age and area type, 2003

Category of population	Poorer	Richer	Same	Not sure
Race				
African	22.9	23.3	32.6	21.1
Coloured	19.7	28.0	28.7	23.6
Indian	5.8	67.8	18.2	8.3
White	10.0	47.2	32.2	10.6
Gender				
Male	21.1	30.9	30.7	17.4
Female	20.6	24.6	32.7	22.2
Age group				
18-24	19.6	23.5	35.9	21.0
25-35	22.6	33.4	25.8	18.3
Type of area				
Metropolitan/City	16.4	33.2	34.2	16.1
Urban – Non-metro	17.6	35.6	30.1	16.7
Rural	26.1	18.5	30.7	24.7

6.4.3 FINANCIAL DEPENDENCE AND SUPPORT

A crucial factor both for improvement in young people's financial situations and their transition to adulthood, is the extent to which they are able to access jobs and become financially independent of their households of origin. Being able to support one-self economically often determines whether young people are able to establish residential independence from parents and other caregivers, set up their own homes, and start a family. As we saw in section 2 of the report, there was a high degree of consensus among all categories of youth that being able to set up and maintain an independent family and household that was financially sustainable, safe and provided a nurturing context for children, was key to the attainment of adulthood.

Given high levels of both poverty and unemployment among youth, the establishment of financial independence is often an unattainable ideal for many young people. For example, the SYR survey showed that just over a third of young people (36%) were able to support themselves financially without help from their parents or others, while the remaining 64 percent said that they were not able to support themselves. Young people who are able to support themselves are not evenly distributed among social groups; rather, they tend to follow the fault lines of the major social inequalities in South Africa – race, gender and location.

Table 140 provides an analysis of the different social categories of youth who were able to support themselves financially. The table shows that considerably fewer African and Coloured respondents were able to support themselves than White and Indian youth. Males and respondents in the 25-35 year age group were more likely to be able to support themselves financially than female respondents and respondents between 18 and 25 years of age. Respondents living in metropolitan areas were most likely to be able to support themselves financially, while respondents living in rural areas were least likely to be able to support themselves.

Table 140: Percentages of respondents who are able to support themselves financially without help from their parents or someone else by race, gender, age group, area and province, 2003

Category of population	Able to support self	Not able to support self
Race		
African	32.5	67.5
Coloured	34.1	65.9
Indian	55.4	44.6
White	58.7	41.3
Gender		
Male	38.7	61.3
Female	33.4	66.6
Age group		
18-24	23.5	76.5
25-35	53.7	46.3
Type of area		
Metropolitan/City	42.7	57.3
Urban – Non-metro	34.0	66.0
Rural	31.6	68.4
Province		
Western Cape	38.9	61.1
Eastern Cape	49.4	50.6
Northern Cape	14.5	85.5
Free State	26.3	73.7
KwaZulu-Natal	41.5	58.5
North West	18.9	81.1
Gauteng	39.3	60.7
Mpumalanga	37.4	62.6
Limpopo	20.8	79.2

Given the importance of being able to support oneself financially to the transition to adulthood, it is useful to be able to know at what age young people in South Africa first begin to support themselves. Table 141 shows that more than three-quarters (76%) of respondents first began to support themselves between the ages of 18 and 24 years, with eight percent supporting themselves before reaching the age of 18 years and a further 16 percent reporting that they had begun to support themselves between 25 and 35 years of age. That a majority of young people in the sample had begun to support themselves between the ages of 18 and 24 years, while only 16 percent began to support themselves after the age of 24 years, raises questions about the appropriateness of a definition of youth that includes everyone between the age of 14 and 35 years.

However, it needs to be borne in mind that the data presented in Table 141 applies to just over a third of the sample, because 64 percent of respondents were not able to support themselves at their current age. If these respondents could have been included, a very different picture would have emerged. Nevertheless, 18-24 years might, under ideal circumstances, provide a marker for when the majority of young people begin to establish their financial independence. The reality, however, is that little more than a third achieve this milestone during this period.

Table 141: Age at which respondents were first able to support themselves financially, 2003

Age at which first able to support self	%
9 – 17 years	8.0
18 – 20 years	39.8
21 – 24 years	36.4
25 – 30 years	13.9
31 – 35 years	1.9
Total	100

Young people often have to support not only themselves but also other people, including their children. Thirty percent of the sample reported that they were supporting others. Table 142 shows the percentages of respondents in the different social categories that were financially supporting other people. The data show that Coloured and Indian respondents were more likely to be supporting other people than Africans and Whites. Not surprisingly, given their higher levels of employment, respondents in the 25-35 year age group were more likely to be supporting others than those in the younger age group. Finally respondents in metropolitan areas were more likely to be supporting others than their counterparts in the non-metropolitan and rural areas.

Table 142: Respondents who financially support others by race, gender, age, area type and province, 2003

Category of population	Supporting other people	Not supporting other people
Race		
African	28.7	71.3
Coloured	37.3	62.7
Indian	37.2	62.8
White	34.5	65.5
Age group		
18-24	21.7	78.3
25-35	42.5	57.5
Type of area		
Metropolitan/City	37.3	62.7
Urban – Non-metro	25.3	74.7
Rural	27.4	72.6

Table 143 provides an analysis of the main breadwinner in respondents' households by population group. The table shows that 32 percent of both Indian and White respondents were the main breadwinners in their households. This is consistent with both the higher rates of employment and of marriage among these two groups. The corresponding percentages of African and Coloured respondents were much lower at 20.4 and 19.2 percent, respectively. African and Coloured respondents relied more often on their mothers and grandparents as breadwinners than did Whites and Indians. However, the relatively large proportion of Indian respondents who relied on their fathers as breadwinners is noteworthy. Another interesting feature is the relatively large percentages of White respondents who identified their spouse or partner as

breadwinners (another indication of higher marriage rates among Whites), and also shared the role of breadwinner with others.

Table 143: Main breadwinner in respondents' households by race, 2003

Main breadwinner	African	Coloured	Indian	White
Mother	29.3	30.0	16.5	15.1
Father	24.0	28.8	36.4	22.7
Grandparents	7.0	4.9	0.8	0.6
Spouse/partner	6.1	6.0	5.0	10.4
In-laws	0.6	0.7	-	-
Self	20.4	17.2	32.2	31.9
Shared equal support	7.3	7.9	5.0	19.2
Other relatives	5.4	4.5	4.1	-
Total	100	100	100	100

Two major issues emerge from the foregoing analysis. The first of these relates to a consistent trend in the data that shows that those youth who started out in life as poor and disadvantaged were least likely to report positive developments in their lives, such as having had a job, being able to support themselves, establishing financial independence from their parents or seeing improvement in their financial situations. Young people who had grown up poor or were disadvantaged by race or location were also more likely to report deterioration in their financial situation. These trends are consistent with research findings that show that childhood poverty tends to produce negative outcomes that perpetuate poverty, often across generations. However, there are also indications that, in spite of high rates of poverty and unemployment, relatively large sections of South African youth have managed to improve their financial situations and, possibly, to have escaped the poverty of their childhood. Such improvements in circumstances would be consistent with the earlier finding that poverty rates were lower in the 25-35 years age group than in the 18-24 year age group.

Secondly, the analysis shows that poverty and inequality place significant obstacles in the way of specific categories of youth in their transition to adulthood. In particular, youth who grow up poor, African and Coloured youth, and youth who grow up in rural areas have considerably higher rates of financial and residential dependence on their households of origin. As a result, they find themselves having difficulty assuming full participation as adults in society. Without work or income, they are unable to support themselves or set up households of their own and attain what they themselves see as necessary to being an adult. The trends we have reviewed suggest that youth follow very different trajectories in their transitions to adulthood, depending on their social category.

6.5 POVERTY TRENDS

Comparing the incomes of young people presents difficulties because of their dependence on both personal incomes and on household incomes. Only about a third of the young people in our sample were self-supporting, with the remaining two-thirds either completely or partially dependent on the incomes of the households to which they belonged.

In an attempt to compare the personal incomes of youth between 1996 and 2001, Oranje (2003:2) used inflation data to identify matching income categories in the 1996 and 2001 census data. He determined that

the two “closest matching” income categories were R2 500 per month for 1996 and R3 200 per month for 2001. This methodology is problematic not only because Oranje does not provide enough information on his method of determining these two “matching” income categories, but also because he does not take into account the actual proportions of young people with and without incomes in 1996 and 2001. Given that youth unemployment increased significantly between 1996 and 2001, it is likely that the proportion of young people with personal incomes in 2001 was smaller than that of 1996. It is therefore possible that *as a group* youth earnings may have declined, even if the incomes of those lucky enough to have jobs had increased.

In spite of this bias, Oranje’s data indicate little if any change in the overall earnings of young people between 1996 and 2001. They show that the percentage of young people earning less than R2 500 a month in 1996-terms was 78.3 percent in 1996 and 77.8 percent in 2001. Comparisons of the different social categories of youth produced more substantial, although still relatively small, differences. For example, the percentage of young women earning less than R2 500/month in 1996-terms decreased by 2.2 percent between 1996 and 2001, while the equivalent percentage for males increased by about 0.5 percent. Indian youth experienced the largest drop in terms of the percentage of the group earning less than R2 500 a month in 1996-terms (-5.1%), followed by Coloured (-2.2%), White (-1.5%) and African youth (0%). Young Indian and White women (-8.6% and -5.5%, respectively) performed the best, while young White men fared the worst (1.9%) - see Table 144.

Table 144: Young people (19-35 years) earning less than R2500 in 1996 and R3200 in 2001 by gender and population group

Group	1996 %	2001 %	% Difference
African			
All	89.38	89.38	0.00
Male	89.33	89.79	0.46
Female	89.46	88.70	-0.76
Coloured			
All	84.01	81.83	-2.18
Male	81.96	80.91	-1.05
Female	86.46	82.87	-3.59
Indian			
All	64.71	59.61	-5.10
Male	61.35	58.42	-2.93
Female	69.87	61.32	-8.55
White			
All	38.73	37.23	-1.50
Male	31.50	33.40	1.90
Female	47.20	41.67	-5.53
National			
All	78.33	77.79	-0.54
Male	77.68	78.26	0.58
Female	79.31	77.11	-2.20

Source: Oranje, 2003: 37

To sum up, while there are some difficulties with Oranje’s methodology, his analysis suggests that overall there was little if any change in youth earnings between 1996 and 2001, when inflation is taken into account. If anything, youth income is likely to have dropped during this period because, according to Oranje’s own data (see Table 145), youth without income doubled from 1.25 percent in 1996 to 2.48 in 2001. This represents a larger percentage increase than the overall decrease between 1996 and 2000 of 0.54 percent of youth earning less than R2 500 in 1996 terms. Intra-group comparisons suggest that women, and in particular

Indian and White women, may have gained most, while White men may have lost most. Of all the population groups, African incomes showed the least change.

Table 145: Monthly income profile of youth (19-35 years) based on 1996 and 2001 census data

1996			2001		
Income category	Percentage	Cumulative percentage	Income category	Percentage	Cumulative percentage
None	1.25	1.25	None	2.48	2.48
R1– R200	8.30	9.55	R1– R400	14.86	17.34
R201– R500	17.13	26.28	R401– R800	18.47	35.82
R501– R1000	19.63	46.31	R801– R1600	23.52	59.34
R1001– R1500	17.88	64.19	R1601– R3200	18.45	77.79
R1501– R2500	14.14	78.33	R3201– R6400	13.42	91.21
R2501– R3500	8.52	86.85	R6401– R12800	5.83	97.05
R3501–R4500	5.31	92.16	R12801– R25600	2.03	99.08
R4501– R6000	3.91	96.07	R25601– R51200	0.55	99.63
R6001– R8000	1.85	97.93	R51201–R102400)	0.21	99.84
R8001– R11000	1.10	99.03	R102401– R204 800	0.10	99.95
R11001– R16000	0.61	99.63	R204801 and more	0.05	100.00
R16001– R 30000	0.28	99.91			
R30001 or more	0.09	100.00			

Source: Oranje, 2003: 36

6.6 CONCLUSION

This section on Poverty and Inequality set out to explore the extent and impact of poverty on the lives of young South Africans. The analysis of youth poverty shows that, in 2000, more than a third of young people between the ages of 18 and 35 years were living in poverty, with 16% being ultra poor. Higher rates of poverty were found among 18 to 24 year olds than among 25-35 year olds, with 41% of the younger age group living in poverty as against 29% of the older age group. In keeping with national trends of inequality amongst the race groups, poverty rates were highest among African youth, lower, but still significant, among Coloured youth and minimal among Indian and White youth. Young women experienced a higher rate of poverty than young men, but the indications are that gender inequality in relation to income poverty is greater among older members of the population than among youth. Youth poverty was also considerably higher in the rural areas than in the urban areas and in provinces with large rural populations.

There was a strong association between poverty and educational attainment, with overall poverty rates between 54 and 68 percent for those with no education, but a progressive decline in the prevalence of poverty as education levels increased. This association between poverty and education can be attributed to both the access that higher levels of education allow to labour markets, and to the constraints that poverty imposes on children of poor people in accessing education.

The relationship between youth poverty and employment is complex as poverty originates from both unemployment and from economic dependence on poor households. Poverty rates were higher among 18 to 24 year olds, primarily because of their economic dependence on poor households. On the other hand, the 25-35 year age group was, in spite of high levels of unemployment, more likely to be established in the labour market and therefore less dependent on their households of origin. For this age group, poverty was more likely to be associated with unemployment than with economic dependence associated with having to

complete one's education, although many might still remain economically dependent on their original, or other, households.

The youth poverty analyses clearly demonstrate that age is a key factor in the distribution of poverty in South Africa. Not only are children under 18 years of age poorer than any of the other age categories, but young people in the 18-25 years age group have higher rates of poverty than any of the older age groups. However, the situation of the 25-35 year age group differs markedly from that of 18 to 25 year olds. The older youth group not only has considerably lower rates of poverty, but is difficult to distinguish, in terms of income poverty, from the economically active population that is older than 35 years of age.

In general the analyses suggests that the circumstances of youth in the two age groups differ substantially from one another, and that divergent strategies may be required to address poverty among 18 to 24 year olds as opposed to 25-35 year olds. A case can be made for the introduction of special welfare measures to target poor youth in the 18-24 years age group (similar to the case that has been made for children younger than 18). The two age groups are distinguished from one another by their differing levels of poverty, as well as the causes or origins of poverty. In this section of the report we have distinguished between two major sources of poverty: poverty associated with exclusion from the labour market, and poverty associated with growing up poor and being dependent on poor households. While these two sources of poverty are often related to one another, they play themselves out in very different ways for the two age groups of young people.

Growing up poor can have major implications for the economic status of young people with knock-on effects later in life. Research has shown that poverty during childhood is associated with a broad range of negative outcomes that can lead to the perpetuation of poverty and the transmission of poverty between generations. The SYR data clearly shows that those youth who started out in life as children in poor households were least likely to report positive developments in their lives - having had a job, being able to support themselves, or establishing financial independence from their parents. Furthermore, respondents from poorer households were most likely to report that their financial situation had worsened, while respondents from wealthier households were most likely to report that their financial situation had improved. Young people who were disadvantaged by race, gender or location were also more likely to report deterioration in their financial situations since childhood or over the last decade.

While the disadvantages of growing up poor have a profound influence on individuals' opportunities within the labour market, they are clearly distinct from the conditions that determine the capacity of the economy to absorb new entrants into the labour market and to generate sufficient jobs for the economically active population.

The analyses also show that poverty and inequality place significant obstacles in the way of specific categories of youth. In particular, youth who grew up poor, African and Coloured youth, and youth who grew up in rural areas have considerably higher rates of financial and residential dependence on their households of origin. They are less likely to be the main breadwinners in their households and are more dependent on mothers and grandparents for support. As a result, they find it difficult to attain full participation as adults in society. Without work or income, they are unable to support themselves or set up households of their own and attain what they themselves see as necessary to being an adult.

Government has instituted a number of measures to protect the most vulnerable sectors of society and to break the cycle of poverty. Social assistance grants are available to children, as well as disabled and older

persons. The child support grant has recently been extended to children up to 14 years of age. Children also benefit through the foster child grant and the care dependency grant (1-17 years) for children with disabilities. Grants are also made available to adults aged 18-64 years with a confirmed disability. A grant in aid is given to families who provide full time care to physical or mentally disabled dependents. There has been a massive expansion in the value and the reach of social assistance grants since 1994. Expenditure on social grants has increased from R10 billion in 1993 to R38.8 billion in 2003 with a concomitant increase in beneficiaries from 2.6 million to 6.8 million over this period (Policy Co-ordination and Advisory Services, 2003). However, the poor service delivery of social grants, extended application periods as well as corruption in the system are some of the factors that motivated the formation of the South African Social Security Agency, whose mandate is to ensure equitable access and quality service delivery of social assistance grants. South Africa has also instituted an Integrated Nutrition Programme to provide food security. The programme offers protection to the health of women and children as two vulnerable groups, and to society at large through mandatory fortification of bread and maize meal with specified micronutrients. The Primary School Nutrition Programme currently caters for over 4.5 million learners attending 15 000 schools (Tshabalala-Msimang, 2004).

YOUTH AND HEALTH

Summary points

1. In general, the health of young people in this age range is good – with 98.6 percent of respondents in the survey reporting that their health was good or average. African youth, living in a rural area, having little formal education, low household income and not working, are all associated with poor self-rated general health.
2. Less than four percent (3.6%) of youth reported having a disability. Of those young people who reported having a disability, most were African or Coloured. Young people with primary education or less were six times more likely to report having a disability than young people with a degree. Consistent with international findings, nearly twice as many young men reported having a disability (4.7%) as compared to young women (2.6%). African youth with a disability were less likely than other groups to be receiving a disability grant.
3. Smoking increases with age and with access to discretionary income. Reductions in tobacco use associated with legislative control in the late 1990s are being lost, as indicated by the finding that close to a third (27%) of young people 24 to 35 years of age smoke cigarettes. Smoking is highest among young White women (48%), and lowest among young African women (8%). Smoking is associated in a significant way with alcohol and drug use.
4. A temporal perspective suggests that alcohol use among young people is increasing – only 42 percent of young people in this age range reported that they never drink alcohol. White youth reported the highest rate of weekly drinking, with a third of young men and women drinking alcohol on a weekly basis. The differentials between male and female rates of drinking among African, Coloured and Indian women are narrowing, as more young women start to drink alcohol.
5. Thirteen percent of young people report ever having used a recreational drug, with White youth reporting considerably higher use than other groups. There are minimal gender differences in drug use. Drug use, like alcohol and cigarette smoking, is particularly problematic for White and better educated youth than among other groups.
6. The highest rates of suicide in South Africa occur in the 20 to 34 year age range and more than 10 000 young people kill themselves every year. Close to ten percent of youth in the SYR survey indicated that they had thought about killing themselves in the previous year.
7. Fear of interpersonal violence, threat with weapons and assault with weapons occurs amongst a significant number of young people. More than 20 percent of youth in the survey report having been

threatened, and more than ten percent report having been assaulted with a weapon. African and Coloured youth, especially young men, are more likely than any other group to be a victim of an assault with a weapon. More than twice as many men as women in the survey reported having been injured as a result of an assault with a weapon.

8. There are encouraging indications of increased adoption of HIV preventative behaviours among young people, including condom use at first sex, current condom use and contraceptive use. Young people in the younger age group (18 to 24 years) were nearly one and a half times more likely to report having used a condom at first sex, and during current sex, than youth in the older age group. This finding held across population groups and gender, with some exceptions.
9. The HIV/AIDS epidemic affects all South Africans. Close to 1 in 10 young people reported knowing someone who had died of AIDS. There are indications from other studies that close association with someone who is infected with and/or dies from an HIV/AIDS-related condition is likely to lead to an increase in the adoption of preventative behaviours.
10. Nearly a third of young people have been tested for HIV. However, a smaller percent know their HIV status, as not all young people return to receive the results of their tests. Uptake of preventative behaviour is also higher among youth who know their HIV status.

Interaction Youth Project

Alpheus Magaswa, aged 27 years, met Golden Manaka in 1998 while volunteering as an HIV/AIDS facilitators at the Unit R clinic in Lebowakgomo. They both shared a dream of starting a community development and training centre. They set their minds to establishing the Lebowakgomo Interaction Youth Project.

The youngest of eight siblings, Alpheus was born in Johannesburg and soon after his birth his mother moved to Lebowakgomo where he grew up and was educated. After matriculating in 1997, he signed up with the local clinic to be trained as an HIV/AIDS facilitator. Having completed his training, Alpheus went on to volunteer as an HIV/AIDS facilitator for the clinic. It was during this time that his passion and love for serving his community became clear. After a year's service at the clinic, Alpheus enrolled with the Thabamopo College of Education in Lebowakgomo. Although he wasn't sure of his purpose at the time, he did know that he wanted to find a way in which he could better serve his community.

Alpheus spent a year with the institution, where he was trained in business studies. It was during this time that his passion for community service gained greater clarity. He contacted Golden who shared his passion, and had also been a volunteer at the clinic. Both wanted to find a way in which they could bring certain services closer to their communities.

With no capital, Alpheus and Golden sought input and direction from friends on how they could realize their dream. They approached the Principal of a crèche in their community and shared what was at the time just a dream. The Principal moved by their zeal and commitment, created a space within the premises of the crèche for them to use at no cost. Having secured a space for their operations, the young men sought assistance in developing a funding proposal for their intended work, which they submitted to the National Development Agency (NDA). To their utter amazement their proposal was successful and approved. As a result, the young men were further assisted in concretizing their plans and received an initial grant of about R100 000.

Alpheus and Golden wasted no time in getting into business. They purchased office equipment – computers, faxes and photocopiers – to set up a resource and computer training center. They also purchased garden tools for the vegetable garden. Simultaneously, they participated in a computer-training course that qualified them as computer trainers. Thus they set up the center to offer training in - MSWord; Keyboarding; Excel; Power Point and Access, as well as secretarial training. To date, they have registered their training center and the ETDP-SETA has accredited their training. Their project mainly targets unemployed young people and high school pupils, but anyone in the community can access the training. The Interaction Youth Project has also established relationships with various private sector institutions that provide further training in computers and related areas.

It was during this time that Alpheus and Golden made formal contact with the Establishment for Comprehensive Youth

Development (ECYD), a youth development organization in Limpopo Province, which runs programmes targeted at developing young people. Alpheus and Golden registered their organisation as an affiliate member of ECYD, and received training in leadership and project management as well as life skills. The main purpose of this training was to equip them with relevant information around leadership and project management techniques. Being in affiliation with ECYD gave them an opportunity to network and work with other established organizations.

The project is expanding – Alpheus says they want to play an even bigger role in the neighbouring high schools, which currently do not have computers. The project aims to establish partnerships with these schools to provide computer training to their pupils. Currently, the project is in the process of building working relationships with a number of private sector service providers. In an effort to improve the service and reach a wider audience, the project seeks to provide training in computer skills, cellphone repairs and computer upgrading. Alpheus said their local community can benefit from such a service, as they are far from the city and all the economic activity – their vision is to bring services closer to the people.

The partners have confronted a number of challenges. Three months after purchasing and setting up their center, their computers were stolen. This was a set back but Alpheus and Golden did not give-up. They set up necessary security to ensure that the risk was minimized. Another notable challenge for them was the issue around resources and sustainability. “Some people in the community do not always appreciate and understand the intent of good initiatives. They see us setting up a computer center and they immediately assume that we have money. They do not know or understand how hard we worked to get these services closer to the people. Again, those who come to the center do not want to pay for the training. As a result it poses a serious challenge to our own survival. We still don't get paid; any profit we make immediately goes into the operations of our center. That is a big challenge, but we are very hopeful about the future.”

Source: Profile compiled by the Youth Development Network for the Celebrating Youth function

7.1 INTRODUCTION

Health is important, because it is an essential element of the quality of people's life and also of human capital. Good health is associated with increased income through a number of mechanisms. For example, healthier children perform better at school (Pollitt, 1990), and mothers with more education are better able to care for the health of their children (Caldwell & McDonald, 1982). Similarly, a healthy and well-nourished person can be more productive in the workplace than someone who is ill and under-nourished, and thus has the potential to earn more, ensuring both continued good nutrition and greater work capacity (Emmett, 2003).

Risks for ill health and disability peak during three age periods across the lifespan – birth and early childhood, late adolescence and early adulthood, and as people age. Substance use, depression and suicidal ideation, interpersonal and gang violence, and brushes with the law, are particularly related to ill health and disability among young adults (WHO/UNICEF, 1995).

As indicated earlier, indicators of positive youth development and important precursors for successful transitions to adulthood include the completion of education, entry into productive economic activity, establishment of financial independence and an autonomous household, a healthy lifestyle, engagement in civic affairs and social institutions, and marriage and parenthood, if that is what the young person chooses. All of these factors interact with health and disability. For example, ill health and disability pose significant challenges to education, employment, independence, participation and reproduction. In turn, lack of success in education, employment, participation and so on, themselves pose health risks for young people. For example, school failure and dropping out of education are associated with the uptake of a number of risk behaviours including substance use, unwanted pregnancy (Kasen, Cohen & Brook, 1998; Pittman, O'Brien &

Kimball, 1993) and gang membership (van der Spuy & Marais, 2000). Similarly, unemployed young people have higher rates of ill-health, particularly mental ill-health. This is thought to result from the stresses of economic exclusion and the decline in self- and social-esteem associated with joblessness (Hammarstrom, 1994).

Research in both developed and developing countries has consistently found that poverty exacerbates health problems and increases vulnerability to risk factors. The pervasive effects of poverty on health and disability, education, and employment create self-sustaining chains of adversity that increase poor outcomes among young people (WHO/UNICEF, 1995).

Demographic trends, including the large proportion of young people in the population of developing countries – about 30 percent - as well as higher levels of urbanization among young people, make the health of young people a critical issue of national development. However, the health of young people has largely been ignored because youth have lower mortality rates than both younger and older groups, and this has led to youth being accorded a lower priority for health-related research and interventions. The threats to the health of young people can be classified into five broad categories; that is diseases, ill-health and unhealthy behaviours that:

- Are particular to young people, such as disorders of secondary sexual development or the adolescent growth spurt;
- Affect young people disproportionately, such as sexually transmitted infections (STIs) including HIV, tuberculosis, and mental disorders, for example;
- Manifest themselves primarily in young people, but which originate in childhood, such as polio and rheumatic heart disease;
- Have major implications for the young person's future health, such as STIs, dental diseases, intentional and unintentional injuries, tobacco use, poor diet, lack of exercise, and unsafe sexual practices;
- Affect young people less than children, but more than older adults, such as malnutrition, malaria, and acute respiratory infections.

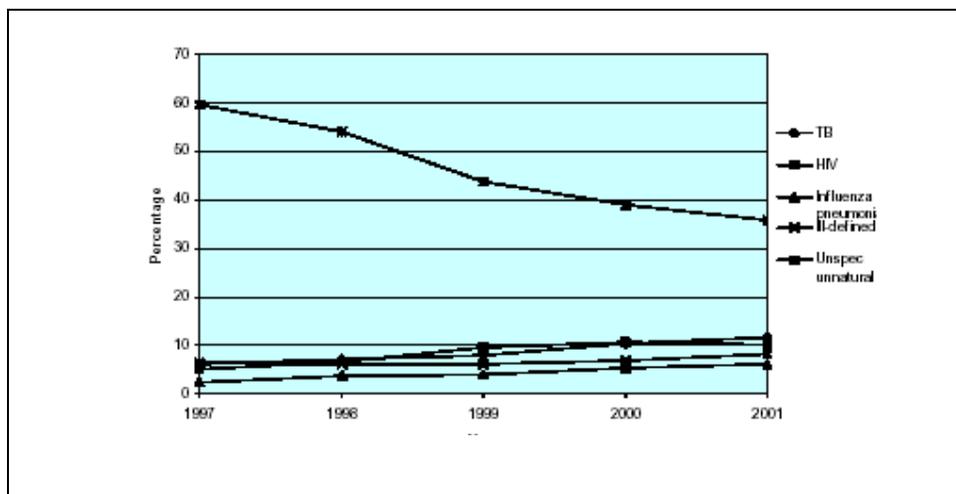
Data collected in some developing countries suggest that disabilities are more common among young people than in children or in adults older than 25 years of age, the excess being largely due to mental disorders. Overall, disability tends to be more prevalent among men than women at all ages¹². According to the 2001 World Health Report (WHO, 2001), depression among 15-44-year-olds is the second highest cause of the burden of ill health, amounting to nearly nine percent of all Disability Adjusted Life Years lost.

In addition to death and disability, young people engage in higher rates of risk behaviours than other groups, and are subjected to more risky situations. These include substance use; reckless, violent and sexually risky behaviour; academic failure and drop out; eating disorders; and depression and suicidal ideation (Flisher *et al.*, 1996). Gender appears to exert an influence on risk, with women being more likely to suffer from depression and eating disorders, for example, and men being more likely to engage in reckless or aggressive behaviour, sexual risk taking and substance use (Compas *et al.*, 1995).

¹² United Nations International Disability Statistics Database

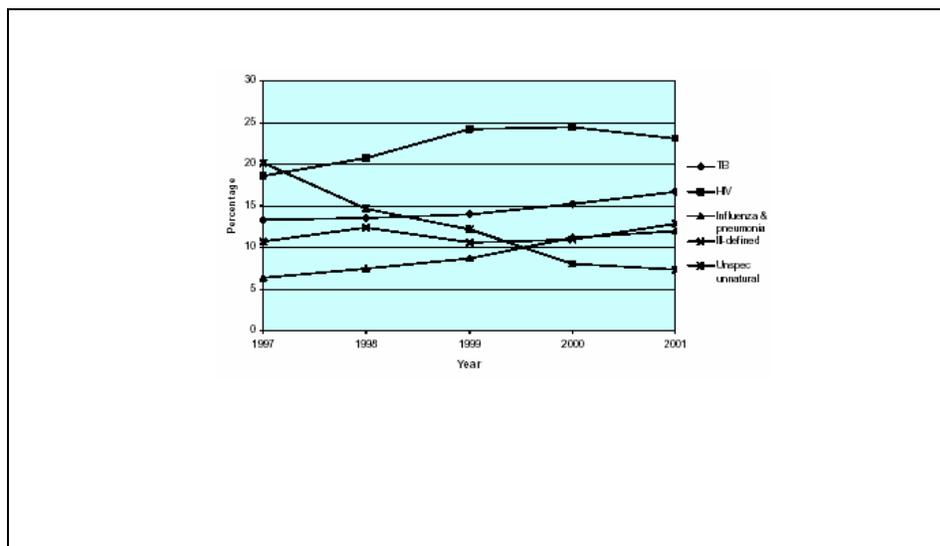
In many countries in the developing world, including South Africa, intentional and unintentional injuries are among the leading causes of death and disability in young people (Zwi *et al.*, 1995). In a survey of the causes of death among adolescents in South Africa in the mid 1980's, external causes were found to account for 57 percent of all deaths among 10-19-year-olds (Flisher *et al.*, 1992). In contrast, between 1997 and 2001, there was a sharp decline in the proportion of unspecified, unnatural deaths among men and women aged 15 to 29 years of age. However, this was largely due to an increase in the proportion of young people dying from tuberculosis, influenza and pneumonia (Statistics South Africa, 2002). In young people, the latter conditions are taken to be proxies of HIV-related deaths, as indicated in Figures 24 and 25 below:

Figure 24: Percentage of deaths among males aged 15 to 29 due to the five leading underlying causes of death, by year of death, 1997-2001



Source: Statistics South Africa, 2002: 12

Figure 25: Percentage of deaths among females aged 15 to 29 due to the five leading underlying causes of death, by year of death, 1997-2001



Source: Statistics South Africa, 2002: 12

7.2 CURRENT HEALTH STATUS

No direct measures of health status were made in the SYR survey. Information on general health was obtained from two questions:

1. How would you describe your health? (Scored Good, Average, Bad)
2. Have you been admitted to hospital in the past two years? (Scored as Yes or No).

Additional information on health was obtained from supplementary questions regarding disability; tobacco, alcohol and drug use; suicidal ideation, HIV/AIDS, contraceptive use; assault injuries, and household experience of death. Access to services was assessed by receipt of disability grants and use of HIV Voluntary and Counselling services.

There is very little information in South Africa on self-reported health of young people. However, the 1998 Demographic and Health Survey (DHS) looked at specific groups of diseases or ill health, rather than at self-perceived general health status. Data from the DHS indicate that, from 15 to 65+ years of age, the two youngest age groups, 15-24 years of age and 25-34 years of age, have the lowest reported self-perceived rate of a number of conditions, including high blood pressure, ischaemic heart disease, stroke, diabetes, emphysema, asthma, tuberculosis, and cancer. However, gender differences in health are discernible already at this age; for example, young women in the DHS were found to have very much higher self-reported problems with blood pressure than young men, as shown in Table 146.

Table 146: Self-reported high blood pressure

Age groups	Male	Female
15-24 years	0.2%	2.7%
25-34 year	3.8%	8.0%

Source: South African 1998 Demographic and Health Survey

7.2.1 SELF-RATED HEALTH STATUS

In general, the young people surveyed in the SYR survey perceive their health to be good – 98.6 percent of young people described their health as good (77.6%) or average (20.9%), with little variation across the age span from 18-24 years and from 25-35 years. Only 1.4 percent of youth surveyed described their health as “bad”. These results, as well as those of the DHS, quoted above, are consistent with reports from other developing and developed countries of general good health in young adulthood (Sells & Blum, 1996).

The majority of youth who reported their health to be “bad” were African (49 of 51 people) and two were Coloured. Slightly more than half of the young people, who rated their health as “bad”, 29 of 51, were women, and the remainder, 22, were men. Thus, although race is a significant feature of self-perceived health status categorized as “bad”, gender was not.

Reports of health status also varied by place of residence, with fewer young people living in urban non-metropolitan (78.0%) and rural areas (73.2%) reporting “good health” as compared to young people in metropolitan areas (84.2%). In the same vein, more young people living in rural areas (2.3%) described their health as “bad”, compared to young people in urban non-metropolitan (1.4%) and metropolitan (0.4%) areas. While rural youth were 5 times more likely than metropolitan youth to rate their health as “bad”, the differences between youth in the three locations were also not statistically significant. Nonetheless, the

trends are consistent with lower socioeconomic conditions in rural as compared to urban areas, as well as with decreased access to health services, particularly at the secondary and tertiary level. Untreated or inadequately treated chronic health problems are therefore likely to be more prevalent in rural than urban areas, including among young people.

More men (80.7%) described their health as good compared to women (74.9%), but the difference was not statistically significant.

Education appears to be an important component of self-rated health as “bad”, as indicated in Table 147. Self-ratings of good health increased with increasing levels of education as did, correspondingly, self-ratings of “bad” health with decreasing levels of education. Degreed youth were most likely to rate their health as good, and illiterate youth (those with less than Grade 6 education) were most likely to rate their health as “bad”. The differences, however, were not statistically significant, probably as a result of the small number of cases (n=51) of youth who rated their health as “bad”.

Table 147: Self-rated health by education, 2003

Educational group	Good health	Average health	Bad health
<Grade 6	65.9%	28.4%	5.7%
Junior school	70.4%	28.3%	1.3%
Senior school	78.3%	20.2%	1.5%
Post-matric	78.7%	20.3%	0.9%
Degree	80.3%	19.4%	0.3%

Employment status is also related to self-rated health status, as shown in Table 148. More unemployed people, including housewives and students, rated their health as poor than in any other employment group. Correspondingly, self-employed and employed people were significantly more likely to rate their overall health as good.

Table 148: Self-rated health by employment status, 2003

Employment group	Good health	Average health	Bad health
Unemployed	66.1%	29.4%	4.6%
Housewife/student	77.3%	15.9%	6.8%
Informal work	68.0%	30.0%	2.0%
Self-employed	87.1%	12.9%	0%
Employed	84.2%	14.8%	0.4%

From the results, it would appear that being African, living in a rural area, having little formal education, and not working, are all associated with self-rated poor general health. Apart from a relationship between rated poor health and hospital admission, self-rated poor health was related, among the range of variables examined, only to personal and household monthly income at levels that attained statistical significance. These findings are consistent with international literature which indicates a link between poverty, social exclusion and ill health, as well as between socioeconomic status, particularly higher education, and access to and use of health services (Smith, Bartley & Blane, 1990).

7.2.2 HOSPITAL ADMISSIONS

Despite the fact that the vast majority of young people described their health as good, more than a fifth of the sample (20.7%) had been admitted to a hospital during the previous two years. Of those who had been hospitalized, the majority was White (23.3% of White youth had been hospitalized during the previous two years), followed by Coloured (21.3%), African (20.7%), and Indian youth (11.6%).

In terms of residential area, more rural youth (24.5%) were likely to have been admitted to hospital, compared to metropolitan youth (19.8%) and non-metropolitan urban youth (15.1%). Considerably more women (24.1%) than men (16.9%) reported having been admitted to hospital in the previous two years. Of the women who reported that they had been admitted to hospital, close to 40 percent (38.8%) had a child, so it can't be discounted that, amongst this group of young women, an admission to hospital was for the purpose of delivering a baby.

There was a slightly higher proportion of older youth, aged 25 to 35 years, who reported having been admitted to hospital (22.9%) as compared to the younger group (19.1%). But this difference occurred predominantly amongst men, as a slightly higher percentage of the women who were admitted to hospital were in the younger age group (54%). Hospitalization was twice as likely to be associated with bad self-rated health (35/51), than with injury resulting from assault (16/51).

In conclusion, hospital admissions among this age range of people are primarily associated with pregnancy and ill-health, including injuries, as well as with low levels of household income. The correlation between hospital admission and rated ill health is statistically significant. Excluding hospital admissions for the purpose of confinement and the delivery of a baby, ill health and hospitalization are both associated with socioeconomic disadvantage.

7.3 DISABILITY

It is now recognized that disability is an issue for national social development because of the relationship between disability on the one hand and poverty, gender inequality, social exclusion and other forms of social disadvantage and marginalisation, on the other (Elwan, 1999). Poverty is a major contributor to disability, and disabled individuals and groups are poorer than their counterparts and are at greater risk of slipping into, or deeper into, poverty.

In the United States a clear relationship has been demonstrated between poverty and risk for disability, at least for children, with increasing childhood disability among lower socio-economic groups (Fujiura, & Yamaki, 2000). Similarly, in South Africa, the population of people with disabilities is also disproportionately represented among the poor. The 1999 October Household Survey (OHS) data, for example, show that the disability rate is twice as high among individuals living in households with monthly incomes below R800 per month, compared to individuals living in households with monthly incomes above R10 000 a month – amongst whom only two percent were categorised as disabled (Woolard, 2002).

In general, people with disabilities and their families are poorer than the rest of the population. In many of the industrialised countries, the presence of a disability has been shown to be associated with lower levels of income and an increased likelihood of being in poverty. Employment rates for people with disabilities are usually lower, and both employment and income appear to be negatively associated with the severity of the disability. People with disabilities are also likely to have lower educational and literacy levels than the rest

of the population and, when people with disabilities are employed, they are likely to be under-employed relative to their levels of training. They are also less likely to have savings and other assets than the non-disabled population. (Elwan, 1999; Emmett, 2003).

The assessment and measurement of disability is a complex matter as the term disability denotes both subjective and objective conditions. Subjectively, a disability can be perceived to be present or absent, and mild or severe, depending on a range of conditions, including coping capacity, social support and environmental challenges. Impairment is an objective condition, diagnosable by an expert that might have only partial overlap with a subjectively perceived disability. For example, a person could lose a finger in an occupation accident. The loss of a finger is an impairment. However, this does not necessarily mean that the person experiences a severe disability, because they may be able to compensate fully for their loss in their daily and work activities as a result of which finger is lost, their pre-existing manual dexterity, the nature of the work they do, their access to rehabilitative services and prostheses, and so on. In contrast, childhood autism may not be easily diagnosed objectively as impairment, but is nonetheless experienced by a child and her caregivers as a very significant disability. Problems of reference and meaning relating to what a disability is and how it is subjectively and objectively perceived, poses serious problems for surveys such as the Status of the Youth Report.

Statistics South Africa has collected data on disability in the census and in the October Household Surveys. These data are limited, say Schneider *et al.* (1999), precisely because they do not provide any reference point for what a disability is, its severity or impact on function, and because these survey instruments tend to conflate the terms impairment and disability. However, the census and national surveys do provide some rough indication of the extent of reported disability in the population. Similarly, in the Status of the Youth Report, the question was posed "Do you have a disability?" - the responses to which give a rough indication of the distribution of disability among young people.

International estimates of moderate to severe disability range from 4.47 percent in developing countries and 7.73 percent in developed countries (Coleridge, 1993). The higher rates in developed countries is attributed to better awareness, reporting and recording, as well as to improved survival of people with disabilities. According to Schneider *et al.* (1999), local South Africa surveys, including the 1996 and 2001 census put the figure in South Africa between four percent and seven percent. The 1996 Census gave a prevalence rate of 6.6 percent (which translates into 2.66 million people with one or more disabilities). The 2001 Census gave a prevalence rate of 5.03 percent (2.26 million people). The prevalence rates from the two censuses are not comparable, however, as the definition of disability used in Census 2001 is not the same as that used in Census 1996. This makes it difficult to draw any conclusion from comparisons across the time period between the two censuses. Further breakdown of the 2001 Census data, for example in terms of age groups, is not yet available from Statistics South Africa.

In 1999, the Community Agency for Social Enquiry (CASE) was commissioned by the Department of Health to conduct a national survey to determine the rate and nature of disability in South Africa. A sample of 9 260 households was achieved. The survey measured nine types of disability but was not able to differentiate severity of disability within each type. According to the CASE survey, prevalence of disability was 5.9 percent, with the Eastern Cape having the highest rate (8.9%), followed by KwaZulu-Natal (6.7%), Northern Province (6.3), Free State (5.8%), Gauteng (5.2%), Mpumalanga, Northern Cape (4.5%), Western Cape (3.8%), and North West (3.1%). The prevalence was highest amongst African people (6.1%), followed by White

(5.3%), Indian (4.8%) and Coloured people (4.5%). On average, the prevalence rate was higher in urban than rural areas.

As Schneider *et al.* (1999) discuss, the prevalence rates reflect both the actual prevalence of disability, with the poorest provinces having the highest rates of disability, as well as the influence of heightened reporting, increased survival, and greater risk in urban areas due to injuries, as well as movement to urban areas by disabled people in search of services.

Disability by age category in the CASE survey is given in two tables from the report (see Tables 149 and 150).

Table 149: Disability by age category in the 1999 CASE survey

Age categories	Prevalence rate (%)	Age categories	Prevalence rate (%)
0-5	1.6	46-50	9.3
6-10	3.3	51-55	12.0
11-15	4.5	56-60	14.0
16-20	4.1	61-65	14.0
21-25	4.6	66-70	12.0
26-30	5.1	71-75	13.0
31-35	5.1	76-80	21.0
36-40	6.0	81+	24.0
41-45	7.5		

Source: Schneider et al, 1999: 16

Table 150: Disability by age category in the 1999 CASE survey

Age categories (years)	African (%)	Coloured (%)	Indian (%)	White (%)	Total (%)
1-5	1.7	0.6	1.3	1.5	1.6
6-10	3.3	1.7	1.0	5.6	3.2
11-15	4.7	2.6	1.9	5.2	4.5
16-20	4.6	2.1	1.0	2.4	4.1
21-25	5.1	3.4	3.0	1.4	4.6
26-30	5.3	5.4	3.5	4.1	5.1
31-35	5.2	5.1	3.4	5.1	5.1
36-40	6.6	3.7	5.2	5.0	6.0
41-45	8.2	4.8	5.9	6.8	7.5
46-50	10.1	9.0	5.5	7.7	9.3
51-55	12.6	12.7	13.4	9.0	11.9
56-60	15.3	14.8	9.3	8.2	13.7
61-65	16.6	12.3	17.1	7.8	14.3
66-70	14.3	4.4	-	9.3	12.2
71-75	13.9	18.2	-	9.6	13.4
76-80	23.8	-	-	13.3	20.9
81+	27.5	-	-	18.6	24.1

Source: Schneider et al, 1999: 16

The data demonstrate the increase in prevalence of disability with age. Disability in the age groups 16 to 35 years varied between 4.1 percent and 5.1 percent. African people between the ages of 16 and 25 years, and above the age of 56 years, are more likely to have a disability than their peers in the other population groups.

According to Oranje (2003), the period between 1996 and 2001 was a mixed bag for people with disabilities, with some small positive changes, and some loss of gains, in education, employment, income and occupation over the five-year period. Some of the key findings reported were:

EDUCATION:

- Nationally, there was a small decrease in the number of people with disabilities who had no schooling in 2001 (33.8%) as compared to 1996 (34.6%).
- The percentage of people with disabilities with Matriculation increased slightly from 7.1 percent in 1996 to 8.9 percent in 2001 and those with a Higher Education qualification from 2.5 percent in 1996 to 3.7 percent in 2001.
- Stronger increases were recorded in the percentage of disabled Coloured and Indian men and women and disabled African men with a Matriculation or Higher Education.

These results suggest uneven advances in the education of people with disabilities, with a greater number of people with disabilities being excluded from formal education. At the same time, though, amongst those with access to education, an increase in completion of secondary schooling and tertiary education, especially among the previously disadvantaged population groups.

EMPLOYMENT:

- Unemployment amongst people with disabilities underwent a dramatic drop of 5.9 percent, down from 21.6 percent in 1996 to 15.7 percent in 2001.
- The drop in the unemployment rate for disabled women (6.9%) was larger than that of men (4.6%), with the most significant decreases in unemployment taking place amongst African men and women with disabilities.

Against the backdrop of increasing unemployment, there is thus some indication of a differential dent in unemployment among individuals with disabilities, particularly amongst African people. This could reflect the impact of more equitable hiring practices of people with disabilities.

INCOME:

- Between 1996 and 2001 the percentage of employed men with disabilities who earned less than R2 500 a month in 1996-terms dropped by 3.1 percent, down from 84.4 percent in 1996 to 81.3 percent in 2001. In the same period, the percentage of employed women with disabilities who fell into this category dropped by 2.5 percent from 88.2 percent to 85.6 percent.
- Between 1996 and 2001 Indian and White persons with disabilities experienced sizeable drops in the percentage of the group earning less than R2500 per month in 1996-terms, while Coloured and African people with disabilities experienced slight increases.

That is, amongst those men and women with disabilities who are employed, there are indications of improved earnings except amongst Coloured and African people.

OCCUPATION:

- The percentage of women with disabilities employed in the “Professionals-category” declined by 6.3 percent, down from 10.7 percent in 1996 to 4.4 percent in 2001. In the case of men with disabilities, the percentage dropped by 0.5 percent, down from 5.3 percent in 1996 to 4.8 percent in 2001.
- The percentage of people with disabilities employed in “Elementary” positions increased by 2.3 percent, up from 32.4 percent in 1996 to 34.7 percent in 2001. In the case of men the percentage employed in “elementary” positions increased by 5.9 percent, down from 20.1 percent in 1996 to 26.0 percent in 2001.

This data indicates that jobs at the higher levels were lost while people with disabilities gained jobs at the lowest levels.

In the SYR survey, less than four percent (3.6%) of youth reported having a disability. Of those young people who reported having a disability, most were African (4%) or Coloured (3.5%). White youth reported very low rates of disability (1.5%) and no Indian youth in the survey reported having a disability. However, it should be noted that the total numbers of White and Indian youth surveyed are not sufficient to give an accurate prevalence of disability. The overall rate of disability among young people 18 to 35 years of age is lower than was found in the CASE report across the full age spectrum, and the differences are attributable to higher rates of disability among older aged people in the general population. The pattern of findings of disability across population groups in the two studies is similar, with African youth having the highest rate of disability, and White youth the lowest.

Youth who reported having a disability were fairly evenly distributed across metropolitan (4.2%), non-metropolitan urban areas (3.8%) and rural areas (3.1%). However, Mpumalanga had the highest rate of disability (8.9%) and Northern Cape, Free State and KwaZulu-Natal the lowest rates (less than 2%). While Mpumalanga is one of the poorest province and therefore could be expected to have high rates of disability, the very low rates reported in KwaZulu-Natal and Free State, also poor provinces, have to be attributed either to low levels of awareness of disabilities and/or sampling bias.

As with reported poor health, disability was more frequently reported among poorly educated youth (7.6% of youth with only primary education), than among young people with secondary education (2.7%), and young people with degrees (1.3%). Differences in reported disability by educational status are statistically significant. Put another way, young people with only primary education or less are 6 times more likely to have a disability than a young person with a degree. This finding demonstrates tangibly the spiral relationship between disadvantage and disability.

With respect to employment, the numbers of young people with disabilities in the sample are small, and the data are thus not very reliable. Nonetheless, the findings from the survey are that 41 percent of youth reporting a disability were employed, 4.2 percent were self-employed, and 45.8 percent were unemployed. This indicates that unemployment amongst young people with disabilities is higher than amongst young people in general.

Consistent with international findings, nearly twice as many young men reported having a disability (4.7%) as compared to young women (2.6%). This is attributed to the higher rates of intentional and unintentional injury among young men as compared to young women, as is illustrated later in the report. There were no differences between the older and younger age groups surveyed.

Of the young people who reported that they had a disability, only about half (56%) were receiving a disability grant. Most Coloured (81%) and White (80%) youth who reported a disability were receiving a disability grant. However, only 53 percent of African youth who reported a disability received a disability grant. This suggests a problem of serious lack of provision of social security for African youth with a disability, particularly if they live outside of metropolitan areas. Fewer youth outside metropolitan areas were receiving disability grants as compared to youth in urban non-metropolitan and rural areas. Of all youth who were receiving disability grants, 47.9 percent live in metropolitan areas, 30.1 percent in rural areas, and 21.9 percent in urban non-metropolitan areas.

The same number of men and women, just over half of those who indicated they had a disability, reported receiving a disability grant. There does not appear to be a gender bias in determining recipients of social assistance for individuals with a disability.

7.4 TOBACCO, ALCOHOL AND DRUG USE

Measures of substance use are not routinely standardized across international or South African studies, making comparisons across data sets difficult. Nonetheless, two trends seem indisputable: in general, substance use is increasing among young people and gender differentials in substance use are narrowing. That is, proportionately, substance use amongst girls is increasing very fast and, amongst certain groups, the rates of substance use among young men and women are indistinguishable. These trends apply equally to tobacco, alcohol and drug use (Resnick *et al.*, 1997).

7.4.1 TOBACCO

The link between tobacco smoking and serious diseases including cancer and coronary heart disease is well established, as is the link between tobacco use and other youth risk behaviours, including alcohol use and unplanned teenage pregnancy (Dryfoos, 1990; Jessor, 1998). Several international studies have shown that youth risk behaviour tends to cluster in a syndrome that includes substance use (Flisher *et al.*, 1996).

Despite public health efforts to discourage smoking, tobacco use worldwide has increased during the last decade, especially among young people, as well as among women specifically (Peto *et al.*, 1992). Smoking is increasing among what were previously largely non-smoking groups, such as young African women, who are now explicitly targeted by advertising campaigns. Smoking amongst young people is important despite the fact that most of the mortality from tobacco use occurs later in life as a result of chronic lung and cardiovascular disease. The greatest proportion of smokers take up the habit in adolescence, and there is evidence that young people who do not smoke before 20 years of age are less likely to take up the habit later (WHO/UNICEF, 1995).

A 1995 study reported that 34 percent of adult South Africans, or a total of seven million adults, smoked cigarettes. This overall figure had increased by one percent per year since 1992. From February 1995 to October 1996, smoking prevalence in the 18–24 year age group increased from 31 percent to 36 percent

(Reddy, Meyer-Weitz & Yach, 1996). A subsequent study (Meyer-Weitz *et al.*) reported that the smoking prevalence rate for adults dropped to 25 percent in a 1998 survey. This corresponds with the smoking rate of 24 percent obtained from the South African Demographic and Health Survey (SADHS). The drop in smoking rates during this period is attributed to the introduction of tobacco control legislation.

Fifteen percent of young people in the CASE (2000) study reported that they smoked cigarettes. White young people had the highest rates and African young people the lowest rates of smoking, a contrast that can also be examined by looking at the percentages of young people in each population group who reported that they have never smoked – 83 percent of African youth in this age range have never smoked, 70 percent of Indian youth, 62 percent of Coloured youth, and 58 percent of White youth.

In a study of 678 South African university students between the ages of 18 and 24 years, Birkett (2001) found that nine percent of the sample smoked 10 cigarettes or more a day, with little variation between men and women. She reported that the figure was comparable to the USA (13%) but lower than Australia (24%) in comparable age samples.

In the Youth Risk Behaviour Survey conducted by the Medical Research Council in 2002, Reddy *et al.* (2003) reported that 21.1 percent of youth in the age groups 14 to 18 years were current smokers, defined as smoking on at least one day during the past month. Using a stricter definition - smoking on 20 days or more during the past month - 6.5 percent of youth in this young age group were classified as current smokers.

In the SYR survey, close to a third of young people reported that they currently smoke, with significant variation by race and gender (see Table 151). Across all four-population groups, more men (35%) smoked than women (14.2%). White youth had the highest rate of smoking (46.6%), followed by Coloured youth (39.6%), with parity between men and women in both the White and Coloured groups. Young African women (7.9%) have the lowest rate of smoking, and young White women have the highest rate of smoking. The results show rising smoking rates among young African women, and extremely high rates of smoking among young White women. Speculation about these female rates of smoking are that young women are targeted as a “new” market group by cigarette advertising, as well as the fact that young women believe that smoking helps them to control their weight, or at least that smoking cessation is accompanied by weight gain.

Table 151: Youth who currently smoke by gender and race, 2003

Population group	Male	Female	Total by race
African	25.9%	7.9%	19%
Coloured	34.2%	30.8%	39.6%
Indian	47.5%	19.4%	33%
White	45.2%	47.8%	46.6%
Total by gender	35%	14.2%	29.6%

The number of young people in this age group, who reported smoking, nearly a third, is a considerable pick up from the rates presented in the Youth Risk Behaviour Survey, which surveyed younger age groups. In the same vein, in the SYR survey, more youth in the older age group (26.6%) reported smoking as compared to the younger age group (22.3%), suggesting a strong age-related trend for increased smoking with age. An increase in smoking with age is consistently found in studies of young people in other parts of the world (Gabhain & Francois, 2000).

In terms of residence, metropolitan youth were more likely to smoke (33%), than youth living in other urban areas (23%) and youth living in rural areas (17.6%). As has been found in other studies internationally, smoking is related to social class, with better off youth being more likely to smoke than poorer youth. In this survey, the correlation between smoking and personal income was statistically significant. Similarly, young people with higher levels of education were significantly more likely to smoke than young people with lower levels of education. These results are shown in Table 152 below.

Table 152: Youth who currently smoke by education, 2003

Educational group	Current smokers (%)
<Grade 5	23.9%
Primary education	18.9%
Secondary education	21.8%
Post-matriculation	28.6%
Degree	35.4%

Consistent with the hypothesis that youth risk behaviours cluster syndromically, smoking and drinking as well as drug use were also found to be significantly inter-related.

In conclusion, data from the SYR survey indicate an increase in smoking with age and with access to discretionary income. Smoking is highest among young White women (48%), and lowest among young African women (8%). Smoking is significantly related to alcohol and drug use.

7.4.2 ALCOHOL

There is a large body of literature on the effects of young people's alcohol use in developed countries. For example, in the United States, the most significant effects of youth drinking are road traffic accidents, as well as injury and death from fire and violence (Rogers, Harris & Jarmuskewicz, 1987). There has been less research in developing countries, but what studies have been done indicate that alcohol use among young people is increasing (Acuda, 1986).

According to a 1998 HSRC report (Rocha-Silva, Mokoko & Malaka, 1998), there was a general rise in per capita alcohol intake among the South African population between 1985 and 1995, from about seven percent in 1985 to about ten percent in 1995. At the same time, there was an increase in the proportions in the population 15 years and older with risky levels of intake, as well as a general increase in the proportions of drivers, and especially pedestrians, with raised blood alcohol levels. The same report concluded from a number of sample surveys that the proportion of heavy drinkers, defined in terms of 10cl of alcohol per day, was higher among African men as well as among young people 14 years and older, as compared to other groups

The CASE (2000) survey reported that 68 percent of young people said they never drank alcohol. Significant cross-over racial effects were found, in that more African than White youth said that alcohol was a problem in their community, but 74 percent of African youth reported that they never drank alcohol compared to only 19 percent of White youth in this age range who said they never drank alcohol.

Birkett (2001), in a study of South African university students, found heavy drinking in this age range, defined as "during the past month having 6+ alcoholic drinks at one sitting". A third of students reported this level of alcohol use between one and five times a month, and ten percent reported this level of alcohol use on more

than five occasions during the previous month. Although more men reported high levels of alcohol use, the gender differences were small, indicating high alcohol use amongst female university students.

Using a wider definition of drinking, Reddy *et al.* (2003) reported from the Youth Risk Behaviour Survey that 31.8 percent of young people, 14 to 18 years of age, had drunk alcohol on one or more days during the past month.

In the SYR survey, close to half of all young people (42%) report never drinking alcohol, 34.1 percent said they drank alcohol occasionally, and 23.9 percent said that they drank alcohol at least once a week. Three percent of young people said they drank alcohol everyday. As there was little difference between the older and young age groups surveyed in weekly drinking, these figures suggest a considerable increase in drinking amongst young people when compared to the CASE (2000) survey in which 68 percent of young people said they never drank alcohol.

Many more men (4.6%) than women (1.6%) reported drinking everyday. Along the same lines, considerably more women (50.4%) than men (32.9%) reported that they never drank alcohol. The percentages of youth, who reported drinking alcohol at least once a week, are shown in Table 153 below.

Table 153: Youth who report drinking alcohol at least one a week, 2003

Population group	Male	Female	Total by race
African	29%	14.6%	23.3%
Coloured	25%	13.2%	19.1%
Indian	35.5%	19.3%	26.4%
White	32.2%	32.6%	32.4%
Total by gender	29.1%	15.9% ⁵	23.9%

White youth had the highest rates of at-least-weekly drinking (32.4%) and Coloured youth the lowest (19.1%), with Indian (26.4%) and African (23.3%) youth in between. Among White youth, women drink alcohol at least once a week at the same rate as men, 32.6 percent and 32.2 percent, respectively. In all the other groups (African, Indian and Coloured youth) about half the number of women as of men drink alcohol at least once a week. In general, though, the data shows the narrowing of the gender gap in alcohol use, with complete parity among White youth.

Although there was a higher rate of at-least-weekly drinking among metropolitan youth (27.5%), the differences by residential area were not statistically significant, and more than a fifth of young people in urban non-metropolitan (23%) and rural areas (21.6%) reported weekly, or more frequent, drinking

As with smoking, daily drinking is associated with higher education (at least secondary schooling), but not with the highest levels (post-matriculation and degree qualifications). The differences between the groups, with poorer educated youth reporting the lowest level of daily drinking, followed by post-matriculation and degree qualified youth, and the highest level among youth with secondary schooling was statistically significant. In the same vein, frequent drinking is statistically correlated with personal monthly income. The results show that, up to a threshold, daily drinking shows a close association with proxies of socioeconomic status, with the highest social status groups showing lower than threshold levels of daily drinking.

7.4.3 DRUG USE

There is a paucity of information on the extent of drug use among the general population in South Africa, with most research focusing on small and geographically limited samples or specific populations such as

arrestees or people admitted into rehabilitation programmes (see, for example, Roch-Silva, 2001; Leggett, 2002). However, available trend data such as that collected by the South African Community Epidemiology Network on Drug Use (SACENDU) show a steady increase in drug use of all kinds, with indications of sharp increases in cocaine, club drugs and, in some areas, heroin (Leggett, 2002:4). Available data also suggest that young people are disproportionately involved in drug use, with drug use often beginning in the early teenage years. A study of drug use among arrestees in three major cities in South Africa, for example, found that 66 percent of those under the age of 20 years tested positive for some substance (Leggett, 2002).

The Birkett (2001) university study found that close to ten percent of students had used marijuana during the last month, and the same percentage (10%) had used one of a number of drugs including mandrax, ecstasy, cocaine, psychedelics, barbiturates and amphetamines. In all cases, more White youth reported using drugs than African or Indian students. Gender differences, however, were minimal, with as many, or more, young women using drugs as young men. The Birkett data is shown in Table 154 below.

Table 154: University students who report drug use in the previous month

Population group	Marijuana	Other drugs
African	6.1%	4.5%
Indian	2.6%	3.2%
White	15.4%	16.5%
Gender		
Male	10.7%	9.7%
Female	9.1%	10.7%

Source: Birkett, 2001

Both the CASE (2000) and the loveLife (2001) national surveys reported that drug use was more common among White youth, as was found in the Birkett study. This finding is confirmed in the SYR survey. Overall, thirteen percent of youth reported ever having used drugs. By population group, 33.6 percent of White youth reported ever having used drugs, 19.8 percent of Indian youth, 18.5 percent of Coloured youth and ten percent of African youth. The numbers of youth who reported having used a drug substance at any time in their life did not differ between the younger and older age groups differentiated in the survey.

In all population groups, except Whites, twice the number of men as compared to women report having used drugs. Overall, 17.5 percent of men reported ever having used drugs, compared to 9.6 percent of women. Among White respondents, the numbers of men and women who report having used drugs is much the same. As with smoking and drinking, this shows a trend towards gender parity in substance use – a situation already clearly manifest among White youth.

A larger number of metropolitan youth (19.9%) reported having used drugs, compared to 11.7 percent of young people in rural areas, and 6.9 percent of youth in urban non-metropolitan areas (6.9%). To a large degree this reflects availability of drug substances, in the same way that provincial data does. Western Cape (18.9%) and Gauteng (16.5%) had the highest reported lifetime use of drugs, with Limpopo (4.3%) and Northern Cape (1.4%) the lowest.

Drug use increases with education level, as shown in Table 155, and does not show the threshold effect evident with alcohol use. Youth with degrees were more likely to use drugs than their less educated counterparts.

Table 155: Youth who report having ever used drugs by education, 2003

Educational group	Ever used drugs (%)
<Grade 5	13.6%
Primary education	5.7%
Secondary education	10.5%
Post-matriculation	22.0%
Degree	25.4%

Although drug use reported in this study appears to be very high, the measure used is considerably broader (“Have you ever used a drug substance in your life?”) than was the metric used in the CASE, loveLife and Birkett surveys.

7.5 MENTAL HEALTH: THOUGHTS OF COMMITTING SUICIDE

Mental disorders are a major cause of disability worldwide (Murray & Lopez, 1996). The World Health Organization estimates that one in four people (25%) experience a mental disorder at some stage in their life (World Health Report, 2001). Five of the 10 leading causes of disability worldwide among people between the ages of 15 and 44 years of age in 1990 were mental illnesses or conditions related to mental disorder. These are unipolar major depression, road traffic accidents, alcohol abuse, self-inflicted injuries, bipolar disorder, and violence. Together, these five causes account for one third (30.8%) of all Disability Adjusted Life Years (DALYS). Poverty and associated conditions of ill health, lack of education, unemployment, deprivation, homelessness, social exclusion and violence are all associated with an increasing burden of mental ill health.

The first symptoms of major mental illness, particularly depression and schizophrenia, usually appear during adolescence and young adulthood (Sorenson, Rutter & Aneshensel, 1991). However, psychiatric illness and mental disorder are generally grossly under-diagnosed and under-reported in most developing countries. In fact, several recent studies indicate that mental disorders may occur at a higher rate in developing countries, particularly depression, associated with poverty and chronic stress (German, 1987; Rumble *et al.*, 1996; Thom, Zwi & Reinach, 1993). Psychiatric conditions in young people may be especially un- and under-recognised – “It is likely that a high proportion of psychiatric conditions in young people never reach the notice of health services and even among those sufferers who do attend health services, a high proportion will not be diagnosed as having a psychiatric illness” (WHO/UNICEF, 1995; p 36).

One of the most serious outcomes of mental disorder, particularly but not limited to depression, is suicide. There is evidence that suicide is increasing among young people in some countries in the developing world, such as Sri Lanka, Barbados and China (WHO/UNICEF, 1995). In the 45 years across which data is available, suicide rates have been found to have increased by 60 percent worldwide. Suicide is now among the three leading causes of death among people aged 15-44 years (World Health Organization, 2000). Suicide attempts are up to 20 times more frequent than completed suicide. Mental disorders are associated with more than 90 percent of all cases of suicide. Youth surveys indicate that depressive affect, or feeling low, on a weekly basis, tends to be high amongst young people, averaging about 25 percent. It is higher among girls than boys and increases with age (Currie *et al.*, 2000).

In South Africa about 10,000 people commit suicide yearly. There has been an increase in suicide rates, and suicidal behavior among African South Africans over the last ten years, as discerned from reports made in 1992 (Meel, 2003). According to the 2002 report of the National Injury Mortality Surveillance System

(Matzopoulos, Seedat & Cassim, 2003), approximately ten percent of all mortality attributable to injury is due to suicide, and suicides peak among youth aged 20 to 34 years.

The Birkett (2001) university study used a depression measure that indicated that approximately 12 percent of students reported symptoms that indicated that they were suffering from depression, 13 percent from moderate depression, and 12.5 percent from severe depression. Depression scores were higher among women than men. Similarly, more women experienced suicidal ideation than men – 13.7 percent of women and 7.6 percent of men reported in this study that, during the previous six months, they had had thoughts of ending their life. Indian youth reported the highest rates of suicidal ideation (17.3%); followed by African (11%), and White youth (7.8%).

Reddy *et al.* (2003), in the 2002 Youth Risk Behaviour Survey, reported that 19 percent of youth 14 to 18 years of age “had ever considered attempting suicide” in the past six months, with no variation by race or gender. Nationally, 15.8 percent of young people in the MRC study “had made a plan to commit suicide in the past six months”, with no differences by race or gender.

Nearly ten percent of young people (8.3%) in the SYR survey said they had thought about committing suicide in the previous year. Of these, 12.7 percent were Coloured, 8.5 percent African, 5.6 percent White and less than one percent were Indian. The inconsistencies with respect to Indian youth in the SYR and Birkett surveys are probably attributable to the small sample size of Indian youth in the SYR survey.

Equal numbers of young men and women reported having considered suicide during the previous 12 months. In terms of residence, a higher proportion of youth in metropolitan areas (11.5%) had seriously thought about suicide, as compared to youth in rural (7.4%) and in urban non-metropolitan areas (5.4%).

More of the younger aged group surveyed, that is 18 to 24 years (10.1%), had seriously considered committing suicide, as compared to the older age group, 25 to 25 years of age (5.8%).

Taken together, the data suggest that, as an indicator of mental ill health, suicidal ideation is increasing among younger people and especially among young people living in urban areas. Internationally, increases in suicide rates, suicide ideation and suicidal thoughts among young people are associated with increased expectations of self and the world, and frustration at not being able to attain idealized states of achievement and performance (Pillay & Wassenaar, 1991; 1997). Despite the promulgation of the Mental Health Act that attempts to mainstream mental health as part of the primary health care approach, South Africa is yet to develop a national suicide prevention strategy. The impact of rapid socio-political transition, unfulfilled expectations with the advent of democracy and the rampant HIV/AIDS epidemic make such a policy a national priority.

7.6 SEXUAL HEALTH AND HIV AND AIDS

Of all the health conditions associated with young people, HIV/AIDS is the most critical. HIV/AIDS is of importance not only because young people are most vulnerable to infection, but also because there is growing consensus that the best way to halt the spread of AIDS is to focus on youth and to prevent new infections (UNICEF, UNAIDS, WHO, 2002). On a global level, it has been shown that currently more than half of all people newly infected with HIV are between 15 and 24 years of age. Prevalence rates for South Africa also show that young people, 15-35 years of age (the National Youth Commission’s definition of youth), are at the greatest risk of infection.

It is estimated that more than 60 million people around the world have been infected with HIV/AIDS and that 20 million of these people have already died (Shisana & Simbayi 2002). In general, it has been shown that in communities with high sero-prevalence rates, most new HIV infections occur during adolescence (Venier & Ross, 1997, cited by Leclerc-Madlala, 2002: 21). Abt Associates estimated in 2001 that over 60 percent of HIV infections in South Africa occurred before the age of 25 years (Leclerc-Madlala, 2002: 21), and an extensive international study of HIV/AIDS and youth maintains that “more than half of those newly infected with HIV today are between 15 and 24 years old” (UNICEF, UNAIDS, WHO, 2002:5).

7.6.1 PREVALENCE

Until recently, the major source of information on HIV prevalence rates was the national sentinel surveys of pregnant women attending public sector antenatal clinics, conducted annually by the Department of Health since 1990. Distribution of HIV prevalence among the different age groups for 2000 to 2002 is presented in Table 156 below.

Table 156: HIV prevalence by age group for antenatal clinic attendees in South Africa 2000-2002

Age group	2000		2001		2002	
	Estimate	95% CI	Estimate	95% CI	Estimate	95% CI
<20	16.1	14.5-17.7	15.4	13.8-16.9	14.8	13.4-16.1
20-24	29.1	27.4-30.8	28.4	26.5-30.2	29.1	27.5-30.6
25-29	30.6	28.8-32.4	31.4	29.5-33.3	34.5	32.6-36.4
30-34	23.3	21.5-25.1	25.6	23.5-27.7	29.5	27.4-31.6
35-39	15.8	13.9-17.7	19.3	17.0-21.5	19.8	17.5-22.0
40+	11.0	7.9-14.2	9.8	7.0-12.6	17.2	13.5-20.9

Department of Health, 2003: 9

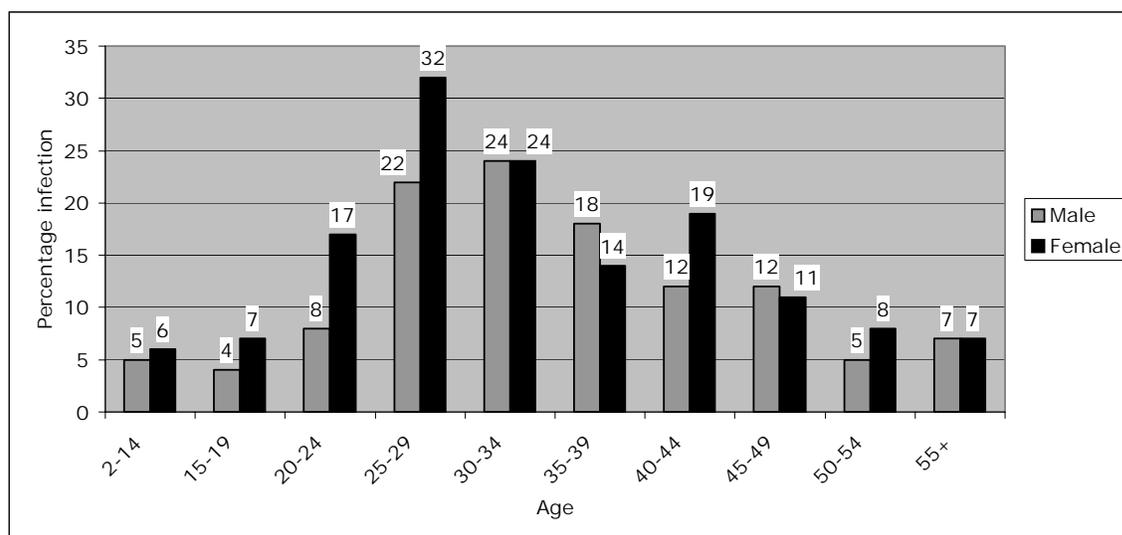
While the use of antenatal data to determine prevalence rates has several limitations, the table shows that women in the 25-29 year age group consistently had the highest rates of infection, followed by those in the 30-34 year age group and those aged 20-24 years. However, as Shisana & Simbayi (2002:1) point out, antenatal surveys are limited in that they draw on a select segment of the population, namely sexually active women who are pregnant and who use the public health services. This makes it difficult to draw conclusions about other sections of the population - males, those who are not nor have ever been sexually active, and those who use private health services. Furthermore, persons who practice HIV prevention through the use of condoms, or use condoms for contraception, are less likely to be included among antenatal clinic attendees. Studies have also shown that HIV can lower fertility. There is therefore potential for both overestimation and underestimation of prevalence rates using this method of surveillance.

The first South African National HIV Prevalence, Behavioural Risks and Mass Media Study conducted by the HSRC and its research partners (Shisana & Simbayi, 2002) therefore provides a more comprehensive picture of HIV prevalence in South Africa. A total of 9 963 people were interviewed in the survey and, of these, 8 840 agreed to provide a specimen for HIV testing. Prevalence rates by age and gender are presented in Figure 26.

While there are some discrepancies between the results of the HSRC survey and the antenatal data, particularly for the age groups between 15 and 39 years, the general trends in the two surveys are similar. In

particular, the HSRC survey also shows high rates of infection in the 25-29 year and the 30-34 year age groups, but comparatively lower rates for the 20-24 year category. In general, both datasets indicate the highest prevalence among young people when the broad definition of youth is used. More recently, the large national prevalence survey of young people conducted by the Reproductive Health Research Unit (RHRU) at the University of Witwatersrand, on behalf of loveLife, has confirmed the general trends found in the HSRC study (Pettifor et al., 2004).

Figure 26: Prevalence of HIV by gender and age, South Africa 2002

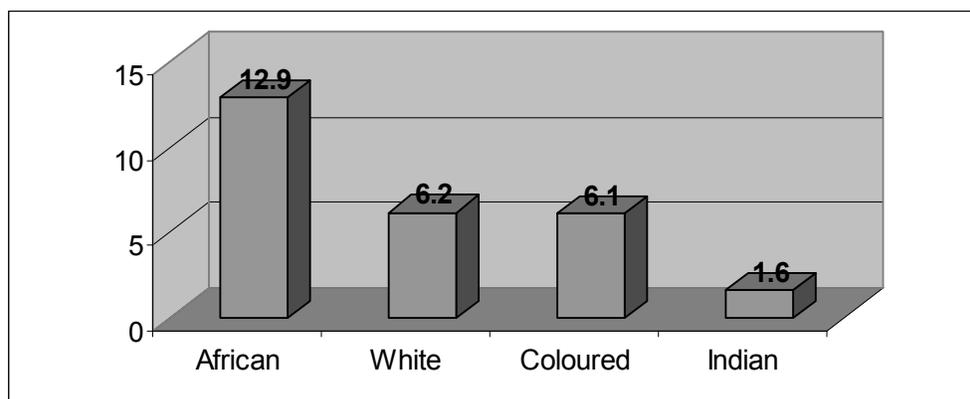


Source: Shisana & Simbayi, 2002:52

The HSRC data show a significant gender difference in HIV prevalence, with men, at 11.5 percent, and women at 15 percent. For African men, the rate is 13.5 percent as against 17.6 percent for African women. For the other population groups, there were no statistically significant gender differences. Together the HSRC and RHRU studies suggest that about 15 percent of young women and five percent of young men aged 15-24 years of age in South Africa are HIV infected.

Overall, the HSRC study found clear differences in infection rates between the population groups as illustrated in Figure 27. The percentage of African people (12.9%) who were HIV-positive was twice as high as those for White (6.2%) and Coloured people (6.1%), while the prevalence rate for Indian people was significantly lower at 1.6 percent.

Figure 27: Population group infection rates (%), 2002



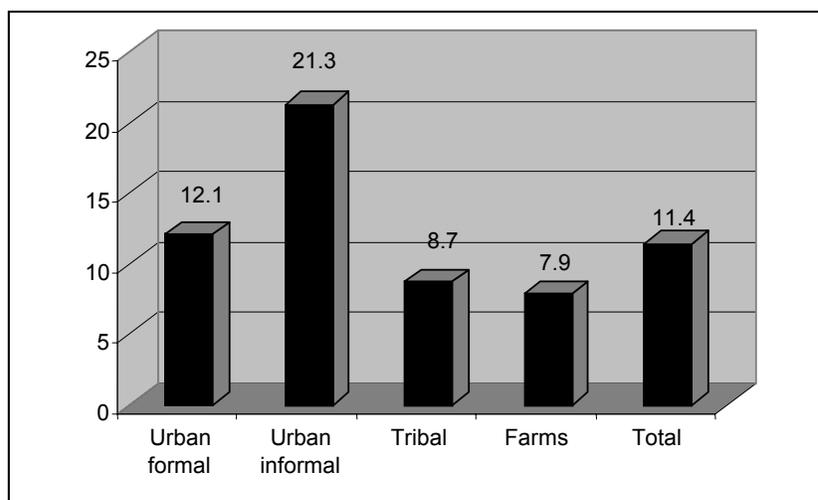
Source: Shisana & Simbayi, 2002:46

Whichever set of findings one consults, whether the antenatal annual survey data, the HSRC 2002 prevalence survey or the RHRU 2003 prevalence survey, it is clear that HIV/AIDS constitutes a major threat to South African youth.

While several explanations exist for variations in the prevalence rates found in the different surveys, the most likely relate to different sampling frames used. For example, Shisana & Simbayi (2002) maintain that all of the antenatal sentinel sites in KwaZulu-Natal are located along major roads, and a number of studies have shown that sero-prevalence is higher in communities and trading centres located on or near main roads.

Another important explanation of differences in results arises from the distribution of people living in different types of settlements, in particular informal urban settlements. The Nelson Mandela/HSRC study showed a high HIV prevalence to be associated with urban informal settlements. Figure 28 demonstrates that HIV prevalence rates varied dramatically according to the kinds of localities in which people lived. In particular, HIV prevalence was almost twice as high in urban informal areas than urban formal areas. While there were also differences between the urban formal areas and the two types of rural areas, these were not large enough to be statistically significant.

Figure 28: HIV prevalence rates by residential location 2002



Source: Shisana & Simbayi, 2002

7.6.2 PREVENTATIVE MEASURES

There are indications that younger people, with higher risk for infection, may also be more likely to adopt preventative measures than older people. This is a result of a combination of increased awareness of the risk that HIV infection poses to young people in South Africa, as well as increased exposure to HIV prevention messages and a greater propensity to engage in new behaviours.

Younger people generally face higher risks of infection because fewer of them are married¹³ or have single partner relationships. They are also more likely to be sexually active and/or to have sex more frequently than older people. However, even when only young people are considered, there are indications of greater change in the behaviour of the two youngest age groups (15-19 and 20-24 years) than in the 25-29 year old group. This is consistent with international findings that attest to the fact that enduring patterns of healthy behaviour can more easily be established among younger people: "Establishing healthy patterns from the start is easier than changing risky behaviours already entrenched" (UNICEF, UNAIDS, WHO, 2002:7).

In relation to condom use, for example, younger people in the 2002 HSRC study reported higher rates of condom use than older people. For male respondents, 57.1 percent of the 15-24 year age group reported using a condom during last sexual intercourse, in contrast with 26.7 percent of those in the 25-49 year age group and 8 percent of the 50 years and older age group. For women, the percentages for the three age groups were 46.1, 19.7 and 5.6 percent, respectively (Shisana & Simbayi, 2002:75).

South African studies using qualitative methods to investigate the forces shaping sexual practices and behaviours have begun to show evidence that in sites with high levels of media penetration, young people are beginning to show signs of responding to reduce the risk of HIV infection and "cultures of risk prevention which are self perpetuating", such as condom use, are beginning to develop (Kelly, 2001 cited by Leclerc-Madlala, 2002:25). Among other preventive beliefs that are taking hold among young people, is the

¹³ Of course, marriage on its own is not necessarily a protection against HIV infection, particularly in situations where husbands are older (UNICEF, UNAIDS, WHO, 2002: 18), and where extra-marital sexual relationships are common.

idea of being faithful to one partner, which young people themselves report to be socially acceptable and relatively easy to achieve.

While some young people appear to be responding appropriately to prevention campaigns, many others are not. Aaro *et al.*'s (2003) review of research on the factors promoting and perpetuating unsafe sexual behaviour points to the complexity of sexual behaviour. Their work, along with that of other researchers (e.g. Leclerc-Madlala, 2002; MacPhail & Campbell, 2001; Campbell & Williams, 2000) indicates the need to move beyond personal risk factors and behaviours to take social, economic, environmental and political factors, and their interaction, into account in order to understand why some South African youth continue to practice unsafe sex in spite of educational and other prevention campaigns (see also UNDP, 2000).

In addition to other preventive strategies, UNICEF, UNAIDS & WHO, (2002:7, 15 & 35) emphasise the importance of parents, extended families, schools and communities in supporting and guiding young people to make safe choices about their health and well-being, and in providing safe and supportive environments for young people. Kelly (2002) points to dramatic declines in HIV prevalence rates in 15-19 year old learners with secondary school education in Uganda and Zambia. In Zambia, girls who have dropped out of school are three times more likely to be HIV-positive than girls who remain in school (Fylkesnes *et al.*, 2001 cited by Kelly, 2002:2). Other advantages of school education identified by Kelly include:

- School education reaches most young people.
- It reaches youth in their most formative years.
- Education is important in combating the transmission of poverty and gender inequality, both associated with high risk of HIV infection.
- Girls who remain in school tend to become sexually active later, are more likely to insist on condom use, and marry later.

The physical and social environments in which young people live are important in providing them with access to information and the media, to recreational facilities that counteract boredom and the temptation to turn to sex for 'entertainment', and better access to condoms. Specific contexts, such as prisons, living on the street, and overcrowded and socially disorganised informal settlements, can increase exposure to risk.

Especially poverty and its association with unemployment, low levels and quality of education, overcrowded and unhealthy environments, high levels of exposure to crime and violence, gender inequality, and limited access to information, are seen as "the most significant vector for predicting sustained adoption of risk prevention measures" (Kelly & Parker, 2000, cited by Eaton *et al.*, 2003:162). For example, a study by Whitefield showed that adolescent secondary school learners from poorer backgrounds were eight times as likely to experience physical abuse and four times as likely to be subjected to rape or attempted rape as those from wealthier households (Whitefield, 1999, cited by Eaton *et al.*, 2003:162). Poverty has also been associated with sex work, the exchange of sexual favours for economic support or gifts, younger women entering into relationships with older and well-off men, and even acceptance of physical and sexual abuse because of economic dependence (Eaton *et al.*, 2003:162; MacPhail & Campbell, 2001; Jewkes *et al.*, 2003; Leclerc-Madlala, 2002; Ackermann & De Klerk, 2002).

7.6.3 CONTRACEPTION AND CONDOM USE:

In the SYR survey, a total of 48.8 percent of respondents claim to have used some form of contraception at first sex. Of these respondents, 42.5 percent used a condom. Tables 157 and 158 present contraceptive and condom use at first sex by age, gender and race. Comparison between 18 to 24 year olds and 25 to 35 year olds shows that contraceptive and condom use, as well as other forms of contraception at first sex, has increased overall among younger respondents aged 18 to 24 years. Contraceptive use and condom use is highest among White females and lowest among White males among the 18 to 24 year olds. Contraception and condom use are more or less evenly distributed across gender for the African, Coloured and Indian groups, although men report slightly higher use.

Table 157: Contraceptive use at first sex by gender, race and age, 2003

Race	Gender	Age group	
		18-24	25-35
African			
	Male	51.4	35.5
	Female	52.5	39.5
Coloured			
	Male	65.5	40.4
	Female	65.1	52.2
Indian			
	Male	69.2	72.0
	Female	64.7	40.0
White			
	Male	48.9	68.2
	Female	80.9	67.1

Generally, about half of young people used contraceptives during their first sexual experience. Among the age group 25-35 years, of Africans and Coloureds, considerable fewer young people used contraceptives as compared to the age group 18-24 years. This indicates that contraceptive use has been increasing among youth in these communities. White and Indian young people have a much higher frequency of contraceptive use.

Table 158: Condom use at first sex by gender, race and age, 2003.

Race	Gender	Age group	
		18-24	25-35
African			
	Male	48.3	30.9
	Female	46.4	27.1
Coloured			
	Male	60.3	40.4
	Female	60.5	34.8
Indian			
	Male	69.2	60.0
	Female	52.9	40.0
White			
	Male	48.9	68.2
	Female	76.6	56.5

There is generally a much higher use of condoms among age group 18-24 years during their sexual debut. This reflects a trend of increasing condom use among all population groups in South Africa. Nevertheless

about half of sexually experienced young people report that they did not use condoms during their first sexual intercourse. The use of condoms is considerably higher among White and Indian people and lower among African and Coloured people.

Currently, 42.3 percent of respondents who are sexually active use contraception. Current use of contraception is substantially higher among females than males in the 18 to 24 year age group (see Table 159). Among males, White males have a substantially higher rate of current contraception use among 18 to 24 year olds than other population groups. Among 25 to 35 year olds, Indian males and then White males have the highest rate of contraceptive use. Among Indian males, contraceptive use increases with age while contraceptive use among males in other population groups remains much the same. Among females, contraceptive use decreases across age cohorts except among African females.

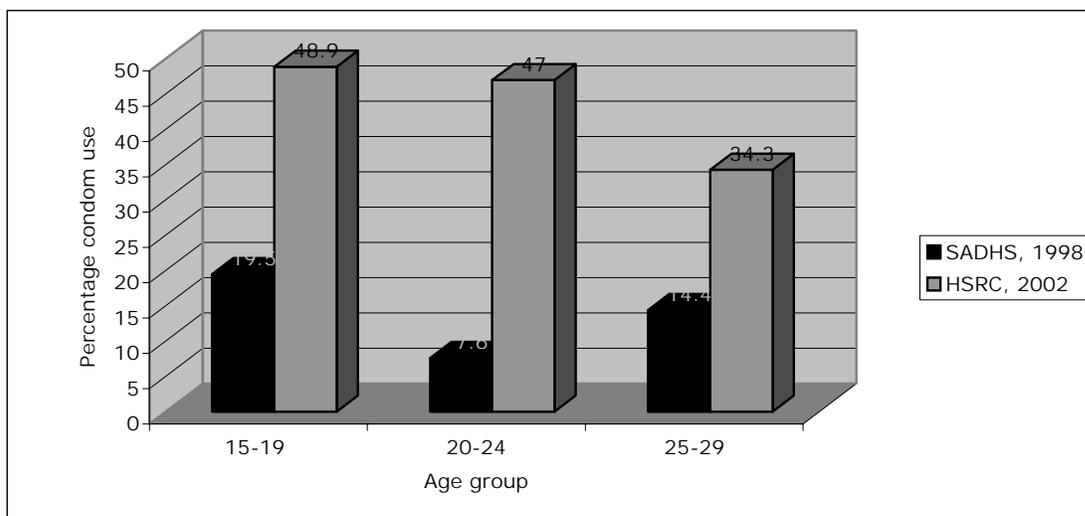
Table 159: Current use of contraception by gender, race and age, 2003

Race	Gender	Age group	
		18-24	25-35
African	Male	35.6	29.0
	Female	39.2	47.1
Coloured	Male	29.1	32.7
	Female	62.8	52.2
Indian	Male	30.8	72.0
	Female	70.6	60.0
White	Male	66.0	68.2
	Female	85.1	67.1

Youth (15-24 years) had significantly higher rates of condom use (57% for males and 46.1% for females) than those in the 25-49 year age group (27% of males and 20% of females). Those people who reported having multiple sexual partners were more likely to use condoms than those with one partner. Single people were also more likely to use condoms than those who were married (Shisana & Simbayi, 2002). All of these findings indicate an uptake of preventative measures in the face of circumstances of increased risk of HIV infection.

The increase in preventive behaviours is also discernible from a comparison of condom use between the HSRC survey, conducted in 2002, and the 1998 Demographic and Health Survey (DHS). This comparison indicates significantly higher rates of condom use in 2002 than in 1998. For all women aged 15-49 years, condom use increased from eight percent in the 1998 SADHS to 28.6 percent in the 2002 study. Differences in rates of condom use for women aged 15 to 29 years are presented in Figure 29 below. The data also indicates that women in the 15-24 year age group are moving away from single partnerships towards secondary abstinence, with 70.3 percent of 15-19 year olds reporting no sexual partner in the last 12 months, in contrast to 59.7 percent in the 1998 SADHS. (Shisana & Simbayi, 2002:79-80).

Figure 29: Percentages of women aged 15 to 29 years who used a condom in their last sexual intercourse according to the 1998 DHS and the 2002 HSRC survey



Source: Shisana & Simbayi, 2002: 80

7.6.4 OTHER EFFECTS OF HIV/AIDS ON YOUNG PEOPLE – HOUSEHOLD DEATHS:

Household deaths, including deaths associated with HIV/AIDS, give an approximation of the overall stress levels experienced by young people, and the extent to which youth are being affected by the HIV/AIDS epidemic.

Data from the Human Sciences Research Council community survey of HIV/AIDS (Shisana & Simbayi, 2002), indicate that 480 people of the 7 084 individuals surveyed, aged 15 years and older (7%), reported that they knew someone who had died of an HIV/AIDS illness. The effect of close associations with HIV is not entirely negative. Table 160 shows that respondents who knew someone who had died of AIDS or who had a relative who told them they were HIV positive, were more likely to have taken the problem of HIV/AIDS seriously than those who were exposed to mass media information about AIDS only.

Table 160: Distribution of responses to “What has made you take the problem of HIV/AIDS more seriously?”

Subcategory of respondents	Rank %	Category
Of those who knew someone who had died of AIDS (n=480)	62.6%	... said they had taken the problem of HIV/AIDS more seriously because they knew someone who has died of AIDS
Of those who had a relative or friend who told them they were HIV positive (n=116)	57.2%	... said they had taken the problem of HIV/AIDS more seriously because they knew someone with HIV/AIDS
Of respondents who watched television a few days of the week or more (n=5 047)	59.3%	... said they had taken the problem of HIV/AIDS more seriously because of television programmes on HIV/AIDS
Of respondents who listened to the radio a few days of the week or more (n=5 728)	50.6%	... said they had taken the problem of HIV/AIDS more seriously because of radio programmes on HIV/AIDS
Of all respondents (n=7 089)	43%	... said they had taken the problem of HIV/AIDS more seriously because of AIDS statistics
Of respondents who read a newspaper a few days of the week or more (n=2 396)	36.2%	... said they had taken the problem of HIV/AIDS more seriously because of articles in newspapers on HIV/AIDS
Of respondents who read a magazine a few days of the week or more (n=2 162)	34.2%	... said they had taken the problem of HIV/AIDS more seriously because of articles in magazines on HIV/AIDS
Of those who had attended a workshop on HIV/AIDS (n=882)	25.6%	... said they had taken the problem of HIV/AIDS more seriously because they had attended a workshop or training programme on HIV/AIDS

Source: Shisana & Simbayi, 2001

More than a fifth of young people (23.8%) in the SYR survey reported that there had been a death in their household during the previous two years. Of those who reported one or more deaths in their household, the highest number of reports, proportionately, was made by Indian youth (25.6%), followed by Africans (24.6%), Coloureds (21%) and Whites (18.6%). The higher proportion of deaths amongst Indians and Africans is likely to be attributed both to deaths in immediate households, as well as to expanded definitions of households, which include members of the extended family.

In the SYR survey, nearly the identical percentage of people was found who reported knowing someone who had died of HIV/AIDS, as was found in the HSRC study. Two hundred and seventy nine young people (7.9%) reported that there was an HIV/AIDS-related death in their household. Of these, 12.1 percent were White youth, followed by 10.8 percent Coloured, 7.3 percent African, and less than one percent Indian youth. As it is unlikely that someone would report an HIV/AIDS-related death if this was not the case (i.e. a false positive), the figures indicate higher than expected numbers of people dying of HIV/AIDS-related causes in the homes of White and Coloured youth. Some of these deaths might refer to domestic employees of the household. Given the prevalence of HIV/AIDS in the general population, as indicated by the Department of Health's annual antenatal clinic surveys (Department of Health 2002), and by the Nelson Mandela HSRC national prevalence study (Shisana & Simbayi, 2003), one has to conclude that there is significant under-reporting of AIDS-related deaths in households among African youth. This under-reporting could be due to ignorance about health status and cause of death of family members and/or reluctance to report due to the stigmatization of HIV/AIDS.

7.6.5 ACCESS TO SERVICES:

Access to services was assessed in the SYR survey by a number of questions. In this section, the question analysed is "Have you been tested for HIV?"

The CASE (2000) survey found that less than a quarter (24%) of young people aged 16 to 35 years of age had been tested for HIV, with considerable variation by province, as shown in Table 161.

Table 161: Youth 16 to 35 years of age who report having been tested for HIV/AIDS by province

Province	Percent
KwaZulu-Natal	31%
Gauteng	28%
Free State	25%
Western Cape	21%
Eastern Cape	21%
Northern Cape	21%
Mpumalanga	18%
North West	17%
Northern Province	15%

Source: CASE, 2000

Respondents in urban areas (28.5%) were more likely to have been tested than in rural areas (17%), and men (17%) were less likely than women (27%) to have been tested for HIV. The rural-urban differences seem plausibly accounted for by access to testing facilities, while the difference between men and women is almost certainly due to the fact that HIV testing is offered as part of antenatal clinic services. Coloured (18%) and African (22%) youth were less likely to have been tested than Indian (37%) and White youth (39%).

Data from the Nelson Mandela/HSRC survey (Shisana & Simbayi, 2002) indicated that 60 percent of 15 to 24-year-olds knew where they could get tested for HIV. Knowledge of where to obtain Voluntary Counselling and Testing services was highest in the Northern Cape (79%) and lowest in Mpumalanga (44%).

Knowledge of where to obtain testing varied significantly by race and educational level, as shown in Table 162 below.

Table 162: Knowledge of where to obtain VCT services, by race and education, among individuals older than 15 years of age

Population groups	Number	Yes	No
Africans	4213	58.7	41.3
White	676	69.8	30.2
Coloured	1358	67.7	32.3
Indians	837	59.1	40.9
Education level			
No school	694	40.8	59.2
Primary school	1664	55.3	44.7
High school	2823	64.5	35.5
Matric	1342	69.2	30.8
Tertiary education	561	72.5	27.5

Source: Shisana & Simbayi, 2002

The HSRC HIV prevalence study also found that, of the 6 091 respondents aged 15 years or older who agreed to be HIV tested in the study, 20.7 percent indicated that they had previously been tested and that they were currently aware of their HIV serostatus, these proportions being similar among HIV positive (21.8%) and HIV-negative (20.5%) respondents. Among HIV-positive individuals who were aware of their status, 16.6 percent had previously undergone testing following an external request (from employers, insurance companies, and banks), 23.6 percent during pregnancy, and 44.6 percent because of personal concerns. A significantly higher proportion of HIV negative individuals, aware of their status, had undergone testing because of external requests (38.8%) and a significantly lower proportion for personal motivations (27.5%). It must also be noted that prenatal HIV screening contributed to access to HIV testing in a greater proportion among Africans than in other groups (26.4% versus 10.7 percent in the HIV positive group aware of his/her status and 25.4 percent versus 11.9 percent in the HIV-negative group aware of his/her status).

The study also showed that for both HIV-positive and HIV-negative respondents, previous access to HIV testing and awareness of serostatus was significantly associated with some demographic and socio-economic characteristics: younger respondents (aged between 15 and 24 years), respondents living in rural areas, those with a lower level of education and poorer socio-economic status, were less likely to have been tested for HIV and to have information about their serostatus. Access to testing was higher among respondents who practice religion as a very important element of their daily life and among those who were married, although these differences only reached statistical significance among HIV-negative individuals. Africans were significantly underrepresented in the group of individuals who were aware of their serostatus.

The HSRC study confirmed the relationship between knowledge of own serostatus and the adoption of preventative strategies. Awareness of serostatus, among both HIV-positive and HIV-negative respondents, was associated with better knowledge about HIV infection, better access to media information about

HIV/AIDS, and adoption of HIV-related preventative behaviours. Among HIV-positive respondents, those who were aware of their status were more likely to use condoms, to have changed their sexual behaviour, and to exchange information about HIV and serostatus with their partners. Among HIV-negative individuals, those aware of their status were less likely to have multiple sexual partners, and were also more likely to use condoms and to discuss HIV prevention with partners than those who did not undergo testing. These findings demonstrate the importance of young people knowing their HIV status through expanded Voluntary Counselling and Testing (VCT) services.

In the SYR survey, 27 percent of respondents between 18 and 35 years said that they had had an HIV test. Youth in the older age group (25-35 years) were twice as likely to have been tested for HIV (38%) than youth in the younger age group (18-24 years) (19.4%). The CASE 2000 study also found that older youth were more likely to have gone for an HIV test than younger people.

Women (30%) were more likely to have been tested than men (23%), showing a substantial increase among men in comparison to the CASE (2000) study – from 17 percent to 23 percent among men. More than half of all White youth in this age group reported that they had taken an HIV test (55.5%), followed by Indian youth (34.7%), Coloured youth (28%), and African youth (23%). The age, gender and race differences in testing were all statistically significant.

Table 163 shows that the older age group is more likely to have been tested for HIV across race and gender, except for Indian males. Similarly, more women had been tested for HIV across age and race, except among Coloured and White males, more of whom report having been tested than Coloured and White females.

Table 163: Respondents who have had an HIV test by gender, age and race, 2003

Race	Gender	Age group (%)	
		18-24	25-35
African			
	Male	14.7	28.3
	Female	19.6	35.6
Coloured			
	Male	11.2	50.0
	Female	24.7	34.8
Indian			
	Male	29.6	25.0
	Female	30.8	60.9
White			
	Male	26.8	74.0
	Female	50.0	68.9

In general the results show that more than 20 percent of young people have been tested and that some proportion of these young people know their HIV status. The relationship between knowing one's HIV status and the uptake of preventative strategies draws attention to the importance of increased testing among young people.

7.7 CONCLUSIONS

In this section, aspects of the health status of young people were reviewed. While the period of early adulthood is generally a time of relatively good health in the lifespan, young people are differentially at risk

for a number of conditions of ill health, injury and disability. These risks include substance use, depression and suicidal ideation, interpersonal and gang violence, brushes with the law, and HIV infection.

The international and available South African literature, together with the findings from the SYR survey show links between ill health (including mental ill-health), disability and disadvantage. Poor young people, with incomplete education and limited economic opportunities, who live in under-served areas, are at greater risk for ill health and disability, and they are less likely to have opportunities to access services for their problems and for support. At the same time, exclusion from education and employment puts young people at risk for ill-health and for behaviours which endanger health, including HIV infection. This creates a vicious cycle that requires attention during this developmental phase to prevent increases in ill health and disability, and the continuation and exacerbation of the effects of ill-health into middle and older age. Furthermore, most ill health among young people is preventable, and there are measures that individuals and society can take together to mitigate the disruptive impact of each of them.

Despite the general trend towards good health in this age period, alcohol, tobacco and drug use show contrary associations with social advantage, with better off, better educated and better employed young people engaging in higher levels of substance abuse. In the long term, this is a significant threat to the health of individuals and poses a potential major burden on the health system and level of productivity of the economy. These trends are especially evident among young White youth, countering their advantages in education and employment with respect to health outcomes. There are already indications of increased substance use amongst groups, for whom this has previously not been an issue, including young African, Coloured and Indian women.

Disability is now recognised as a problem for national social development because of its relationship with poverty, gender inequality, social exclusion and other forms of disadvantage. Disability among young people in South Africa varies between 4 and 5 percent, with African youth more likely to have a disability than their peers in other population groups. The period between 1996 and 2001 saw some positive changes and some losses for people with disabilities - in education, employment, income and occupation. While there was slightly less access to education overall, there was an increase in completion of secondary and tertiary education, especially for disabled people from previously disadvantaged population groups. There was a drop in unemployment amongst people with disabilities, particularly amongst African young people. There were also indications of improved earnings, particularly amongst Coloured and African people with disabilities, alongside indications of job losses at higher levels and the creation of jobs at lower levels. About half of those who reported a disability received a disability grant, with a significantly lower percentage of African youth (53%) receiving a disability grants than Coloured (81%) and White (80%) youth. The White Paper on an Integrated National Disability Strategy (INDS) published in 1997 was instrumental in highlighted the extent of exclusion experienced by disabled people from mainstream society and violations that they endured in their fundamental human rights. The Office on the Status of Disabled Persons currently situated in the Office of the Presidency and a network of non-governmental bodies work to uplift and assert the rights of and response to the needs of disabled people.

Psychiatric disorders and mental health are major causes of disabilities worldwide but are generally grossly under-diagnosed and under-reported in developing countries. Suicide is one of the most serious outcomes of mental disorder. In South Africa about 10 000 people commit suicide annually, peaking among youth aged 20 to 34 years. The data suggests an increasing number of young people contemplating suicide,

especially young people in urban areas. A national suicide prevention policy is urgently required as part of the mental health strategy.

HIV infection and AIDS are the major threats to the well-being, participation and productivity of young South Africans, with the highest HIV prevalence rate found in the 25-29 year age group. At the same time, there is a growing international consensus that the best way to halt the spread of AIDS is to focus on youth and to prevent infection. There are indications that young people in South Africa are responding to increased awareness of the risks of HIV, due to personal experience and increased media exposure, by adopting risk prevention practices such as condom use and being faithful to one partner. However, the picture is uneven and studies point to the need to look at social, environmental and political factors in order to understand why some youth respond positively to prevention campaigns and others do not. In particular, poverty and its association with unemployment, limited educational opportunities, poor living conditions, limited access to information, exposure to crime and violence, and gender inequality are all seen as hindering the adoption of risk prevention measures. The data indicates a positive correlation between knowing one's HIV status and adopting risk prevention measures. In South Africa young people living in rural areas, with lower education levels and poorer socio-economic status are less likely to be aware of their status. Overall, about 20 percent of young people in the study were aware of their HIV status, with a higher percentage of women across all population groups being aware. This emphasises the need for expanded HIV testing, especially targeted at young men.

All of the health factors identified in this chapter can disrupt positive youth development and impact on the ability to achieve economic independence, mutually rewarding personal relationships, and a useful and fulfilling life. Ill-health and disability pose significant challenges to youth development, in that they can negatively impact on the completion of education, securing employment, establishing financial independence, and full participation in society. Conversely, not being able to achieve these milestones can threaten the health and mental health of young people. For example, not completing one's education is associated with a number of risk behaviours, including substance use, unwanted pregnancies and involvement in gangs. Unemployed youth also have higher rates of ill health and are more prone to mental illness. For these reasons, youth development is premised on a holistic approach that foresees the social, economic, health, emotional and spiritual development of young people.

Prevalence data show that, on the global level, more than half of new HIV infections occur before the age of 25 years and, in South Africa, prevalence rates are highest among youth between 20 and 32 years. On the most general level, changing lifestyle patterns have led to young people spending more time in education, and thus delaying their entry into labour markets and marriage. At the same time, young people have begun to embark on sexual relationships at younger ages. These trends have the effect of extending the period of sexual activity prior to marriage and other stable sexual relationships. High rates of unemployment among youth in South Africa have meant that the majority of young people remain economically dependent upon their households of origin. Youth unemployment and continued economic dependence are probably one of the factors responsible for the decline in marriage rates among young people.

While the data suggest that all population groups are marrying at later ages, these trends are particularly pronounced among African youth and to a lesser extent among Coloured youth. In 2002, for example, only 25 percent of African youth in the 25-29 years cohort were married, in contrast with 63 percent of White and 54 percent of Indian youth, as described in section two of this report. Similarly, less than half (44%) of African young people in the 30-34 years age group were married, as against 78 percent of White, 76 percent

of Indian and 59 percent of Coloured young people. These trends are in keeping with the higher rates of unemployment and economic dependence among African young people.

Analyses of sexual debut also show that young African men and women embark on sexual relationships earlier than other population groups, and are more likely to become pregnant (or make someone pregnant) during adolescence. For example, in Section 2 it was pointed out that adolescent pregnancy and childbearing were nine times higher among African and Coloured women between the ages of 15 and 19 years than for Whites in the same age group. Many of these adolescents are still at school when they become pregnant, and pregnancy is an important reason why many young women, and some young men, drop out of school. In turn, dropping out of school has been identified as a risk factor for HIV infection: Research conducted in Zambia, for example, showed that girls who dropped out of school were three times more likely to be HIV-positive than those who remained in school.

It is necessary to take into account the very high rates of poverty among young African people, and the ways in which poverty increases vulnerability to HIV infection. Poverty interacts with the risk factors associated with transmission of HIV/AIDS in a number of complex ways, and it is probable that many of the patterns of sexual behaviour discussed in this section can be traced to the impoverished environments in which young people live. Poverty not only restricts access to preventative information, condoms, health facilities and recreational facilities, but also exposes young people to higher levels of crime, violence and gender inequalities. For example, research has shown that adolescents from poor backgrounds were eight times more likely to experience physical abuse and four times more likely to be subjected to rape or attempted rape than those from wealthier households. Poverty is also associated with women resorting to sex work, the exchange of sexual favours for gifts and economic support, and resignation to physical and sexual abuse by women because of their economic dependence on men.

The uneven exposure of the different population groups to risk factors is clearly reflected in the prevalence rates of HIV infection, with prevalence rates among African youth (12.9%) being more than twice as high as those of White and Coloured youth and eight times as high as that of Indian youth.

A number of strategies have been put in place to protect and to promote the health and wellbeing of young people as part of holistic youth development. Universal access to health care was one of the first steps taken by the democratic government through the adoption of primary health care as the foundation of our health care system. In this regard, free healthcare was made available to pregnant and lactating women, children under six years of age, people with disabilities and women who chose to terminate a pregnancy.

Government and civil society have responded extensively for over 15 years to try and prevent the spread of HIV infection especially among young people. *loveLife's* innovative programme taps into youth culture, and has been leading the way in youth HIV/AIDS prevention activities, well supported by other initiatives such as the schools HIV/AIDS lifeskills programme. The introduction of a Comprehensive 'HIV/AIDS Care, Management and Treatment Plan' (2003) will now also provide treatment options for young people and greatly expand the voluntary counselling and testing services.

Early and unwanted pregnancy remains a local and international challenge. While several preventative measures have been adopted including the promotion of teen friendly clinics, young women now have the option to terminate an unwanted pregnancy through the Termination of Pregnancy Act of 1996. However, overcoming stigma in order to be able to use the service remains a community and health systems challenge.

The National Adolescent Friendly Clinic Initiative (NAFCI) is doing ground breaking work in facilitating access to health care services for young people.

While government has acted strongly to protect the population from the harms of tobacco use through the promulgation of the Tobacco Products Control Amendment Act in 1999, similar political will is required to deal with alcohol and drug abuse, both of which are finding fertile ground for proliferation in the context of high unemployment, poverty and a poorly regulated alcohol industry.

CRIME, VIOLENCE AND YOUTH

Summary points

1. By global standards, South Africa has high levels of violent crime. While a third of all crimes recorded in South Africa were violent, the corresponding percentage of violent crimes in the United States was 15 percent and in the United Kingdom six percent.
2. More recent crime statistics suggest that crime in South Africa is leveling off, but still remains at high levels.
3. Crime rates are unevenly spread throughout the country, with the Western Cape, Gauteng and the Northern Cape having the highest recorded rates, and Limpopo the lowest.
4. Data from the SYR survey show that a fifth of young people (20.4%) reported being threatened with a gun or knife, while 12.8 percent of young people reported having suffered an injury as a result of an attack with a gun or knife.
5. The National Injury Mortality Surveillance System (NIMSS) has clearly shown that violence and injury in South Africa are strongly associated with age and gender. NIMSS data indicate that the majority of non-natural deaths were amongst young people, with 36 percent of all deaths for 15-29 year olds and a further 36 percent for 30-44 year olds. In 2001, young people between the ages of 20 and 34 years accounted for 55 percent of homicides and 47 percent of suicides.
6. Eighty percent of all fatal injuries recorded by NIMSS were for males and 20 percent for females. There were 6.6 times more male deaths than female deaths due to homicide.
7. Young people are not only disproportionately victims of crime and violence, but are also over represented as perpetrators of crime. For example, in June 2002, 36 percent of the prison population was under the age of 16 years, while 53 percent of those awaiting trial fell into the same age group. Similarly, the SA-ADAM national survey of arrestees showed that 69 percent of people detained by the police were between 18 and 35 years of age.
8. Various policies and programmes have been developed to address high rates of youth involvement in crime and violence, the most important being the development of a juvenile justice system. When

enacted, the Child Justice Bill will be the first law in South Africa to address the issue of children in conflict with the law through the introduction of diversion programmes.

Mr. Fix –It!

Mbongeni Nene, 25 Years Old, Has Never Looked Back. After Participating In Business Management Training Offered By The Center for Education and Enterprise Development (CEED) In 1999, He Now Runs A Motor-Mechanic Workshop In Umlazi, KwaZulu-Natal, Where He Lives. One Cannot Help But Notice Mbongeni's Commitment And Passion In His Work.

At a tender age, while still at school, Mbongeni showed a passion for fixing cars. Unlike other boys his age who spent time playing soccer, he spent his leisure time watching mechanics work. He would help them by undertaking mundane tasks such as fetching water or collecting screws for them.

Mbongeni matriculated in 1996 and later went to Umlazi Technikon to study motor mechanics though by then he wanted to be a pilot or an aircraft engineer. After completing his course at the Technikon, Mbongeni struggled to find employment in his field. Desperate for hands-on experience, he eventually secured a one-month internship with Motorkhono where he was trained to fix gearboxes and differentials. He further trained in metal-works to diversify his skills base.

Struggling to find employment, Mbongeni decided to set up his own workshop at home. He developed flyers to advertise his services and specialty in gearboxes, differentials and other general motor-related repairs. Mbongeni offered his services almost for free, only charging for labour costs. He was later offered a job at a deaf school to train pupils in metal works. From the deaf school he selected a couple of pupils to train in his workshop.

It was also during this time that his older brother informed him of the Center for Education and Enterprise Development (CEED) and its training opportunities. Mbongeni did not waste anytime going to CEED to inquire of the programmes they offered. Immediately he was enrolled into the Business Management training course that ran for a period of two weeks. The programme composed of varied elements pertaining to running and managing your own project, developed Mbongeni's management style, communication and leadership skills. At the end of the two-week training, he approached CEED, which by then had noticed his passion and commitment, for sponsorship to further train in motor mechanics. Without hesitation CEED made arrangements for his further training.

At the end of his training, he continued with his business, which continued to operate even in his absence. He currently employs three people and his business has been operating for five years and continues to grow. The fact that the business is still operating is reason enough to believe that it is successful. To date Mbongeni has established a sound local client-base for himself that keeps his business running.

"Operating in a township is not without challenges - the safety of clients' vehicles is a constant threat and challenge. I am always afraid of vehicles or vehicle parts being stolen since I don't have a secure workshop. This puts pressure on me in that I cannot take on big jobs. I take 2-3 cars a day depending on the size of the job, so that the owners can collect them later in the day. I cannot grow the business the way I would like to. I am tired of loans from the bank and believe that I will grow my business from the revenue that I will make," Mbongeni said.

Source: Profile compiled by the Youth Development Network for the 'Celebrating Youth' function

8.1 CRIME TRENDS IN SOUTH AFRICA

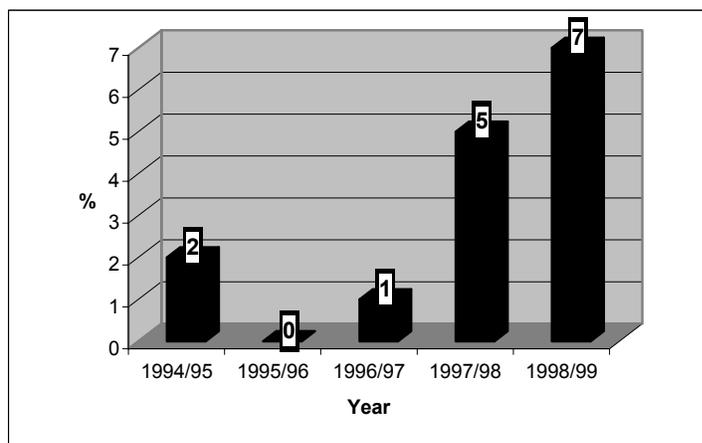
According to Interpol statistics, South Africa has very high levels of violent crime by global standards. In 1997, of the 110 countries with crime levels listed by Interpol, South Africa had the highest per capita rates of murder and rape, the second highest rate of robbery and violent theft (after the Bahamas), and the fourth highest rates of serious assault and sexual offences, (Schonteich, 2000). In surveys quoted by Schonteich (2000), among the African countries surveyed, South African victims were the most likely to state that the

offender used a weapon during sexual assault (37.1% of sexual assaults) and robbery (73.3%). Tanzania had the highest incidence of assault where a weapon was used (70.4%), followed by South Africa (62.9%).

Levels of recorded crime began to increase in the 1980s, and escalated dramatically in the early 1990s. Contrary to popular expectations, crime rates did not decrease after 1994. During the first three years of the political transition crime rates showed signs of stabilizing, although still at very high levels, especially for violent crime. After 1996, however, recorded crime rates once again escalated, reaching an all time high in 1999 and 2000 (Schönteich & Louw, 2001:1-2; Masuku, 2003). These trends are shown in Figure 30. Recorded violent crime increased consistently between 1994 and 1999, growing by 22 percent in comparison with a 15 percent increase in property crime and a seven percent increase in commercial crime over the same period. As Schönteich & Louw (2001: 3) point out, South Africa at this time had the highest levels of violent crime by global standards.

In 1999, a third of all crimes recorded by the police in South Africa were violent in nature. In the United States, which is considered to be a relatively violent society, 15 percent of recorded crimes are violent, while about six percent of recorded crimes in the United Kingdom are violent in nature.

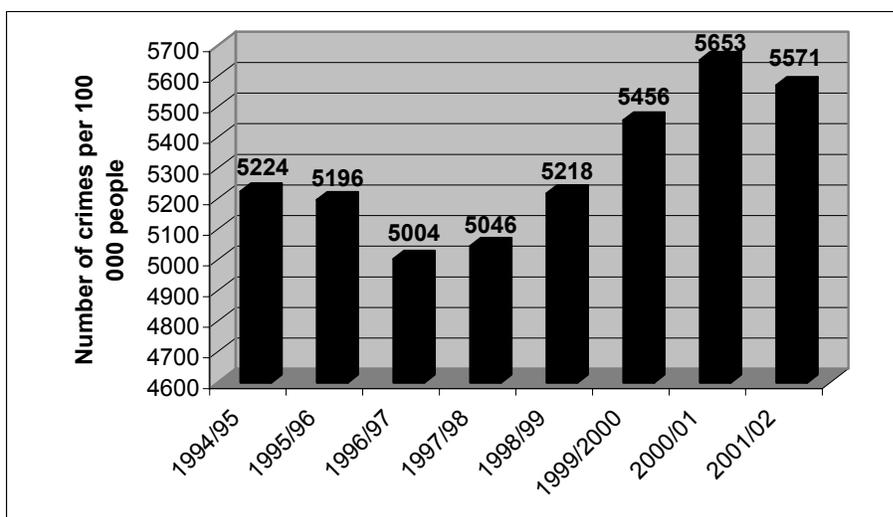
Figure 30: Percentage change in number of crimes recorded, 1994/95-1998/99



Source: Schönteich & Louw, 2001:2

More recent crime statistics suggest that crime may be leveling off, although still at very high levels (see Figure 30.). Commercial crime is the only crime category that has shown a substantial decline, decreasing by 11 percent between 1994/95 and 2001/02 and by 16 percent between 2000/01 and 2001/02. In contrast, between 1994/95 and 2000/01, violent crime increased by 33 percent, but has shown signs of tapering off, with a one percent increase in 2001/02 (Masuku, 2003: 1-2). Leggett *et al.* (2003) support the observed decline, arguing that while recorded crime has been increasing, the rate of increase appears to be slowing down. According to Masuku (2003: 3), murder and vehicle theft are the only serious crimes that have shown clear declining trends in both the short- and long- term. Murder decreased by 18 percent between 1994/95 and 2001/2, while vehicle theft decreased by eight percent. However, while vehicle theft declined by three percent between 2000/01 and 2001/02, vehicle hijackings increased by six percent. Some commentators interpret this as a possible indication that some vehicle thieves may be changing to hijacking cars rather than stealing them, because of improved vehicle security systems (Leggett *et al.*, 2003).

Figure 31: Total recorded crime rate, March 1994 to March 2002

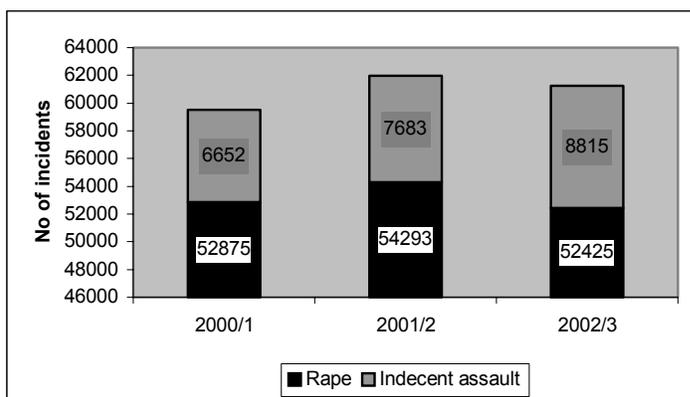


Source: Masuku, 2003: 2

With a rate of 47 per 100 000 people in 2002/3, South Africa's murder rate has been surpassed by Colombia with 66 murders per 100 000 people (Leggett, 2003:1). The situation remains serious, however, because the South African murder rate is on par with that of the most dangerous urban area of the United States. While the murder rate may have come down, there has been an increase in robberies, with the number of aggravated robberies up by about 50 percent since 1994.

Trends relating to crimes such as rape and indecent assault are more difficult to interpret because of fluctuations in reporting rates. For example, recorded rapes show a decline between 2000/1 and 2002/3 (see Figure 32). However, as Leggett (2003: 3) points out, this decrease could have more to do with increasing disenchantment with the criminal justice system than with an actual decline in offences. Furthermore, while recorded rapes showed a decrease, the rates of reported indecent assault increased. The number of child abuse cases nearly doubled between 2001/2 and 2002/3 (Leggett, 2003: 4), although this increase might also be a product of increasing public awareness.

Figure 32: Recorded sexual assaults, 2000/1 to 2002/3



Source: Leggett, 2003: 4

Crime rates are also unevenly spread in different parts of the country, with the Western Cape, Gauteng and the Northern Cape having the highest rates of recorded crime, while Limpopo has the lowest rate of all provinces. As Leggett *et al.* (2003:3) point out, on the basis of reported crime rates for 2001/2, residents of the first three provinces are at least three times as likely to become victims of crime as residents of Limpopo.

8.1.1 PERCEPTIONS OF SAFETY

Several studies indicate that South Africans feel unsafe as a result of high crime levels. In surveys quoted by Schonteich (2000), compared to other African countries surveyed, South Africans were most likely to say that they felt very unsafe in the street after dark (39.6%). After Botswana (7.4%), South Africa was the country with the fewest respondents who felt very safe (14.3%).

In a survey of high school learners in Gauteng schools (Emmett, 2004), more than 60 percent of respondents indicated that they did not feel safe in their communities. Further evidence of the lack of personal safety experienced by the majority of learners was that 64 percent agreed or strongly agreed that crime had increased in South Africa over the previous two years. In contrast, 49 percent disagreed or strongly disagreed with the statement that violence had decreased in South Africa over the same period. Moreover, nearly half (48%) of the sample of learners reported that there had been serious incidents of violence in their schools, and 61 percent indicated that learners had brought weapons to school at some time. High rates of bullying, fighting and vandalism were also reported.

Data from the SYR survey confirm that perceptions of a lack of safety among young people are grounded. More than a fifth of young people (20.4%) in the survey reported that they had been threatened with a gun or knife. Of these, 25.6 percent were Indian, 20.7 percent were African, 19.7 percent were Coloured, and 17.4 percent were White. Although more young men reported being threatened with a gun or knife (24.8%), nearly a fifth of all young women reported having been threatened with a weapon (16.5%). There was no indication that age influenced whether or not a young person had been threatened with a weapon. More of the youth who indicated that someone had threatened them with a gun or knife lived in a metropolitan area (23.7%), relative to rural youth (20%) and young people living in non-metropolitan urban areas (16.7%).

Overall, 12.8 percent of young people reported having suffered an injury as a result of an attack with a gun or knife – of whom 13.7 percent were African, 13.4 percent Coloured, 8.3 percent Indian and 7.4 percent White. Considerably more young men (16.6%) reported having suffered an assault injury than young women (9.4%). Rural young people were more likely to report having received an injury from an assault with a weapon (15.4%), as compared to metropolitan youth (12.3%) and youth living in non-metropolitan urban areas. There was no indication that injury by assault with a weapon varied with age group.

Feelings of safety are also related to the presence of police and security personnel in the areas in which young people live. Only about half of all youth in the SYR survey reported that there was a security officer or police on duty in their community. The majority of Indian (87.6%) and White (82.9%) youth reported that there were security personnel on duty in their communities, but only about half of Coloured (53.2%) and African (48.2%) youth did so. The presence of security or police personnel on duty was reported by more youth in metropolitan areas (74.7%) than in urban non-metropolitan areas (69.5%). Very few youth in rural areas (27.2%) reported that security personnel were on duty in their communities.

A further indicator of the sense of safety or threat that young people feel relates to carrying weapons to protect themselves. In the SYR survey, six per cent of respondents reported having carried a gun to protect

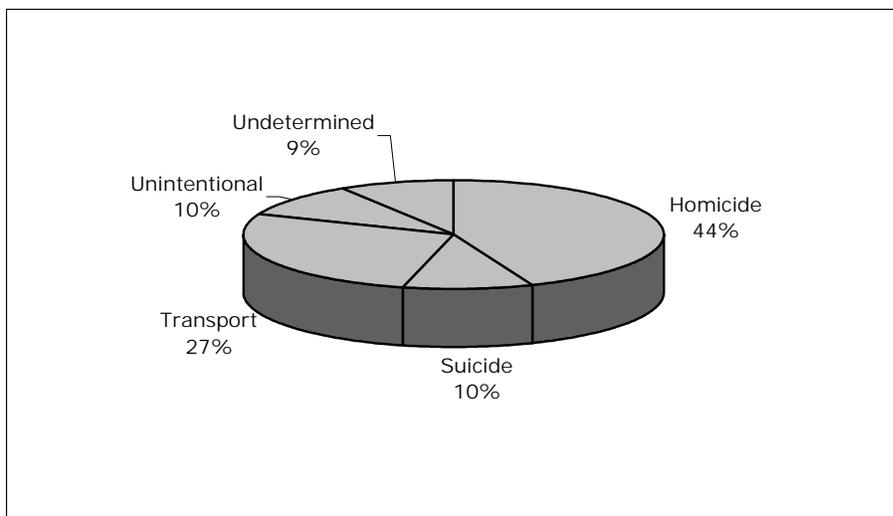
themselves, of which 13.3 percent were White, 9.9 percent were Indian, 8.3 percent were Coloured and six percent were African. More young men (11.1%) reported carrying a gun for protection as compared to young women (3.3%). More of the older age group also reported carrying a weapon for protection (10.1%), as compared to the younger age group (4.9%). More metropolitan youth reported having carried a gun for protection (11.3%) as compared to other urban youth (6.4%) and rural youth (4%).

According to the MRC's Youth Risk Behaviour Survey, over nine percent of young people, 14 to 18 years of age, carried a weapon such as a gun, knife, panga or kerie to school on one or more days in the month preceding the survey. Almost 15 percent reported having been injured or threatened at school with a weapon. Close to one third of the survey respondents reported that they had felt unsafe at school in the month before the survey, while over one-fifth felt unsafe on the way to and from school. Over 40 percent reported having been bullied. Just more than 13 percent reported having been assaulted by their boyfriend or girlfriend, and a similar number had been a victim of such an assault.

8.2 YOUTH AS VICTIMS OF CRIME AND VIOLENCE

The National Injury Mortality Surveillance System (NIMSS), which currently represents the most comprehensive source of data on fatal injuries in South Africa, provides clear evidence of the extent of violence and injury in South Africa and its strong association with age. NIMSS began collecting information on fatal injuries in 1999, and its 2001 report, which covers the period 1 January to 31 December 2001, is based on more than 25 000 fatal injuries registered at 32 mortuaries in six provinces (see Figure 33). Although the NIMSS currently has an urban bias, the 2001 data for the first time included information on fatal injuries from 14 Mpumalanga mortuaries that mainly serve rural areas. It is estimated that the NIMSS 2001 data accounts for between 32 and 37 percent of all non-natural mortality in South Africa. The NIMSS data "confirms earlier concerns that fatal injuries, especially as a consequence of violence and transport crashes, constitute priority threats to the South Africa public's health" (Matzopolous, 2002: iv).

Figure 33: Distribution of fatal injuries, South Africa, 2001



Source: NIMMS, 2001, Prinsloo: 7

The 2001 NIMSS data show that homicide accounted for nearly half (44%) of all non-natural deaths, while suicide accounted for a further ten percent. Transport-related deaths made up 27 percent of fatal injuries and all other unintentional non-transport injuries contributed a further ten percent. The remaining nine percent involved undetermined deaths in which medical examiners were unable to determine whether death was due to homicide, suicide, transport or unintentional injuries.

The NIMSS data also show that the majority of non-natural deaths were among young people, with 36 percent of all deaths in the 15-29 years age group and a further 36 percent in the 30-44 year age group. Children younger than five years made up four percent of the deaths, while those between 5 and 14 years accounted for a further four percent. Adults between 45 and 59 years accounted for 14 percent of deaths, while those 60 years and older made up six percent of all non-natural deaths. The average age for all non-natural deaths (where age was known or recorded) was 32.8 years.

According to the 2002 report of the National Injury Mortality Surveillance System (Matzopoulos, Seedat & Cassim, 2003), approximately 45 percent of all mortality attributable to injury is due to homicide. Young males are most at risk for firearm injury. In particular, the 18-29 year age group has the highest proportion of deaths for homicide and suicide. The next age group at risk are people between the ages of 30-39 years. Together these two groups account for 75 percent of homicides and 57 percent of suicides that involve the use of a firearm.

This information indicates that, compared to other age groups, youth are disproportionately both victims and perpetrators of assaults involving weapons. The 1997 Victims of Crime Survey of Statistics South Africa (1997:35), showed a strong association between age and crime, with young people more likely to be victims of crime than those in older age categories. For example, the survey found that 32 percent of victims of violent crime were between the ages of 16 and 25 years, although this cohort made up only 20 percent of the population. Young people between the age of 26 and 35 years were also the main victims of non-violent crime, although they comprised only 15 percent of the population (National Youth Commission, 2002:95).

According to the CASE (2000) survey, about a fifth of young people said they had been a victim of crime or violence. This number was higher in North West (31%), KwaZulu-Natal (28%), and the Western Cape (27%) and lower in the Northern Province (5%) and Mpumalanga (13%). Young people in urban areas (29%) were more likely than youth in rural areas (14%) to report they had been a victim of crime or violence. In the CASE survey, White (53%) and Indian youth (44%) were more likely to report that they had been a victim of crime or violence than Coloured (20%) and African (17%) youth, suggesting that fear and sense of threat may play a part in reports of crime and violence in response to survey questions.

In Birkett's (2001) survey of university students, 22 percent of young people said they had been threatened with aggression, and 5.5 percent said they had been threatened with a weapon. Seventeen per cent of students reported that they had been a victim of robbery. These findings, by race and gender, are shown in Table 164 below.

Table 164: University students who report being threatened, attacked or robbed, during the past year

Race group	Threatened with aggression	Threatened with a weapon	Victim of robbery
African	27.1%	11.3%	1.4%
Indian	24.8%	0.9%	10.5%
White	16.6%	3.4%	34.5%
Gender			
Male	24.5%	10.4%	19.6%
Female	19.6%	2.7%	16.5%

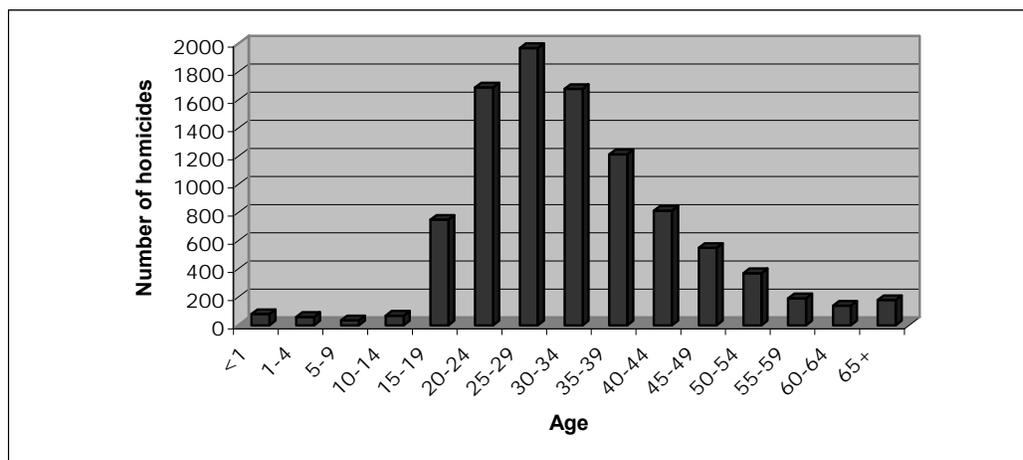
Source: Birkett, 2001

In Birkett's study in KwaZulu-Natal, close to 20 percent of all young people, across race and gender, reported that they had been threatened with aggression. However, African students were three times more likely than White students to have been threatened with a weapon, while White students were 25 times more likely to report having been a victim of a robbery. Threat with weapons affects many more young men than women, whereas robbery appears to affect young men and women equally.

8.2.1 HOMICIDE AND SUICIDE

Young people have particularly high rates of deaths due to homicide and suicide. For example, young people between the ages of 20 and 34 years accounted for 54.8 percent of deaths due to homicide and 46.5 percent of suicides in 2001 (Prinsloo, 2002: 8). As Figure 34 illustrates, from 15 years of age, homicides rise sharply, peaking in the 25-29 year age group. Rates remain high for the 30-34 year age group, but decline steadily after that. It is noteworthy that the three age categories with the highest rates of homicide are the 20-24 year, the 25-29 year, and the 30-34 year age groups. These three age groups, which account for more than half of the deaths by homicide, correspond roughly with the definition of youth used in this report.

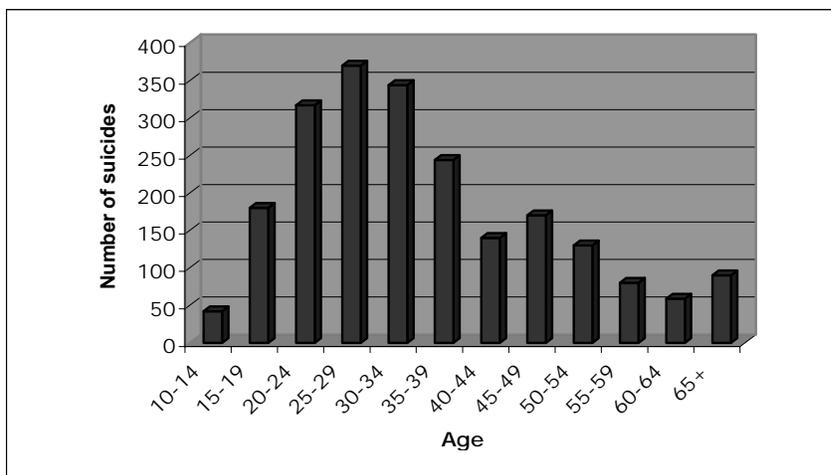
Figure 34: Homicide rates by age



Source: NIMSS, 2001, Prinsloo: 8

Suicide presents a relatively similar profile in that it also peaks in the 25-29 year age group, and with the three age groups between 20 and 34 years having the highest rates and accounting for nearly half (46.5%) of all suicides (see Figure 35). As in the case of homicide, suicides also rise sharply in the 15-19 years age group, and begin to decline after 34 years of age although not quite as steeply as for homicide.

Figure 35: Suicide rates by age

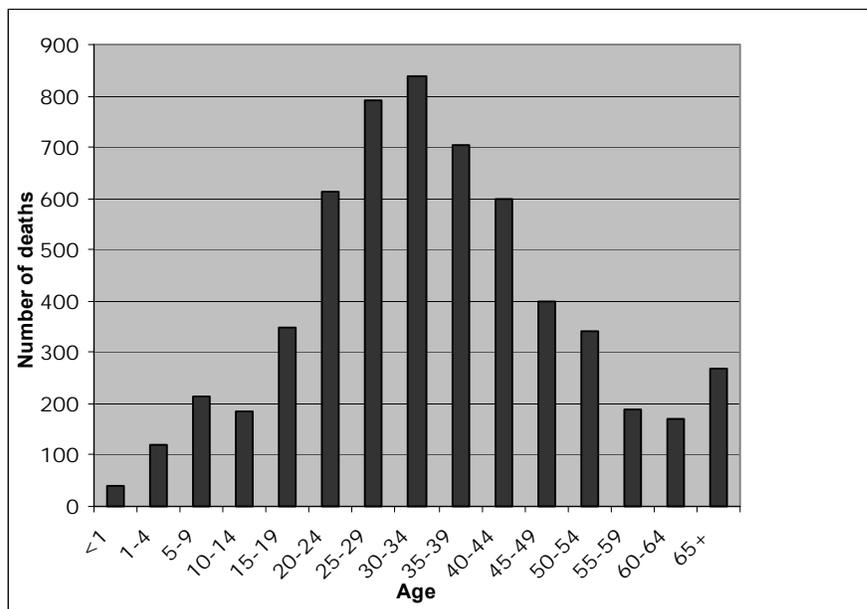


Source: NIMSS, 2001, Prinsloo: 8

8.2.2 TRANSPORT-RELATED AND OTHER UNINTENTIONAL DEATHS

People in the 20-34 year age group accounted for 40 percent of all transport deaths in 2001 (Prinsloo, 2002: 8). Transport deaths peak in the 30-34 year age group, with the three age groups with the highest rates of death falling between the ages of 25 and 39 years. Other unintentional injuries also peak in the 30-34 year age group, although the rates for children between one and four years, and for adults 65 years and older, are also relatively high (see Figure 36). Young people between 20 and 34 years accounted for 31.4 percent of all unintentional injury deaths. Undetermined deaths also peak in the 25-29 years age group, with people between 30 and 34 years having the second highest death rate.

Figure 36: Transport-related deaths by age

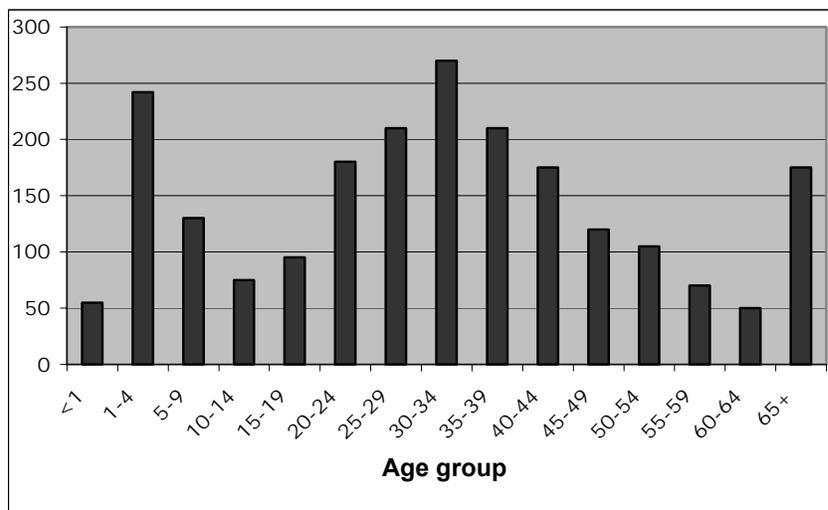


Source: NIMSS, 2001, Prinsloo: 8

8.3 VIOLENCE, RISK BEHAVIOUR AND YOUTH

Overall, the trends reviewed suggest that while young people constitute a high-risk group for all forms of fatal injuries, they are particularly vulnerable to violence, whether self-inflicted or inflicted by others. The relatively high rates of transport deaths among young people may also be a consequence of risk behaviour, particularly as youth have lower rates for other forms of unintentional injuries such as those caused by burns, falls, drowning and poisoning. These other forms of unintentional injuries (see Figure 37) may involve lesser degrees of risky behaviour than transport-related deaths and are therefore more evenly distributed among the population.

Figure 37: Unintentional injuries by age group

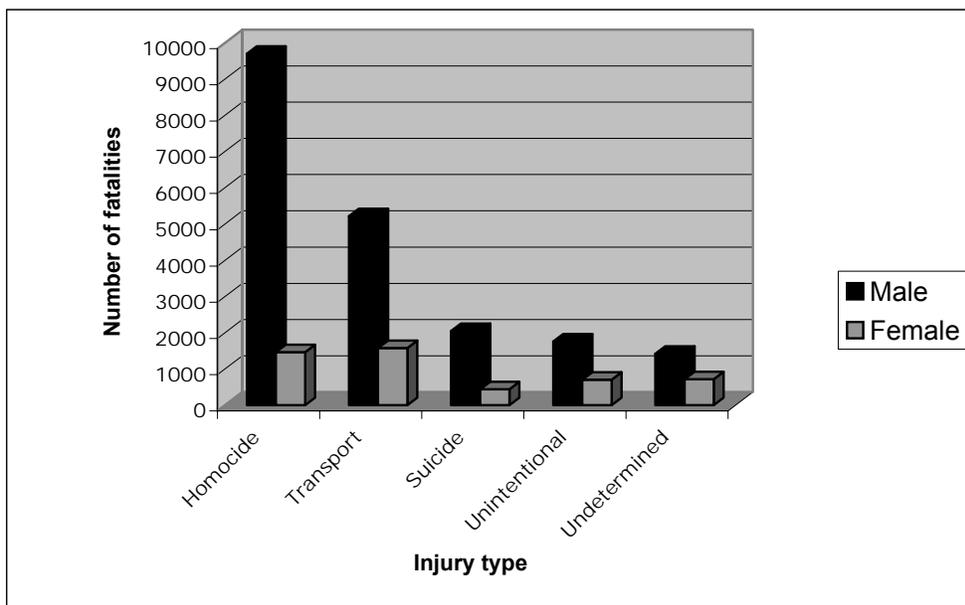


Source: NIMSS, 2001, Prinsloo: 8

It should be noted that, like homicide and suicide, unemployment peaks at about 25 years of age (see Section 4 on Labour Market Issues). This is also the time when young people are most likely to be out of school and out of work and therefore most at risk. The connection between being out of school and unemployment, on the one hand and crime and violence, on the other, has often been made. For example, young people who are unemployed (in the broadest sense) have more time on their hands, are freed of the discipline and control usually imposed by schools and workplaces, spend more time on the streets, may be tempted to see crime as a way of compensating for their lack of earnings, and might belong to street and criminal gangs in a search for a sense of belonging, power, acceptance and purpose (see, for example, Dissel, 1997).

Gender features strongly in the data. Of the total non-natural deaths recorded by the NIMSS 2001, 80 percent were male and 20 percent were female. Figure 38 provides the frequencies of the different categories of fatal injuries differentiated by gender. For each category, male deaths outnumber female deaths, with the starkest difference being between the numbers of deaths due to homicide. There were 6.6 times more male deaths than female deaths due to homicide. For suicide, the ratio of men to women was 4.7:1, for transport-related deaths 3.3:1, for other unintentional injuries 2.5:1, and for undetermined deaths 2:1. Here again the trend is for intentional fatalities (i.e. fatalities resulting from violence) to occur most frequently among men, followed by transport-related deaths, with other unintentional fatal injuries and undetermined deaths showing significant but smaller differences between men and women.

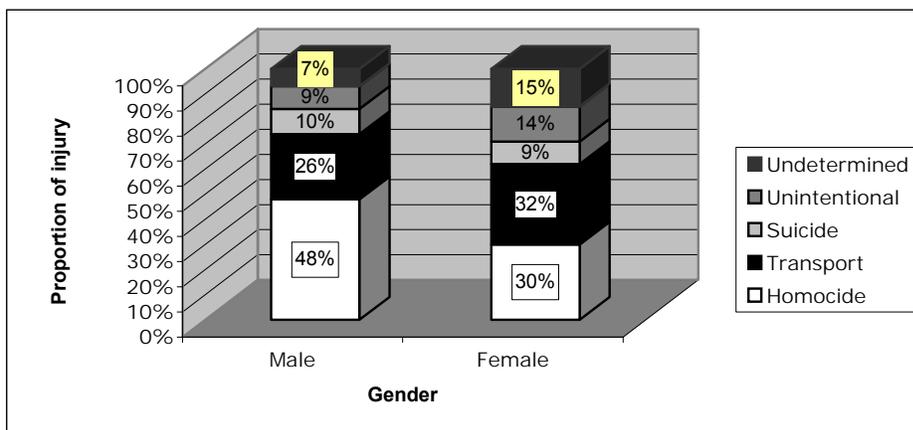
Figure 38: Fatal injuries differentiated by gender



Source: NIMSS, 2001, Prinsloo: 7

The proportional differences in the categories of fatal injuries for males and females are presented in Figure 39. Bearing in mind that 80 percent of all the fatalities were male, the figure shows that males are more likely to suffer non-natural deaths due to homicide and suicide, while females are more vulnerable to unintentional injuries including transport-related deaths. However, it is noteworthy that, regardless of gender differences, young people are at risk for injury, as the 20-39 year age group accounted for 58.5 percent of all female homicides.

Figure 39: Proportion of injury by gender



Source: NIMSS, 2001, Prinsloo: 7

Table 165 shows the percentages of the different categories of fatal injuries by population group. Overall, African people constituted 74 percent of all cases, Coloured people 12 percent, White people 11 percent and

Asian people three percent. The most striking feature of the distribution of fatalities is the high level of homicides among Coloured (50.5%) and African people (48.4%). On the other hand, levels of suicide are particularly high for White people, accounting for more than a quarter of fatalities in this group, and to a somewhat lesser extent among Indian people (18% of fatalities). Proportionately, transport-related deaths are also higher among Indian (39.3%) and White people (32.7%) than among African (26.3%) and Coloured people (24.4%), although these differences are clearly influenced by the large differences in homicide rates.

Table 165: Fatal injuries by population group (percentages)

	African	White	Coloured	Indian
Homicide	48.4	18.3	50.5	26.5
Transport	26.3	32.7	24.4	39.3
Unintentional	9.7	10.9	9.6	7.8
Suicide	7.6	26.7	6.8	18.0
Undetermined	7.9	11.4	8.7	8.3
Total	73.6	11.2	12.2	2.9

Source: NIMSS, 2001, Prinsloo: 8

To sum up, this section of the report demonstrates the extent to which violence and injury are considerable threats to the life, health and wellbeing of young people. South Africa has very high rates of homicide and suicide in general (accounting for 54% of all fatal injuries in the NIMSS dataset), but young people and, particularly young men, are involved to a great extent in these violent deaths.

8.4 YOUTH AS PERPETRATORS OF CRIME AND VIOLENCE

As Palmary & Moat (2002) observe, it is relatively easy to obtain information on victims of crime, but collecting information on perpetrators is more difficult. Not only are perpetrators less likely to talk openly about their criminal activities, but the South African Police Services do not keep statistics on the age of offenders in their crime data.

Statistics on the numbers of young people in prison provide some indication of the involvement of youth in crime. For example, in June 2002, there were 45 357 young people under the age of 26 years in prison in South Africa. This group accounted for 36 percent of the prison population. A further 27 070 people under the age of 26 were awaiting trial, accounting for 53 percent of the awaiting trial prisoner population. Palmary & Moat (2002) maintain that these statistics are probably underestimates because the criminal justice system is required to find alternatives to sending young people (particularly those under 18 years of age) to prison. Furthermore, it is not possible to determine how many of the older prisoners were convicted for crimes which they committed when they were younger than 26 years of age.

Muntingh (2003: 27) has calculated the numbers of children arrested in the different provinces between 1999 and 2002 using data from the SAPS' Crime Information and Analysis Centre. This data is presented in Table 166. The table indicates a steady increase in the numbers of arrests of children in the provinces.

Table 166: Arrest of children between 1999 and 2002, by province

Children arrested per province between 1999 and 2002				
PROVINCE	1999	2000	2001	2002 (6 months)
Eastern Cape	10 291	11 285	12 270	7 497 (14 994) ¹⁴
Free State	8 214	8 635	9 259	5 299 (10 598)
Gauteng	19 886	23 213	31 017	19 311 (38 622)
KwaZulu-Natal	21 647	24 235	27 275	16 072 (32 144)
Limpopo	3 277	4 495	5 864	3 916 (7 832)
Mpumalanga	4 550	5 370	6 606	4 025 (8 050)
Northern Cape	6 551	7 092	7 153	4 010 (8 020)
North West	3 592	4 122	5 460	4 076 (8 152)
Western Cape	36 765	31 109	32 954	20 906 (41 812)
TOTAL	114 773	119 556	137 858	85 112 (170 224)

Source: Muntingh, 2003: 27

In order to explore the involvement of youth in crime, data from the South African Arrestee Drug Abuse Monitoring Programme (SA-ADAM) was used to generate a profile of young people in trouble with the law. The SA-ADAM research programme was conducted by a consortium of research organisations between 1999 and 2000 to investigate the relationship between crime and drugs in South Africa. Based on an international drugs and crime monitoring system first initiated in the United States and applied in various other countries in different parts of the world, the SA-ADAM project consisted of two major components:

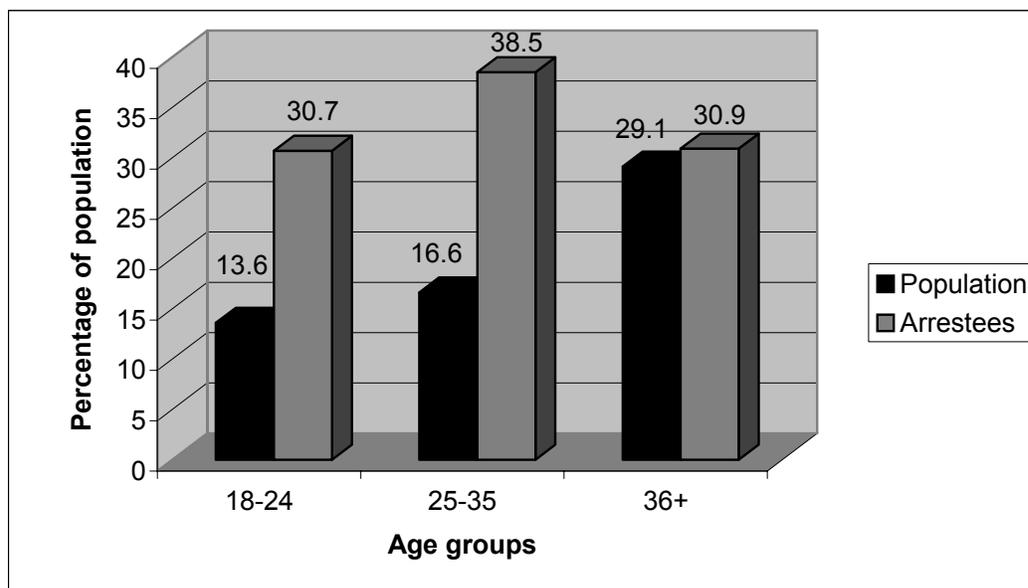
- A national survey of arrestees conducted in 146 police stations countrywide early in 2000.
- A series of three surveys conducted in selected police stations in three metropolitan sites (Cape Town, Durban and Johannesburg) between August 1999 and September 2000, and known as the *3 Metros Study*.

For the purposes of the SYR, data from the national survey were re-analyzed and supplemented with data from the 3 Metros study (Leggett, 2002). As both studies focused on persons detained by the police who had not yet been brought to trial, it is important to note that the respondents in the studies were suspected of involvement in crimes but this had not yet been proven in court. The data therefore serve as an indicator of criminal activity rather than a direct measure of such activity.

Both studies showed a predominance of young people among arrestees. Nearly seven-tenths (69.1%) of arrestees in the national survey were between the ages of 18 and 35 years, with those in the 18-25 year cohort making up 30.7 percent of the sample and those in the 25-35 year cohort making up 38.5 percent of the sample. The 3 Metros study found that nearly half of their respondents were between the ages of 18 and 25 years, with men accounting for 81 percent of their sample (Pluddemann *et al.*, 2002: 9). Figure 40 compares the percentages of arrestees in the national sample with the proportions that each age group constituted of the entire population, using data from the 1999 October Household Survey (OHS). For both the 18-24 and 25-35 year age groups, the percentages of arrestees were proportionately more than twice that of the percentages they constituted of the population, while the proportion of arrestees in the 36 years and older age group was only marginally higher than that of the population as a whole.

¹⁴ The figures in brackets are projected totals for the 12 month period.

Figure 40: Comparison of age groups as percentage of the general population (OHS 1999) with age groups of arrestees (SA-ADAM national survey)



Source: OHS, 1999 and SA-ADAM National Survey data: calculated for SYR

Table 167 provides a breakdown of the different categories of offences for which respondents were arrested by age group. The highest proportion of arrests for crimes involving violence was in the 25-35 year age group, with the 18-24 and 36 years and older age groups having relatively similar rates of involvement in violent crimes. Property offences show a strong association with the younger age groups, with 47 percent of the 18-25 year age group arrested for property offences, compared with 39 percent of the 25-35 age group and 31 percent of the 36 years and older group. While there were relatively few respondents arrested for immigration offences, the trend for this crime category is similar to that of property offences with higher percentages of younger arrestees than older arrestees. Substance-related and miscellaneous offences show opposite trends, with older respondents more likely to be arrested for these offences.

Table 167: Categories of crimes for which respondents were arrested by age group

Category of offence	Age group			
	n	18-24	25-35	36 and older
Violent offences	379	32.9	37.3	32.3
Property offences	427	47.1	38.5	30.8
Substance-related	148	9.1	11.5	20.4
Immigration	28	3.5	2.3	1.8
Miscellaneous	118	7.4	10.3	14.7
Total	1 100	100%	100%	100%

Source: SA-ADAM National Survey, 2000: calculated for SYR

Table 168, which provides a breakdown by age group of arrestees by province, shows considerable variation in the distribution of age groups in the different provinces. A number of trends can be discerned. Limpopo, the Eastern Cape, North West and KwaZulu-Natal are distinguished by high rates of arrestees in the 18-24 years age group. In Limpopo the two youth age groups made up just over 80 percent of arrestees, while in the North West and KwaZulu-Natal they made up 75 percent and 74 percent respectively of all arrestees. The Eastern Cape differs a little from this pattern in that it had a high percentage of arrestees in the 18-24

year age group, but the percentage of 25 to 35 year olds was relatively low. The four provinces with high proportions of young arrestees have a number of characteristics in common. They all have large impoverished rural populations, with limited prospects for employment and high dependence on social grants and migrant labour remittances. They are also made up from a large part of the former homelands.

For all the other provinces (Western Cape, Northern Cape, Free State, Gauteng and Mpumalanga), the percentage of 18-24 year old arrestees was lower, ranging from 23.4 percent in the Western Cape to 26 percent in the Northern Cape. In these provinces, individuals older than 24 years made up between 74 and 77 percent of all arrestees. With the exception of Mpumalanga, these provinces have high rates of urbanization and, in contrast to the four provinces previously discussed, were not sites for the location of large concentrations of rurally-based populations associated with the former homeland areas.

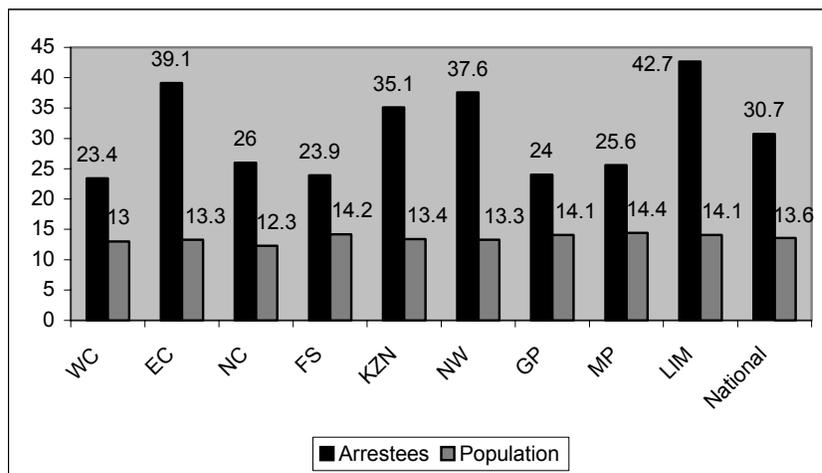
Table 168: Provincial distribution of arrestees by age group

Province	Age group				Total
	n	18-24	25-35	36 and older	
Western Cape	141	23.4	42.6	34.0	100%
Eastern Cape	184	39.1	29.3	31.5	100%
Northern Cape	50	26.0	36.0	38.0	100%
Free State	113	23.9	40.7	35.4	100%
KwaZulu-Natal	168	35.1	39.3	25.6	100%
North West	85	37.6	37.6	24.7	100%
Gauteng	183	24.0	42.1	33.9	100%
Mpumalanga	125	25.6	40.8	33.6	100%
Limpopo	82	42.7	37.8	19.5	100%
Total	1131	30.7	38.5%	30.9%	100%

Source: SA-ADAM National Survey, 2000: calculated for SYR

Figures 41 and 42 compare the provincial distribution of arrestees in the 18-24 and 25-35 year age groups with the respective percentages that each age group comprises of the total provincial populations. In all cases, the percentages of young arrestees are higher than the proportions of the provincial populations they comprise. It is also apparent from Figure 42, that the higher proportions of 18-24 year old arrestees in some of the provinces are not a product of demographic trends, or a proportionately larger number of young people in the population. For example, percentages of the 18-24 years age group do not vary greatly between the provinces, and range between 12.3 percent in the Northern Cape and 14.4 percent in Mpumalanga. While Gauteng and Limpopo, for example, have similar proportions of 18-24 year olds, the percentage of arrestees in this age group in Limpopo was nearly twice the corresponding percentage for Gauteng.

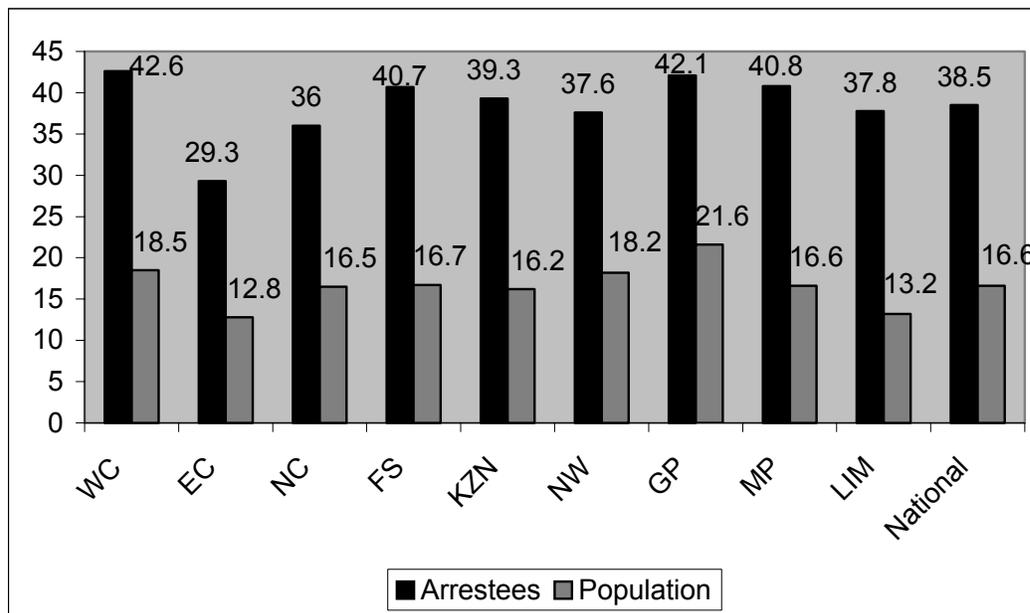
Figure 41: Comparison of 18-24 age group as percentage of the population (OHS 1999) with percentage of arrestees (SA-ADAM national survey) by province



Source: OHS, 1999 and SA-ADAM National Survey data: calculated for SYR

Demographic factors appeared to play a greater role in arrestee trends for the 25-35 year age group. The most obvious example of this is the Eastern Cape, which not only has the lowest percentage of 25-35 year olds of all the provinces, but also the lowest percentage of arrestees in this age category. This is probably a result of high levels of migration of this age group out of the province in search of work. Conversely, Gauteng (21.6%) and the Western Cape (18.5%) have the highest percentages of young people in the 25-35 year age group, as well as the highest percentages of arrestees in this age group. It is also clear that demographic trends cannot account for all the differences in arrestee rates between the different provinces. For example, while Limpopo has a relatively low percentage of 25-35 year olds (in fact, its percentage of this age group is only 0.4 percent higher than that of the Eastern Cape), it has a slightly higher percentage of arrestees than the Northern Cape, in which 25-35 year olds make up a substantially larger percentage of the population.

Figure 42: Comparison of 25-35 age group as percentage of the population (OHS 1999) with percentage of arrestees (SA-ADAM national survey) by province



Source: OHS, 1999 and SA-ADAM National Survey data: calculated for SYR

While the above analyses provide some insight into patterns of youth involvement in crime in the various provinces, the SA-ADAM data also do not permit a determination of the actual percentage of young South Africans involved in crime or in conflict with the law. In order to provide some indication of what proportion of young people had come into conflict with the law, respondents in the SYR survey were asked whether they had ever spent a night in jail or in a police holding cell, and whether they had ever been convicted of a crime in a court of law. As one would expect, some respondents were reluctant to admit that they had been convicted of a crime or spent time in prison, and thus the data collected are likely to be underestimates.

Nonetheless, ten per cent of the SYR sample of young people reported having slept overnight in a jail or a police holding cell. Of these 10.4 percent were African youth, 9.9 percent Coloured youth, 3.3 percent White youth and less than one per cent Indian youth. Males (14.3%) were more than twice as likely as females (6.1%) to have spent a night in jail, and older youth were more likely to have spent a night in jail (12.4%) than youth in the younger age group (8.4%). By gender and population group, African (15.7%) and White (14.3%) males were more likely than others to have slept overnight in jail, with relatively high numbers also for White (10.3%) and Coloured (8.2%) females. Indian males (3.4%) and females (3.2%) were the groups least likely to report having spent a night in jail. In terms of residence, metropolitan youth were the most likely to have spent a night in jail (14.6%) as compared to youth in urban non-metropolitan areas (9%) and youth in rural areas (6.9%).

Overall, four percent of youth reported ever having been convicted of a crime in a court of law, of which 4.3 percent were African, 2.1 percent White, and less than one percent Coloured and Indian. Proportionately, many more young men (6.4%) reported having been convicted of a crime than was reported by young women (1.9%), and slightly more of the older youth reported having been convicted of a crime (4.7%) than youth in the younger age group (3.6%). Metropolitan youth were more likely to have been convicted of a crime (5.4%) than youth in other urban areas (3%) and youth in rural areas (3.5%).

8.4.1 GENDER VIOLENCE

Although gender violence was not specifically explored in the SYR survey and there are no national surveys specifically focusing on gender violence among 18 to 35 year olds, other studies give some indication of the levels of gender violence among South African youth. In South Africa's national Youth Risk Behaviour Survey (2002), 13.6 percent of youth reported being assaulted (hit, smacked or physically hurt) by a boyfriend or girlfriend in the previous six months. There was no significant difference in reporting assault between males and females. However, White students were significantly less likely to report partner assault (5.8%) in the previous six months than African (14.4%) and Coloured students (13.6%). One fifth of youth, 19 years and older, reported being assaulted by a partner in the previous six months. Similarly, 13.2 percent of this age group reported having physically hurt their partners in the previous six months. Again there was no significant difference in reporting between males and females. However, African males (16.6%) were significantly more likely to report hitting their partner than African females (12.3%). White students (5.8%) were significantly less likely to report assaulting a partner than either African (14.21%) or Coloured students (11.7%).

In the same survey, 9.8 percent of youth reported having been forced to have sex. Again there were significant differences in reporting between White (5.0%) and African students (10.4%). Within race and age groups, more females reported being forced to have sex than males. Overall, 8.3 percent of youth reported having forced someone to have sex: White students, 2.6 percent and African students, 9.0 percent. There were no significant differences between males and females overall, but Coloured males were three times more likely to report having forced someone to have sex than Coloured females. A report of having forced someone to have sex increased with age. The parity between males and females in this data are hard to explain, except by the young age of the sample.

Smaller surveys, and studies of older age groups, find higher levels of gender violence. A survey of sexual violence in schools and in residential areas of South Johannesburg showed that a third of schoolgirls had experienced sexual harassment (Community Information and Epidemiological Technologies, 2000, cited by Brookes & Higson-Smith, 2004). Swart *et al.* (2002) found that, overall, approximately half of males and female students from a survey of 928 respondents (Grades 9 to 12, age range 13-23 years) in seven high schools in Eldorado Park, Johannesburg, reported either being a perpetrator or a victim of physical violence in romantic relationships within the previous 12 months.

Surveys of domestic violence also give some indication of levels of gender violence. The CSVN report reviews a number of community surveys showing that between one fifth and a third of women in three provinces reported physical abuse by a partner in their lifetime (Jewkes *et al.* 1999). Abrahams *et al.* (1999), in a study of 1 394 working men in three Cape Town municipalities, reported that 44 percent admitted abusing their female partners. Jewkes *et al.* (1999) found that the incidence of rape of women between 18 and 49 years was 1 300 per 100 000 (CSVN 2001).

Survey findings give a wide range of gender violence levels. The higher levels of gender violence in smaller surveys cannot be generalised to the whole population and more work needs to be done to provide an accurate assessment of the extent of the problem nationally. Nevertheless, gender violence is high and presents a considerable health risk, especially in the context of high HIV prevalence.

8.4.2 YOUTH AND REHABILITATION: THE CHILD JUSTICE BILL

Against the background of high levels of crime and violence among young South Africans, what policies have been put in place to address the issue of youth in conflict with the law? While various programmes have been developed to address this issue, undoubtedly the most important has been the development of a juvenile justice system in South Africa. When it is enacted, the Child Justice Bill will be the first law in South Africa to address the issue of children in conflict with the law.

The evolution of a child justice system in South Africa can be traced back to the 1970s and 1980s, when thousands of young people were detained for expressing their opposition to *Apartheid*, resulting in a national and international outcry by human rights activists. At the same time, large numbers of children were awaiting trial for non-political offences, largely vagrancy, which included street work and begging. Calls for a more equitable system to deal with children and young people in conflict with the law continued into the early 1990s, when the National Institute for Crime Prevention and the Reintegration of Offenders (NICRO), introduced the use of diversion¹⁵ as an alternative to the incarceration of children.

This was accompanied by a number of other civil society initiatives, including the establishment of referral and assessment procedures; the development of arrest, reception and referral centres; the monitoring of children awaiting trial in prison and police cells; and non-custodial sentencing options (Muntingh, 2003: 17). These civil society initiatives were matched by a commitment from the newly elected democratic government of 1994. For example, in his first address to parliament, President Nelson Mandela declared that the government would “as a matter of urgency, attend to the tragic and complex question of children and juveniles in detention and prison.”

Following a request by the Minister of Justice and Constitutional Affairs, the South African Law Commission set up a project committee in 1997 and, following extensive consultation, published a draft Bill in 1998. The final report of the Commission, which included the Child Justice Bill, was released towards the end of 2000, and approved by a cabinet committee in 2001.

In its preamble, The Child Justice Bill proposes to establish “a criminal justice process for children accused of committing offences which aims to protect the rights of children entrenched in the Constitution and provided for in international instruments; to provide for the minimum age of criminal capacity of such children; to incorporate diversion of cases away from formal court procedures as a central feature of the process; to establish assessment of children and a preliminary inquiry as compulsory procedures; to provide that children must be tried in child justice courts and to extend the sentencing options available in respect of children; to entrench the notion of restorative justice in respect of children; and to provide for matters incidental thereto.” (Child Justice Bill: 1, cited by Muntingh, 2003: 18).

A central feature of the new system introduced by the Bill is diversion. Within the context of the Bill, the main purposes of diversion are to encourage the child to be accountable for the harm caused; to meet the particular needs of the individual child; to promote the reintegration of the child into the family and community; to provide an opportunity to those affected by the harm to express their views on its impact on them; to encourage the rendering to the victim of some symbolic benefit or the delivery of some object as compensation for the harm; to promote reconciliation between the child and the person or persons or

¹⁵ Diversion has been defined as “strategies developed in the youth justice system to prevent young people from committing crime or to ensure that they avoid formal court action and custody if they are arrested and prosecuted” (Muncie, 1999 cited by Wood, 2003: 1).

community affected by the harm caused; to prevent stigmatising the child and prevent adverse consequences flowing from being subject to the criminal justice system; and to prevent the child from having a criminal record (Wood, 2003: 4).

While few studies have been conducted to evaluate the effectiveness of existing diversion programmes, studies that have been undertaken generally indicate positive results. However, the main problem facing diversion practice in South Africa today is that it is unregulated and inconsistently applied in different parts of the country (Wood, 2003: 18). The implementation of the Child Justice Bill will go a long way towards addressing these problems.

8.5 CONCLUSION

Young people in South African, and abroad, are disproportionately involved in crime as both victims and perpetrators. This section has reviewed some of the evidence that has helped to establish this connection between youth and crime and violence.

In particular, data gathered through the National Injury Mortality Surveillance System (NIMSS) has shown that young people bear a disproportionate share of the deaths from violence and other non-natural causes. Deaths from homicide and suicide peak between the ages of 20 and 34 years, and this age cohort also accounts for 40% of transport-related deaths. In 2001, young people between the ages of 20 and 34 years accounted for 55 percent of homicides and 47 percent of suicides.

Crime and violence also have a strong gender element associated with them. For example, eighty percent of the total non-natural deaths recorded by the NIMSS were male, as against twenty percent of female deaths. While survey findings differ as to the extent of violence against women and girls in South Africa, indications are that gender violence is high and presents a considerable health risk, especially in the context of high HIV prevalence. The Gender Machinery in South Africa, consisting of the Commission of Gender Equality, the Office on the Status of Women as well as a powerful and vocal non-governmental sector, have been instrumental in raising the profile of gender issues; for example, gender violence, which has resulted in the promulgation of the Domestic Violence Act of 1998. This lobby group has also been credited with other landmark pieces of legislation including the Termination of Pregnancy Act (1996), Recognition of Customary Marriages Act (1998) and the Maintenance Act (1998).

While it is more difficult to obtain accurate data on perpetrators of crime, existing information indicates that young people are over-represented as perpetrators of crime. For example, in June 2002, 36% of the prison population was under the age of 16 years, while 53% of those awaiting trial fell into the same age group. Similarly, the SA-ADAM national survey of arrestees showed that 69% of people detained by the police were between 18 and 35 years.

Various policies and programmes have been developed to address the high rates of youth involvement in crime and violence, the most important being the development of a juvenile justice system. When enacted, the Child Justice Bill will be the first law in South Africa to address the issue of children in conflict with the law. The main problem currently facing diversion practice in South Africa today is that it is unregulated and inconsistently applied in different parts of the country (Wood, 2003: 18). The implementation of the Child Justice Bill will go a long way towards addressing these problems.

Various explanations have been put forward for why South African youth are disproportionately involved in crime and violence. Some of these relate to South Africa's past, to the political and other violence to which children and young people were exposed, and to the disintegration of families and communities under *Apartheid* (Dawes, 2003; Emmett, 2003; Dissel, 1997). The current context of high levels of unemployment and poverty in South Africa has also been seen as creating both the opportunity and incentive for involvement in crime and violence. For example, out of school and out of work youth find themselves without structured activities to absorb their energies and to give them a direction in life and a sense of self-worth. Such youth spend more time on the streets, where they come into contact with youth gangs and are tempted to compensate for their lack of earnings by resorting to crime.

The social and psychological impacts of unemployment must also be taken into account. Work is a source of both identity and social status and, as such, provides people with a sense of self-worth and self-esteem. Research has shown that unemployed people often experience feelings of low esteem as a result of not being involved in activities that are valued by other people (Du Toit, 2003). Various other forms of psychological and social harm have been associated with unemployment, including loss of motivation and self-confidence, constraints on human interaction, disruption of family relationships, the weakening of social values, and the accentuation of racial tensions and gender asymmetries (see, for example, Sen 1997 and Sen, 1999). In particular, the sense of social exclusion experienced by unemployed young people is likely to weaken their commitment to social norms that might otherwise prevent them from engaging in socially unacceptable, criminal and violent behaviours. Unemployed young people are also likely to seek out alternative sources of self-worth, self-esteem and social status and to find deviant or unlawful means of acquiring the material trappings necessary for recognition by their peers.

Writing about gangs and gangsterism in the Western Cape, Pinnock (1996 & 1998) argues that street gangs serve important social purposes for youth. One such purpose is that gangs provide the sense of belonging and emotional support that is often absent from dysfunctional families and tough, alienated neighbourhoods. However, even more important in Pinnock's view is that gangs provide their members with the rituals or "rites of passage" from childhood to adulthood. Quoting the anthropologist Joseph Campbell, Pinnock (1996:10) argues that "boys everywhere have a need for rituals marking their passage to manhood. If society does not provide them they will inevitably invent their own."

From Pinnock's perspective, the involvement of young people in crime and violence is not so much a product of the transition to adulthood as an integral part of the transition or, at least a part of the attempt by young men to forge for themselves a passage to manhood and respect. These attempts to create a passage to adulthood take place under the difficult conditions of poverty, unemployment and the disintegration of families and communities. As Pinnock (1996: 11) points out, "crimes of violence happen when the underpinnings of our culture fail, when the ties that hold us together, socialise our children and satisfy our needs are broken."

Ramphela (1991 & 2002) has documented the difficult conditions under which children in poor communities grow up, in the absence of successful role models, particularly male role models, and within family and community settings that have been eroded by poverty and repression:

What seems to characterise the legacy of *Apartheid* on the vital institutions of society is the uncertainty that comes from rapid change in fortunes at the personal, family, school, and wider community level. In fact, uncertainty permeates every facet of the residents of New Crossroads. It has bred deep insecurity and mistrust.

Whereas the family is meant to provide a safe haven in life's troubled waters, in New Crossroads uncertainty permeates family life in a manner difficult for outsiders to comprehend. The family unit cannot be taken for granted and the availability of a mother, let alone both parents, is a luxury few children enjoy. In addition the provision of basic needs is beyond the means of many, and trusting and respectful relationships are an exception rather than the rule. The family is under siege from the combined legacy of the migrant labour system, poverty, adherence to outmoded traditions, and the changing roles of men and women as gender politics is reconfigured everywhere in post-*Apartheid* South Africa (Ramphele, 2002: 153-4).

It is within these contexts of poverty, mistrust, the disintegration of families and communities, the lack of care and nurturing of children and the immense difficulties that young people face in attaining recognition and respect as adults and integrated members of society, that high levels of youth crime and violence become understandable. Not only do these conditions help to explain the high levels of fatal injuries among young men, but also the violence that is inflicted on women and girls. As Ramphele (2002: 160) points out, the 'dissonance between the cultural expectations of gender power relations on the one hand, and the reality of powerlessness on the other, sets off a vicious cycle of low self-esteem, resentment, anger and abuse of the very source of your support – the woman: mother, sister, wife, lover.'

These issues, regarding the social integration of young people, are taken up in greater detail in the next section of the report. The White Paper on Correctional Services of 2005, in offering a paradigm shift towards crime from a punitive approach to one of correction and rehabilitation, recognises that fundamental change needs to come from rebuilding families and through community cohesion. Such an assertion is also expressed in the Department of Social Development's Integrated National Family Policy (2005) that highlights the importance of addressing the basic needs of families and systematically rebuilding them. These efforts are directed at reassigning the nurturing and caring role for youth that is best suited to family and community institutions.

SOCIAL INTEGRATION AND CIVIC ENGAGEMENT

Summary points

1. Against a background of high and rising youth unemployment, poverty, HIV/AIDS, financial and residential dependence, early and unwanted pregnancies and crime and violence, there is cause for concern about the continued marginalisation and social exclusion of some sections of South African youth.
2. In common with global trends, young South Africans seem to be less engaged in political participation, including registering to vote and voting.
3. Involvement in youth and community organisations is regarded as an important indicator of youth civic engagement, as well as a predictor of involvement in civic and political affairs in later life. Analyses of the social activities of South African youth show limited participation in organized activities with, for example, 66 percent of respondents never having participated in a community sports team, 75 percent never having been involved with a community society or club, and 80 percent never having been a member of a civic or community organisation. The one exception to this trend is the relatively high attendance of religious services.
4. Participation patterns tend to differ according to gender, age, population group, urban-rural location and employment status.
5. Substantial racial inequalities exist in school sporting facilities and in participation in sports in schools.
6. Utilization of community facilities such as youth centres, parks and sports facilities also differ markedly between different social categories of youth. For example, Coloured and African youth were more than twice as likely to use youth centres as Indian and White youth, while Indian and White youth made greater use of sports facilities. Rural areas had the lowest rates of participation in these facilities, largely because of inadequate provision and access.
7. Differences by access and advantage are also evident in relation to activities such as listening to the radio, watching television, using the Internet, and reading books, newspapers and magazines. For example, Indian youth had high rates of listening to the radio, watching television and reading newspapers, while use of the Internet and the playing of computer and arcade games were high among White youth. African and Coloured youth had higher rates of reading books for entertainment, while White youth were more likely to read books for study purposes.

8. After ten years of non-racial government, friendships across racial lines are still relatively limited, particularly for African youth.

Success is a Child ...

She rises earlier than the sun to prepare for 64 children – infants, toddlers, and those who don't want to be kissed anymore – who for the whole day will call her Mama. Thembi Matshika from Etwatwa, Daveyton, has been running a crèche for children between the ages 0 to 6 for five years and is planning to grow her services.

After matriculating in 1992, Thembi became another statistic of youth unemployment. Thembi's mother, a single parent employed as a domestic worker, saved as much as she could, and in 1994 Thembi enrolled at Technikon South Africa to study media studies, communication and business management. However, notwithstanding her mother's financial contribution, Thembi could not complete the course due to financial difficulties.

Fortunately, after she matriculated, Thembi had become a member of the Tshepo Themba Youth Club [a programme of the Southern African Association of Youth Clubs (SAAYC)]. At that time, she wasn't working or studying, and she joined because she was interested in the singing and drama activities. She then completed SAAYC's Breakthrough Programme and confesses that when she started the programme she was just expecting to go on the trips and have fun, but it turned out to be much more than that! For Thembi her greatest breakthrough was learning to love herself. The leadership, communication and relationship skills that she learned through the programme, allowed her to identify and further develop her strengths and talents.

Once she completed the Breakthrough Programme, Thembi volunteered at the Tshepo Themba Youth Club looking after children who came to the clubhouse after school or during holidays. Thembi's creativity and positive attitudes brought compliments from the children's parents, who noticed a change in their children's attitude and behaviour. Thembi's volunteering at the clubhouse led her to discover a special gift for working with children. Building on this discovery, Thembi started operating her own crèche in 1999.

Sixty-four little feet tumble through Thembi's front gate at 07h00 and leave her crèche at 16h30. She has put a lot of thought and care into designing the children's daily programme, which includes: building blocks, cleanliness, breakfast, art/colouring, music time, traditional dance, story time and rhymes. Each activity is designed to stimulate a child's overall development, including their problem solving skills, language development, visual-spatial and other skills necessary for growth. Understanding first-hand the challenges of young people in her community, Thembi thoughtfully provides children with the internal structures to deal with challenges they might encounter. For instance, having found joy and escape in music, she finds that song allows children to cope more effectively with their home life. She passes on the life skills that she acquired at SAAYC through her story hour where each story is designed to pass on a life lesson. In addition, in order to expose the children to the outside world, Thembi arranges trips that are both educational and fun, such as going to the fire station or to the traffic-training centre. Thembi considers the graduation ceremonies held at the end of the year for the children as her personal success. The graduations are a chance for the children to showcase for their parents what they have learnt at crèche.

It is no wonder that Thembi's enrolment figures grow each year and that parents are impressed with the service that she provides. In order to keep growing her dream, twenty-nine year-old Thembi has brought her sister on board as a partner in the crèche. To ensure that the sixty-four hungry mouths are well fed she also employs a cook to prepare breakfast, lunch and a snack for the children.

Running a crèche has not been smooth sailing for Thembi. She knows first-hand the challenges of initiating a business: going to social workers/clinics, finding space to work and telling people about her business. When she started, Thembi did not have money for equipment. All she could afford was a blackboard and she housed the first child enrolled in her crèche in the dining room. In addition, she had to ensure that she complied with the health inspector's regulations. After much perseverance she finally built a room behind her house for the crèche. "It takes patience for a young person to succeed, without it you will just give up. It took five years for my business to get where it is and to set myself up. I receive lots of motivation from the parents of the children that I take care of. At one point I wanted to close the crèche due to financial difficulties and a lack of space, but the parents were happy with my work and their children's development," Thembi says proudly.

Having realised the value of motivation, Thembi often meets with fellow crèche owners to share experiences and provide support for each other. She also attends SETA workshops for crèche owners, which look at new activities, such as making toys. Unfortunately for Thembi, she cannot implement all the activities that she learns in the workshops because of lack of space in her crèche.

However, these challenges do not dampen Thembi's outlook on life. As she sees it, the crèche provides a valuable service for parents who have to go to work, while also giving her a sense of financial security in her life. In addition, it provides a foundation for further personal and professional development. Thembi notes that she is determined to further her studies: "I want to be a health inspector or a crèche assessor or trainer."

In offering advice to others, Thembi maintains, "Young people must not wait for hand-outs. Don't have the attitude that I can't do anything because I have no money, no education or that my background holds me back. If you are creative and willing to 'do' you will be able to."

Source: Profile compiled by the Youth Development Network for the 'Celebrating Youth' function

A recurring theme in this report – and indeed in the literature on South African youth as a whole, is the concern that sections of young people remain in the mainstream of South African society.

Concern about the marginalisation of South African youth first arose in the 1970s and 1980s when large numbers of young people were drawn into the frontlines of the often violent struggle against *Apartheid*. Growing awareness of the social devastation that decades of racial oppression, inequality, poverty and violence (both political and interpersonal), had wrought on children and young people also served to focus concern on the youth. It was against this background that the term 'the lost generation' was coined, and debates raged about a 'crisis' among South African youth, culminating in two major studies on youth in South Africa.

Shortly before the election of a democratic government in 1994, Everatt & Orkin, (1993:34-35) estimated that a third of young South Africans were marginalized from society, and that a further 43 percent were 'at risk'. Only a quarter of South Africans between 16 and 30 years of age were regarded as fully engaged with society. These estimates were based on an index the authors developed to assess the extent to which young people saw themselves as having little or no future; were alienated from their families, jobs and schools; described themselves as violent or angry; had never heard of AIDS; were out of touch with or hostile to the changes taking place in South Africa; had low self-esteem; and were not involved in any social organisation or structure.

While much has changed since the early 1990s, concerns continue to be expressed about the youth. A decade later, many young South Africans are seen as disengaged and individualistic. Some of the major youth-centred initiatives of the 1990s have struggled under managerial and financial constraints with the past decade being depicted as one of "lost opportunities" (Everatt, 2000). Against a background of high levels of youth unemployment, political disaffection, the decline of social institutions and the ravages of HIV/AIDS, the marginalisation of South African youth remains a threat:

There is particular concern that large sections of the youth particularly those that live in rural areas have been marginalized and are not effectively participating in the transformation process. The youth are seen in a fundamental sense as disempowered and excluded. (Mkandawire, 2002)

There are also various indications of lower rates of participation by youth in civil society organisations. For example, a recent study of civil society in South Africa by IDASA and CORE (2001:22) drew attention to the small number of civil society organisations involved with young people. Qualitative data from a study on the constraints on the delivery of services to children and youth indicated limited involvement of youth in civil society (including sports organisations), as well as the fragility of existing youth organisations. A related trend was that South African youth, particularly those in rural areas, perceived their parents and

other adults as unsupportive and even discouraging of their involvement in civil society (Emmett *et al.*, 2002). These are troubling developments because, as Flanagan and Faison (2001) point out, adults (and particularly parents) play a pivotal role in the civic development of youth.

As the findings of the SYR study have shown, marginalisation of many young South Africans remains a cause for concern:

- Youth unemployment remains high and appears to be growing. Two-thirds of the SYR sample of 18 to 35 year-olds have never had a job and remain financially dependent upon others. The inability of large segments of South African youth to participate in labour markets is a key feature of their exclusion from, and an obstacle to, their integration into society.
- Large numbers of youth also remain trapped in poverty. Although a relative majority of young people perceived an improvement in their financial situation in the past ten years, others, in particular those who grew up under conditions of severe impoverishment and those belonging to historically disadvantaged groups, saw their financial positions as having deteriorated over time.
- While young South Africans place a high value on setting up their own homes and starting their own families, a majority of youth lack the means to do so now and into the future. In consequence, large numbers of South African youth remain financially and residentially dependent on their families of origin.
- Marriage rates among young people appear to be declining, particularly among young people from poor and historically disadvantaged groups. Over the years the numbers of disadvantaged female-headed households have grown, constituting a further source of impoverishment.
- Many young women drop out of school because of early and unwanted pregnancies, as do some young men, and many young people, both male and female, are unable to continue with their education because of a lack of financial resources.
- In the context of HIV/AIDS, extensive poverty and high levels of interpersonal violence, young people face serious threats to their health and well-being, and many are landed with the responsibility for the care of kin as deaths in families mount.
- Levels of crime and violence remain high, with young people accounting for the largest proportions of both victims and perpetrators of crime and violence.

All of these developments hinder the integration of young people into society and their active participation in growing our democracy. The consolidation of democracy in South Africa depends, in large part, on the socialisation of youth into a “good” adult citizenry and their integration into the society and polity. The engagement of youth and their integration into society also plays a major role in determining whether young people will develop trust in their fellow citizens and the institutions of their society and will contribute to the common good.

This section explores the social relationships and social integration of young people, their involvement in organisations and organised activities, their use of community facilities, and their relationships with members of other population groups. Given the very low rates of participation by young South Africans in labour markets and continuing *de facto* residential segregation of racial groups, the social integration of

young people into their communities and broader society is of importance to the political and social stability of South Africa.

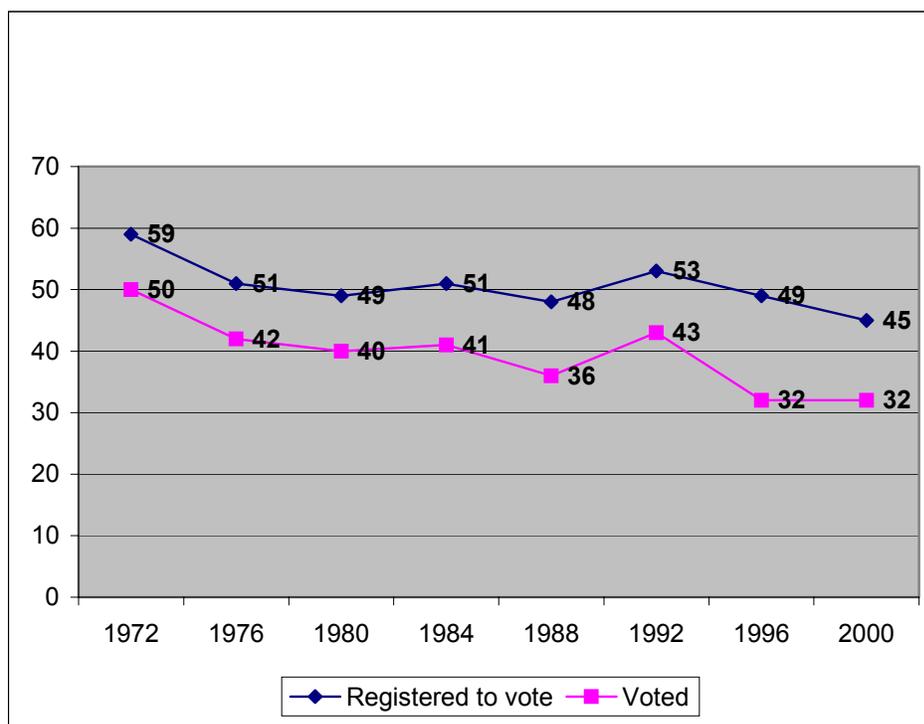
9.1 POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

As Flanagan & Faison (2001:4) point out, “voting provides the barometer of the public’s trust in the political process and in the government”. Electoral trends since 1994 have been indicative of a withdrawal of South African youth from political participation. For example, only about a quarter of South Africans between 18 and 29 voted in the local government elections of December 2000. While young people voted in large numbers in the first democratic election of 1994, their interest had dissipated by the next general election in 1999 (Levin, 2000). In the run up to the 2004 general election, concerns were once expressed about young South Africans’ withdrawal from, and disenchantment with, politics. In a leading article early in 2004, the *Mail & Guardian* posed the question whether the ‘young lions’ of the 1980s have been replaced by a generation of ‘young yawners’: “In just 10 years arguably one of the most highly politicized generations of youth has given way to one in which apathy is unprecedented and disenchantment with politics is acute.”¹⁶

It should be noted, however, that low voter participation by youth is a global trend. In the United States, for example, the participation of young people in elections has also been declining over the years. While 50 percent of 18-24-year-olds voted in the 1972 presidential election, their participation dropped to 41 percent in 1984 and 32 percent in 2000 (Zaff & Michelsen, 2002:1-2) - see Figure 43

¹⁶ *Mail & Guardian*, January 30-February 5 2004. See also Hopewell Radebe, ‘Finding ways to attract youth to politics’, *Business Day*, 9 December 2003, p. 3.

Figure 43: Percentage of youth (18-24 years) who are registered and voted in the US presidential elections, 1972-2000



Source: Child Trends DataBank, 2004

Prior to the 1994 election, young South Africans seemed to be as determined as their older counterparts to vote. As Table 169 shows, the percentages of young people (in the 18-24 and 25-35 year age groups) who indicated that they would vote or try their best to vote were very similar to those of the 36 years and older group, and the small differences that did exist were not statistically significant.

Table 169: Respondents who said they would vote in the general election of 1994 by age group

Voting intention	18-24 years		25-35 years		Older than 35 years	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
I will definitely vote	344	64.9	425	66.1	734	65.8
I will try my best to vote	65	12.3	51	7.9	103	9.6
I will vote if I have the time and it is easy to vote	28	5.3	24	3.7	46	4.3
I am not sure whether I will vote	39	7.4	54	8.4	88	7.9
I will definitely not vote	24	4.5	40	6.2	56	5.3
Uncertain/D on't know	25	4.7	44	6.8	73	6.2
Refuse to say	5	0.9	5	0.8	11	0.9
Total	530	100%	643	100%	1111	100

HSRC Omnibus Survey, 1994

There were, however, statistically significant differences in the extent to which the different age groups believed that their votes would make a difference to the outcome of the 1994 election, with young people far more likely to believe that their votes would make a difference than their older counterparts. While both the 18-24 and 25-35 year age groups were more optimistic about their votes making a difference than people older than 35 years, this trend tended to be slightly more pronounced among the youngest age group.

Table 170: Extent to which respondents believed their votes would make a difference in the outcome of the general election of 1994 by age group

Vote impact	18-24 years		25-35 years		Older than 35 years	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
To a very large extent	90	16.9	103	16.1	143	13.0
To a large extent	189	35.6	217	34.0	305	27.6
To a small extent	115	21.7	130	20.3	292	26.4
Not at all	43	8.1	72	11.3	124	11.2
Uncertain	94	17.7	117	18.3	240	21.7
Total	531	100%	639	100%	1104	100%

HSRC Omnibus Survey, 1994

Overall, younger people also expressed a higher degree of interest in the election than voters who were older than 35 years, as illustrated in Table 171.

Table 171: Degree of interest in the election of an interim/transitional government in 1994 by age group

Interest	18-24 years		25-35 years		Older than 35 years	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Very interested	176	33.1	220	34.3	395	35.7
Interested	233	43.9	269	42.0	406	36.7
Neither interested nor uninterested	47	8.9	56	8.7	124	11.2
Uninterested	33	6.2	24	3.7	61	5.5
Very uninterested	14	2.6	33	5.1	42	3.8
Uncertain/D on't know	28	5.3	39	6.1	78	7.1
Total	531	100%	641	100%	1106	100%

HSRC Omnibus Survey, 1994

Differences between the age groups were most apparent in relation to their expectations of changes in their standard of living that they thought would result from participating in the election. As Table 172 shows, the 18-24 year age group was most optimistic that there would be changes and that these changes would come about most rapidly after the election. For example, nearly four times as many respondents who were older than 35 years (16.5%) felt that their standard of living would not improve as a result of the election than those in the 18-24 year age group (4.7%). Furthermore, 48.5 percent of 18-25 year olds believed that their standard of living would improve within three years, in contrast with 38 percent of 25-35 year olds and 32.7 percent of those in the oldest age group.

Table 172: Respondents' expectations of how soon after the election their standard of living would improve greatly after the general election of 1994 by age group

Expectations	18-24 years		25-35 years		Older than 35 years	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Will not improve	25	4.7	73	11.4	182	16.5
In six months	70	13.3	77	12.0	103	9.3
In one year	103	19.3	84	13.1	133	12.1
In three years	84	15.9	83	12.9	125	11.3
In five years	77	14.6	93	14.5	145	13.1
In ten years	28	5.3	40	6.2	55	5.0
After more than ten years	20	3.8	45	7.0	50	4.5
Uncertain/D onot know	122	23.1	146	22.8	310	28.1
Total	528	100%	641	100%	1103	100

HSRC Omnibus Survey, 1994

During the next general election in 1999, the Independent Electoral Commission reported that 42.6 percent of 18-20 year old and 69 percent of 21-30 year old eligible voters had registered for the election. This meant that about 3.3 million eligible young voters did not register for the election. Given the overall 85 percent general

turnout figure, it was estimated that a further 877 000 registered young voters did not cast their votes¹⁷. Based on an HSRC omnibus survey conducted in March 1999, Table 173 provides an indication of differences in registration rates between the age groups, but does not capture the extent of young South Africans' failure to register. Nevertheless, the table does suggest that the younger the eligible voter, the less likely they were to register to vote in 1999.

Table 173: Respondents who said that they had registered to vote in the 1999 election by age group

Registered to vote	18-24 years		25-35 years		Older than 35 years	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Yes	345	82.1	518	84.6	1015	87.7
No	75	17.9	94	15.4	143	12.3
Total	420	100%	612	100%	1158	100%

Source: HSRC Omnibus Survey, 1999

In the same survey, respondents who said that they had not registered to vote were asked to state the main reasons why they hadn't. For 18 to 24 year olds, 46 percent indicated that they did not have an identity document, as against 16 percent of 25 to 35 year olds and 31 percent of respondents older than 35 years. It is striking that the percentage of 25-35 year olds who said they did not have an identity document was considerably smaller, not only than that of 18-24 year olds, but also than that of respondents older than 35 years. Also of interest was that about a quarter of 25-35 year olds said that they had not registered because they were "not interested in the election". While slightly lower, the percentages of the other age groups who were not interested, was also relatively high. Against the background of responses obtained before the 1994 election, these results suggest a falling off of interest in participating in elections; especially among young South Africans (see Table 174).

Table 174: Reasons given by respondents for not registering to vote in the 1999 election by age group

Reasons	18-24 years		25-35 years		Older than 35 years	
	n	%	n	%	N	%
Not eligible to vote	2	2.7	10	11.1	10	7.3
Did not know that I had to register	-	-	-	-	4	1.3
Registration period was too short	2	2.7	3	3.3	1	2.0
Far from registration point at time	1	1.4	6	6.7	12	6.3
Registration point already closed	3	4.1	6	6.7	4	4.3
It was examination time	1	1.4	1	1.1	3	1.7
Did not possess identity document	34	45.9	14	15.6	42	29.9
Not interested in the election	16	21.6	23	25.6	33	23.9
Did not have time to register	10	13.9	16	17.8	13	13.0
Information about registration not complete	3	4.1	5	5.6	2	3.3
Did not know where to register	-	-	-	-	1	0.3
Other reasons	2	2.7	6	6.7	12	6.6
Total	74	100%	90	100%	137	100

Source: HSRC Omnibus Survey, 1999

Respondents in the HSRC's 1999 Omnibus Survey were also asked whether they intended to vote in the 1999 election. The results suggest that the younger the eligible voter, the less likely he/she was likely to vote, but the differences were not statistically significant (see Table 175).

¹⁷ *Daily Mail & Guardian*, June 21 1999.

Table 175: Respondents who said they intended to vote in the 1999 election by age group

Intend to vote	18-24 years		25-35 years		Older than 35 years	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Yes	366	86.5	547	88.7	1046	88.9
No	34	8.0	45	7.3	71	6.8
Uncertain	23	5.4	25	4.1	47	4.3
Total	423	100%	617	100%	1164	100%

Source: HSRC Omnibus Survey, 1999

In spite of these indications with respect to elections, the 1999 Omnibus survey contains little or no indication of higher levels of dissatisfaction among young people at this time over an extensive range of questions about life in South African society. For many of the questions there were no statistically significant differences in levels of satisfaction or dissatisfaction between the three age groups. Where significant differences did occur, generally younger respondents were *more* satisfied and optimistic than their older counterparts. For example, Table 176 presents the responses of the 1999 sample to the question: 'How do you think the general economic situation in the country will change during the next twelve months, if at all?' The data clearly show higher levels of optimism among the younger age groups, with 55.8 percent of 18-24 year olds saying that the situation would get better as against 49.2 percent of 25-35 year olds and only 40.1 percent of respondents older than 35. Similar trends were obtained in relation to changes in the economic situation over a five-year period.

Table 176: Expectations of how the general economic situation of the country would change over 12 months by age group, 1999

	18-24 years		25-35 years		Older than 35 years	
	n	%	n	%	N	%
Get a lot worse	47	11.2	87	14.2	167	14.4
Get a little worse	48	11.4	79	12.9	200	17.2
Stay about the same	44	10.5	85	13.8	186	16.0
Get a little better	168	39.9	204	33.2	325	28.0
Get a lot better	67	15.9	98	16.0	140	12.1
Don't know	47	11.2	61	9.9	142	12.2
Total	421	100%	614	100%	1 106	100%

Source: HSRC Omnibus Survey, 1999

Younger respondents also showed higher levels of satisfaction than their older counterparts with the general political situation in the country, with relatively small but statistically significant differences between the age groups. Even in relation to whether the government had had a positive or negative effect on the prospects of respondents getting or keeping their jobs, younger respondents were not significantly more dissatisfied than older respondents, with between 56 percent and 57 percent of the three age groups rating the impact of government policies on the job market as "bad".

Higher levels of political and economic disenchantment were apparent among high school learners in Gauteng in a survey on civic engagement conducted by the HSRC in 2003 (Emmett, 2004). For example, it was found that nearly a third (32%) of learners were in agreement with the statement, 'I wish that we still lived in the old South Africa'; 29 percent of African learners in the sample indicated that they wished they still lived in the 'old South Africa'. This percentage compared with 18 percent of Indian learners, 26 percent of Coloured learners and 44 percent of White learners. A quarter of African learners, 29 percent of Indian learners and 24 percent of Coloured learners also indicated that they were likely to leave South Africa

because they did not like the way the government was run. More learners from poorer households wished that they lived in the 'old South Africa' than learners from wealthier households. Furthermore, nearly half of the respondents (45%) felt that other race groups had more advantages than they did.

The survey also showed low levels of trust in other people, in the government and economy, and in local institutions among learners. For example:

- Two-thirds of the respondents felt that it was necessary to be careful in one's dealings with other people, whereas only 20 percent felt that one could usually trust other people.
- A relative majority (43%) of respondents felt that "government does not care what you think" as against 35 percent who felt that "government is interested in what you think".
- Furthermore, 61 percent of learners agreed with the statement that "the people who run the country are not really concerned with what happens to you", while only 17 percent disagreed.
- Just over half of the sample indicated that the "government will do whatever it wants to, no matter what people like us feel", with a quarter disagreeing.

Trust in government was strongly mediated by race, with minority groups, and especially White and Indian learners, more likely to mistrust the government. For example, 65 percent of White learners, 53 percent of Indian learners, 51 percent of Coloured learners and 35 percent of African learners indicated that the government did not care what one thought.

High levels of disillusionment among learners were also apparent with regard to their economic prospects and especially about finding jobs after completing their education:

- 77 percent of learners agreed that no matter how well educated they were, it would be difficult for them to find good jobs;
- 61 percent felt that people leaving school in the 1990s found it easier to find jobs than they would;
- 48 percent maintained that their families were having "more money troubles now than in the past few years";
- 47 percent were worried that members of their families who were employed might lose their jobs in the next year, and
- 58 percent maintained that it was harder to find housing that their families could afford.

Racial differences were far less pronounced in these sentiments than they were in the political sphere. That is, learners were worried about being able to access employment regardless of their population group. A similar situation applied to perceptions of personal safety, with more than 60 percent of respondents indicating that they did not feel safe in their communities. Somewhat more respondents (68%) indicated feeling safe in their schools. However, nearly half of the sample (48%) reported that there had been serious incidents of violence in their schools, and 61 percent that learners had brought weapons to school at some time. There were also relatively low levels of trust in the police. For example, just over a third of respondents (34%) felt that the 'police were fair to everyone'; while 39 percent said the statement was not true. Higher percentages of Indian and African learners felt that the police were not fair to everyone, as did learners in former HOD and DET schools. Female learners were also more likely than males to indicate mistrust of the police.

In response to the statement 'Most people who live here try to obey the law', a majority of African learners (55%) assessed the statement as not true or only slightly true of their situation, as compared to 45 percent of Coloured learners and 26 percent each of White and Indian learners. Learners from poorer backgrounds were more likely to experience their communities as less law-abiding than better-off learners, as were learners at former DET and HOD schools.

Given the unavailability of data on the topic, it is not possible to compare these responses of learners with older South Africans or even with out-of-school youth, or to determine whether (or how) these trends might differ from those in the general population. While few of the learners in the sample were old enough to vote in the 2004 election, a majority will be old enough to vote in the next election, and their attitudes may therefore provide an indication of what the future holds in terms of participation of the next generation of voters.

Voter apathy, and in particular apathy among young voters, was a major preoccupation in the media and among political analysts in the lead-up to the 2004 elections. Pre-election polls indicated that voters between the ages of 18 and 24 years constituted 44 percent of voters who said that they did not want to vote (Faull, 2004: 15). However, following the second round of voter registrations in 2004, the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) reported that young people accounted for nearly 60% of all new voter registrations. Although this represented a considerable improvement on youth registrations during the 2000 local government elections, 52 percent of voters between the ages of 18 and 24 years did not register and therefore were unable to vote in the April election (Faull, 2004: 15. See also Hofmeyr, 2004: 13-14 and Olaleye, 2004: 21-22).

9.2 SOCIAL PARTICIPATION

Involvement in youth and community organisations is regarded as an important indicator of youth civic engagement, as well as a predictor of involvement in civic and political affairs in later life. In general, the 2003 HSRC study of Gauteng learners showed relatively low levels of involvement in organised structures and activities. The highest levels of involvement were in church activities, with 62 percent of learners reporting that they regularly attended church services and 38 percent indicating regular involvement in church activities other than religious services. However, involvement in sports, both in and out of school, was relatively low, with 31 percent of learners playing in school teams on a regular basis and 24 percent of learners participating in school societies or clubs on a regular basis. Forty-two percent of learners indicated that they had never participated in school societies or clubs. There were also marked inequalities in the participation rates of learners in school-based extra-curricular activities, a finding that is most likely accounted for by the lack of provision and access to activities and facilities. For example, 61 percent of White learners reported regularly playing in school sport teams, in contrast with 23 percent of African learners, 28 percent of Coloured learners and 24 percent of Indian learners. Participation in civic or community organisations was low, with only 13 percent of learners indicating participation on a regular basis.

Table 177 provides a breakdown of rates of participation of young people in the SYR survey in a range of activities, both organised and informal. In general, the table shows similar trends to those observed in relation to Gauteng learners; with relatively low rates of participation in organised activities, with the one exception of attending religious services. In common with Gauteng learners, participation rates of 18-35 year olds in less formal and non-organised activities, such as watching television and reading newspapers, were considerably higher.

Table 177: Rates of participation in organised and unorganised activities, 2003

Activity	Never	A few times a year	Once or twice a month	Once a week	Few times a week	Daily or almost daily
Played in a community sports team	65.8	14.1	8.4	3.9	4.8	3.1
Supported a community sports team by attending their matches/games	50.4	20.7	12.3	6.6	6.3	3.7
Participated in a community society or club	75.3	10.6	6.9	2.8	2.5	1.8
Worked in a community garden	88.0	6.4	3.3	0.9	0.6	0.8
Collected money or goods for a community project, church or a charitable organisation	63.9	20.8	7.7	3.7	2.9	1.0
Participated in sports or a sport club outside your community	70.4	13.4	7.5	3.8	3.3	1.6
Participated in a dance or music group	67.2	16.3	7.9	4.5	2.7	1.4
Attended a cultural event	51.2	32.5	9.7	3.6	2.1	0.8
Participated as a member of a civic or community organisation other than those mentioned above	80.1	10.6	4.0	2.1	1.6	1.5
Watched the news on TV	16.4	7.1	5.0	4.4	19.1	48.0
Read the newspaper	18.0	9.4	9.0	8.4	28.0	27.2
Give money to someone who is poor or hungry	38.4	30.1	13.1	6.6	7.1	4.7
Attended a religious service	20.2	17.1	13.1	24.9	13.7	10.9
Attended a stokvel meeting/ gathering	73.1	10.8	7.4	3.1	3.0	2.6
Attended a burial society meeting	57.1	14.7	13.1	10.4	3.3	1.4

There were clear trends in the distribution of activities among the different social categories of youth (see Tables A1-A4 in Appendix A). For example, young men were more likely to be involved in sports, to watch the news on television, read the newspaper and attend *stokvel* meetings than young women. Young women on the other hand were more likely than their male counterparts to be involved in collecting money or goods for community projects, to participate in dance and music groups, to attend cultural events and religious services, and to participate in burial society meetings.

Similar trends were found in the two main SYR survey age groups. While respondents in the 18-24 year age group were more likely to be involved with sports, to participate in dance and music groups and to attend religious services, those in the 25-35 years age group were more likely to participate in civic and community organisations, collect money or goods for community projects, watch the news on television, read the newspaper, attend burial society meetings, and give money to someone who was poor or hungry.

The trends were a little more complex in relation to population group, but certain clear tendencies can be discerned. For example, Indian respondents were most likely to participate in community societies and clubs and, together with White respondents, had high rates of watching the news on television and reading newspapers. African and Coloured respondents were more likely to participate in dance and music groups and to attend *stokvel* and burial society meetings. While Indian respondents had the highest overall attendance of religious services, African respondents were more likely to attend services on a regular basis.

In relation to the different residential areas, respondents in urban non-metropolitan areas had the highest rates of involvement in community organisations and activities, as well as attendance of religious services. Respondents in the urban and metropolitan areas were more likely to be actively involved in sport, while

their rural counterparts were more likely to be regular supporters of community sports teams. As might be expected, urban and metropolitan areas also had the highest rates of watching the news on television and reading newspapers.

As would be expected, respondents who were financially self-supporting were more likely than those who were not self-supporting to be involved in collecting money or goods for community and other projects, to watch television news and read newspapers, and to attend *stokvel* and burial society meetings. On the other hand, respondents who were not self-supporting were more likely to be involved in sports, both as players and spectators, and to attend religious services. Respondents who grew up in poorer households were more likely to participate in community societies and clubs, to participate regularly in dance and music groups and to attend *stokvel* and burial society meetings, but less likely to read newspapers and watch the news on television regularly.

In relation to young people's participation in sports, African respondents in the SYR sample were just as active in sport as their White counterparts, they played more regularly in community sports teams, and they more regularly supported community sports teams by attending matches. Given the large racial differences in the participation rates of Gauteng learners in sports (for example, 61% of White learners reported regularly playing in school sports teams in contrast with only 23% of African learners), the higher participation rates of 18 to 35 year old African young people in sports suggests that lower rates of participation by Gauteng learners was a product of inequalities in the opportunities that schools offered to the different racial categories of learners.

It should be noted however, that overall the involvement of young South Africans in sport was low, with about 65 percent of both African and White youth reporting that they had never played in a community sports team. Particularly within a context of very high levels of youth unemployment, sports have the potential to provide alternative sources of activity, to divert unemployed young people from less healthy and even destructive pursuits such as substance use, risky sex and even crime and violence¹⁸, and to provide opportunities for personal development, self-discipline, leadership, teamwork, social networking and, ultimately, promote the integration of young people into society. It is possible that if African, Coloured and Indian learners enjoyed greater exposure to sport at school, their involvement in sport after they have left school might be greater.

The implications of this situation are important. For example, the National Youth Commission recognises sport and recreation as an important priority of youth policy and development, and acknowledges the important role the schools can play in introducing young people to sport and other recreational activities:

The combining of sport and recreation through the education system makes good sense because it encourages access, promotes a rounded education and builds confidence. The Department of Education's policy on educational curriculum, Curriculum 2005, supports this view, but it is unclear as to precisely how sport and recreation should feature in school curriculum's (National Youth Commission, 1998).

However the major inequalities in access to sport in schools, even within a highly urbanised and wealthy province like Gauteng, represent a major hurdle to the involvement of young people in sports and other activities. This is significant because these activities have the potential to alleviate the marginalisation of young people, especially those who are excluded from participation in the economy. Initiatives such as the Siyadlala Mass Participation Programme are using sport and recreation as a lever to foster national

¹⁸ The potential of sport to reduce crime is recognized within the Draft White Paper on Sports and Recreation in South Africa: "a child in sport, is a child out of court" (Department of Sports and Recreation, 1995, Section 1.7 (vi))

development in disadvantaged, rural and high crime areas (Tshabalala-Msimang, 2004). This programme works in tandem with the Building for Sport and Recreation Programme that is employing youth to build and manage sport and recreation facilities in disadvantaged communities.

It has already been observed that, of organised activities, attendance of religious services stands out as an activity for which there are high rates of participation for most, if not all, social categories of youth in South Africa. How do young South Africans rate the importance of religion in their lives? Overall, 68 percent of respondents said that religion was important or very important to them, 13 percent said it was 'somewhat important', and 18 percent said it was not important or 'slightly important' to them. The table below shows that there were no statistically significant differences by age group or area, and that where differences were significant, they tended to be relatively small. Women and Indian respondents and respondents living in the North West and Northern Cape were most likely to believe that religion was important/very important. Clearly engagement in religious activities presents an important access point for encouraging young people to participate in issues of social and environmental concern.

Table 178: Respondents' ratings of the importance of religion by population group, gender, age group, type of area and province, 2003

Category of population	Not/slightly important	Somewhat important	Important/very important
Race			
African	18.2	12.3	69.5
Coloured	16.5	15.2	68.4
Indian	10.0	15.8	74.2
White	21.4	17.9	60.7
Gender			
Male	19.5	14.5	66.0
Female	16.8	12.1	71.2
Province			
Western Cape	18.1	11.7	70.2
Eastern Cape	23.9	16.1	60.0
Northern Cape	4.3	14.5	81.2
Free State	21.2	12.2	65.7
KwaZulu-Natal	18.5	18.8	62.8
North West	10.3	6.2	83.4
Gauteng	17.0	13.5	69.5
Mpumalanga	20.1	8.6	71.3
Limpopo	16.5	7.5	74.9

Table 179 sets out the rates at which young people use youth centres, parks and sports facilities. In terms of population groups, the UYF data show that Coloured and African youth were more than twice as likely to use youth centres as Indian and White youth. On the other hand, Indian and White youth made greater use of sports facilities than African and Coloured youth. In relation to the use of parks, Indian youth reported the highest rates of use, followed by Coloured and White youth, with African youth having the lowest rates.

In general there were higher rates of utilisation of all three facilities by young people in metropolitan areas, followed by non-metropolitan urban areas, with the lowest rates of participation in rural areas. This is almost certainly to be explained by provision and access. The only exception was in relation to sports facilities where youth in the non-metropolitan urban areas utilised these facilities at about the same rates as youth in the metropolitan areas. On a provincial basis, utilisation rates of youth centres were relatively high in the Western Cape, Free State, Gauteng and North West, but low in Limpopo, the Eastern Cape, Northern Cape and KwaZulu-Natal. Utilisation of parks was highest in the more urbanised provinces such as the

Western Cape and Gauteng, and lowest in less urbanised provinces like Limpopo and KwaZulu-Natal. In terms of sports facilities, the highest rates of participation were in the Northern Cape and North West, while the lowest rates were in the Free State and Eastern Cape.

Differences in utilisation rates by men and women of youth centres were not statistically significant, but for the other facilities, more males than females made use of both parks and sports facilities. The lower utilisation of sports facilities by young women is consistent with their lower participation in sports than men (see Appendix A, Table A2), but a lack of safety may play a role in women's under-utilisation of parks. While there were no statistically significant differences between the age groups for the utilisation of parks, the younger age group (18 to 25 years) tended to have slightly higher rates of utilisation of youth centres and sports facilities.

Table 179: Utilisation of youth centres, parks and sports facilities by population group, gender, age group, type of area and province, 2003

Utilisation	Youth Centres	Parks	Sports facilities
Population group			
African	13.9	20.3	28.5
Coloured	17.8	33.1	33.4
Indian	5.0	46.3	47.9
White	8.0	33.6	42.8
Type of area			
Metropolitan/City	18.5	32.2	36.6
Urban- Non-metropolitan	13.6	27.0	36.8
Rural	9,1	14.8	23.2
Province			
Western Cape	17.7	31.5	35.8
Eastern Cape	10.9	21.6	25.4
Northern Cape	11.6	31.9	43.5
Free State	16.9	24.4	23.5
KwaZulu-Natal	12.1	18.4	28.3
North West	15.1	27.8	42.6
Gauteng	15.7	30.0	32.9
Mpumalanga	11.0	24.4	29.3
Limpopo	9.9	12.6	30.0
Gender			
Male	NS	26.7	36.1
Female	NS	20.8	26.3
Age group			
18-24	14.8	NS	32.3
25-35	11.4	NS	29.0*

* Statistically significant at the .05 level only

Tables 180 and 181 present data on the frequency with which young South Africans in various social categories listen to the radio, watch television, use the Internet, play computer and arcade games, and read books, magazines and newspapers. In terms of listening to the radio, Indian youth had the highest rates of listenership, followed by African youth, with lower rates of frequent listenership among White and Coloured youth. Rates of watching television were also highest for Indian youth, followed by White, Coloured and African youth. However, rates for use of the Internet and playing computer and arcade games show greatest involvement by White youth, followed by Indian, Coloured and then African youth.

Generally, for all of these variables the highest rates of participation are for the metropolitan areas, followed by the non-metropolitan urban areas and, lastly, the rural areas. The only exception to these trends is that slightly more young people in the non-metropolitan urban areas reported listened to the radio five or

more times a week than youth in metropolitan areas. Gender differences were relatively small and were not statistically significant for two of the variables. For the other two variables, listening to the radio and playing computer or arcade games, young men had higher rates than young women. Statistical differences between the age groups were not significant for listening to the radio and watching television. The younger age group tended to play computer and arcade games a little more frequently than the older groups, as well as use the Internet slightly more frequently than the 25-35 year group.

For the other four variables (see Table 181), White youth were more likely to read books for study purposes, followed by African, Coloured, and lastly Indian youth. However, African and Coloured youth reported higher rates of reading books for entertainment five or more times a week than Indian and White youth. Similar patterns applied to reading magazines. Indian youth had the highest rates of reading newspapers.

In terms of areas, reading books for study purposes was most common among youth in metropolitan areas, followed by youth in the non-metropolitan urban areas, and finally youth in the rural areas. Reading books for enjoyment showed a different pattern, with youth in the rural areas have slightly higher rates for frequent reading than youth in the urban areas, but youth in the urban areas had overall higher reading rates than rural youth. Similar patterns were evident for the reading of magazines, but youth in the urban areas (both metropolitan and non-metropolitan) had higher rates of reading newspapers than youth in the rural areas.

Young men were more likely to read books for study purposes and newspapers, while young women were more likely to read magazines than their male counterparts. Those in the 18-25 year age group were more likely to read books for study purposes than their older counterparts, while the 25-35 year age group more frequently read newspapers than the younger age group. In terms of the provincial data, perhaps the most striking trend was the very low rates of reading of books, magazines and newspapers by young people in the Northern Cape.

A number of general points emerge from this analysis. Firstly, it would appear that Indian youth place high value on being well-informed in that they have the highest rates of reading newspapers, listening to the radio and watching television. White youth, on the other hand, had greater access to computers and the Internet and spent more time playing computer and arcade games. This is likely to be a product of belonging to more affluent families that can afford computer equipment, as well as their relatively higher levels of education. It is also likely that the relatively lower rates of involvement of African and Coloured youth in both sets of activities is attributable to higher rates of poverty, less access to quality education, and lower rates of urbanisation. However, it is noteworthy that in spite of these constraints, African youth had relatively high rates of reading books for study purposes – an indication of their desire to better themselves.

Table 180: Rates of listening to radio, watching television, using the internet and playing computer/arcade games by population group, gender, age group, type of area and province

Rates	Listen to the radio			Watch television			Use the internet			Play computer or arcade games		
	5x a week	1-4x a week	2x a month or less	5x a week	1-4x a week	2x a month or less	5x a week	1-4x a week	2x a month or less	5x a week	1-4x a week	2x a month or less
Population group												
African	71.7	14.7	13.6	63.4	16.1	20.6	6.9	9.1	84.0	5.6	8.6	85.9
Coloured	66.6	13.1	20.4	65.3	16.2	18.5	9.6	15.6	74.8	13.7	14.3	72.0
Indian	81.0	17.4	1.7	79.3	19.8	0.8	36.4	17.4	46.3	10.7	23.1	66.1
White	65.8	24.5	9.7	70.8	19.5	9.7	38.3	32.2	29.5	16.5	30.7	52.8
Type of area												
Metropolitan/City	74.5	16.5	9.0	73.0	15.9	11.2	16.0	18.4	65.6	13.3	18.0	68.7
Urban – Non-metro	78.5	9.3	12.2	73.7	12.1	14.2	14.0	12.1	74.0	7.2	13.6	79.2
Rural	64.0	18.4	17.7	53.2	19.6	27.2	5.6	7.3	87.1	3.1	5.5	91.4
Province												
Western Cape	65.9	11.8	22.3	68.5	12.4	19.2	13.0	15.2	71.8	19.2	16.3	64.5
Eastern Cape	68.3	21.4	10.3	59.1	21.4	19.4	6.2	12.3	81.5	5.8	10.9	83.3
Northern Cape	47.8	23.2	29.0	42.0	30.4	27.5	0	15.9	84.1	0	11.6	88.4
Free State	64.3	18.8	16.9	69.0	17.4	13.6	13.1	14.6	72.3	10.3	15.5	74.2
KwaZulu-Natal	68.9	18.4	12.6	56.3	21.7	22.0	9.2	11.9	78.9	5.0	14.6	80.4
North West	83.8	4.8	11.3	81.8	4.8	13.4	11.0	11.0	78.0	4.8	8.6	86.6
Gauteng	77.7	14.2	8.1	74.2	15.5	10.3	18.8	14.1	67.1	8.8	12.5	78.7
Mpumalanga	78.0	9.8	12.2	71.5	10.6	17.9	13.8	10.2	76.0	8.9	8.9	83.1
Limpopo	65.2	16.9	17.9	54.1	15.5	30.4	5.6	7.0	87.4	2.9	3.9	93.2
Gender												
Male	73.4	15.0	11.6	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	8.1	13.4	78.5
Female	68.8	16.1	15.2							7.0	10.1	82.9
Age group												
18-24	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	11.5	10.6	77.8	*8.5	11.7	79.8
25-35							10.5	14.4	75.1	6.2	11.6	82.2

* Statistically significant at the .05 level only

Table 181: Rates of reading books (for entertainment of study purposes), magazines and newspapers by population group, gender, age group, type of area and province, 2003

Rates	Read a book for study purposes			Read a book for entertainment			Read of magazine			Read a newspaper		
	5x a week	1-4x a week	2x a month or less	5x a week	1-4x a week	2x a month or less	5x a week	1-4x a week	2x a month or less	5x a week	1-4x a week	2x a month or less
Population group												
African	25.3	25.0	49.7	17.5	26.3	56.2	23.6	34.4	42.0	27.4	33.3	39.2
Coloured	22.6	26.8	50.6	17.2	26.8	56.1	25.5	32.5	42.0	26.8	32.5	40.8
Indian	18.2	26.4	55.4	0.8	45.5	53.7	14.9	64.5	20.7	33.1	43.0	24.0
White	33.6	34.5	31.9	6.5	46.3	47.2	14.2	51.6	34.2	24.8	43.7	31.6
Type of area												
Metropolitan/City	29.3	30.9	39.8	15.0	31.4	53.6	20.3	41.2	38.5	29.2	35.8	35.0
Urban – Non-metro	26.3	25.2	48.5	14.7	34.0	51.4	23.0	38.8	38.2	30.2	38.1	31.7
Rural	22.3	22.9	54.8	17.1	24.1	58.8	24.2	32.4	43.4	24.2	31.6	44.3
Province												
Western Cape	29.9	24.8	45.4	21.4	26.8	51.8	27.9	33.2	38.9	30.4	28.5	41.1
Eastern Cape	21.8	23.8	54.4	19.4	24.2	56.3	23.0	29.6	47.4	28.0	29.2	42.9
Northern Cape	10.1	43.5	46.4	1.4	42.0	56.5	2.9	49.3	47.8	8.7	50.7	40.6
Free State	40.8	29.6	29.6	17.4	28.2	54.5	18.8	39.0	42.3	20.7	32.9	46.5
KwaZulu-Natal	11.2	18.1	70.8	5.8	25.0	69.2	15.0	36.2	48.7	21.5	32.4	46.1
North West	41.6	29.2	29.2	25.8	39.5	34.7	38.1	40.9	21.0	35.4	41.2	23.4
Gauteng	25.8	32.6	41.6	11.6	32.8	55.7	17.0	44.8	38.3	28.1	39.9	32.0
Mpumalanga	37.8	26.0	36.2	28.0	26.8	45.1	39.8	25.6	34.6	40.7	29.7	29.7
Limpopo	29.0	27.5	43.5	19.3	29.2	51.4	24.6	38.2	37.2	26.1	37.9	36.0
Gender												
Male	26.1*	27.9	46.0	NS	NS	NS	19.9	47.2	43.5	30.7	36.1	33.2
Female	25.1	24.6	50.3				25.0	52.8	37.7	24.2	33.2	42.6
Age group												
18-24	29.2	28.3	42.5	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	24.2	34.1	41.7
25-35	20.5	23.1	56.4							31.7	35.3	33.0

* Statistically significant at the .05 level only

9.3 SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS AND RACE

Within the context of a democratic and non-racial South Africa, contacts and social relationships between the different population groups, especially among young people, are of major importance in the consolidation of democracy and the creation of a truly multi-racial society. Respondents in this survey were asked whether they had friends in each of the other population groups in South Africa. Their answers are set out in Table 182. This table shows overall that friendships across colour lines are still relatively limited. Rates of friendships with other racial groups are particularly limited for African youth, with a third of African respondents reporting that they had Coloured friends, 23 percent saying that they had White friends and 15 percent saying they had Indian friends. In comparison, 73 percent of Coloured youth said they had African friends, 38 percent White friends and 15 percent Indian friends. White young people on the other hand

reported relatively high rates of friendships with Coloured (84%) and Indian young people (67%), but less than half (48%) said they had African friends.

The majority of these findings can be related to the legacies of *Apartheid*. While residual racism and mistrust of other population groups as a result decades of forced separation and repression is likely to play some role in these trends, spatial and other inequalities are likely to have a major influence on the lack of contact between young South Africans. For example, with the exception of a small elite who can afford to live in the suburban areas of cities and towns, most African people live in townships and rural villages that are isolated from other race groups. The majority of African children also attend schools in poor and isolated areas where learners are predominantly, if not exclusively, African. High rates of unemployment probably also play a role in that the workplace offers important opportunities for young people to come into contact with people from other communities.

Table 182: Friendships across the population groups, 2003

Existing friendships	African	Coloured	Indian	White
Have African friends	-	73	88	48
Have Coloured friends	33	-	87	84
Have Indian friends	15	15	-	67
Have White friends	23	38	50	-

More detailed analyses in terms of gender, age group and the type of areas in which respondents lived, were undertaken and the results are presented in Table 183. In terms of gender, some clear differences are apparent. For example, young Coloured and Indian women were more likely to have African friends than their male counterparts, while young White men were slightly more likely to have African friends than their female counterparts. Similarly, young White men were also more likely to have Coloured friends than White women, while young Indian women reported having more White friends than their male counterparts.

Differences between the age groups for African and Coloured friends were very small. However, in relation to Indian friends, more Coloured and White young people in the older age group (25-35 years) reported having Indian friends than their younger counterparts. Similarly, for White friends, more Coloured respondents in the older age group and more Indian respondents in the younger age group said they had White friends. In general, the urban and especially the metropolitan areas appeared to provide greater opportunities for friendships across colour lines than the rural areas.

Table 183: Friendships across the population groups by gender, age group and type of area, 2003

	African	Coloured	Indian	White
Have African friends				
Male		69	80	50
Female		77	97	46
18-24 years		72	89	48
25-35 years		74	87	48
Metropolitan/City		79	95	52
Urban, non-metropolitan		64	86	34
Rural		68	*	*
Have Coloured friends				
Male				
Female	33		86	88
	33		87	80
18-24 years				
25-35 years	32		86	82
	35		87	86
Metropolitan/City				
Urban, non-metropolitan	37		76	81
Rural	35		88	95
	30		*	*
Have Indian friends				
Male	14	16		67
Female	15	15		67
18-24 years	16	12		64
25-35 years	13	20		70
Metropolitan/City	17	22		71
Urban, non-metropolitan	21	6		54
Rural	11	8		*
Have White friends				
Male	23	39	44	-
Female	22	37	55	
18-24 years	23	35	53	
25-35 years	22	42	46	
Metropolitan/City	28	46	62	
Urban, non-metropolitan	29	23	47	
Rural	17	32	*	

The 2003 HSRC study of learners in Gauteng (Emmett, 2004) showed that, even in this highly urbanised and industrialised province, social relationships across the major population groups remained limited. For example, 30 percent of the sample of learners had no friends in other racial groups, while only 17 percent had friends in all three of the other major racial groups. Contact with other racial groups was most limited for learners in the former Department of Education and Training (DET) schools, with 39 percent reporting that they did not have friends in any of the other racial groups, and only ten percent reporting that they had friends in all the other major race groups. The limited contact of ex-DET learners across the different race groups is probably related to de facto residential segregation, especially in the townships where most ex-DET schools are located. This limits opportunities for inter-racial contact. However, in spite of greater opportunities for meeting members of other racial groups in school, learners in the more racially integrated former Model C and private schools were also relatively limited in their friendships with other race groups. Nearly a quarter of ex-New Education Department (NED) learners and 21 percent of the former Transvaal

Education Department (TED) learners reported having no friends in other racial groups. The situation was far better in the former House of Delegate (HOD) and House of Representative (HOR) schools where only ten percent and 12 percent of learners respectively stated that they had no friends in the other racial groups. At the other end of the range 34 percent of ex-HOD learners reported having friends in all the other major race groups, followed by ex-NED learners with 32 percent, ex-HOR learners with 29 percent, and ex-TED learners with 26 percent.

Trends in interracial friendships in the different kinds of schools are, in turn, reflected in patterns of relationships of the population groups. Thus 36 percent of African learners had no friends in other race groups, with equivalent percentages of 23 percent for White learners, 21 percent for Indian learners, and only 7.1 percent for Coloured learners. At the other end of the range, Indian learners had the highest percentage of friends in all three of the other racial groups (37%), followed by Coloured learners with 32 percent, White learners with 24 percent and African learners with 12 percent.

To what extent does opportunity, on the one hand, and resistance to making friends across racial boundaries, on the other hand, play a role in these differences? Besides being asked about the friends they currently had in other race groups, learners were also asked to indicate in which of the various population groups they would like to have friends. While exactly half of the sample indicated that they would like friends in all of the other race groups, 14 percent wanted friends only in their own race group, while 28 percent and 24 percent, respectively, indicated wanting friends in either one or two of the other racial categories.

More detailed analysis showed that 18 percent of ex-TED learners, 14 percent of ex-DET learners, nine percent of ex-NED learners, nine percent of ex-HOR learners and two percent of ex-HOD learners indicated that they did not want friends in other race groups. It should be noted, however, that 66 percent of ex-NED learners wanted friends in all three of the other race groups, second only to ex-HOD learners with 71 percent. For the other types of schools the percentages were 58 percent for ex-HOR schools, 55 percent for ex-TED learners and 44 percent for ex-DET learners. In terms of the population groups, the negative trend among White learners is even more pronounced, with 22 percent of White learners indicating that they did not want friends in the other racial groups compared to 13 percent of African learners, nine percent of Indian learners and two percent of Coloured learners. In general therefore, White learners and learners in schools that catered largely for Whites were more likely to reject friendships with other race groups, although the learners who did so represented a relatively small minority.

It would seem therefore that although White learners have greater opportunities for contact with other race groups in their schools, a minority remains resistant to contact with other race groups. This may be a product of residual racism, the attitudes of parents, and possibly even a sense of resentment due to the loss of their previously dominant position in the society and fears that they will have difficulty in finding employment in the new society.

In order to explore further the relatively higher resistance of White learners to friendships with people from other race groups, the responses of White learners were disaggregated by language-group and gender. The results showed major differences for both language and gender. Proportionately, three times more Afrikaans-speaking learners (31.6%) than English-speaking learners (9.4%) reported having no friends in other race groups. Similarly, 31.3 percent of males (of both language groups) reported having no friends in other race groups in contrast with 16.7 percent of female learners. When language and gender were

combined, it was found that more than twice as many Afrikaans-speaking males (44%) as Afrikaans-speaking females (22%) had no friends in other race groups. For English-speakers this trend was reversed, with 19% of English-speaking females and nine percent of English-speaking males reporting no friends in other race groups.

Differences were equally pronounced in terms of desired friendships in other race groups, with 29 percent of Afrikaans-speakers as opposed to eight percent of English-speakers reporting that they did not want friends in other race groups. For gender, the breakdown was 30 percent of males to 15 percent of females. When disaggregated by gender, the discrepancy between Afrikaans speaking males and females remained, with 41 percent of males and 19 percent of females reporting that they did not want friends in other race groups. For English-speakers, the equivalent percentages were 12 percent males and five percent females, reversing the trend observed for current friendships.

9.4 CONCLUSION

So far the issue of youth civic engagement has been largely approached as a *problem* of social integration, and of the marginalisation and social exclusion of young people. From a youth development perspective, the issue of civic engagement presents a viable resource and possibly a *solution*. The HSRC survey of civic engagement among Gauteng learners showed that there was considerable idealism, desire to help others, and concern about the public good among all categories of learners in Gauteng. This goodwill represents a tremendous resource that youth can offer to their society, but it needs to be encouraged and given opportunity for expression.

Focusing too narrowly on problems of disengagement can result in overlooking the positive, and indeed essential, features of engagement. For example, youth civic engagement is essential to the maintenance of democracy because it allows young people to identify with the common good and become engaged members of their communities. As Flanagan & Van Horn (2001a: 1) have pointed out, several studies have documented that getting involved as a teenager in community-based youth organisations and extracurricular activities is a precursor to political participation and civic engagement as an adult. In this way civic engagement not only contributes to the positive and healthy development of youth, but also to the well-being and socio-economic development of the society.

As the World Bank (2000:11) has pointed out, the engagement of people with their societies is of “critical importance to the success and relevance of poverty reduction strategies and should be a central concern of development institutions”. Not only does the quality of social relations influence people’s sense of well being, but social relationships and networks are also resources that support people in their pursuit of livelihoods and solutions to development problems. In a broad range of studies in different parts of the world, membership in local organisations has been shown to increase household consumption, savings and access to credit, to increase children’s access to education, provide security against economic shocks, and improve safety within communities.

In particular, social relationships play a major role in youth development. Due to the developmental phase in which young people find themselves, of expanding their cognitive abilities, developing their skills and orientations to life, establishing identities and a sense of self, social relationships play a formative role not only in determining the kinds of activities in which they become involved, but also the kinds of adults they will become. For example, high levels of social competence in adolescents has been shown to be positively

associated with peer acceptance, self-efficacy and self esteem, while deficits in social competence has been shown to be linked to various negative outcomes such as mental ill-health and behavioural problems, delinquency, substance abuse, risky sexual behaviour and academic problems (Hair, Jager & Garrett, 2001:6). Similarly, it has been demonstrated that youth who are drawn into organised youth activities are less likely to become involved in substance abuse and other anti-social behaviour.

A variety of other positive outcomes have been associated with involvement in youth organisations. For example, a ten-year study of about 120 youth-based organisations in 34 cities in the United States (McLaughlin, 2000:4-6) showed that youth who participated in community organisations were:

- More likely to report having received recognition for good grades in schools;
- More likely to rate their chances of graduating from high school and of going to college as 'very high';
- More likely to report feeling good about themselves, to indicate higher levels of self-efficacy, to see themselves as persons of worth, and to be more optimistic about obtaining satisfying jobs;
- More likely to believe that it was 'very important to become involved in community service'.

In a review of 60 studies on youth civic engagement, Zaff and Michelsen (2002:3) found that:

Overall, experimental studies and quasi-experimental evaluations indicate that adolescents who take part in service-learning or service and mentoring programs are more involved in civic activities up to six months after their participation in the programs has ended. Additionally, research shows that teens who take part in election campaigns are more likely to continue to be involved in politics after the campaigns have ended. Teens who participate in service-learning programs may also bring home knowledge about civic matters to their parents.

The research they reviewed also suggested that young people who were involved in civic engagement projects were likely to be more involved in and do better in schoolwork, to hold more positive civic attitudes, to avoid early and unwanted pregnancies, to be less likely to use drugs, to have better work ethics as adults, and to be more likely to volunteer and vote. An experimental evaluation of a civic engagement programme for disadvantaged high school students in the US found that six months after leaving the programme, participants were more likely than non-participants to donate their time to non-profit, charitable, community and school groups. Some of the positive effects of involvement in civic programmes were shown to dissipate with the passing of time. However, one quasi-experimental study was able to demonstrate that "a couple of years" after leaving a civic education programme, participants were voting more frequently than those who had not taken part in the programme (Zaff & Michelsen, 2002:1-3)

Various explanations have been offered for why participation in community-based youth organisations is beneficial. Flanagan and Van Horn (2001:1-3), for example, argue that participation in youth organisations provides young people with a sense of purpose. By working together towards common goals, youth organisations help generate social trust among their members. By the same token, organisations provide opportunities for self-determination (when members are allowed to have a say within the organisation), but also for bargaining and compromise. In these ways, participation in organisations helps young people understand what it means to be a member of the public and a citizen of one's country. Furthermore, involvement in organisations can help young people develop a range of skills (e.g. public speaking, fund-raising, organising, etc.), as well as skills that are fundamental to the functioning of democratic societies, including perspective taking, negotiation, and compromise. Finally, organisations with diverse memberships

provide opportunities for young people to interact with people who are different from themselves, expand their social networks and make friendships that provide them with support and assistance.

However, research has shown that it is not only involvement in formal organisations that can produce positive outcomes, but that informal relationships - in families, communities and peer groups - play a major role in shaping youth behaviours. For example, a study by Case and Katz (1991) of inner-city youth in low-income neighbourhoods in Boston showed that family and neighbourhood contexts had a powerful influence on youth behaviours. Living in a neighbourhood where many other young people were involved in crime was associated with a substantial increase in the likelihood of an individual being involved in crime. Similar neighbourhood peer effects were also apparent for alcohol and drug use, church attendance and the probability of youth being out of school and out of work. Family backgrounds were also predictive of youth behaviours. For example, young people who had family members in jail while they were growing up were more than twice as likely to admit being recently involved in criminal activity than those who reported that neither of their parents had been in jail. Similar outcomes were obtained for youth with family members who had experienced drug and alcohol problems.

Similar trends have been noted in the United Kingdom, where it has been shown that children who grow up in low income households are more likely to end up unemployed, spend time in prison or as a lone parent. Similarly, children exposed to family conflict, have been in institutional care, or have experienced problems in school, are at greater risk of a broad range of social ills, including homelessness, offending, drug use, unemployment, under-education, teenage parenthood, etc. (Social Exclusion Unit, 2001:11-12). Specific practices in families, such as communication styles that encourage young people to discuss controversial issues and allow for autonomous opinions, help to inculcate civic attitudes in young people. Formal institutions, such as schools, also play a major role in shaping the civic attitudes and orientations of children. For example, schools in which all learners are treated equally, in which there is respect for the ideas of learners, and where educators intervene to prevent intolerance and bullying, provide favourable environments for the development of civic engagement among young people (Flanagan & Faison, 2001:3-4).

Preliminary research has also pointed to potential linkages between membership in organisations and the prevention of HIV/AIDS. In their study of the relationship between membership in community organisations and HIV/AIDS infection in a South African mining community, Campbell, Williams and Gilgen (2002:41) found that men between the ages of 20 and 29 years were significantly less likely to be HIV-positive if they belonged to a sports club; Women between 15 and 25 years of age were also found to be significantly less likely to be HIV-positive if they belonged to a sports club or a youth group. It is against this background - of the positive potential of youth civic engagement to contribute not only to the development of youth themselves but also to the society as a whole - that the issue of the integration of youth into society should be approached.

CONCLUSION

This study is underpinned by the youth development framework, a positive, integrated approach that gives credence to the unique contribution that young people can make to the present and the future. It is based on a holistic approach to development that acknowledges young people's diverse needs and the need to redress past imbalances. Young people are viewed as 'protagonists of their own development' and that of their communities. Youth development is part of a life cycle approach with much of the foundation for a successful transition to adulthood laid down during the youthful years.

10.1 THE CONCEPT OF YOUTH AND THE TRANSITION TO ADULTHOOD

The youth development approach has been adopted in South Africa, in line with global trends, to shift the focus on young people as problematic or people who need fixing to a positive approach that recognises their potential to contribute to their own development and that of their communities. However, the definition of youth by age categories poses a challenge both locally and internationally. The variation in age categories used creates problems for harmonising information and policies across sectors. In agreement with the UYF team, this report categorised youth as those people between the ages of 18 and 35 years of age, with sub categories of 18-24 and 25-35 years.

The survey data shows that there is a high degree of consensus among all categories of youth that being able to set up and maintain an independent family and household that is financially sustainable, safe and provides a nurturing context for children is central to attaining adulthood. Underpinning this vision of adult attainment are two major sets of conditions. The first revolves around the establishment of financial and residential independence from parents and caregivers, and the associated requirements of employment and the appropriate education to support that employment. The second is concerned with personal autonomy and responsibility, making one's own decisions and accepting the consequences of those decisions, control over one's emotions, and the ability to relate to other adults on an equal footing.

In common with young people in other parts of the world, young South Africans are spending more time in education, delaying their entry into the labour market and increasing the gap between sexual maturation and marriage. However, young South Africans have to contend with inordinately high rates of unemployment. Consequently, the completion of education does not always lead to finding a job, and more than half of young people between 18 and 35 years of age have never had a formal job.

Marriage is also delayed, possibly by the longer time spent getting an education and delays in finding employment. This particularly affects African males, with only a quarter of African males in the 25-29 year

age group having married as opposed to more than half of Indian and White males in this age category. The high levels of unemployment, economic dependency and difficulty to find a job could create the backdrop for young people experiencing high levels of frustration, despair, envy and resentment as a result of their inability to attain the material and social success held up as important by society and in the media. This environment may render young people vulnerable to engaging in risk behaviours, violence and crime as alternative coping mechanisms. The survey also reports high rates of early and unwanted pregnancies, particularly for young African women. The consequence of early pregnancies is that young girls and, in some cases even boys, drop out of school, thus decreasing their chances of finding employment.

10.2 EDUCATION

Education plays a critical role in preparing young people for the world of work. In the SYR survey, 89% of young people reported that education was important or very important in their lives. Rising levels of education among all population groups are indicative of young people spending a longer period of their lives in education. Longer time spent in education, in turn, delays entry into the labour market and lengthens the period of dependence on parents.

South Africa inherited a grossly unequal education system from the *Apartheid* era that provided limited places and inferior facilities to Black learners. A dramatic increase in the number of African learners enrolled in school began in the late 1970s as a result of political pressure, particularly from African youth, and the growing demand for a more skilled labour force to support economic development. Since 1994, the government has invested heavily in upgrading educational facilities for previously disadvantaged groups.

Nevertheless, while trends over the past decade show significant educational gains by all population groups, and that young women have established parity with (and in some case even surpassed) their male counterparts in educational achievement, gross disparities still exist between the race groups. With their head start in access to secondary and tertiary education and command over greater financial resources, White (and increasingly Indian) youth maintain a large lead over African and Coloured youth in terms of numbers of matriculants and those with higher education qualifications. In spite of high commitment to education among all groups of youth, learners and students from poor families continue to battle with financial constraints, dropouts, repetitions, and interruptions of education. Educational outcomes and resources are also unevenly spread among the provinces, with particularly those provinces that incorporated large sections of former homelands struggling under the burdens of poverty.

Existing inequalities play themselves out in various ways that threaten to widen rather than narrow the gap between advantaged and disadvantaged. The decision to supplement public funding with school fees, for example, has inadvertently advantaged schools that serve more affluent communities who can afford to pay higher fees than poor communities, for better quality education. Schools in rural areas face the double disadvantage of under-resourcing and political constraints inherited from *Apartheid*, as well as high concentrations of poverty. However, even within a highly urbanised context like Gauteng, residential segregation and urban poverty undermine the personal safety of learners and compromise the functionality of learning environments. The main reason given for not registering at educational institutions was affordability. Poverty plays a major role in perpetuating inequality in educational opportunity, with schools in wealthier communities able to charge higher fees and invest in improved facilities while people in poorer, particularly rural communities,

are sometimes forced to withdraw young people from school because they are unable to afford even the basic requirements - school fees and uniforms.

The accumulation of inequalities results in differential outcomes among young people, both in terms of educational achievement and the quality of education. This, in turn, impacts on employment opportunities. In spite of considerable educational gains by young people, unemployment and, in particular, youth unemployment is growing – and the main burden of this unemployment is being borne by the most disadvantaged sectors of our society.

Given the high level of unemployment in South Africa, subject and career choice plays an important role in whether young people will be able to find work after leaving school. Only 56% of respondents reported receiving career guidance at school and the quality of guidance provided appears to be very mixed. An analysis of statistics for 1995 and 2002 showed an increase in unemployment for young people across all ranges of education with the biggest increase among those young people with tertiary education. The unemployment level for this category has increased from 6 percent in 1995 to 15 percent in 2002. For the author of these analyses, the trends leave “no doubt that we are witnessing the beginning of a graduate unemployment problem in South Africa.” (Bhorat 2003: 45). However, the matter is not finalised, as a separate study came to the somewhat different conclusion - that unemployment among graduates is low and of short duration (Moleke, 2003).

The chances of acquiring a good education are weaker for young people who are poor and those who live in rural areas. Education is not only an investment in time spent studying, but also in financial resources, and inequalities both in the education system and the kinds of education that are affordable to different sectors of the population, are often decisive in determining outcomes for young people. As the findings of the SYR survey show, affordability of education was a major factor in young people discontinuing or interrupting their education. Under conditions of high unemployment, dropping out of school or even not proceeding to the tertiary level can play an important role in whether one is able to get a job and how long one will wait in order to find employment. Even when young people complete their education, the quality of their education plays a role in whether they are able to develop marketable skills and secure employment. However government is trying to address both the cost and quality of education. The Schools Act of 1996 exempts indigent parents from having to pay school fees and the Department of Education is making an effort to prevent young people from being excluded on the basis of non-payment of school fees. As a means to improve access to higher education, The National Student Financial Aid Scheme is providing financial assistance to students from disadvantaged backgrounds. Furthermore, the merger process of Further Education and Training colleges and higher education institutions are also attempts to improve the quality of education.

10.3 LABOUR MARKET

Unemployment in South Africa is high compared to other developing countries and has been increasing since the 1970s. Some segments of young South Africans face limited prospects for finding work. More than two thirds of them are unemployed, with unemployment high by international standards in all race groups but reaching critical levels for Africans. Young women face higher unemployment levels than men in all race groups. This high unemployment rate is related both to the slow pace of job creation and the massive growth in the economically active population, especially amongst women. Women have entered the labour market

at an increasing pace in recent decades for a number of reasons, including improved secondary and tertiary education levels, an increasing emphasis on gender equality, increasing unemployment among men, declining marital rates and an increase in women-headed households.

The high rate of unemployment of over 60% among young Africans is related to the racially segmented nature of the labour market, which has persisted due to inequalities derived from past educational and labour policies, as well as to structural changes in the economy. These changes have seen increasing capital intensity, rising demand for skilled labour, and significant decline in the demand for unskilled labour. The primary sector of the economy involving activities like agriculture and mining, where African people have mainly been involved, has also declined in relative importance. In contrast, the services sector, which generally requires higher levels of skill, has grown in importance and now dominates South Africa's economy, accounting for over 70% of GDP and over 65% of employment in 2001.

The majority of young people are excluded from the formal labour market for long periods of time. More than two thirds of respondents in the SYR survey indicated that they had never had a job. The average time unemployed youth in the SYR had spent looking for work was almost two years. While higher educational levels do improve the prospects of finding employment, unemployment rates remain high even for those with secondary and tertiary education. For those who do get the chance to enter the formal labour market, many will find themselves in temporary employment or working in the informal sector with much lower earning capacity, no benefits and little job security.

The SYR survey identified a number of factors that are important for young people seeking employment for the first time. These include the ability to finance a good quality education at a reputable institution that is relevant to employers, as well as access to networks that can help the young person find employment. Almost a third of participants indicated that they found their first job through friends or family. Once young people were employed, experience became an important factor in enabling them to find better jobs. This indicates that learnership programmes under the Skills Development Act that enable people to get work-experience, can play an important role.

Only about 6% of the respondents in the SYR survey were self-employed, with slightly higher percentages of African and Indian young people and lower percentages of White and Coloured young people. Research has shown that training, experience and access to credit play important roles in successful self-employment. While research also indicates that more jobs are created in small businesses than large firms, sustainability is an issue with a high percentage of small businesses experiencing failure in the first ten years. While self-employment and entrepreneurship have an important role to play in the economy, finding first work and gaining work experience may be more important for many young people before they can think of becoming entrepreneurs.

Government's expanded public works programme aims to create one million short-term job opportunities for unskilled unemployed people over the next five years. This will provide an important avenue for labour absorption and income transfers to poor households in the short to medium term. However, specific measures are required to cope with the structural nature of unemployment

What are the implications of these economic and labour market trends for youth development and the transition to adulthood? In the United Kingdom and other parts of Europe, where youth unemployment has also been a cause for concern, the transition from school to work is seen as more complex and varied today than it was in the past. Bradley and Hickman (2003: 120-1), identify two major ways in which the pathways

by which young people enter the labour market have changed since the 1970s. Firstly, transitions from school to work have lengthened, partly because of the expansion of higher and further education, and partly because of “the longer time it takes young people of all backgrounds to settle down into a steady ‘career path’”. Secondly, transitions into the world of work have become more precarious and more complex, with young people moving in and out of various work statuses, including temporary employment, unemployment, self-employment, study and training, and full-time and part-time employment. In general, therefore “there is no longer any sense of a simple linear pathway from youth to adult employment and economic independence” (Bradley & Hickman, 2003: 121).

Very similar trends appear to characterise transitions to work in present day South Africa, except that youth unemployment is far higher in South Africa than in Europe. Not only have the pathways into the world of work been lengthened by the longer duration of education and the demands of the economy for more skilled labour, but for the majority of young South Africans these pathways have also become more precarious and more fragmented. For example, at least a quarter of respondents in the SYR survey who had worked, were employed in temporary positions. Comparison of 1997 OHS data and 2002 LFS data indicates that between 1997 and 2002, temporary employment among 18-35 year olds doubled. Waiting times between school and jobs, and between one job and the next, have also contributed to the discontinuous nature of youth employment. In the SYR survey, respondents took an average of 14.5 months to find a job after completing their education. While waiting times between jobs were shorter than for first jobs, the average waiting time between jobs (10.3 months) was also substantial.

The SYR survey showed that nearly a third of young people, who were working, had jobs in the informal sector. Comparison of 1997 OHS data and 2002 LFS data show an increase in youth involvement in the informal sector from 17 percent in 1997 to 25 percent in 2002. This also indicates a trend towards greater instability in youth employment. Youth who were most vulnerable to unemployment, such as African and Coloured youth, were far more likely to be employed in the informal sector than White or Indian youth. The latter two groups had higher overall rates of employment. Although only a small minority of youth were self-employed, the main reason for self-employment cited by respondents was the unavailability of jobs in the formal sector.

There are also similarities in the economic contexts of youth employment patterns in the United Kingdom and South Africa. In the UK, the proportion of jobs in manufacturing has declined sharply since the 1970s, while employment in services has risen (Bradley & Hickman, 2003: 121). In South Africa, there has been a long-term decline in primary production in mining and agriculture, with jobs in manufacturing also decreasing over the last two decades. The services sector now dominates the economy in terms of its share of GDP and employment, in both the formal and informal sectors.

One feature of the growth in service sector jobs in the UK has been a change in the gender profile of the work force, with more women being drawn into employment. Similar changes can be expected to take place in South Africa, where growth in the employment rate of women since 1995 has outstripped that of men. In South Africa, there are also signs of increased labour migration of women from rural areas. Coupled with declining marriage rates among African women, these migration trends may be indicative of a tendency towards greater gender equity in the labour market. However, growth in the employment and economic participation rates of women do not always translate into greater equality for women. Although women make up nearly half of the total labour force in the UK, gender inequalities persist. For example, a study of young adult workers in Bristol showed that women in the 20-35 years age group earned less than men, were

more likely to be in part-time employment, took responsibility for more housework than men, and were more likely to sacrifice their careers to raise children (Bradley & Hickman, 2003: 122).

With two thirds of the SYR sample never having worked before, the majority of young South Africans have a tenuous position in the labour market, and many remain economically dependent on their households of origin. Access to jobs by the different population groups is still characterised by inequalities. For example, while only 27 percent of African and 39 percent of Coloured young people in the SYR survey had ever worked, the corresponding percentage for White young people was 65 percent and for Indian young people 50 percent. More African and Coloured respondents than White and Indian respondents were also employed in elementary occupations and in domestic work.

The past decade has been marked by consistent economic growth (an average annual rate of 2.4%). The re-positioning and stabilisation of the economy in the global arena as well as a number of active labour market policies and institutions that have been put in place augur well for improved rates of labour absorption. These growth and employment strategies should result in economic development that is broad-based, equitable and sustainable over time. Young people through the Youth Commission lobbied extensively at the Presidential Job Summit of 1998 and the Growth and Development Summit of 2003 to place youth unemployment firmly on the development agenda. Broad Based Black Economic Empowerment represents a focused strategy, over and above Employment Equity and affirmative action policies, to realign and diversify ownership, management and representation in skilled occupations. The Human Resources Development Strategy (2001) and the National Skills Development Strategy (2001) are also two policy frameworks dedicated to realigning the skills of the workforce to the needs of the labour market by bridging the gap between structured learning and work experience. The Sector Education and Training Authorities have been active in this arena by promoting learnerships for existing employees, as well as pre-employed and unemployed people, as a means to develop formal skills and work experience. In the short to medium term, the Expanded Public Works Programme is using government's service delivery function to create jobs and hence work experience for the unemployed. Similarly, the National Youth Service Programme has the dual objective of community service on the one hand and skills development and work experience on the other hand specifically directed at young people.

It is unlikely that the formal economy will be able to generate nearly as many jobs as are required to alleviate unemployment. A number of strategies have been instituted to promote self-employment. The Small Business Act of 1996 facilitated the creation of financial and non-financial business development support for small, medium and micro enterprises (SMME). Umsobomvu Youth Fund has been particularly active in promoting and providing tools required to stimulate an entrepreneurial culture among young people. Similar structures have been developed for women entrepreneurs especially from disadvantaged groups and from rural areas. However, young people still struggle to access the kind of resources and markets required for successful integration into the SMME sector and for the sector to have a substantial impact on generating employment and economic growth.

10.4 POVERTY AND INEQUALITY

Poverty and inequality in South Africa are no longer as predominantly aligned with racial divisions as they were in the past. Dramatic changes in racial income distribution since the 1970s have narrowed the inter-

racial income gap considerably. At the same time, they have increased income inequality within race groups. Nonetheless, race is still an important determinant of inequality with much higher proportions of African and Coloured youth living in poverty than is the case for Indian and White youth.

The analyses done for the SYR showed that, in 2000, approximately a third (34%) of young South Africans between the ages of 18 and 35 years were living in poverty, with 16% being ultra poor. The data also demonstrate higher rates of both ultra and moderate poverty among 18 to 24 year olds as compared to 25-35 year olds; 41% of the younger age group lived in poverty as against 29% of the older age group. Reasons for this age differential include the higher rate of unemployment in the younger age group, the fact that many of them are still studying, and that a higher percentage lives in rural areas. It is also the result of the younger group remaining dependent on poor households. Poverty is highest among African youth and lower, but still significant, among Coloured youth and minimal among Indian and White youth.

Young women experience a higher prevalence of poverty than young men, and this gender differential is greater for the 25-35 year age group than for the 18-24 year age group. The gender difference is also greater in the population as a whole suggesting that younger women are beginning to close the gap with men. Factors such as higher levels of education and increasing gender awareness would help to explain this.

Location is an important factor in poverty with most poor people living in rural areas, particularly the former *Apartheid* homelands. This, along with the lack of employment opportunities in these areas, explains why a majority of young people – 58% of 18-24 year olds and 67% of 25-35 year olds – live in urban areas. The higher percentage of 18-24 year olds living in rural areas is one explanation for the higher rate of poverty in this group. A provincial breakdown shows the highest levels of youth poverty in Limpopo (57%) and Eastern Cape (55%), followed by the Free State (45%) and KwaZulu-Natal (45%). Poverty rates are relatively low in the urbanised and industrialised provinces of Gauteng (17%) and Western Cape (12%).

As education levels increase there is a marked and consistent reduction in poverty. The analyses suggest a double impact of education on poverty - young people with low education levels have difficulty finding work, and those from poor households have difficulty in getting an education.

The relationship between unemployment and poverty in South Africa is well established. However, for young people diverse individual and group circumstances, and the large proportion – particularly in the younger cohort – who are not economically active, complicates this relationship. Analysis of the data suggests that there are two major sources of poverty for young people: unemployment and living in a poor household. The higher rate of poverty in the 18-24 year age group is probably largely associated with coming from a poor household, while the lower incidence of poverty in the 25-35 year age is mainly due to higher employment levels in this group.

Growing up poor can have major implications for the economic status of young people and for their later life. Research has shown that poverty during childhood is associated with a broad range of negative outcomes in mortality, health, nutrition, cognitive and emotional development, school achievement, in the perpetuation of poverty in their lives, and in the transmission of poverty to the next generation.

Young people from poorer households were most likely to report that their financial situation had worsened, whereas youth from wealthier households were most likely to report that their financial situation had improved. Respondents from poor households were less likely to be the main breadwinners, and were more dependent on mothers and grandparents for support than those from wealthier households. African young people were least likely to have seen an improvement in their household's financial situation over the

preceding decade, followed by Coloured young people. Indian people were most likely to have seen an improvement. Respondents in the 25-35 year age group were also more likely to report an improvement. This is consistent with higher rates of employment, lower rates of poverty, a greater likelihood of having completed education, and a higher percentage of this age group living in urban areas. Male respondents were more likely than female respondents to report improved household finances.

Financial independence is crucial for young people to be able to set up and maintain a family and household. The survey showed that 64 percent of the respondents were not able to support themselves. Of those who were, 76 percent first began to support themselves between the ages of 18 and 24 years, and a further 16 percent between the ages of 25 and 35 years. The remainder of young people began supporting themselves before the age of 18 years of age. This suggests that, where circumstances permit, young people are most likely to begin to establish financial independence between the ages of 18 and 24 years.

Research done elsewhere (Oranje 2003:2) suggests that, when inflation is taken into account, income earned by youth between 1996 and 2001 did not change much. Given that the percentage of youth without any income increased from 1.25 to 2.48 percent over this period, youth income has probably dropped overall. Intra-group comparisons suggest that young Indian and White women have gained most in terms of income over this period, while White men have lost most.

The analysis also illustrates a consistent trend, whereby youth who start out poor and disadvantaged being least likely to report positive developments in their lives such as completing education, finding a job, establishing financial independence, and improving their financial situation. It also shows that youth from poor households, African and Coloured youth, and youth who grow up in rural areas have considerably higher rates of financial and residential dependence on their households of origin. As a result, they find it difficult to achieve full participation as adults in society.

Government has instituted a number of measures to protect the most vulnerable sectors of society and to break the cycle of childhood poverty. Social assistance grants are available to children, the disabled and older persons. Additionally, the child support grant has recently been extended to children up to 14 years of age. There have been massive expansions in the value and the reach of social assistance grants since 1994. Expenditure on social grants has increased from R10 billion in 1993 to R38.8 billion in 2003 with a concomitant increase in beneficiaries from 2.6 million to 6.8 million over this period (Policy Co-ordination and Advisory Services, 2003). The recently formed South African Social Security Agency is mandated with ensuring equitable access and improving the reach and quality of service delivery of social grants. South Africa has also instituted an Integrated Nutrition Programme to provide food security. The programme offers protection to the health of women and children as two vulnerable groups and to society at large through mandatory fortification of bread and maize meal with specified micronutrients. The Primary School Nutrition Programme currently caters for over 4.5 million learners involving 15 000 schools (Tshabala-Msimang, 2004).

10.5 HEALTH AND DISABILITY

While the years of early adulthood are generally a period of relatively good health in the lifespan, young people are differentially at risk for a number of conditions of ill health, injury and disability. These risks include substance use, depression and suicidal ideation, interpersonal and gang violence, and HIV infection.

The international and available South African literature, together with the findings from the SYR survey, show links between ill health (including mental ill-health), disability and disadvantage. Poor young people, with incomplete education and limited economic opportunities, and young people who live in under-serviced areas, are more at risk for ill health and disability, and they are less likely to have opportunities to access services for their problems and for support. At the same time, exclusion from education and employment puts young people at risk for ill-health and for behaviours which endanger health, including HIV infection. This is a vicious cycle requiring attention during the period of youth to prevent increases in ill health and disability, and the continuation of their effects into middle and older age.

Despite the general trend towards good health in this age group, alcohol, tobacco and drug use show contrary associations with social advantage, with better off, better educated, and better employed young people engaging in higher levels of substance abuse. In the long term, this poses a threat to the health of individuals and a possible burden on the health system and level of productivity of the economy. These trends are especially evident among young White youth, countering their advantages in education and employment, at least with respect to health outcomes. There are also signs of increased substance use amongst groups for whom this has previously not been an issue including young African, Coloured and Indian women.

Disability is now recognized as an issue for national social development because of its relationship with poverty, gender inequality, social exclusion and other forms of disadvantage. In South Africa, disability among young people varies between 4 and 5 percent with African youth being more likely to have a disability than their peers in other race groups. The period between 1996 and 2001 saw some positive changes and some losses for people with disabilities in education, employment, income and occupation. While people with disabilities had slightly less access to education overall, there was an increase in their completion of secondary and tertiary education, especially for people from previously disadvantaged population groups. There was a drop in unemployment amongst people with disabilities, particularly amongst African people. There were also indications of improved earnings, particularly amongst Coloured and African young people, alongside losses of jobs at higher levels and increases in jobs at lower levels. About half of those who reported a disability received a disability grant, however, with a significantly lower percentage of African youth with disabilities (53%) receiving grants than Coloured (81%) and White (80%) youth. The White Paper on an Integrated National Disability Strategy (INDS) published in 1997 was instrumental in highlighting the extent of exclusion from mainstream society experienced by disabled people, and violations of their fundamental human rights. The Office on the Status of Disabled Persons and a network of non-governmental bodies play a pivotal role in asserting the rights of, and responding to the needs of disabled people.

Psychiatric disorders and mental health are major causes of disabilities worldwide but are generally grossly under-diagnosed and under-reported in developing countries. Suicide is one of the most serious outcomes of mental disorder. In South Africa about 10 000 people commit suicide annually, with the incidence peaking among youth aged 20 to 34 years. The data suggests an increasing number of young people contemplating

suicide, especially young people in urban areas. This is likely to be associated with increased self- and other-expectations for performance, material wealth and success. Despite the promulgation of the Mental Health Care Act (2002) that is attempting to mainstream mental health as part of the primary health care approach, South Africa is yet to develop a national suicide prevention strategy. The impact of rapid socio-political transition, unfulfilled expectations with the advent of democracy and the rampant HIV/AIDS epidemic make this policy a national priority.

HIV infection and AIDS are major threats to the well-being, participation and productivity of young South Africans, with the highest HIV prevalence rate found in the 25-29 year age group. At the same time, there is a growing international consensus that the best way to halt the spread of AIDS is to focus on youth and to prevent infection among young people. There are indications that young people in South Africa have increased awareness of the risks of HIV – due to personal experience and increased media exposure – and are adopting risk prevention practices such as condom use and being faithful to one partner. However, the picture is uneven and studies indicate the need to take social, environmental and political factors into account, to understand why some young people respond positively to prevention campaigns and others do not. In particular, poverty and its association with unemployment, limited educational opportunities, poor living conditions, limited access to information, exposure to crime and violence, and gender inequality are all seen as hindering the adoption of risk prevention measures by young people. The data indicate a positive correlation between knowing one's HIV status and adopting risk prevention measures. Young people living in rural areas, with lower education levels and poorer socio-economic status, are less likely to be aware of their HIV status. Overall, about 20 percent of young people in the study were aware of their HIV status, with a higher percentage of women across all race groups having been tested for HIV and informed of their results. This emphasizes the need for greater expanded HIV testing specifically targeting young men.

Most forms of ill health among young people are preventable, and there are measures that individuals and society can take together, as has been done in South Africa, to mitigate their disruptive impact. Universal access to health care was one of the first steps taken by the democratic government through the adoption of the primary healthcare approach. Pregnant and lactating women, children under six years of age, people with disabilities and women opting to terminate a pregnancy are afforded free access the health services.

Government and civil society have responded for over 15 years to prevent the spread of HIV infection especially among young people. loveLife's innovative programme that taps into youth culture has been leading the way in youth HIV/AIDS prevention activities, well supported by other initiatives such as the schools HIV/AIDS lifeskills programme. The introduction of a comprehensive care, management and treatment plan will now also provide treatment options for young people and greatly expand the voluntary counselling and testing service.

Early and unwanted pregnancy remains a local and international challenge. Several preventative measures have been adopted including the promotion of adolescent friendly clinics, and young women now have the option to terminate an unwanted pregnancy through the Termination of Pregnancy Act of 1996. However, overcoming stigma for the use of such services remain a community and health systems challenge. The National Adolescent Friendly Clinic Initiative (NAFCI) is doing ground breaking work in facilitating access to acceptable health care services for young people.

While government has acted strongly to protect people from the harms of tobacco use through the promulgation of the Tobacco Products Control Amendment Act in 1999, similar political will is required to deal with alcohol and drug abuse.

10.6 CRIME AND VIOLENCE

South Africa has very high rates of crime by international standards, particularly violent crime. Data from the National Injury Mortality Surveillance System (NIMSS) show that young people bear a disproportionate share of deaths resulting from violence and other non-natural causes, with 36 percent of all deaths occurring in the 15-29 year age group and a further 36 percent occurring in the 30-44 year age group. Deaths from homicide and suicide peak between the ages of 20 and 34 years of age, and this age group also accounts for 40 percent of transport-related deaths. Eighty per cent of the total non-natural deaths recorded by the NIMSS were male and 20 percent were female. While it is more difficult to get age-related information on the perpetrators of crime, 36 percent of the prison population of South Africa is less than 26 years old. In addition, nearly 70 percent of people arrested on suspicion of committing a crime are between the ages of 18 and 35 years of age. This is more than twice the percentage that this age group represent in the general population. The highest proportion of arrests for crimes involving violence was also in the 25-35 year age group. Ten per cent of those surveyed in the SYR survey reported having spent a night in jail and 4 percent reported being convicted of a crime.

Available information indicates a wide range in the level of gender violence. The higher levels of gender violence reported in smaller surveys cannot be generalised to the whole population and more work needs to be done to provide an accurate assessment of the extent of the problem nationally. Nevertheless, gender violence is high and presents a considerable health risk, especially to women in the context of high HIV prevalence. The gender machinery in South Africa, consisting of the Commission of Gender Equality, the Office on the Status of Women as well as a powerful and vocal non-governmental sector, have been instrumental in raising the profile of gender issues

While various programmes have been developed to address issues of crime and violence amongst youth, undoubtedly the most important has been the development of a juvenile justice system in South Africa. When it is enacted, the Child Justice Bill will be the first law in South Africa to address the issue of children in conflict with the law. A central feature of the new system introduced by the Bill is diversion.

While few investigations have been undertaken to evaluate the effectiveness of existing diversion programmes, studies to date generally indicate positive results. However, the main problem facing diversion practice in South Africa is that it is unregulated and inconsistently applied in different parts of the country (Wood, 2003: 18). The implementation of the Child Justice Bill will go a long way towards addressing these problems.

The White Paper on Correctional Services of 2005, in offering a paradigm shift in the approach to crime from a punitive approach to one of correction and rehabilitation, recognises that fundamental change needs to come from rebuilding families and through community cohesion. Such an assertion is also expressed in the Department of Social Development's Integrated National Family Policy (2005). Consistent with these efforts is the Moral Regeneration Movement that is attempting to rebuild the social fabric of society by promoting positive norms and values

10.7 SOCIAL INTEGRATION AND CIVIC ENGAGEMENT

Concern about the alienation of South African youth began to develop in the 1970s and 1980s when large numbers of young people were drawn into the violent struggle against *Apartheid*. Despite the changes in the 1990s, concerns about the high levels of youth unemployment, poverty, political disaffection and the HIV/AIDS epidemic persist.

Before the 1994 elections, young people seemed as determined as everyone else to exercise their democratic rights by voting. However, a major difference was the high level of optimism among those in the 18-24 year age group that the election would lead to a significant difference in their standard of living. Studies done since then suggest growing concern among young people about employment prospects and some disillusionment with government.

Youth have relatively low levels of engagement in community organisations, such engagement being regarded as an important indicator of involvement in civic and political affairs in later life. African and White youth showed similar levels of involvement in sports despite the fact that African youth were far less involved in sport at school level, probably due to unequal opportunities to participate at this level. However, in terms of the overall level, participation in sport was low for both groups, with about 65 percent reporting that they had never played in a community sports team. This has important implications given that the National Youth Commission recognises sport and recreation as an important priority for youth policy. Inequality in access to sports at school is a key platform for intervention. Initiatives such as the Siyadlala Mass Participation Programme are using sport and recreation as a lever to foster national development in disadvantaged, rural and high crime areas (Tshabalala-Msimang, 2004). This programme works in tandem with the Building for Sport and Recreation Programme that is employing youth to build and manage sport and recreation facilities in disadvantaged communities.

While social relationships across racial lines have a major role to play in the development of a multi-racial democracy, such relationships remain relatively limited after ten years of democracy. Although there are some differences between age and race groupings, in general, it appears that urban and especially metropolitan areas provide greater opportunities for friendships across racial lines than rural areas. The HSRC study of learners in Gauteng showed that 30 percent had no friends in other racial groups while only 17 percent had friends in all three of the other major racial groups.

Despite the low levels of civic engagement among young people, the HSRC survey of Gauteng learners also highlighted the considerable idealism, desire to help others and concern about the public good among all categories of learners in Gauteng. This goodwill represents a tremendous resource that youth can offer to their society, but it needs to be encouraged and opportunities afforded for its expression. The considerable involvement of young people in religious organisations presents an important access point to garner youth support for civic engagement.

Research in the United States has shown that youth who participated in community organisations were more likely to get good grades and have better self-esteem. They were also more likely to be involved in and do better in schoolwork, to hold more positive civic attitudes, to avoid early and unwanted pregnancies, to be less likely to use drugs, to have a better work ethic as adults, and to be more likely to volunteer and vote.

10.8 LOCATING SOUTH AFRICAN YOUTH IN A GLOBAL CONTEXT

While the predicament of South African youth may have certain unique features arising from the specific history of the country, in the context of globalisation, young people in South Africa have a great deal in common with youth in other parts of the world. Many of the major concerns that have been expressed about the current generation of South African youth are echoed in other parts of the world. For example, a wide range of surveys indicate that the current generation of young Americans (popularly known as 'Generation X') are "less politically and civically engaged, exhibit less social trust or confidence in government, have a weaker allegiance to their country or to either political party, and are more materialistic than their predecessors" (Halstead, 1999: 2).

While various explanations have been put forward for the disengagement of young Americans, the most convincing is that they are responding to trends in the global economy. As Halstead, (1999:3-4) says:

...young Americans are reacting in a perfectly rational manner to their circumstances, at least as they perceive them. As they enter adulthood, this explanation goes, Xers are facing a particularly acute economic insecurity, which leads them to turn inward and pursue material well-being above all else. They see the outlines of very real problems ahead -- fiscal, social, and environmental. But in the nation's political system they perceive no leadership on the issues that concern them; rather, they see self-serving politicians who continually indenture themselves to the highest bidders. So Xers have decided, for now, to tune out. After all, they ask, what's the point?

Flanagan & Sherrod (1998: 450-51) adopt a similar perspective, seeing youth, especially in the industrialised countries, as facing futures with fewer opportunities for secure employment and more limited opportunities to support a family and settle in the community. The result of these trends is civic disaffection and lack of social integration. Other manifestations include rising rates of youth depression and suicide, and an epidemic of youth violence. In spite of concerted efforts by the authorities to address issues relating to youth, teenage pregnancies have been increasing in both the United States and United Kingdom, as have smoking, drinking and drug use among young people.

Also taking developing countries into its purview, the ILO (2001:1) points out that while rapid globalisation and technological change may offer new opportunities to some young people, for many millions of others these trends exacerbate their vulnerabilities and affect their transition from childhood to adulthood. Statistics paint a worrying picture - millions of young people today fail to enter or gain a firm foothold in the labour market; discrimination against young women is widespread; and the vast majority of the available jobs for young labour market entrants are low paid and of such poor quality that they offer little protection, security, and prospects for the future."

Throughout the world youth unemployment is high and rising, with young people between the ages of 15 and 24 years making up an estimated 41 percent of the world's total population of unemployed people (ILO, 2001:2). In 2001, fifty-one out of the 98 countries for which information was available, had youth unemployment rates over 15 percent and, on average, it is estimated that youth unemployment rates are two to three times higher than adult rates (ILO, 2001:2-4). Globally the situation has also been deteriorating. For example, between 1995 and 1999, youth unemployment rose by 8 million from 58 million to 66 million. In general jobs available to youth are poorly paid and located in the informal sector. In Africa, for example, the ILO (2001:5) estimated that 93 percent of all new jobs were in the informal sector. In most countries, including industrialised countries, young women are also more likely to be unemployed than young men.

As the ILO (2001: 6) points out, youth unemployment imposes heavy costs on individuals, employers, trade unions, governments and societies. Perhaps most disturbing, though, is that “unemployment in early life may permanently impair employability and, as research has shown, patterns of behaviour and attitudes established at an early stage persist later in life.” Added to this are the high social costs of disaffected youth and the deterioration of community cohesion.

It is against this global background that the unique features of South African society, such as the legacies of *Apartheid* and the difficulties involved in the transition to democracy, need to be assessed. The intention is not to minimise the problems faced by young South Africans, but rather to place these problems within a larger context. While differences in the measurement of unemployment make it difficult to compare rates of unemployment between countries, existing data suggest that South Africa has one of the highest rates of youth unemployment in the world¹⁹. In addition to unemployment, South African youth also face the threat of HIV/AIDS, chronic poverty, extreme social and economic inequalities, and very high rates of crime and violence. However, while the seriousness of these problems needs to be acknowledged, we should also not lose sight of the fact that similar problems have been experienced in other countries and especially that we may be able to learn from the strategies that have been adopted in other parts of the world to address these problems.

All over the world, young people’s transitions to adulthood have been changing. Within the context of globalisation, young people’s transitions to adulthood have become uneven and fragmented: “Uneven, because different groups of young people have very different experiences of the transition to adulthood. Fragmented because the different markers of adulthood are increasingly uncoupled from each other” (Thomson et al., 2004: xiv). For example, while young people have generally to wait longer to become economically independent, other markers of adulthood, such as sexual activity and consumption are increasingly embarked upon at younger ages.

Changes have also taken place within the material contexts in which young people grow up. Rapid expansion of information and communication technologies, for example, has led to the introduction of new patterns of sociability, “through which young people increasingly became the mobile centre of their social worlds, freed from the surveillance of parents and other gatekeepers” (Thomson et al., 2004: xiv). Data from the SYR survey showed, for example, that in spite of widespread poverty among young people, 69.3 percent of young South Africans had access to cell phones, and although inequalities in access to cell phones were apparent between the population groups, 66 percent of African youth had cell phones in their households.

However, access to computers and the Internet was considerably more limited and inequalities between race groups more pronounced. Only about 20 percent of youth in the SYR sample had access to computers and 14 percent to the Internet. In terms of the population groups, 12 percent of African youth had access to computers and 8 percent to the Internet. This was in contrast with White youth, 72 percent of whom had access to computers and 53 percent access to the Internet. Similar inequalities are evident between urban and rural areas, with more than three times as many urban respondents (34%) having access to computers than respondents in the rural areas (10%), with non-metropolitan urban areas falling in between these two poles (19%). Within the context of the role of information technology in the workplace, these inequalities can be expected to play a crucial role in the development of basic skills among young people.

¹⁹ See, for example, Figure 3 in ILO, 2001: 3

Another aspect of globalisation that impinges on the lives of young people is consumerism. The World Youth Report (United Nations Programme for Youth, 2004: 302) argues that globalisation is ‘underpinned by a desire to create uniform global markets’ that promise a great deal, including “the chance to feel a sense of belonging”. While the images of consumerism are everywhere, the advertised goods and lifestyles are usually out of the reach of the poor: “Non-consumption... is experienced as a lack of control, a form of exclusion that perpetuates poverty and withdrawal. Globalization raises consumer expectations that often cannot be fulfilled, and the end result is alienation, frustration, relative deprivation and, potentially, crime and social strife.”

In these and other ways, globalisation contributes to the intensification of inequalities and perceived inequalities, particularly among young people, who are most vulnerable to its pressures and changes. As the World Youth Report (United Nations Programme for Youth, 2004:291) points out, globalisation is “simultaneously bringing people closer together and widening the divisions between them.” For those young people with the necessary qualifications, skills and other resources, globalisation opens up opportunities to work and study in different countries, to experience the diversity of cultures, and lead productive and fulfilling lives. However, for many millions of others, globalisation and technological change “have exacerbated the vulnerability inherent in the transition from childhood to adulthood” (International Labour Office, 2001: 1). Under these conditions, globalisation “actively increases the disparities that already exist between global elites and the localized majority” (United Nations Programme for Youth, 2004: 293). Feeding off existing inequalities, globalisation has the potential to increase the vulnerability and exclusion of the most disadvantaged youth.

One area in which globalisation has the potential to increase inequalities is education. For example, Ilon (1994, cited by Kallaway, 2001: 30) warns that the benefits of the human resources explosion accompanying globalisation will not be to the advantage of all:

In fact the globalisation of the economy will mean that many people become even more marginal. Denial of the global economic system and continuing to train all students as if they had equal non-school resources, equal starting places and equal educational opportunities, and equal job and career possibilities, means that education will become even less useful for these populations. In order to better serve vulnerable youth, their particular circumstances and needs must be identified, and detailed plans made to move them forward, in preference to selling them the myth of their equal chance of global success.

In line with this perspective, Kallaway (2001) has argued that, in so far as the new education policies in South Africa have been shaped by global trends, they have had an uneven effect on the rural poor. For Kallaway (2001: 29), there is a clear contradiction between policies that emphasise equality for all in education and “the need for ever more sophisticated technical and educational skills” to supply the human resource needs of the Growth Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) strategy: “The imperatives of GEAR require an educational system that is able to produce an elite of graduates, technicians and managers of ‘world class’ who are able to compete in the international sphere.” While members of this elite will no longer be defined, as in the past, by their race, their skills and their jobs will place them in a position of privilege in relation to the rest of the population.

Against the background of persisting racial and spatial inequalities in South Africa, the potential of globalisation to reinforce existing inequalities is real. Throughout this report, inequalities between the population groups and between urban and rural areas have been consistently apparent. The data also suggest that the disadvantages associated with growing up in impoverished households significantly limit the opportunities young people have to escape poverty and create sustainable livelihoods for themselves.

These trends have important implications for young South Africans' development and future prospects. Overall, the foregoing analyses suggest that there are two distinct trajectories for South African youth in their passage to adulthood. For the majority of White and Indian youth and growing, but still relatively small, minorities of African and Coloured youth, the transition to adulthood is achieved through the acquisition of good educational qualifications and securing relatively well-paid and secure jobs, which allow them to establish economic independence and to set up households of their own. The data indicate that the majority of these young people establish financial independence between 18 and 24 years and marry before reaching 30 years of age.

For the majority of African and Coloured youth, on the other hand, employment, and therefore financial independence, remains illusive. Opportunities to set up independent households are far more limited, particularly for young men.

Growing up in a poor household plays a major role in determining which of the two trajectories to adulthood young South Africans will follow. The analyses of youth poverty showed that youth who grew up in poor households were least likely to report having had a job, being able to support themselves or being able to establish financial independence. Young people who had experienced childhood poverty were also least likely to report improvements in their current financial positions and were most likely to say that their financial situations had worsened. Being African or Coloured and growing up in a rural area were also strongly associated with higher rates of financial and residential dependence on households of origin.

Poverty has also been shown to play a determining role in the quality and levels of education young people attain. For those who grow up poor or in rural areas, their chances of acquiring a good education appear to be limited. Not only do structural factors such as the system of school fees and inequalities associated with rural education result in lower quality of education in schools that serve poor communities, but the affordability of education has been a major factor in young people discontinuing or interrupting their education.

As the analysis of employment trends showed, access to jobs by the different population groups was unequal: While only 27 percent of African and 39 percent of Coloured respondents in the SYR survey had ever worked, the corresponding percentage for White respondents was 65 percent and for Indian respondents 50 percent. More African and Coloured young people than White and Indian young people were also employed in elementary occupations and in domestic work.

These inequalities have important implications for the economic dependence of young people and their ability to set up independent households, a factor which is reflected in the marital trends of the different population groups. While 58 percent of White and 51 percent of Indian youth in the SYR sample were married or living together, only 21 percent of African and 36 percent of Coloured youth were married or living together. Given the strong emphasis that youth in this survey placed on being able to support and care for one's family as a major marker of adulthood, continuing economic dependence and the inability to set up independent households are likely to be experienced as important limitations.

The section on Health and Disability showed the strong associations between poverty on the one hand and ill health, disability and mortality on the other. It also demonstrated how conditions associated with the deprived trajectory to adulthood increased the risks of young people contracting HIV/AIDS. Section 7 also showed that being out of school and unemployed increases the risks of involvement in crime and violence, particularly for young men. More specifically, it was argued that, in the absence of more conventional means

to attain adulthood such as having a job, being economically independent or setting up one's own household, young men may be vulnerable to street gangs or become involved in acts of crime and violence as a means to assert their manhood and gain the respect of their peers.

While the development trajectory of the more privileged minority is far less problematic than that of the majority of youth who are unable to secure jobs, it is not necessarily without problems of its own. Smoking, alcohol and drug use are all more common among more privileged and better educated youth and, in particular, White youth. For example, smoking is highest among young White women; White youth have the highest rates of weekly drinking; and White youth also reported the highest usage of recreational drugs.

In part, these higher rates of substance use can be attributed to greater access to discretionary income among more privileged youth, but other factors such as stress and uncertainty probably also play a role. The survey of civic engagement among Gauteng learners (Emmett, 2004), for example, showed that, regardless of population group and socio-economic status, a majority of young people were worried about being able to find good jobs, no matter how well educated they were. Most young people also felt that, over the past decade, it had become more difficult to access employment. There was also consensus among the various social categories of youth about their lack of personal safety, and concern about levels of crime and violence in South Africa.

Given the higher rates of employment among White and Indian youth, fears of unemployment among more privileged youth seem unwarranted. However, trends in unemployment over the past ten years are cause for concern. Although African people and, to a lesser extent, Coloured people have far higher rates of unemployment, unemployment has grown amongst all race groups. For example, between 1995 and 2002, the unemployment rate among White people with tertiary qualifications doubled, while unemployment among White university graduates increased by 141 percent. Increases in unemployment among African people with tertiary and university qualifications were, of course, even higher than those of White people, but the trends suggest that the position of White people with tertiary qualifications may have deteriorated more rapidly than those of Coloured and Indian people.

While young people in South Africa (and other parts of the world) face enormous difficulties and constraints in finding a place for themselves in society, these difficulties should not blind us to the positive features in their lives or to the considerable potential that young people have to shape their own lives and to make positive contributions to society. As we pointed out in chapter 2, young people should not be seen as mere 'appendages of the adult world', but as active social agents who have the power to direct their futures even in the face of major adversary. The various ways in which young South Africans have been able to take charge of their lives and to create their own destinies are illustrated by the case studies presented in the chapters of this report.

Although young people throughout the world face many difficulties and uncertainties associated with global change, research on youth has also highlighted the remarkable adaptability of current generations of young people in the face of change. A study in Bristol in the United Kingdom, for example, showed that in spite of the precarious economic environments in which young people have to operate, many young adults "displayed high levels of satisfaction with their lives and extraordinary optimism about their futures" (Bradley & Hickman, 2004:127). More specifically, the researchers suggested that within the context of uncertainty and change in the global economy, young people had developed an "internal flexibility" that helped them to deal creatively with the precariousness of their situation. Flexibility and optimism were "not

simply a matter of grudging acceptance”, but were positively embraced: “They believed that the idea of a ‘job for life’ was a feature of their parents’ generation, and many stated that they would find it boring to stay in one job for years. Even those in the established professions spoke of moving between organisations in order to ‘fulfill their potential’ and build careers (Bradley & Hickman, 2004:127-8). Young people in this study were facing the insecurities of labour markets with resourcefulness and good humour, and proving themselves as an “adaptable generation” (Bradley & Hickman, 2004:130).

In South Africa, many examples exist of young people succeeding in the face of great difficulties. In her study of children and youth in the New Crossroads township in the Western Cape, Mamphela Ramphele (2002: 11) highlights the role of resilience in impoverished and socially-devastated communities in post-*Apartheid* South Africa:

At the heart of the hope that burns eternal in South Africa’s black townships is resilience. Resilience of people who have seen, heard and experienced pain and anguish, but kept hoping for a better tomorrow. It is this resilience that kept family ties tightly knotted together even as the fabric was fraying at the edges under the onslaught of the migrant labour system that separated men from their families. ... Resilience enabled families to survive on meagre wages and old age pensions, and still send their children to school to give them a better future. It also allowed women to walk tall wearing smiles even as their dignity was trampled upon by abusive male partners who vented their frustration at being treated like ‘boys’ on their own women and children.

Ramphele provides clear examples of this resilience in her case studies of young people in New Crossroads, and in particular in her detailed narratives of Bulelwa and Bulelani, whom she sees as representing “the triumph of the human spirit”. However, as Ramphele (2002: 153) reminds us, it is important to keep both sides of the picture in mind: “There are countless examples of triumphs against the odds by children and young people around the world. But there are also and always casualties.” While we should not lose sight of the adaptability and resilience of young people and their successes in a difficult and uncertain world, this should never be an excuse for complacency.

A good indicator of a country’s level of development is the way it treats its most vulnerable members. As Uri Bronfenbrenner (cited by Thornley, 1996) wrote more than a quarter of a century ago, the worth of a society can be measured by “the concern of one generation for the next”. A society that neglects its children and young people, “risks eventual disorganisation and demise”, even if it functions well in other respects. In 1987 the Brundtland Commission defined sustainability as “development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs”. This definition draws attention not only to conserving resources for the future, but also to future generations themselves. Clearly, there can be no future, without a future generation, and no matter how carefully we prepare for the future, our efforts would be meaningless without investing in those people who will make up future generations.

South Africans have reason to be proud of the remarkable achievements of the past decade, but as Ramphele (2002:162) reminds us, it is not enough to focus only on our achievements:

We need to acknowledge the full extent of the legacy of *Apartheid* and its socio-economic consequences. ... Acknowledgement of this fact will contribute significantly to a relief from guilt of those victims of inequity who are made to feel that it is their fault that they are poor...
The full extent of the impact of *Apartheid* on society needs to be accepted. Families are in crisis. Schools are in crisis. Communities are in crisis. The triumphalism of the immediate post-*Apartheid* period has led to a delay in appropriate interventions. There seems to be a discomfort in acknowledging the depth of the social crisis as if that would reflect badly on post-*Apartheid* South Africa. But it is the failure to

acknowledge the crisis that is reflecting badly on the society. How can others have confidence in the ability of society to tackle its problems if it denies their existence. The people cannot govern unless enabled to do so actively.

Government has instituted a number of policies and programmes, some directed specifically at youth, to promote youth development. The creation of the Youth Commission, Umsobomvu Youth Fund and the South African Youth Council are testament to the seriousness and commitment of government to involve youth as active participants in their own development and that of society at large. While the past 10 years has been dedicated to creating an enabling environment, the decade going forward surely demands extensive service delivery. Opportunities have been created for young people to influence every tier of government. This includes shaping service delivery at the coalface through integrated development plans. In the youth development sphere, this means expanding efficient and effective pilot projects such that they produce tangible impacts in the lives of the vast majority of young people. Opportunities abound in government to achieve holistic youth development through inter-sectoral collaboration - the National Youth Service Programme with the dual aim of community and skills development being a case in point. However the reach of such programmes especially to the most marginalised groups cannot be extended without sound partnerships with civil society. While interim measures are instituted to provide employment opportunities immediately, real and sustainable change as well as economic opportunity for the young people of the future will only come with continued investment in societal pillars such as sound education, health and wellbeing and rebuilding families and communities.

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APPENDIX A

SOCIAL PARTICIPATION OF YOUNG PEOPLE - TABLES A1 – A4²⁰

²⁰ All data in the ensuing tables that have been marked with an asterisk [*] are not statistically significant at the 95% level.

Table A1: Participation in community organisations by race, type of area, gender, socio-economic status in childhood, self-supporting status and province, 2003

	Participated in a civic or community organisation		Participated in a community society or club		Worked in a community garden		Collected money or goods for a project, club or organisation	
	Never	Ever	Never	Ever	Never	Ever	Never	Occasionally
Race								
African	*79.3	*20.7	75.0	25.0	*88.1	*11.9	68.2	23.9
Coloured	*82.5	*17.5	80.3	19.7	*86.0	*14.0	59.9	30.6
Indian	*81.0	*19.0	66.1	33.9	*93.4	*6.6	51.2	47.1
White	*84.7	*15.3	76.7	23.3	*87.0	*13.0	36.9	56.6
Type of area								
Metropolitan/City	83.4	16.6	75.8	24.2	90.2	9.8	56.6	36.1
Urban – Non-metro	71.6	28.4	71.2	28.8	86.0	14.0	56.7	33.1
Rural	82.4	17.6	77.2	22.8	87.4	12.6	73.8	19.6
Gender								
Male	*80.6	*19.4	*75.6	*24.4	*87.3	*12.7	66.6	25.9
Female	*79.7	*20.3	*75.1	*24.9	*88.7	*11.3	61.4	30.8
Age group								
18-24	81.5	18.5	*74.3	*25.7	*87.5	*12.5	66.1	26.7
25-35	78.3	21.7	*76.7	*23.3	*88.8	*11.2	60.8	31.0
SES in childhood								
SES1	*80.7	*19.3	76.5	23.5	90.3	9.7	71.6	21.2
SES2	*79.5	*20.5	70.7	29.3	85.0	15.0	63.4	27.6
SES3	*79.9	*20.1	81.9	18.1	91.9	8.1	55.1	40.1
SES4	*79.4	*20.6	78.6	21.4	86.1	13.9	48.7	45.0
Financially self-supporting								
Yes	*81.5	*18.5	*74.3	*25.7	*87.5	*12.5	32.0	46.4
No	*78.3	*21.7	*76.7	*23.3	*88.8	*11.2	42.0	41.3
Province								
Western Cape	78.6	21.4	77.2	22.8	87.3	12.7	58.3	33.8
Eastern Cape	79.0	21.0	74.8	25.2	80.6	19.4	64.1	31.3
Northern Cape	95.7	4.3	78.3	21.7	72.5	27.5	43.5	42.0
Free State	84.4	15.5	75.6	24.4	91.5	8.5	66.7	22.1
KwaZulu-Natal	79.2	20.8	79.4	20.6	94.4	5.1	62.2	35.6
North West	75.6	24.4	69.4	30.6	85.9	14.1	66.7	19.9
Gauteng	88.4	11.6	76.8	23.2	90.1	9.9	63.3	31.7
Mpumalanga	61.4	36.6	64.6	35.4	80.9	19.1	53.7	20.7
Limpopo	80.4	19.9	74.2	25.8	88.2	11.8	78.5	13.3

Table A2: Participation in sports by population group, type of area, gender, socio-economic status in childhood, self-supporting status and province, 2003

	Played in a community sports team			Supported a community sports team by attending matches			Participating in sports community	
	Never	Occasionally	Regularly	Never	Occasionally	Regularly	Never	Occasionally
Population group								
African	65.0	22.2	12.8	49.9	32.0	18.1	70.6	20.7
Coloured	71.7	20.1	8.3	61.1	25.8	13.1	66.6	21.0
Indian	71.1	24.0	5.0	43.8	47.9	8.3	81.8	18.2
White	64.9	26.0	9.1	46.3	42.5	11.2	68.1	23.3
Type of area								
Metropolitan/City	62.6	23.8	13.6	50.7	35.1	14.3	69.4	21.2

Urban – Non-metro	62.0	25.9	12.1	49.3	34.9	15.7	64.5	26.2
Rural	70.4	19.4	10.1	50.7	30.2	19.0	74.5	17.7
Gender								
Male	59.0	24.5	16.5	43.7	33.4	22.9	65.6	23.8
Female	71.9	20.6	7.4	56.5	32.6	10.9	74.7	18.2
Age group								
18-24	61.3	24.9	13.8	48.1	34.0	18.0	*69.5	*21.6
25-35	72.2	19.0	8.8	53.7	31.6	14.7	*71.6	*19.9
SES in childhood								
SES1	*67.1	*20.5	*12.4	*52.1	30.0	17.8	71.0	20.6
SES2	*65.0	*23.5	*11.5	48.2	35.6	16.2	71.6	19.2
SES3	*64.0	*24.8	*11.2	47.7	35.3	17.0	65.9	24.6
SES4	*66.8	*24.4	*8.8	55.9	33.2	10.9	66.8	28.2
Financially self-supporting								
Yes	71.1	21.2	7.7	54.0	34.5	11.4	*71.4	*21.3
No	62.7	23.2	14.1	48.3	32.1	19.6	*68.8	*20.6
Province								
Western Cape	68.5	17.7	13.8	60.6	23.4	16.1	70.7	17.7
Eastern Cape	62.9	29.4	7.7	48.0	40.1	11.9	68.1	26.2
Northern Cape	71.0	21.7	7.2	59.4	34.8	5.8	79.7	8.7
Free State	60.1	25.4	14.6	53.1	32.9	14.1	78.9	12.7
KwaZulu-Natal	69.2	22.5	8.3	50.9	33.6	15.5	70.4	23.5
North West	66.7	14.8	18.6	44.3	30.9	24.7	67.4	22.3
Gauteng	64.9	24.5	10.6	52.2	36.5	11.3	73.2	19.9
Mpumalanga	58.9	23.6	17.5	49.6	29.3	21.1	58.5	24.4
Limpopo	67.6	17.9	14.5	42.5	29.0	28.5	71.7	17.4

Table A3: Participation in dance/music groups, cultural events and exposure to media by population group, type of area, gender, socio-economic status in childhood self-supporting status and province, 2003

	Participated in dance/music groups			Attended a cultural event			Watched the news on TV			
	Never	Occasionally	Regularly	Never	Occasionally	Regularly	Never	Occasionally	Regularly	Never
Population group										
African	65.4	24.9	9.7	49.2	43.2	7.6	16.2	13.6	70.2	17.8
Coloured	71.3	22.3	6.4	65.3	30.3	4.5	28.3	7.3	64.3	31.2
Indian	81.8	15.7	2.5	22.3	77.7	0	4.1	11.6	84.3	8.8
White	73.2	23.6	3.2	64.9	33.0	2.1	11.5	4.4	84.1	13.5
Type of area										
Metropolitan/City	*67.4	*23.9	*8.8	57.1	37.3	5.6	15.9	8.1	76.0	18.2
Urban – Non-metro	*67.3	*24.6	*8.0	47.7	46.9	5.4	11.2	10.1	78.7	9.9
Rural	*67.1	*24.2	*8.7	48.5	43.6	7.9	19.8	126.4	63.8	22.4
Gender										
Male	70.8	22.2	7.0	54.1	39.6	6.3	16.1	9.6	74.3	17.4
Female	64.0	26.0	10.0	48.6	44.6	6.7	16.7	14.4	68.9	18.6
Age group										
18-24	63.0	27.9	9.2	*50.1	*42.8	*7.1	17.5	13.7	68.8	18.7
25-35	73.4	19.0	7.7	*52.9	*41.4	*5.7	14.9	9.8	75.3	17.7
SES in childhood										
SES1	68.7	23.0	8.2	55.3	36.6	8.2	21.8	17.7	60.5	23.8
SES2	64.4	25.3	10.3	49.5	43.5	7.0	15.8	9.1	75.0	17.6
SES3	69.0	25.1	5.9	44.2	52.3	3.4	9.1	8.1	82.8	8.8
SES4	73.1	22.1	4.2	53.8	42.0	4.2	11.3	14.3	74.4	13.6

Financially self-supporting										
Yes	73.8	19.5	6.7	50.3	44.8	4.9	13.6	11.1	75.4	15.3
No	63.5	26.9	9.6	51.8	40.8	7.4	18.1	12.7	69.3	19.3
Province										
Western Cape	68.7	23.4	7.9	60.6	32.7	6.8	28.2	8.7	63.1	31.3
Eastern Cape	63.9	30.8	5.4	39.7	53.6	6.7	12.7	12.7	74.6	14.9
Northern Cape	84.1	13.0	2.9	76.8	17.4	5.8	30.4	4.3	65.2	30.4
Free State	73.7	14.6	11.7	62.9	29.6	7.5	16.4	10.8	72.8	24.4
KwaZulu-Natal	67.3	27.9	4.7	37.0	60.2	2.8	18.3	18.6	63.1	16.5
North West	52.9	29.9	17.2	59.8	31.3	8.9	12.0	2.1	85.9	8.6
Gauteng	72.6	20.0	7.4	58.6	36.4	5.1	14.9	8.1	77.0	16.8
Mpumalanga	63.4	21.5	15.0	52.0	30.9	17.1	11.8	14.6	73.6	13.4
Limpopo	67.1	21.5	11.4	54.3	38.6	7.0	13.5	16.4	70.0	18.1

Table A4: Rates of participation in religious services, *stokvel* and burial society meetings by population group, type of area, gender, socio-economic status in childhood, self-supporting status and province, 2003

	Attended a religious service			Attended a stokvel meetings			Attended a burial society meetings			Gauteng
	Never	Occasionally	Regularly	Never	Occasionally	Regularly	Never	Occasionally	Regularly	
Population group										
African	20.4	28.2	51.4	68.6	21.0	10.4	50.8	31.8	17.5	42.2
Coloured	33.4	23.9	42.7	82.5	12.4	5.1	63.7	22.9	13.4	38.2
Indian	5.8	52.1	42.1	100.0	–	–	97.5	–	2.5	9.9
White	11.8	45.1	43.1	91.7	7.4	.9	87.9	10.6	1.5	16.8
Type of area										
Metropolitan/City	19.9	30.4	49.7	68.0	21.2	10.8	67.4	23.6	9.0	29.6
Urban – Non-metro	15.9	26.4	57.8	78.9	13.7	7.3	51.7	30.1	18.2	25.5
Rural	23.0	32.4	44.6	73.9	18.3	7.8	51.9	30.0	18.1	52.3
Gender										
Male	24.4	30.9	44.7	72.5	16.8	10.7	59.0	25.2	15.8	*38.2
Female	16.5	29.7	53.8	73.7	19.5	6.9	55.3	30.3	14.4	*38.2
Age group										
18-24	18.5	31.2	50.3	*74.1	*18.1	*7.8	61.2	25.4	13.5	40.3
25-35	22.8	28.9	48.3	*71.7	*18.4	*9.9	51.2	31.4	17.3	35.5
SES in childhood										
SES1	24.1	27.6	48.3	74.3	18.0	7.7	53.6	30.5	15.8	48.3
SES2	20.1	27.9	52.0	67.3	21.4	11.3	49.4	30.0	20.6	39.0
SES3	13.6	38.7	47.7	77.6	16.4	6.0	69.7	25.1	5.2	24.0
SES4	10.5	41.2	48.3	90.8	5.5	3.8	84.5	13.0	2.5	18.9
Financially self-supporting										
Yes	19.0	35.8	45.2	69.5	21.3	9.3	55.2	30.5	14.3	32.0
No	21.0	27.1	51.9	75.2	16.4	8.4	58.1	26.4	15.5	42.0
Province										
Western Cape	31.0	27.9	41.1	79.7	16.3	3.9	68.7	25.1	6.2	42.0
Eastern Cape	23.6	35.9	40.5	66.7	25.0	8.3	42.3	44.6	13.1	51.8
Northern Cape	36.2	21.7	42.0	81.2	18.8	–	55.1	10.1	34.8	33.3
Free State	24.9	23.5	51.6	76.5	13.1	10.3	77.5	10.3	12.2	32.9
KwaZulu-Natal	7.8	48.1	44.1	79.1	19.4	1.6	57.7	37.2	5.1	37.0
North West	17.9	21.3	60.8	74.9	14.1	11.0	22.7	33.3	44.0	28.9
Gauteng	22.6	25.5	51.9	65.4	19.7	14.9	73.0	18.6	8.4	30.3
Mpumalanga	17.5	19.9	62.6	64.6	17.5	17.9	37.8	22.4	39.8	25.2
Limpopo	24.2	18.1	57.7	78.0	12.6	9.4	62.8	19.8	17.4	52.2

APPENDIX B

QUESTIONNAIRE

HUMAN SCIENCES RESEARCH COUNCIL

STATUS OF THE YOUTH

YOUTH QUESTIONNAIRE

GENERAL KNOWLEDGE ABOUT HOUSEHOLD

	Usual residents and visitors	Relationship to the head of the households	Sex	Age	Residents		The following Questions must be asked to person above ages 18yrs old within the household			
Line No.	Please give me the first names of the persons who usually live in your household or who stayed here last night	What is the relationship of (name) to the head of the household? 1 head 2 spouse 3 Son/daughter 4 grandchild 5 mother/father 6 other rel 7 not related	Is (name) male or female 1 male 2 female	How old is (name)	Does (name) usually live here 1- yes 2-no	Did (name) stay name last night 1-yes 2-no	Education (see education)	Current employment status (see employment)	Marital Status of (name) 1-Married 2-Liv. tog. 3-Div 4-Wid 5-Never Marr	Is (name) disabled 1- yes 2-no
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
01										
02										

03										
04										
05										
06										
07										
08										
09										
10										
11										
12										
13										
14										
15										

B. GENERAL INFORMATION ABOUT THE RESPONDENT**1. Gender of respondent** [CODE BY OBSERVATION]

Male	1	Female	2
------	---	--------	---

2. Race [CODE BY OBSERVATION]

Black African	1	Indian	3
Coloured	2	White	4

3. Name of the residential area, nearest town and province.

Residential area	
Nearest Town	
Province	

4. Area type [CODE BY OBSERVATION]

Metropolitan Township	1	Metropolitan Informal	5
Metropolitan Suburb	2	Urban Informal	6
Urban Township	3	Rural Commercial farming area	7
Urban Suburb	4	Rural Subsistence farming area	8

5. Approximately how long have you lived here?

Less than year	1
Between one and two years	2
Three to five years	3
Six to ten years	4
Longer than 10 years	5
All your life	6

6. If you have not lived here all your life, where did you live before you came to live in your current home? Please write down the names of a city/ town/ village/and the province of the place were you previously lived: For example: Ermelo, Mpumalanga

Residential area	
Nearest Town	
Province	

7. What is your age?

Years

8. Who do you currently stay with most of the time?

Parents	1
Grandparents	2
Spouse/partner	3
Children	4
Other relatives	5
Non-relatives	6
Alone	7

9. What is your relationship to the head of the household?

Head of household	1
Spouse	2
Son or daughter	3

Other relation	4
Not related	5

10. What is your current marital status?

Married	With children	1
	Without children	2
Live together	With children	3
	Without children	4
Divorced	With children	5
	Without children	6
Widower/widow	With children	7
	Without children	8
Never married	With children	9
	Without children	10
Other (specify)		11

11. If married, at what age did you first get married?

years

C. EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND**1. What is your highest educational qualification?**

None	1	Post-matric certificate or diploma	6
Junior Primary (Grade 1-3)	2	Degree	7
Senior Primary (Grade 4-7)	3	Other (specify)	8
Grade 8 to grade 11 (std 6 to std 9)	4		
Grade 12 (std 10)	5		

2. Are you currently registered with any educational institution? (Tick the relevant institution)

Yes	1	No	2
-----	---	----	---

3. If yes, which educational institution?

	Qualification registered for	Duration of the course in months
School		
University		
Technikon		
College		
Technical college		
Other (specify).....		

4. If not registered, tell us why?

Financial constraints	1
Looking after family/relatives	2
Not having time	3
Completed educational goals	4
Working	5
Other (specify).....	6

5. **If not currently registered, what was the last year you were a full time registered student at an educational institution?**

99 not applicable

6. **If not currently registered, what was the last year you were a part-time registered student at an educational institution?**

--

7. **At what type of institution did you study?**

	Historically black	Historically White
High School		
Post-matric		

8. **What language do you speak mostly at home?**

Sesotho	1	Xitsonga	8
Setswana	2	Tshivenda/Lemba	9
Sepedi	3	Afrikaans	10
Siswati	4	English	11
IsiNdebele	5	Other African language	12
IsiXhosa	6	European language	14
IsiZulu	7	Indian language	15
		Other (please specify)	
		

D. EMPLOYMENT

For question 1 & 3			
Unemployed, not looking for work	1	Student/learner	8
Unemployed, actively looking for work	2	Self-employed - full time	9
Unemployed, waiting for work to come		Self-employed - part time	10
Work in informal sector, not looking for permanent work	3	Employed part time (if none of the above)	11
Work in informal sector, looking for	4	Employed full time	12

permanent work			
Social Grant Recipient (/sick/disabled, etc.)	5	Other(specify)	13
Housewife, not working at all, not looking for work	6		
Housewife, looking for work	7		

1. What is your current employment status?

(WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING BEST DESCRIBES YOUR PRESENT WORK SITUATION?)

Choose the appropriate code from the list above and write it here

2. Describe the activities involved in your work

Agriculture, hunting, forestry and fishing	1
Mining and quarrying	2
Manufacturing	3
Electricity, gas and water supply	4
Construction	5
Wholesale and retail trade	6
Transport, storage and communication	7
Financial intermediation, insurance, real estates and business services	8
Community, social and personal services	9
Private households	10
Exterior organizations and foreign government	11
Other	90
Not applicable	88
Unspecified	99

3. If you are married or have a partner (living with or not), what is his/her employment status?

Write in appropriate code

4. If you are married or have a partner (living with or not), what is his/her occupation?

[WRITE DOWN THE RESPONSE]

5. What kind of employer do / did you work for? (circle box only)

Government Organization	1
Non-governmental organization	2
Private company	3
Community based organization	4
I am self-employed	5
Domestic employment	6

6. What is / was the main activity of your employer / organization / small business

Agriculture, hunting, forestry and fishing	1
Mining and quarrying	2
Manufacturing	3
Electricity, gas and water supply	4
Construction	5
Wholesale and retail trade	6
Transport, storage and communication	7
Financial intermediation, insurance, real estates and business services	8
Community, social and personal services	9
Private households	10
Exterior organizations and foreign government	11
Other	90
Not applicable	88
Unspecified	99

7. What is your current occupation? [WRITE DOWN THE RESPONSE]

Legislators, senior officials and managers	1
Professionals	2
Technical and associate professionals	3
Service workers and shop and market sales workers	4
Clerks	5
Skilled agricultural and fishery workers	6
Craft and related trades workers	7
Plant and machine operators and assemblers	8
Elementary Occupation	9
Domestic workers	10
Not applicable	88
Occupation not adequately defined	97
Occupation not elsewhere defined, Unspecified	99

8. Is / Was this your first job? (circle one box only)

Yes	No
-----	----

9. Where did you get information about current/past job?

Members of the family	1
Friends	2
Advertisement through the media	3
Employment agencies	4
Employer physical recruitment drive	5
Employer bursary offer	6
Government agency employment scheme	7
Other, please specify.....	8

10. If you had your way, what would you like your occupation to be?

--

11. If this is not your first job, why did you leave your previous job? (Mark one box only)

It was a temporary / part-time job only	1
I found a better paying job	2
I found a job that better suited my skills and qualifications	3
The company I worked for closed / moved	4
I started studying	5
I had to take on family / social responsibilities	6
I was retrenched	7
Dismissed	8
Contract ended	9
Other (please specify)	10

12. If working for yourself, why are / were you working for yourself (either on your own or employing others)? (You may circle more than one box)

I could not find a job in the field in which I am trained	1
I could not find a job in formal employment	2
I prefer flexible working hours	3
I prefer to be my own boss	4
It's better than having no job	5
I have more opportunity to do the work I want to do	6
I prefer working from home to working in an office	7
I can earn a higher income than if I were in formal employment	8
Other (please specify)	9

13. If self-employed, what is nature of your work?

--

14. If ever worked for yourself, how difficult was it to obtain credit?

Very difficult	Difficult	Easy	Very easy
----------------	-----------	------	-----------

15. Where did you get credit?

Commercial bank	1
Cash Loans	2
Friends	3
Relatives	4
Personal savings	5
Stokvel	6
Small business development agencies	7
Other, please specify	8

16. How old were you when you first received money for work?

years old

17. What did you do for the money you received as your payment?

Assisted family	1
Bought consumables for myself	2
Saved for the future	3
Entertainment	4
Other (specify)	5

18. Did your family help you to get your first job?

Yes	1	No	2
-----	---	----	---

19. Did your friends or the people that you know help you to get your first job?

Yes	1	No	2
-----	---	----	---

20. If yes, how did your family or friends help you get your first job?

--

21. Have you ever bought lottery tickets, such as scratch-offs or lotto?

Yes	1	No	2
-----	---	----	---

22. Have you ever done gambling in a casino?

Yes	1	No	2
-----	---	----	---

23. Have you ever bet on horse racing or any sporting events?

Yes	1	No	2
-----	---	----	---

E. SKILLS AUDIT

1. Do / did you use the knowledge and skills that you learned during school in your current / past job?

Not at all	1
Sometimes	2
Most of the time	3
Never worked	4

2. Do / did you use any skills that you learnt from post school learning in your current/ past job?

Not at all	1
Sometimes	2
Most of the time	3
Never worked	4

3. Are there any skills that you learnt from home or community that are of great use to you in your current job?

	If yes, explain
--	-----------------

Home	
Community	

4. Do you have a motor vehicle driver's license?

Yes	1	No	2
-----	---	----	---

5. What are household duties that you do at home?

Inside household duties.....	1
Outside household duties.....	2
Other (specify).....	3

6. Is / was your school / college/ university/ technikon qualification related to your current job?

Yes	1	No	2
-----	---	----	---

7. If yes, please tell us how?

8. If no, please explain why

9. With the Mathematics and Language studies that you did at school, were you able to perform at the level required of you, in your work environment?

Yes	1	No	2
-----	---	----	---

10. How well do you think your school education has prepared you for adult life in terms of the following?

	Very well	Well	Slightly	Not well
Ability to work with numbers and figures				
Ability to write well				
Ability to communicate well with others				

Ability to work as a member of a team				
Ability to solve problems				

11. Did you receive any career guidance at school?

Yes	1	No	2
-----	---	----	---

12. Did you receive / are you receiving any type of job related training other than the one you received from educational institution?

Yes	1	No	2
-----	---	----	---

13. If yes, did you /will you receive a certificate or license for the training that you do/ did?

Yes	1	No	2
-----	---	----	---

14. Were you ever an apprentice under contract with an Industry Training Board?

Yes	1	No	2
-----	---	----	---

15. Have you ever thought of leaving South Africa to look for employment elsewhere?

Yes	1	No	2
-----	---	----	---

F. UNEMPLOYMENT

1. If not employed, and looking, for how many months have you been looking for a job?

months

**2. What are the main reasons for your not having a job?
(interviewer may circle more than one box)**

There are no job opportunities where I live	1
No employer wants me because I don't have the skills for the job	2
No employer wants people from my school/ university	3
Employers want experience	4
The level of my education is not high enough	5
No employer wants people with skills in my field of study	6
I have not been looking for a job	7
I do not know	8
Other (please specify)	9

3. How important do you think the following are as reasons for your not having a job?

i. I am Black / White

Not at all important	1
Important	2
Very important	3

ii. I am a Female/Male

Not at all important	1
Important	2
Very important	3

iii. I am physically disabled

Not at all important	1
Important	2

Very important	3
Not applicable	4

iv. I have a chronic disease

Not at all important	1
Important	2
Very important	3
Not applicable	4

4. Which of the following would help you get a job? (interviewer may mark more than one box)

Move to another area where there may be work	1
Get (more) practical training	2
Enroll for more formal education	3
Get more technical skills	4
Get into a learnership, internship or experiential learning projects	5
Send my CV to employers / organizations	6
Make an appointment with employers / organizations to ask them for a job	7
Send my CV to an employment agency	8
Advertise in the newspaper that I am looking for a job	9
Get someone to help me write a good CV	10
Apply for more jobs than I have so far	11
Other (please specify).....	12

5. Could local authorities or traditional leadership help you to get a job?

Yes	1
No	2
Don't know	3

6. If yes, in what way could they help you?

--

--

F. INCOME

1. If you earn an income, how many hours do you usually work per week?

Hours

2. Do you supervise or are you responsible for the work of any other people?

Number of people

3. Please give the letter that best describes the **PERSONAL TOTAL MONTHLY INCOME** before tax and other deductions. Please include all sources of income i.e. salaries, social grants, income from investments, etc.

		Household	Personal
	No income	1	1
1.1.1.	R1 – R500	2	2

L	R501 –R750	3	3
M	R751 – R1 000	4	4
N	R1 001-R1 500	5	5
O	R1 501 – R2 000	6	6
P	R2 001 – R3 000	7	7
Q	R3 001 – R5 000	8	8
R	R5 001 – R7 500	9	9
S	R7 501 – R10 000	10	10
T	R10 001 – R15 000	11	11
U	R15 001 – R20 000	12	12
V	R20 001 – R30 000	13	13
W	More than R30 000	14	14
	Refuse to answer	15	15
	Uncertain/Don't know	16	16

4. Are you a member of a trade union?

Yes	1	No	2
-----	---	----	---

5. How would you classify yourself or your family if you are dependent on them:

Wealthy class	1
Middle class	2
Working class	3
Poor	4
None of the above	5

6. In your opinion, is your household poorer or richer than it was ten years ago?

Poorer	1
Richer	2
Same	3
Not sure	4

G. TRANSITION TO ADULthood – SEXUAL AND SOCIAL RELATIONS

1. Have you ever had full penetrative sex?

Yes	1	No	2
-----	---	----	---

2. At what age did you first have full penetrative sex?

	Years old
--	-----------

3. How old was your partner?

Younger	1
Older	2
Not sure	3
Other (specify age).....	4

4. The first time you had full penetrative sex, did you use contraceptives?

Yes	1	No	2
-----	---	----	---

5. If yes, which contraceptive method did you use?

(You may tick more than one)

Pill	1
Injectables	2
IUD / loop	3
Douche	4
Other (please specify)	5

6. The first time you had sex, did you use a condom?

Yes	1	No	2
-----	---	----	---

7. Are you currently using contraceptives?

Yes	1	No	2
-----	---	----	---

8. If yes, which method?

(interviewer may tick more than one)

Pill	1
Injectables	2
IUD/ loop	3
Douche	4
Condom	5
Other (please specify)	6

9. The first time you had sex, did you use any other form of protection (e.g. withdrawal)?

Yes	1	No	2
-----	---	----	---

10. Have you ever fallen pregnant / made someone pregnant?

Yes	1	No	2
-----	---	----	---

11. Was your first pregnancy planned/ When you first pregnant someone was that planned?

Yes	1	No	2
-----	---	----	---

12. If ever pregnant or made someone pregnant, how old were you?

Age

13. Have you ever had a child?

Yes	1	No	2
-----	---	----	---

14. If yes how many children have you ever had?

Number of children

15. I do not want to know the results, but have you ever been tested for HIV?

Yes	1	No	2
-----	---	----	---

16. Are you staying with your spouse or partner?

Yes	1	No	2
-----	---	----	---

17. Is your mother alive?

Yes	1	No	2
-----	---	----	---

18. If alive, are you staying with your mother?

Yes	1	No	2
-----	---	----	---

19. If not staying with your mother, at which age did you stop staying with your mother?

Age
Never stayed 99

20. What is/was the educational status of your mother?

None	1	Post-matric certificate or diploma	6
Junior Primary (Grade 1-3)	2	Degree	7
Senior Primary (Grade 4-7)	3	Other (specify)	8
Grade 8 to grade 11 (std 6 to std 9)	4		
Grade 12 (std 10)	5		

21. Is your father alive?

Yes	1	No	2
-----	---	----	---

22. If alive, are you staying with your father?

Yes	1	No	2
-----	---	----	---

23. If not staying with your father, at which age did you stop staying with your father?

Age	
Never stayed	99

24. What is/was the educational status of your father?

None	1	Post-matric certificate or diploma	6
Junior Primary (Grade 1-3)	2	Degree	7
Senior Primary (Grade 4-7)	3	Other (specify)	8
Grade 8 to grade 11 (std 6 to std 9)	4		
Grade 12 (std 10)	5		

25. Do you get financial support from any relative?

Yes	1	No	2
-----	---	----	---

26. If yes, what is the relationship between you and the person who is supporting you?

Mother	1
Father	2
Grandparents	3
Spouse/partner	4
In-laws	5
Other relatives please specify.....	6

27. Do you remit regularly to any relative?

Yes	1	No	2
-----	---	----	---

28. If yes, what is the relationship between you and the person you remit to?

Mother	1
Father	2
Grandparents	3
Spouse/partner	4
In-laws	5
Other relatives please specify.....	6

29. Who is the main breadwinner in your household?

Mother	1
Father	2
Grandparents	3
Spouse/partner	4
In-laws	5
Self	6
Shared equal support	7
Other relatives please specify.....	8

G. COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT

Now tell us about the community you live in. Are the following statements about YOUR community true, partly true or not true?

In my community...

1. There are people I can ask for help when I need it

Definitely true	1
True	2
Slightly true	3
Not true	4
Don't know	5

2. Most people who live here try to obey the law

Definitely true	1
True	2
Slightly true	3
Not true	4
Don't know	5

3. If someone has a problem, they can usually count on others to help them out

Definitely true	1
True	2
Slightly true	3
Not true	4
Don't know	5

4. The police are fair to everyone

Definitely true	1
True	2
Slightly true	3
Not true	4
Don't know	5

5. If someone moves here, they're treated like an outsider

Definitely true	1
True	2
Slightly true	3
Not true	4
Don't know	5

6. Most people feel safe

Definitely true	1
True	2
Slightly true	3
Not true	4
Don't know	5

7. A lot of people only care about themselves

Definitely true	1
True	2
Slightly true	3
Not true	4
Don't know	5

8. Everyone can rely on the police to help them

Definitely true	1
True	2
Slightly true	3
Not true	4

Don't know	5
------------	---

9. Our community leaders can always be trusted to tell the truth

Definitely true	1
True	2
Slightly true	3
Not true	4
Don't know	5

10. Adults keep an eye on what young people are up to

Definitely true	1
True	2
Slightly true	3
Not true	4
Don't know	5

11. There are adults I could talk to about something important

Definitely true	1
True	2
Slightly true	3
Not true	4
Don't know	5

12. Local government is helpful in helping young people

Definitely true	1
True	2
Slightly true	3
Not true	4
Don't know	5

13. Some people say that you usually can trust people. Others say that you must be careful when dealing with people. What is your view?

You can usually trust people		You have to be careful		
1	2	3	4	5

14. Some people believe that most people are helpful, while others say that most people are only concerned about themselves. What do you think?

Most people are helpful			Most people are only concerned about themselves		
1	2	3	4	5	

15. Some people say that most people will treat you fairly, while others think that most people will take advantage of you if they can. What do you think?

Most people will treat you fairly			Most people will take advantage of you		
1	2	3	4	5	

16. Some people say that one should publicly criticise the country's leaders when you think they are wrong. Others say one should keep one's criticism to one's self. What do you think?

One should be able to criticise our leaders			One should never criticise our leaders		
1	2	3	4	5	

17. Some people say that you need to look after your own interests first. Others say that you should always take the needs and interests of others into account. What do you think?

Look after your own interests first			Take other people's interests into account		
1	2	3	4	5	

18. Some people say that the government is interested in what you think. Others say that the government does not really care what you think. What is your opinion?

The government is interested in what you think			The government does not care what you think		
1	2	3	4	5	

19. Some people say that the most important thing in life is to have enough money. Others say there are more important things than money. What do you think?

Money is the most important thing			Other things are more important	
1	2	3	4	5

H. SERVICE DELIVERY

1. Which of the following best describes your present housing situation? Do you

Own this dwelling FORMAL/TRADITIONAL	1
Own this dwelling TEMPORARY/INFORMAL/SHACK	2
Rent/lease this dwelling from other people or companies	3
Rent/lease this dwelling from the government or town council	4
Receive this dwelling as part of your job (e.g. live on farm, domestic with room)	5
Live in a shack which you own	6
Live with someone else who owns/rents the dwelling	7
Illegally occupy this dwelling	8
Have no home or shelter	9
Parents own dwelling	10

2. What type of toilet does this household use?

Flush	1	Chemical toilet	5
Improved or VIP pit latrine	2	Veld	6
Ordinary pit latrine	3	None	7
Bucket toilet	4	Other (specify)	8

3. How do you get your drinking water?

Piped—internal with meter	1	Borehole/well	8
Piped—internal with pre-paid meter	2	Rainwater tank	9
Piped – yard tap with meter	3	Flowing river/stream	10
Piped – yard tap with pre-paid meter	4	Dam	11
Piped – yard tap with no	5	Stagnant pond	12

meter	
Piped – free communal tap	6
Piped – paid for communal tap	7

Solar	13
Other (specify)	14

4. What kind of access to electricity do you have in your household?

In-house meter	1
In-house pre-paid meter	2
Connected to other source which I pay for (e.g. connected to neighbour's line and paying neighbors)	3
Connected to other source which I do not pay for (e.g. connected to neighbour's line and not paying)	4
Illegal connection (e.g. connected to Eskom line)	5
Generator/battery	6
Other	7
No access to electricity	8
Uncertain/Don't know	9

5. What kind of refuse collection does your household have?

Curbside collection	1
Communal skip (within 100 meters of household)	2
Communal skip (more than 100 meters from household)	3

Other (specify)	4
No refuse collection service	5
Uncertain/Don't know	6

6. In your household, is there any of the following?

Television	Yes	1	No	2
Radio	Yes	1	No	2
Internet Email	Yes	1	No	2
Landline phone	Yes	1	No	2
Fax	Yes	1	No	2
Photocopy	Yes	1	No	2
Microwave	Yes	1	No	2
Motor car	Yes	1	No	2
Washing machine	Yes	1	No	2
Cell phone	Yes	1	No	2
Computer	Yes	1	No	2

I. HEALTH**1. How would you describe your health?**

Good	1
Average	2
Bad	3

2. Have you been admitted to hospital in the past two years?

Yes	1	No	2
-----	---	----	---

3. Have there been any deaths in your household in the past two years?

Yes	1	No	2
-----	---	----	---

4. Is there anyone in your home with HIV or an AIDS- related sickness?

Yes	1
No	2
Don't know	3

5. Do you have any disability?

Yes	1
No	2
If yes, please specify	3

6. If yes. Do you receive a disability grant?

Yes	1
No	2
If yes, please specify	3

7. Have you ever tried cigarette smoking, even just 1 or 2 puffs?

Yes	1	No	2
-----	---	----	---

8. Have you ever smoked cigarettes regularly, that is, at least 1 cigarette everyday for 30 days?

Yes	1	No	2
-----	---	----	---

9. Have you ever had a drink or beer, wine or liquor- not just a sip or a taste of someone else's drink – more that 2 or 3 times in your life?

Yes	1	No	2
-----	---	----	---

10. Over the past 12 months, how many days did you drink five or more drinks in a row?

11. Have you ever used any drug substance in your life?

Yes	1	No	2
-----	---	----	---

12. If yes, tick below the drugs you have ever used?

Dagga
Mandrax
Cocaine
Ecstasy
Others, please specify

13. If yes, did you use a drug substance during the last month?

Yes	1	No	2
-----	---	----	---

14. During the past 12 months, have you ever seriously think about committing suicide?

Yes	1	No	2
-----	---	----	---

15. How far is the nearest clinic / hospital from your homestead in kilometers?

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16. Is there a security officer or police on duty in your community?

Yes	1	No	2
-----	---	----	---

17. Have you ever slept in jail?

Yes	1	No	2
-----	---	----	---

18. Have you ever been convicted of a crime in a court of law?

Yes	1	No	2
-----	---	----	---

19. Have you ever carried a gun to protect yourself?

Yes	1	No	2
-----	---	----	---

20. Has anyone ever pulled a knife/ gun on you?

Yes	1	No	2
-----	---	----	---

21. Have you ever suffered an injury as a result of a gun/ knife assault?

Yes	1	No	2
-----	---	----	---

J. YOUTH CIVIC ENGAGEMENT

How often during this year did you participate in the following activities, or did you do the following things?

1. Play in a community sports team?

Never	1
A few times a year	2
Once or twice a month	3
Once a week	4
A few times a week	5
Daily or almost daily	6

2. Support a community sports team by attending its matches/games?

Never	1
-------	---

A few times a year	2
Once or twice a month	3
Once a week	4
A few times a week	5
Daily or almost daily	6

3. Participate in a community society or club?

Never	1
A few times a year	2
Once or twice a month	3
Once a week	4
A few times a week	5
Daily or almost daily	6

4. Work in a community garden?

Never	1
A few times a year	2
Once or twice a month	3
Once a week	4
A few times a week	5
Daily or almost daily	6

5. Collect money or goods for your community project, your church or a charitable organisation?

Never	1
A few times a year	2
Once or twice a month	3
Once a week	4
A few times a week	5
Daily or almost daily	6

6. Participate in sports or a sport club outside of your community?

Never	1
A few times a year	2
Once or twice a month	3
Once a week	4
A few times a week	5
Daily or almost daily	6

7. Participate in a community choir?

Never	1
A few times a year	2
Once or twice a month	3
Once a week	4
A few times a week	5
Daily or almost daily	6

8. Participate in a dance or music group?

Never	1
A few times a year	2
Once or twice a month	3
Once a week	4
A few times a week	5
Daily or almost daily	6

9. Attend cultural events?

Never	1
A few times a year	2
Once or twice a month	3
Once a week	4

A few times a week	5
Daily or almost daily	6

10. Participate as a member of a civic or community organisation other than those mentioned above?

Never	1
A few times a year	2
Once or twice a month	3
Once a week	4
A few times a week	5
Daily or almost daily	6

11. Watch news?

Never	1
A few times a year	2
Once or twice a month	3
Once a week	4
A few times a week	5
Daily or almost daily	6

12. Read the newspaper?

Never	1
A few times a year	2
Once or twice a month	3
Once a week	4
A few times a week	5
Daily or almost daily	6

13. Give money to someone who was poor or hungry?

Never	1
A few times a year	2

Once or twice a month	3
Once a week	4
A few times a week	5
Daily or almost daily	6

14. Attend a religious service?

Never	1
A few times a year	2
Once or twice a month	3
Once a week	4
A few times a week	5
Daily or almost daily	6

15. Volunteer to help out around the house?

Never	1
A few times a year	2
Once or twice a month	3
Once a week	4
A few times a week	5
Daily or almost daily	6

16. Are there any community skills development centers in your area?

Yes	1
No	2
Don't know	3

17. Have you ever participated in the skills development centers mentioned above?

Yes	1	No	2
-----	---	----	---

18. If yes, did they contribute towards giving you some skills? please explain how

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19. If No, why did you not participate? Please explain

20. Give us your own views as to why many young people are not getting jobs and what can be done to reduce the unemployment rate

Thank you for participating in the youth questionnaire

APPENDIX C

YOUTH SURVEY 2003: TABLES OF RESULTS

Province

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Western Cape	355	10.0	10.0	10.0
	Eastern Cape	504	14.2	14.2	24.3
	Northern Cape	69	1.9	1.9	26.2
	Free State	213	6.0	6.0	32.2
	KwaZulu Natal	759	21.4	21.4	53.7
	North West	291	8.2	8.2	61.9
	Gauteng	690	19.5	19.5	81.4
	Mpumalanga	246	6.9	6.9	88.3
	Limpopo	414	11.7	11.7	100.0
	Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Race

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Black African	2767	78.1	78.1	78.1
	Coloured	314	8.9	8.9	87.0
	Indian	121	3.4	3.4	90.4
	White	339	9.6	9.6	100.0
	Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Gender

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Male	1688	47.7	47.7	47.7
	Female	1853	52.3	52.3	100.0
	Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Household size

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid 1	355	10.0	10.0	10.0
2	518	14.6	14.6	24.7
3	809	22.8	22.8	47.5
4	757	21.4	21.4	68.9
5	503	14.2	14.2	83.1
6	255	7.2	7.2	90.3
7	160	4.5	4.5	94.8
8	76	2.1	2.1	97.0
9	52	1.5	1.5	98.4
10	30	.8	.8	99.3
11	11	.3	.3	99.6
12	1	.0	.0	99.6
13	11	.3	.3	99.9
14	2	.1	.1	100.0
22	1	.0	.0	100.0
Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Age group

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid 18-24	2081	58.8	58.8	58.8
25-35	1460	41.2	41.2	100.0
Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Type of area

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Suburban	377	10.6	10.6	10.6
Township - formal	656	18.5	18.5	29.2
Township - informal	127	3.6	3.6	32.8
Township - outlying/peri-urban	38	1.1	1.1	33.8
Sub-urban	41	1.2	1.2	35.0
Township/formal	632	17.8	17.8	52.8
Township/informal	172	4.9	4.9	57.7
Small town/village	1404	39.6	39.6	97.3
Commercaial farming area	82	2.3	2.3	99.7
Subsistence farming area	12	.3	.3	100.0
Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Type of area

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Metropolitan/city	1198	33.8	33.8	33.8
	Urban-non-metropolitan	845	23.9	23.9	57.7
	Rural	1498	42.3	42.3	100.0
	Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Approximately,how long have you lived here?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Less than 1 year	208	5.9	5.9	5.9
	Between 1 and 2 years	281	7.9	7.9	13.8
	3-5 years	417	11.8	11.8	25.6
	6-10 years	286	8.1	8.1	33.7
	More than 10 years	458	12.9	12.9	46.6
	All of your life	1891	53.4	53.4	100.0
	Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

In what province did you previously lived?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Western Cape	319	9.0	9.0	9.0
	Eastern Cape	517	14.6	14.6	23.6
	Northern Cape	121	3.4	3.4	27.0
	Free State	233	6.6	6.6	33.6
	KwaZulu Natal	816	23.0	23.0	56.7
	North West	335	9.5	9.5	66.1
	Gauteng	539	15.2	15.2	81.3
	Mpumalanga	266	7.5	7.5	88.8
	Limpopo	395	11.2	11.2	100.0
	Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Was the place where you lived a...

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	City/town/township formal	1205	34.0	34.0	34.0
	City/town/township Informal	325	9.2	9.2	43.2
	Rural area/village	1877	53.0	53.0	96.2
	Farm	134	3.8	3.8	100.0
	Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

In what province were you born?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Western Cape	315	8.9	8.9	8.9
	Eastern Cape	523	14.8	14.8	23.7
	Northern Cape	130	3.7	3.7	27.3
	Free State	188	5.3	5.3	32.6
	KwaZulu Natal	843	23.8	23.8	56.5
	North West	404	11.4	11.4	67.9
	Gauteng	478	13.5	13.5	81.4
	Mpumalanga	243	6.9	6.9	88.2
	Limpopo	417	11.8	11.8	100.0
	Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Was the place where you were born a...

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	City/town/township formal	1839	51.9	51.9	51.9
	City/town/township Informal	1561	44.1	44.1	96.0
	Rural area/village	141	4.0	4.0	100.0
	Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Did you spend most of your childhood in the area where you were born?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	2926	82.6	82.6	82.6
	No	615	17.4	17.4	100.0
	Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

What province did you spent most of your childhood

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Western Cape	88	2.5	14.3	14.3
	Eastern Cape	65	1.8	10.6	24.9
	Northern Cape	57	1.6	9.3	34.1
	Free State	47	1.3	7.6	41.8
	KwaZulu Natal	73	2.1	11.9	53.7
	North West	133	3.8	21.6	75.3
	Gauteng	66	1.9	10.7	86.0
	Mpumalanga	40	1.1	6.5	92.5
	Limpopo	46	1.3	7.5	100.0
	Total	615	17.4	100.0	
Missing	Not applicable	2926	82.6		
Total		3541	100.0		

Was the place where you spent most of your childhood a...

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	City/town/township formal	1316	37.2	37.2	37.2
	City/town/township Informal	334	9.4	9.4	46.6
	Rural area/village	1763	49.8	49.8	96.4
	Farm	128	3.6	3.6	100.0
	Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Did you go to school in this same area?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	3077	86.9	86.9	86.9
	No	464	13.1	13.1	100.0
	Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Where did you go to school?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Western Cape	94	2.7	20.3	20.3
	Eastern Cape	56	1.6	12.1	32.3
	Northern Cape	18	.5	3.9	36.2
	Free State	29	.8	6.3	42.5
	KwaZulu Natal	62	1.8	13.4	55.8
	North West	57	1.6	12.3	68.1
	Gauteng	60	1.7	12.9	81.0
	Mpumalanga	41	1.2	8.8	89.9
	Limpopo	47	1.3	10.1	100.0
	Total	464	13.1	100.0	
Missing	Not applicable	3077	86.9		
Total		3541	100.0		

What language do you speak mostly at home?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Sesotho	246	6.9	6.9	6.9
	Setswana	457	12.9	12.9	19.9
	Sepedi	272	7.7	7.7	27.5
	Siswati	90	2.5	2.5	30.1
	IsiNdebele	42	1.2	1.2	31.3
	IsiXhosa	579	16.4	16.4	47.6
	IsiZulu	866	24.5	24.5	72.1
	Xitsonga	121	3.4	3.4	75.5
	Tshivenda	102	2.9	2.9	78.4
	Afrikaans	363	10.3	10.3	88.6
	English	384	10.8	10.8	99.5
	Other African language	7	.2	.2	99.7
	Indian language	8	.2	.2	99.9
	Other	4	.1	.1	100.0
	Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Was the place where you went to school a...

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid City/town/township formal	1695	47.9	47.9	47.9
City/town/township Informal	391	11.0	11.0	58.9
Rural area/village	1365	38.5	38.5	97.5
Farm	90	2.5	2.5	100.0
Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Thinking back to your childhood,with whom did you mostly stay while you were a child?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Both your mother and father	1935	54.6	54.6	54.6
Your mother	924	26.1	26.1	80.7
Your father	87	2.5	2.5	83.2
Your grandmother	300	8.5	8.5	91.7
Your grandfather	19	.5	.5	92.2
Both your grandparents	132	3.7	3.7	95.9
Your aunt	41	1.2	1.2	97.1
Your uncle	33	.9	.9	98.0
Both your aunt and uncle	12	.3	.3	98.4
Your big brother	25	.7	.7	99.1
Your big sister	24	.7	.7	99.7
Someone else	9	.3	.3	100.0
Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Are you still staying with this person?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Yes	2068	58.4	58.4	58.4
No	1473	41.6	41.6	100.0
Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

At what age did you leave this household?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid <10	70	2.0	2.0	2.0
10	33	.9	.9	2.9
11	1	.0	.0	2.9
12	16	.5	.5	3.4
13	9	.3	.3	3.6
14	13	.4	.4	4.0
15	33	.9	.9	4.9
16	21	.6	.6	5.5
17	84	2.4	2.4	7.9
18	216	6.1	6.1	14.0
19	165	4.7	4.7	18.7
20	170	4.8	4.8	23.5
21	150	4.2	4.2	27.7
22	87	2.5	2.5	30.2
23	81	2.3	2.3	32.4
24	68	1.9	1.9	34.4
25	71	2.0	2.0	36.4
26	50	1.4	1.4	37.8
27	34	1.0	1.0	38.7
28	37	1.0	1.0	39.8
29	21	.6	.6	40.4
30	18	.5	.5	40.9
31	12	.3	.3	41.2
32	4	.1	.1	41.3
33	1	.0	.0	41.4
34	8	.2	.2	41.6
99	2068	58.4	58.4	100.0
Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Self-supporting- financially

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Yes	1284	36.3	36.3	36.3
No	2257	63.7	63.7	100.0
Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

At what age did you begin to support yourself financially?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	7	6	.2	.5	.5
	10	1	.0	.1	.6
	12	1	.0	.1	.7
	13	1	.0	.1	.8
	14	5	.1	.4	1.2
	15	9	.3	.8	2.0
	16	16	.5	1.4	3.4
	17	32	.9	2.8	6.2
	18	162	4.6	14.1	20.3
	19	142	4.0	12.4	32.7
	20	170	4.8	14.8	47.5
	21	141	4.0	12.3	59.8
	22	115	3.2	10.0	69.8
	23	88	2.5	7.7	77.5
	24	70	2.0	6.1	83.6
	25	75	2.1	6.5	90.1
	26	33	.9	2.9	93.0
	27	24	.7	2.1	95.1
	28	20	.6	1.7	96.9
	29	11	.3	1.0	97.8
	30	13	.4	1.1	99.0
	31	6	.2	.5	99.5
	32	1	.0	.1	99.6
	33	1	.0	.1	99.7
	35	4	.1	.3	100.0
	Total	1147	32.4	100.0	
Missing	Not stated	137	3.9		
	Not applicable	2257	63.7		
	Total	2394	67.6		
Total		3541	100.0		

Who do you currently stay with most of the time?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Parents	1798	50.8	50.8	50.8
Grandparents	274	7.7	7.7	58.5
Spouse/partner	536	15.1	15.1	73.7
Children	227	6.4	6.4	80.1
Other relatives	219	6.2	6.2	86.2
Non-relatives	75	2.1	2.1	88.4
Alone	412	11.6	11.6	100.0
Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Which of the following best describe the financial situation in which you grew up?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Not enough money for basic things	1055	29.8	29.8	29.8
Had money for food and clothes	1505	42.5	42.5	72.3
Had most of the important things	581	16.4	16.4	88.7
Some money for extra things	238	6.7	6.7	95.4
Don't know	162	4.6	4.6	100.0
Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Has your financial situation improved since you were 17 or younger?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Improved	1641	46.3	46.3	46.3
Stayed the same	1277	36.1	36.1	82.4
Got worse	623	17.6	17.6	100.0
Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Current age of respondent

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	18	369	10.4	10.4	10.4
	19	350	9.9	9.9	20.3
	20	346	9.8	9.8	30.1
	21	286	8.1	8.1	38.2
	22	271	7.7	7.7	45.8
	23	234	6.6	6.6	52.4
	24	225	6.4	6.4	58.8
	25	208	5.9	5.9	64.6
	26	183	5.2	5.2	69.8
	27	167	4.7	4.7	74.5
	28	154	4.3	4.3	78.9
	29	157	4.4	4.4	83.3
	30	137	3.9	3.9	87.2
	31	118	3.3	3.3	90.5
	32	113	3.2	3.2	93.7
	33	82	2.3	2.3	96.0
	34	73	2.1	2.1	98.1
	35	68	1.9	1.9	100.0
	Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

What is your relationship to the head of the household?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Head of household	827	23.4	23.4	23.4
	Spouse	352	9.9	9.9	33.3
	Son/daughter	1859	52.5	52.5	85.8
	Other relation	425	12.0	12.0	97.8
	Not related	78	2.2	2.2	100.0
	Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Current marital status

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Married with children	335	9.5	9.5	9.5
	Married without children	81	2.3	2.3	11.7
	Cohabit with children	146	4.1	4.1	15.9
	Cohabit without children	51	1.4	1.4	17.3
	Divorced with children	43	1.2	1.2	18.5
	Divorced without children	10	.3	.3	18.8
	Widowed with children	19	.5	.5	19.3
	Widowed without children	10	.3	.3	19.6
	Never married with children	602	17.0	17.0	36.6
	Never married - no children	2244	63.4	63.4	100.0
	Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Current marital status

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Currently married	416	11.7	11.7	11.7
	Cohabiting/live together	197	5.6	5.6	17.3
	Divorced	53	1.5	1.5	18.8
	Widowed	29	.8	.8	19.6
	Never married	2846	80.4	80.4	100.0
	Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

If married,at what age did you first get married?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	13	1	.0	.3	.3
	15	1	.0	.3	.6
	16	1	.0	.3	.9
	17	10	.3	3.1	4.1
	18	26	.7	8.1	12.2
	19	7	.2	2.2	14.4
	20	26	.7	8.1	22.5
	21	34	1.0	10.6	33.1
	22	44	1.2	13.8	46.9
	23	22	.6	6.9	53.8
	24	32	.9	10.0	63.8
	25	40	1.1	12.5	76.3
	26	20	.6	6.3	82.5
	27	21	.6	6.6	89.1
	28	8	.2	2.5	91.6
	29	11	.3	3.4	95.0
	30	10	.3	3.1	98.1
	31	6	.2	1.9	100.0
	Total	320	9.0	100.0	
Missing	Married but not stated	178	5.0		
	Never married	3043	85.9		
	Total	3221	91.0		
Total		3541	100.0		

What is the highest level of education that you have completed?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid None	16	.5	.5	.5
Grade 0	15	.4	.4	.9
Sub A/Grade 1	23	.6	.6	1.5
Grade 3	7	.2	.2	1.7
Grade 4	9	.3	.3	2.0
Grade 5	18	.5	.5	2.5
Grade 6	21	.6	.6	3.1
Grade 7	46	1.3	1.3	4.4
Grade 8	92	2.6	2.6	7.0
Grade 9	147	4.2	4.2	11.1
Grade 10	266	7.5	7.5	18.6
Grade 11	509	14.4	14.4	33.0
Grade12	1474	41.6	41.6	74.6
NTC 1	42	1.2	1.2	75.8
NTC 11	29	.8	.8	76.6
NTC 111	43	1.2	1.2	77.9
Diploma/Certificate with less than Grade12	43	1.2	1.2	79.1
Diploma/Certificate with Grade 12	266	7.5	7.5	86.6
Degree	178	5.0	5.0	91.6
Postgraduate degree/diploma	141	4.0	4.0	95.6
Not stated	156	4.4	4.4	100.0
Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Currently registered with any educational institution

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Yes	968	27.3	27.3	27.3
No	2573	72.7	72.7	100.0
Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Are you registered with a School?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Yes	445	12.6	12.6	12.6
No	3096	87.4	87.4	100.0
Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Duration of the course in months

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1	12	.3	6.2	6.2
	2	7	.2	3.6	9.8
	6	2	.1	1.0	10.9
	10	1	.0	.5	11.4
	11	6	.2	3.1	14.5
	12	128	3.6	66.3	80.8
	18	5	.1	2.6	83.4
	21	1	.0	.5	83.9
	24	13	.4	6.7	90.7
	36	16	.5	8.3	99.0
	56	2	.1	1.0	100.0
	Total	193	5.5	100.0	
Missing	Not applicable	3348	94.5		
Total		3541	100.0		

Are you registered part-time or full-time?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	part-time	96	2.7	2.7	2.7
	full-time	146	4.1	4.1	6.8
	Not applicable	3299	93.2	93.2	100.0
Total		3541	100.0	100.0	

Are you registered with a University?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	196	5.5	5.5	5.5
	No	3345	94.5	94.5	100.0
Total		3541	100.0	100.0	

Duration of the course in months

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1	8	.2	4.3	4.3
	2	4	.1	2.2	6.5
	4	5	.1	2.7	9.2
	6	2	.1	1.1	10.3
	9	1	.0	.5	10.8
	12	16	.5	8.6	19.5
	18	2	.1	1.1	20.5
	24	14	.4	7.6	28.1
	30	4	.1	2.2	30.3
	36	83	2.3	44.9	75.1
	48	34	1.0	18.4	93.5
	54	1	.0	.5	94.1
	60	1	.0	.5	94.6
	68	1	.0	.5	95.1
	72	9	.3	4.9	100.0
	Total	185	5.2	100.0	
Missing	Not applicable	3356	94.8		
Total		3541	100.0		

Are you registered part-time or full-time?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	part-time	87	2.5	2.5	2.5
	full-time	85	2.4	2.4	4.9
	Not Applicable	3369	95.1	95.1	100.0
Total		3541	100.0	100.0	

Are you registered with a Technikon?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	102	2.9	2.9	2.9
	No	3439	97.1	97.1	100.0
Total		3541	100.0	100.0	

Duration of the course in months

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid 1	3	.1	3.5	3.5
2	4	.1	4.7	8.2
3	4	.1	4.7	12.9
4	6	.2	7.1	20.0
6	4	.1	4.7	24.7
7	2	.1	2.4	27.1
10	1	.0	1.2	28.2
12	9	.3	10.6	38.8
24	15	.4	17.6	56.5
36	32	.9	37.6	94.1
48	5	.1	5.9	100.0
Total	85	2.4	100.0	
Missing Not applicable	3456	97.6		
Total	3541	100.0		

Are you registered part-time or full-time?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid part-time	46	1.3	1.3	1.3
full-time	33	.9	.9	2.2
Not applicable	3462	97.8	97.8	100.0
Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Are you registered with a Technical college?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Yes	58	1.6	1.6	1.6
No	3483	98.4	98.4	100.0
Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Duration of the course in months

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1	6	.2	11.5	11.5
	2	2	.1	3.8	15.4
	3	1	.0	1.9	17.3
	4	1	.0	1.9	19.2
	6	6	.2	11.5	30.8
	12	9	.3	17.3	48.1
	18	1	.0	1.9	50.0
	24	4	.1	7.7	57.7
	36	22	.6	42.3	100.0
	Total	52	1.5	100.0	
Missing	Not applicable	3489	98.5		
Total		3541	100.0		

Are you registered part-time or full-time?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	part-time	30	.8	.8	.8
	full-time	20	.6	.6	1.4
	N/A	3491	98.6	98.6	100.0
	Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Are you registered with another

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	40	1.1	1.1	1.1
	No	3501	98.9	98.9	100.0
	Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Duration of the course in months

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1	6	.2	26.1	26.1
	12	9	.3	39.1	65.2
	18	1	.0	4.3	69.6
	24	5	.1	21.7	91.3
	36	2	.1	8.7	100.0
	Total	23	.6	100.0	
Missing	Not applicable	3518	99.4		
Total		3541	100.0		

Are you registered part-time or full-time?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid part-time	19	.5	.5	.5
full-time	7	.2	.2	.7
N/A	3515	99.3	99.3	100.0
Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Are you registered with a Training centre?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Yes	6	.2	.2	.2
No	3535	99.8	99.8	100.0
Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Duration of the course in months

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid 1	3	.1	60.0	60.0
3	1	.0	20.0	80.0
18	1	.0	20.0	100.0
Total	5	.1	100.0	
Missing Not applicable	3536	99.9		
Total	3541	100.0		

Are you registered part-time or full-time?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Yes	3	.1	.1	.1
No	1	.0	.0	.1
N/A	3537	99.9	99.9	100.0
Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

At what age did you leave school?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	7	6	.2	.3	.3
	8	2	.1	.1	.4
	9	8	.2	.4	.9
	10	6	.2	.3	1.2
	11	6	.2	.3	1.5
	12	15	.4	.8	2.3
	13	16	.5	.9	3.1
	14	20	.6	1.1	4.2
	15	30	.8	1.6	5.8
	16	57	1.6	3.0	8.8
	17	260	7.3	13.9	22.7
	18	433	12.2	23.1	45.8
	19	261	7.4	13.9	59.7
	20	249	7.0	13.3	73.0
	21	174	4.9	9.3	82.2
	22	130	3.7	6.9	89.2
	23	59	1.7	3.1	92.3
	24	47	1.3	2.5	94.8
	25	38	1.1	2.0	96.9
	26	25	.7	1.3	98.2
	27	10	.3	.5	98.7
	28	14	.4	.7	99.5
	29	2	.1	.1	99.6
	30	5	.1	.3	99.8
	31	1	.0	.1	99.9
	32	1	.0	.1	99.9
	33	1	.0	.1	100.0
	Total	1876	53.0	100.0	
Missing	Not stated	697	19.7		
	Not applicable	968	27.3		
	Total	1665	47.0		
Total		3541	100.0		

Are you registered with another institution?

		Frequenc	Percen	Valid	Cumulativ Percent
Valid	Yes	5	.1	.1	.1
	No	3536	99.9	99.9	100.0
	Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Tell us why you are no longer studying?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	I do not need to study further because I have a job	242	6.8	10.6	10.6
	I wanted to get a job so that I could become independent	261	7.4	11.5	22.1
	I wanted to get a job so that I can save for further studies	209	5.9	9.2	31.3
	My marks were not good enough to allow me to study further	82	2.3	3.6	34.9
	I failed the last course/year of study I undertook	20	.6	.9	35.8
	My parents wanted me to be independent	63	1.8	2.8	38.5
	My parents wanted me to support the family	96	2.7	4.2	42.8
	I can't afford to study	865	24.4	38.0	80.8
	I think I can get a job without to study further	38	1.1	1.7	82.4
	I had to look after family/relatives	48	1.4	2.1	84.5
	I got pregnant	132	3.7	5.8	90.3
	I am/was tired of studying	40	1.1	1.8	92.1
	I have completed my educational goals	150	4.2	6.6	98.7
	I have an illness that prevents me from studying further	30	.8	1.3	100.0
	Total	2276	64.3	100.0	
Missing	Not stated	16	.5		
	Not applicable	1249	35.3		
	Total	1265	35.7		
Total		3541	100.0		

Did you receive any financial support from your parents or someone else while studying?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	2744	77.5	81.3	81.3
	No	631	17.8	18.7	100.0
	Total	3375	95.3	100.0	
Missing	99	166	4.7		
Total		3541	100.0		

When you were at school, from whom did you receive financial support?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Did not receive support	175	4.9	4.9	4.9
	Yes, I received support	2206	62.3	62.3	67.2
	No, I paid for myself	169	4.8	4.8	72.0
	No, I depended on a bursary	47	1.3	1.3	73.3
	Did not pay	68	1.9	1.9	75.3
	Did not go to school	18	.5	.5	75.8
	Missing	858	24.2	24.2	100.0
Total		3541	100.0	100.0	

When you enrolled for your post school education, from whom did you receive financial support?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes, I received support	781	22.1	22.1	22.1
	No, I paid for myself	139	3.9	3.9	26.0
	No, I depended on a bursary	136	3.8	3.8	29.8
	No, I depended on a bursary	27	.8	.8	30.6
	Did not pay	570	16.1	16.1	46.7
	Missing	1888	53.3	53.3	100.0
	Total		3541	100.0	100.0

Would you like to continue studying at some later stage in your life?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	2650	74.8	74.8	74.8
	No	891	25.2	25.2	100.0
	Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

How important is studying in your life?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	important	2950	83.3	88.8	88.8
	Somewhat important	209	5.9	6.3	95.1
	Not important	163	4.6	4.9	100.0
	Total	3322	93.8	100.0	
Missing	System	219	6.2		
Total		3541	100.0		

Have you received career guidance from your school?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	1985	56.1	56.1	56.1
	No	1556	43.9	43.9	100.0
	Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

What kind of career guidance has your school provided or arranged in the last three years?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	A list of universities and technikons	769	21.7	36.5	36.5
	Information on the study programmes offered by institutions	345	9.7	16.4	52.8
	A visit to one or more universities/technikons for exposure	234	6.6	11.1	63.9
	A visit to one or more work places to expose you to career	129	3.6	6.1	70.1
	A visit from one or more companies to expose to	99	2.8	4.7	74.8
	A visit to a Career Expo	88	2.5	4.2	78.9
	Personal discussion with a teacher	126	3.6	6.0	84.9
	Personal discussion with a career guidance expert	199	5.6	9.4	94.4
	Aptitude tests	83	2.3	3.9	98.3
	Other	36	1.0	1.7	100.0
	Total	2108	59.5	100.0	
Missing	99	1433	40.5		
Total		3541	100.0		

Have ever had a job?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Yes	1145	32.3	32.3	32.3
No	2396	67.7	67.7	100.0
Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

What is your current employment status?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Unemployed,not looking for work	28	.8	.8	.8
Unemployed,actively looking for work	81	2.3	2.3	3.1
Work in informal sector,not looking for permanent work	17	.5	.5	3.6
Work in informal sector,looking for permanent work	33	.9	.9	4.5
Social Grant Recipient	1	.0	.0	4.5
Housewife,looking for work	12	.3	.3	4.9
Student/learner	32	.9	.9	5.8
Self-employed full-time	21	.6	.6	6.4
Self-employed part-time	10	.3	.3	6.6
Employed part-time	67	1.9	1.9	8.5
Employed full-time	432	12.2	12.2	20.7
Other	1	.0	.0	20.8
Missing	2806	79.2	79.2	100.0
Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

If you are married and have a partner,what is his/her employment status

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Unemployed,not looking for work	16	.5	.5	.5
Unemployed,actively looking for work	44	1.2	1.2	1.7
Work in informal sector,not looking for permanent work	6	.2	.2	1.9
Work in informal sector,looking for permanent work	17	.5	.5	2.3
Housewife,not working at all not looking for work	3	.1	.1	2.4
Housewife,looking for work	1	.0	.0	2.5
Student/learner	24	.7	.7	3.1
Self-employed full-time	17	.5	.5	3.6
Self-employed part-time	13	.4	.4	4.0
Employed part-time	21	.6	.6	4.6
Missing	3379	95.4	95.4	100.0
Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

In what year did you start working

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	99	2497	70.5	70.5	70.5
	1978	3	.1	.1	70.6
	1982	12	.3	.3	70.9
	1983	4	.1	.1	71.1
	1984	9	.3	.3	71.3
	1985	5	.1	.1	71.4
	1986	3	.1	.1	71.5
	1988	4	.1	.1	71.6
	1989	6	.2	.2	71.8
	1990	26	.7	.7	72.6
	1991	23	.6	.6	73.2
	1992	26	.7	.7	73.9
	1993	23	.6	.6	74.6
	1994	21	.6	.6	75.2
	1995	31	.9	.9	76.1
	1996	55	1.6	1.6	77.6
	1997	86	2.4	2.4	80.0
	1998	86	2.4	2.4	82.5
	1999	104	2.9	2.9	85.4
	2000	127	3.6	3.6	89.0
	2001	142	4.0	4.0	93.0
	2002	160	4.5	4.5	97.5
	2003	88	2.5	2.5	100.0
	Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

In what month did you start working

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	January	187	5.3	5.3	5.3
	February	155	4.4	4.4	9.7
	March	145	4.1	4.1	13.8
	April	68	1.9	1.9	15.7
	May	57	1.6	1.6	17.3
	June	113	3.2	3.2	20.5
	July	41	1.2	1.2	21.6
	August	50	1.4	1.4	23.0
	September	42	1.2	1.2	24.2
	October	41	1.2	1.2	25.4
	November	55	1.6	1.6	26.9
	December	52	1.5	1.5	28.4
	Missing	2535	71.6	71.6	100.0
	Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

**How many months after completing your education did you start
working at this job?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid 0	29	.8	.8	.8
1	93	2.6	2.6	3.4
2	66	1.9	1.9	5.3
3	96	2.7	2.7	8.0
4	56	1.6	1.6	9.6
5	35	1.0	1.0	10.6
6	56	1.6	1.6	12.2
7	24	.7	.7	12.8
8	24	.7	.7	13.5
9	39	1.1	1.1	14.6
10	23	.6	.6	15.3
11	3	.1	.1	15.4
12	69	1.9	1.9	17.3
13	5	.1	.1	17.5
14	11	.3	.3	17.8
15	1	.0	.0	17.8
16	8	.2	.2	18.0
18	26	.7	.7	18.8
19	1	.0	.0	18.8
20	2	.1	.1	18.8
22	1	.0	.0	18.9
24	61	1.7	1.7	20.6
25	6	.2	.2	20.8
25	7	.2	.2	21.0
26	13	.4	.4	21.3
27	2	.1	.1	21.4
28	5	.1	.1	21.5
30	13	.4	.4	21.9
31	1	.0	.0	21.9
32	2	.1	.1	22.0
35	1	.0	.0	22.0
36	40	1.1	1.1	23.1
37	2	.1	.1	23.2
38	2	.1	.1	23.2
40	3	.1	.1	23.3
43	2	.1	.1	23.4
44	6	.2	.2	23.6
47	1	.0	.0	23.6
48	28	.8	.8	24.4
50	3	.1	.1	24.5
53	2	.1	.1	24.5
58	3	.1	.1	24.6
60	3	.1	.1	24.7
62	2	.1	.1	24.7
69	1	.0	.0	24.8
70	3	.1	.1	24.9
72	6	.2	.2	25.0
79	4	.1	.1	25.1
84	3	.1	.1	25.2
92	1	.0	.0	25.2
94	2	.1	.1	25.3
96	5	.1	.1	25.4
999	2640	74.6	74.6	100.0

How did you find this job?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Through an employment agency	111	3.1	3.1	3.1
Through an advertisement I found in a newspaper	142	4.0	4.0	7.1
By sending my CV to potential employers	178	5.0	5.0	12.2
I moved to another area	94	2.7	2.7	14.8
I joined a family business	17	.5	.5	15.3
Through placing my own advertisement in a newspaper	12	.3	.3	15.6
With the help of my school/another educational institution	45	1.3	1.3	16.9
Through a holiday job that I had	27	.8	.8	17.7
Through my friends or contacts	258	7.3	7.3	25.0
Through my family or family connections	122	3.4	3.4	28.4
Through paying back a loan/bursary from an employer	9	.3	.3	28.7
I am self-employed	22	.6	.6	29.3
I did look for a job	117	3.3	3.3	32.6
Missing	2387	67.4	67.4	100.0
Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

What is your occupation for this job?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Legislators, senior officials and managers	46	1.3	1.3	1.3
	Professionals	203	5.7	5.7	7.0
	Technical & associate professionals	57	1.6	1.6	8.6
	Sales workers and shops and market sales workers	137	3.9	3.9	12.5
	Clerks	141	4.0	4.0	16.5
	Skilled agricultural and fishery workers	19	.5	.5	17.0
	Craft and related trades workers	38	1.1	1.1	18.1
	Plant and machine operators	44	1.2	1.2	19.3
	Elementary Occupation	15	.4	.4	19.8
	Domestic workers	58	1.6	1.6	21.4
	Not applicable	58	1.6	1.6	23.0
	Occupation not adequately defined	108	3.0	3.0	26.1
	Occupation not elsewhere defined	220	6.2	6.2	32.3
	Missing	2397	67.7	67.7	100.0
	Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

For how many days were you employed per week?

		Frequenc	Percen	Valid	Cumulativ Percen
Valid	Full-	817	23.1	23.1	23.1
	3 to 4 days a	198	5.6	5.6	28.7
	1 to 2 days a	54	1.5	1.5	30.2
	Less than a day a	11	.3	.3	30.5
	Missin	2461	69.5	69.5	100.0
	Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Was this job in the formal or informal sector?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Formal Sector	736	20.8	20.8	20.8
	Informal Sector	341	9.6	9.6	30.4
	Missing	2464	69.6	69.6	100.0
	Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

For what kind of employer did you work?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Government organisation	219	6.2	6.2	6.2
	Private company	645	18.2	18.2	24.4
	NGO	40	1.1	1.1	25.5
	CBO	47	1.3	1.3	26.9
	Domestic employment	61	1.7	1.7	28.6
	Self-employed	35	1.0	1.0	29.6
	Other	8	.2	.2	29.8
	99	2486	70.2	70.2	100.0
	Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Are you still working at this job?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	804	22.7	22.7	22.7
	No	341	9.6	9.6	32.3
	N/A	2396	67.7	67.7	100.0
	Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

If no longer working at this job, why did you leave?

		Frequenc	Percen	Valid	Cumulativ Percent
Valid	It was a temporary/part-time	61	1.7	1.7	1.7
	I found a better paying	60	1.7	1.7	3.4
	I found a job that my skills qualification	18	.5	.5	3.9
	The company I worked closed/move	24	.7	.7	4.6
	I started	12	.3	.3	4.9
	I had to take family/soci responsibilitie	12	.3	.3	5.3
	I was retrenched/dismiss	32	.9	.9	6.2
	N/A	804	22.7	22.7	28.9
	Missin	2518	71.1	71.1	100.0
	Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Did you do any studying or training between your first job and your current or last job?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Yes	66	1.9	1.9	1.9
No	479	13.5	13.5	15.4
Missing	2996	84.6	84.6	100.0
Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

For how many months were you unemployed before you found this job?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid 0	22	.6	.6	.6
1	21	.6	.6	1.2
2	15	.4	.4	1.6
3	11	.3	.3	1.9
4	4	.1	.1	2.1
5	4	.1	.1	2.2
6	15	.4	.4	2.6
7	6	.2	.2	2.8
8	4	.1	.1	2.9
9	9	.3	.3	3.1
12	12	.3	.3	3.5
20	1	.0	.0	3.5
21	1	.0	.0	3.5
24	12	.3	.3	3.9
36	4	.1	.1	4.0
42	1	.0	.0	4.0
44	1	.0	.0	4.0
48	1	.0	.0	4.1
Missing	3397	95.9	95.9	100.0
Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

How did you find this job?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Through an employment agency	19	.5	.5	.5
Through an advertisement i found in a newspaper	22	.6	.6	1.2
By sending my CV to potential employers/organisations	40	1.1	1.1	2.3
I moved to another area	9	.3	.3	2.5
Through placing my own advertisement in a newspaper	1	.0	.0	2.6
With the help of my school or another education institution	4	.1	.1	2.7
Through a holiday job that i had	5	.1	.1	2.8
Through my friends or contacts	43	1.2	1.2	4.0
Through my family or family connections	15	.4	.4	4.5
I am self-employed	2	.1	.1	4.5
I did look for a job/ i was approached by the employer, etc	10	.3	.3	4.8
Missing	3371	95.2	95.2	100.0
Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

What is/was your occupation during your current or last job?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Legislators, senior officials and managers	7	.2	.2	.2
	Professionals	30	.8	.8	1.0
	Technical and associate professionals	6	.2	.2	1.2
	Service workers and shop and market sales workers	14	.4	.4	1.6
	Clerks	9	.3	.3	1.9
	Plant and machine operators and assemblers	8	.2	.2	2.1
	Elementary Occupations	2	.1	.1	2.1
	Domestic workers	9	.3	.3	2.4
	Not applicable	5	.1	.1	2.5
	Occupation not adequately defined	7	.2	.2	2.7
	Not applicable	3444	97.3	97.3	100.0
	Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

For how many days were you employed per week?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Full-time/five or more days per week	106	3.0	3.0	3.0
	3 to 4 days a week	33	.9	.9	3.9
	1 to 2 days a week	10	.3	.3	4.2
	Less than a day a week	12	.3	.3	4.5
	Missing	3380	95.5	95.5	100.0
	Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Was this job in the formal or informal sector?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Formal sector	128	3.6	3.6	3.6
	Informal sector	54	1.5	1.5	5.1
	Missing	3359	94.9	94.9	100.0
	Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

For what kind of employer did you work?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Government organisation	26	.7	.7	.7
	Private company	88	2.5	2.5	3.2
	NGO (Non governmental organisation)	7	.2	.2	3.4
	CBO (Community-Based organisation)	5	.1	.1	3.6
	Domestic employment	16	.5	.5	4.0
	Self-employed	13	.4	.4	4.4
	Missing	3386	95.6	95.6	100.0
	Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Are you still working at this job?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	99	2.8	2.8	2.8
	No	76	2.1	2.1	4.9
	Missing	3366	95.1	95.1	100.0
	Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

If no longer working at this job, why did you leave this job?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	It was a temporary/part-time job	30	.8	.8	.8
	I found a better paying job	32	.9	.9	1.8
	I found a job that better my skills and qualifications	5	.1	.1	1.9
	The company i worked for closed/moved	10	.3	.3	2.2
	I started studying	4	.1	.1	2.3
	I had to take on family/social responsibilities	8	.2	.2	2.5
	I was retrenched/dismissed	5	.1	.1	2.7
	Other	3	.1	.1	2.7
	Missing	3444	97.3	97.3	100.0
	Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Have you had any other jobs besides the two?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Yes	40	1.1	1.1	1.1
No	347	9.8	9.8	10.9
Missing	3154	89.1	89.1	100.0
Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Time employed

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid 1	1	.0	.0	.0
2	12	.3	.3	.4
3	2	.1	.1	.4
6	4	.1	.1	.5
12	4	.1	.1	.6
13	1	.0	.0	.7
18	3	.1	.1	.8
21	2	.1	.1	.8
36	2	.1	.1	.9
46	1	.0	.0	.9
52	1	.0	.0	.9
56	2	.1	.1	1.0
72	1	.0	.0	1.0
Missing	3505	99.0	99.0	100.0
Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Time not employed

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid 1	1	.0	.0	.0
2	5	.1	.1	.2
4	2	.1	.1	.2
5	1	.0	.0	.3
6	2	.1	.1	.3
7	1	.0	.0	.3
8	1	.0	.0	.4
9	7	.2	.2	.6
11	1	.0	.0	.6
12	3	.1	.1	.7
14	2	.1	.1	.7
Missing	3515	99.3	99.3	100.0
Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Time studying

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid 0	2	.1	.1	.1
2	4	.1	.1	.2
4	1	.0	.0	.2
6	2	.1	.1	.3
9	7	.2	.2	.5
12	1	.0	.0	.5
15	2	.1	.1	.5
21	2	.1	.1	.6
24	7	.2	.2	.8
99	3513	99.2	99.2	100.0
Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Total

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid 1	1	.0	.0	.0
2	9	.3	.3	.3
5	3	.1	.1	.4
9	3	.1	.1	.5
11	1	.0	.0	.5
12	1	.0	.0	.5
16	2	.1	.1	.6
18	3	.1	.1	.6
24	5	.1	.1	.8
25	1	.0	.0	.8
34	1	.0	.0	.8
42	2	.1	.1	.9
48	2	.1	.1	1.0
64	1	.0	.0	1.0
94	1	.0	.0	1.0
Missing	3505	99.0	99.0	100.0
Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Were you ever self-employed?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Yes	221	6.2	6.2	6.2
No	3320	93.8	93.8	100.0
Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

For how many months have you been self-employed now?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid 1	7	.2	.2	.2
2	11	.3	.3	.5
3	7	.2	.2	.7
4	5	.1	.1	.8
5	4	.1	.1	1.0
6	11	.3	.3	1.3
7	1	.0	.0	1.3
8	1	.0	.0	1.3
9	7	.2	.2	1.5
10	2	.1	.1	1.6
11	7	.2	.2	1.8
12	17	.5	.5	2.3
15	1	.0	.0	2.3
16	6	.2	.2	2.5
18	7	.2	.2	2.7
20	2	.1	.1	2.7
22	1	.0	.0	2.7
24	21	.6	.6	3.3
26	1	.0	.0	3.4
27	2	.1	.1	3.4
29	1	.0	.0	3.4
34	2	.1	.1	3.5
36	12	.3	.3	3.8
42	3	.1	.1	3.9
48	5	.1	.1	4.1
52	1	.0	.0	4.1
60	14	.4	.4	4.5
72	5	.1	.1	4.6
74	2	.1	.1	4.7
84	1	.0	.0	4.7
96	6	.2	.2	4.9
100	1	.0	.0	4.9
108	6	.2	.2	5.1
132	1	.0	.0	5.1
146	1	.0	.0	5.1
162	1	.0	.0	5.2
192	4	.1	.1	5.3
Missing	3354	94.7	94.7	100.0
Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Did you have another job before you became self-employed?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Yes	35	1.0	1.0	1.0
No	3506	99.0	99.0	100.0
Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

What is the main reason why you are self-employed?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid The family has a business and I joined it	15	.4	.4	.4
I could not find a job in formal employment	57	1.6	1.6	2.0
I could not find a job in the field in which I was trained	7	.2	.2	2.2
I lost my job in formal employment	3	.1	.1	2.3
I prefer to be my own boss	28	.8	.8	3.1
I prefer flexible working hours	9	.3	.3	3.4
I can earn a higher income than if I were in formal sector	5	.1	.1	3.5
It's better than having no job	40	1.1	1.1	4.6
I have more opportunity to do the work I want to do	21	.6	.6	5.2
I prefer working at home to working in an office	1	.0	.0	5.3
Other	5	.1	.1	5.4
Missing	3350	94.6	94.6	100.0
Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

In starting your own business did you have access to credit?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Yes	64	1.8	1.8	1.8
No	125	3.5	3.5	5.3
Missing	3352	94.7	94.7	100.0
Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

How difficult was it to get access to credit?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Very easy	10	.3	.3	.3
Easy	19	.5	.5	.8
Neither easy nor difficult	27	.8	.8	1.6
Difficult	30	.8	.8	2.4
Very difficult	11	.3	.3	2.7
Missing	3444	97.3	97.3	100.0
Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Where did you get the credit?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Commercial bank	19	.5	.5	.5
Cash loans	6	.2	.2	.7
Friends	15	.4	.4	1.1
Relatives	51	1.4	1.4	2.6
Personal savings	12	.3	.3	2.9
Stokvel	1	.0	.0	2.9
Small business development agencies	4	.1	.1	3.0
Other	3	.1	.1	3.1
99	3430	96.9	96.9	100.0
Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Was the credit sufficient to start your own business?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Yes	93	2.6	2.6	2.6
No	22	.6	.6	3.2
Missing	3426	96.8	96.8	100.0
Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Did you attend any courses on

	Frequency	Percent	Valid	Cumulative Percent
Valid Yes	362	10.2	10.2	10.2
No	3179	89.8	89.8	100.0
Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

For how many months have you been looking for a job?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid 0	77	2.2	2.2	2.2
1	69	1.9	1.9	4.1
2	82	2.3	2.3	6.4
3	19	.5	.5	7.0
4	26	.7	.7	7.7
5	19	.5	.5	8.2
6	36	1.0	1.0	9.3
7	20	.6	.6	9.8
8	24	.7	.7	10.5
9	17	.5	.5	11.0
10	30	.8	.8	11.8
11	50	1.4	1.4	13.2
12	120	3.4	3.4	16.6
13	8	.2	.2	16.9
14	9	.3	.3	17.1
15	6	.2	.2	17.3
16	13	.4	.4	17.7
17	1	.0	.0	17.7
18	19	.5	.5	18.2
19	1	.0	.0	18.2
20	9	.3	.3	18.5
21	1	.0	.0	18.5
22	2	.1	.1	18.6
23	3	.1	.1	18.7
24	101	2.9	2.9	21.5
25	3	.1	.1	21.6
26	5	.1	.1	21.7
28	8	.2	.2	22.0
29	1	.0	.0	22.0
30	1	.0	.0	22.0
32	5	.1	.1	22.2
34	2	.1	.1	22.2
35	1	.0	.0	22.3
36	83	2.3	2.3	24.6
38	4	.1	.1	24.7
39	1	.0	.0	24.7
44	1	.0	.0	24.8
45	2	.1	.1	24.8
47	3	.1	.1	24.9
48	37	1.0	1.0	26.0
52	5	.1	.1	26.1
54	2	.1	.1	26.2
56	2	.1	.1	26.2
58	2	.1	.1	26.3
59	7	.2	.2	26.5
60	12	.3	.3	26.8
61	2	.1	.1	26.9
68	3	.1	.1	26.9
72	11	.3	.3	27.3
76	1	.0	.0	27.3
80	2	.1	.1	27.3
84	9	.3	.3	27.6
94	1	.0	.0	27.6
96	5	.1	.1	27.8
108	1	.0	.0	27.8
120	7	.2	.2	28.0
124	1	.0	.0	28.0
126	1	.0	.0	28.0
130	1	.0	.0	28.1
164	5	.1	.1	28.2
180	1	.0	.0	28.2
240	1	.0	.0	28.3
Missi ng	2540	71.7	71.7	100.0

I don't have the qualifications for the job

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	830	23.4	23.4	23.4
	No	2711	76.6	76.6	100.0
	Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

My qualifications are not at the right level for this job

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	588	16.6	16.6	16.6
	No	2953	83.4	83.4	100.0
	Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

No employer wants me because of my field of study

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	401	11.3	11.3	11.3
	No	3140	88.7	88.7	100.0
	Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Because of the institution where I received my qualification

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	268	7.6	7.6	7.6
	No	3273	92.4	92.4	100.0
	Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Because I don't have experience

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	482	13.6	13.6	13.6
	No	3059	86.4	86.4	100.0
	Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

No jobs available in the area

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	758	21.4	21.4	21.4
	No	2783	78.6	78.6	100.0
	Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Lack of money for transport, CV preparation, clothes to go to an interview

		Frequenc	Percen	Valid	Cumulativ Percent
Valid	Yes	415	11.7	11.7	11.7
	No	3126	88.3	88.3	100.0
	Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Lost hope of finding any kind of job

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	314	8.9	8.9	8.9
	No	3227	91.1	91.1	100.0
	Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

How important do you think being Black/White is a reason for your not having a job?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulativ Percent
Valid	Yes	764	21.6	21.6	21.6
	No	343	9.7	9.7	31.3
	3	192	5.4	5.4	36.7
	4	312	8.8	8.8	45.5
	Missi ng	1930	54.5	54.5	100.0
	Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

How important do you think being Female/Male is a reason for your not having a job?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulativ Percent
Valid	Yes	777	21.9	21.9	21.9
	No	2764	78.1	78.1	100.0
	Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

How important do you think being physically disabled is a reason for your not having a job?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid	Cumulativ Percent
Valid Yes	332	9.4	9.4	9.4
No	3209	90.6	90.6	100.0
Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

How important do you think having a chronic disease is a reason for your not having a job?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid	Cumulativ Percent
Valid Yes	323	9.1	9.1	9.1
No	3218	90.9	90.9	100.0
Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Which of the following do you think would help you find a job?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Upgrade my qualifications and skills	1045	29.5	29.5	29.5
Get more experience	342	9.7	9.7	39.2
Seek assistance of employment agency	80	2.3	2.3	41.4
Move to another area where jobs are more plentiful	113	3.2	3.2	44.6
Change my field of study	8	.2	.2	44.8
Advertise for a job in the newspaper	18	.5	.5	45.4
Seek the assistance of my family and friends	37	1.0	1.0	46.4
Get someone to help me write a good CV	10	.3	.3	46.7
Other	13	.4	.4	47.0
Missing	1875	53.0	53.0	100.0
Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Do/Did you use any skills that you learned during school in your current/past job?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Not at all	564	15.9	15.9	15.9
	Sometimes	685	19.3	19.4	35.3
	Most of the time	527	14.9	14.9	50.2
	Never worked	1764	49.8	49.8	100.0
	Total	3540	100.0	100.0	
Missing	System	1	.0		
Total		3541	100.0		

Do/Did you use any skills that you learned from post school learning in your current/past job?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Not at all	503	14.2	17.8	17.8
	Sometimes	362	10.2	12.8	30.7
	Most of the time	554	15.6	19.6	50.3
	Never worked	1083	30.6	38.4	88.7
	No post-school education	318	9.0	11.3	99.9
	9	2	.1	.1	100.0
	Total	2822	79.7	100.0	
Missing	99	719	20.3		
Total		3541	100.0		

Are there any skills that you learned from home/community that are/were of great use to you

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	593	16.7	22.3	22.3
	No	2066	58.3	77.7	100.0
	Total	2659	75.1	100.0	
Missing	99	882	24.9		
Total		3541	100.0		

Do you have a motor vehicle driver's license?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	818	23.1	23.1	23.1
	No	2723	76.9	76.9	100.0
	Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Ability to work with numbers and figures

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Very well	1639	46.3	50.5	50.5
	Well	1050	29.7	32.4	82.9
	Slightly	414	11.7	12.8	95.7
	Not well	140	4.0	4.3	100.0
	9	1	.0	.0	100.0
	Total	3244	91.6	100.0	
Missing	99	297	8.4		
Total		3541	100.0		

Ability to write well

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Very well	1953	55.2	60.1	60.1
	Well	859	24.3	26.4	86.5
	Slightly	325	9.2	10.0	96.5
	Not well	112	3.2	3.4	99.9
	11	2	.1	.1	100.0
	16	1	.0	.0	100.0
	Total	3252	91.8	100.0	
Missing	99	289	8.2		
Total		3541	100.0		

Ability to communicate well with others

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Very well	1871	52.8	57.3	57.3
	Well	979	27.6	30.0	87.2
	Slightly	331	9.3	10.1	97.4
	Not well	84	2.4	2.6	99.9
	11	2	.1	.1	100.0
	Total	3267	92.3	100.0	
Missing	99	273	7.7		
	System	1	.0		
	Total	274	7.7		
Total		3541	100.0		

Ability to work as a member of a team

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Very well	1697	47.9	52.4	52.4
	Well	997	28.2	30.8	83.1
	Slightly	428	12.1	13.2	96.4
	Not well	117	3.3	3.6	100.0
	12	1	.0	.0	100.0
	Total	3240	91.5	100.0	
Missing	99	301	8.5		
Total		3541	100.0		

Ability to solve the problems

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Very well	1567	44.3	48.5	48.5
	Well	1036	29.3	32.1	80.6
	Slightly	484	13.7	15.0	95.5
	Not well	144	4.1	4.5	100.0
	Total	3231	91.2	100.0	
Missing	99	310	8.8		
Total		3541	100.0		

Did you/Are you receiving any type of job related training other than those you received

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	567	16.0	18.1	18.1
	No	2571	72.6	81.9	100.0
	Total	3138	88.6	100.0	
Missing	3	25	.7		
	4	3	.1		
	9	1	.0		
	99	374	10.6		
	Total	403	11.4		
Total		3541	100.0		

Did you receive a certificate/license for the training?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	399	11.3	31.5	31.5
	No	867	24.5	68.4	99.9
	3	1	.0	.1	100.0
	Total	1267	35.8	100.0	
Missing	99	2274	64.2		
Total		3541	100.0		

Were you ever an apprentice under contract with an Industry Training Board?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	187	5.3	6.1	6.1
	No	2890	81.6	93.9	100.0
	Total	3077	86.9	100.0	
Missing	21	2	.1		
	88	1	.0		
	99	460	13.0		
	992	1	.0		
	Total	464	13.1		
Total		3541	100.0		

Have you ever thought of leaving South Africa to look for employment?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent	
Valid	Yes	968	27.3	27.3	27.3	
	No	2145	60.6	60.6	87.9	
	3	2	.1	.1	88.0	
	4	6	.2	.2	88.1	
	5	2	.1	.1	88.2	
	7	4	.1	.1	88.3	
	8	5	.1	.1	88.4	
	9	1	.0	.0	88.5	
	15	1	.0	.0	88.5	
	81	1	.0	.0	88.5	
	88	1	.0	.0	88.6	
	99	405	11.4	11.4	100.0	
	Total		3541	100.0	100.0	

Describe the total monthly household income

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	No income	104	2.9	5.3	5.3
	R1-R500	257	7.3	13.1	18.4
	R501-R750	174	4.9	8.9	27.3
	R751-R1000	145	4.1	7.4	34.7
	R1001-R1500	167	4.7	8.5	43.3
	R 501-R2 000	161	4.5	8.2	51.5
	R2 001-R3 000	171	4.8	8.7	60.2
	R3001-R5 000	178	5.0	9.1	69.3
	R5001-R7 500	138	3.9	7.1	76.4
	R7 501-R10 000	97	2.7	5.0	81.3
	R10 001-R15 00	67	1.9	3.4	84.8
	R15 001-R20 000	60	1.7	3.1	87.8
	R20 001-R30 000	15	.4	.8	88.6
	More than R30 000	18	.5	.9	89.5
	Uncertain/Don't know	205	5.8	10.5	100.0
	Total	1957	55.3	100.0	
Missing	Not stated	1584	44.7		
Total		3541	100.0		

Describe your personal total monthly income

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	No income	1046	29.5	44.0	44.0
	R1-R500	430	12.1	18.1	62.0
	R501-R750	137	3.9	5.8	67.8
	R751-R1000	95	2.7	4.0	71.8
	R1001-R1500	89	2.5	3.7	75.5
	R 501-R2 000	83	2.3	3.5	79.0
	R2 001-R3 000	94	2.7	4.0	83.0
	R3001-R5 000	98	2.8	4.1	87.1
	R5001-R7 500	84	2.4	3.5	90.6
	R7 501-R10 000	70	2.0	2.9	93.6
	R10 001-R15 00	33	.9	1.4	95.0
	R15 001-R20 000	14	.4	.6	95.5
	R20 001-R30 000	11	.3	.5	96.0
	More than R30 000	5	.1	.2	96.2
	Uncertain/Don't know	90	2.5	3.8	100.0
	Total	2379	67.2	100.0	
Missing	Not stated	1162	32.8		
Total		3541	100.0		

Are you a member of a trade union?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Yes	323	9.1	9.1	9.1
No	3218	90.9	90.9	100.0
Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

In your opinion is your household poorer or richer than it was ten years ago?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Poorer	737	20.8	20.8	20.8
Richer	976	27.6	27.6	48.4
Same	1124	31.7	31.7	80.1
Not sure	704	19.9	19.9	100.0
Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Full penetrative sex

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Yes	2542	71.8	71.8	71.8
No	999	28.2	28.2	100.0
Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

At what age did you first have a full penetrative sex?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	6	1	.0	.0	.0
	7	1	.0	.0	.1
	9	1	.0	.0	.1
	10	1	.0	.0	.2
	11	5	.1	.2	.4
	12	44	1.2	1.8	2.2
	13	62	1.8	2.6	4.8
	14	176	5.0	7.4	12.2
	15	233	6.6	9.8	22.0
	16	412	11.6	17.3	39.3
	17	421	11.9	17.7	56.9
	18	368	10.4	15.4	72.4
	19	220	6.2	9.2	81.6
	20	173	4.9	7.3	88.8
	21	137	3.9	5.7	94.6
	22	54	1.5	2.3	96.9
	23	28	.8	1.2	98.0
	24	18	.5	.8	98.8
	25	12	.3	.5	99.3
	26	5	.1	.2	99.5
	27	7	.2	.3	99.8
	28	1	.0	.0	99.8
	29	3	.1	.1	100.0
	31	1	.0	.0	100.0
	Total	2384	67.3	100.0	
Missing	Not applicable	1157	32.7		
Total		3541	100.0		

How old was your partner?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Younger	918	25.9	36.9	36.9
	Older	1265	35.7	50.8	87.7
	Not sure	306	8.6	12.3	100.0
	Total	2489	70.3	100.0	
Missing	Never had sex	1052	29.7		
Total		3541	100.0		

Contraception during first sex

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	1215	34.3	48.8	48.8
	No	1274	36.0	51.2	100.0
	Total	2489	70.3	100.0	
Missing	99	1052	29.7		
Total		3541	100.0		

Condom during first sex

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	1059	29.9	42.5	42.5
	No	1430	40.4	57.5	100.0
	Total	2489	70.3	100.0	
Missing	Not sexually active	1052	29.7		
Total		3541	100.0		

Currently using contraception

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	1053	29.7	42.3	42.3
	No	1436	40.6	57.7	100.0
	Total	2489	70.3	100.0	
Missing	Not sexually active	1052	29.7		
Total		3541	100.0		

Any other form of protection during first sex

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	390	11.0	15.7	15.7
	No	2099	59.3	84.3	100.0
	Total	2489	70.3	100.0	
Missing	Not sexually active	1052	29.7		
Total		3541	100.0		

Current contraceptive method

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Withdrawal	72	2.0	2.9	2.9
	Ukosoma	49	1.4	2.0	4.9
	Other	13	.4	.5	5.4
	Modern methods	1215	34.3	48.8	54.2
	Not using any method	1140	32.2	45.8	100.0
	Total	2489	70.3	100.0	
Missing	Not sexually active	1052	29.7		
Total		3541	100.0		

Have you ever fallen pregnant/made someone pregnant?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	1146	32.4	32.4	32.4
	No	2395	67.6	67.6	100.0
	Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Was your first pregnancy planned?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	335	9.5	30.4	30.4
	No	767	21.7	69.6	100.0
	Total	1102	31.1	100.0	
Missing	No pregnancy	1396	39.4		
	Not sexually active	1043	29.5		
	Total	2439	68.9		
Total		3541	100.0		

How old were you?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	0	2	.1	.2	.2
	1	17	.5	1.4	1.6
	2	61	1.7	5.1	6.7
	9	1	.0	.1	6.7
	10	1	.0	.1	6.8
	11	1	.0	.1	6.9
	12	1	.0	.1	7.0
	13	3	.1	.3	7.2
	14	26	.7	2.2	9.4
	15	15	.4	1.3	10.7
	16	48	1.4	4.0	14.7
	17	86	2.4	7.2	21.8
	18	148	4.2	12.3	34.2
	19	144	4.1	12.0	46.2
	20	116	3.3	9.7	55.8
	21	111	3.1	9.3	65.1
	22	100	2.8	8.3	73.4
	23	67	1.9	5.6	79.0
	24	81	2.3	6.8	85.7
	25	79	2.2	6.6	92.3
	26	24	.7	2.0	94.3
	27	18	.5	1.5	95.8
	28	15	.4	1.3	97.1
	29	9	.3	.8	97.8
	30	8	.2	.7	98.5
	31	3	.1	.3	98.7
	32	4	.1	.3	99.1
	33	4	.1	.3	99.4
	45	3	.1	.3	99.7
	199	1	.0	.1	99.7
	992	2	.1	.2	99.9
	999	1	.0	.1	100.0
		Total	1200	33.9	100.0
Missing	88	1	.0		
	99	2340	66.1		
	Total	2341	66.1		
Total		3541	100.0		

Have you ever had a child?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	1076	30.4	30.4	30.4
	No	2465	69.6	69.6	100.0
	Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

How many children have you ever had?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	0	29	.8	.8	.8
	1	637	18.0	18.0	18.8
	2	421	11.9	11.9	30.7
	3	98	2.8	2.8	33.5
	4	41	1.2	1.2	34.6
	5	10	.3	.3	34.9
	6	3	.1	.1	35.0
	9	1	.0	.0	35.0
	18	1	.0	.0	35.0
	21	1	.0	.0	35.1
	23	2	.1	.1	35.1
	25	1	.0	.0	35.2
	Missi ng	2295	64.8	64.8	100.0
	9999	1	.0	.0	100.0
	Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Have you ever been tested for HIV?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	959	27.1	27.1	27.1
	No	2582	72.9	72.9	100.0
	Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Staying with your spouse or partner

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	813	23.0	23.0	23.0
	No	2728	77.0	77.0	100.0
	Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Is your mother alive?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	2647	74.8	74.8	74.8
	No	894	25.2	25.2	100.0
	Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Are you staying with your mother?

		Frequenc	Percen	Valid	Cumulativ Percen
Valid	Yes	1571	44.4	44.4	44.4
	No	1970	55.6	55.6	100.0
	Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

At which age did you stop staying with your mother?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	0	2	.1	.1	.1
	1	47	1.3	2.4	2.5
	2	18	.5	.9	3.4
	3	34	1.0	1.7	5.1
	4	48	1.4	2.4	7.6
	5	31	.9	1.6	9.2
	6	24	.7	1.2	10.4
	7	22	.6	1.1	11.5
	8	8	.2	.4	11.9
	9	12	.3	.6	12.5
	10	20	.6	1.0	13.5
	11	4	.1	.2	13.7
	12	17	.5	.9	14.6
	13	18	.5	.9	15.5
	14	27	.8	1.4	16.9
	15	34	1.0	1.7	18.6
	16	32	.9	1.6	20.2
	17	65	1.8	3.3	23.6
	18	228	6.4	11.6	35.1
	19	171	4.8	8.7	43.8
	20	167	4.7	8.5	52.3
	21	172	4.9	8.7	61.1
	22	145	4.1	7.4	68.5
	23	89	2.5	4.5	73.0
	24	97	2.7	4.9	77.9
	25	98	2.8	5.0	82.9
	26	81	2.3	4.1	87.0
	27	46	1.3	2.3	89.4
	28	46	1.3	2.3	91.7
	29	32	.9	1.6	93.3
	30	26	.7	1.3	94.7
	31	45	1.3	2.3	96.9
	32	17	.5	.9	97.8
	33	13	.4	.7	98.5
	34	22	.6	1.1	99.6
	35	8	.2	.4	100.0
	Total	1966	55.5	100.0	
Missing	Not applicable	1575	44.5		
Total		3541	100.0		

What is/was the educational status of your mother?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	None	600	16.9	19.6	19.6
	Junior Primary	260	7.3	8.5	28.1
	Senior Primary	370	10.4	12.1	40.2
	Grade 8 to Grade 11	683	19.3	22.3	62.5
	Grade 12	520	14.7	17.0	79.5
	Post-matric certificate/diploma	330	9.3	10.8	90.3
	Degree	145	4.1	4.7	95.0
	Other	153	4.3	5.0	100.0
	Total	3061	86.4	100.0	
Missing	Don't know	480	13.6		
Total		3541	100.0		

Is your father alive?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	2053	58.0	58.0	58.0
	No	1488	42.0	42.0	100.0
Total		3541	100.0	100.0	

Staying with your father

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	1047	29.6	29.6	29.6
	No	2494	70.4	70.4	100.0
Total		3541	100.0	100.0	

At which age did you stop staying with your father

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	0	2	.1	.1	.1
	1	58	1.6	2.3	2.4
	2	36	1.0	1.4	3.9
	3	37	1.0	1.5	5.3
	4	35	1.0	1.4	6.7
	5	35	1.0	1.4	8.2
	6	28	.8	1.1	9.3
	7	23	.6	.9	10.2
	8	32	.9	1.3	11.5
	9	19	.5	.8	12.2
	10	39	1.1	1.6	13.8
	11	12	.3	.5	14.3
	12	35	1.0	1.4	15.7
	13	26	.7	1.0	16.7
	14	36	1.0	1.4	18.2
	15	37	1.0	1.5	19.7
	16	32	.9	1.3	21.0
	17	53	1.5	2.1	23.1
	18	259	7.3	10.4	33.5
	19	200	5.6	8.0	41.5
	20	215	6.1	8.6	50.2
	21	182	5.1	7.3	57.5
	22	163	4.6	6.5	64.0
	23	136	3.8	5.5	69.5
	24	107	3.0	4.3	73.8
	25	114	3.2	4.6	78.4
	26	84	2.4	3.4	81.7
	27	73	2.1	2.9	84.7
	28	74	2.1	3.0	87.6
	29	81	2.3	3.3	90.9
	30	41	1.2	1.6	92.5
	31	66	1.9	2.7	95.2
	32	48	1.4	1.9	97.1
	33	24	.7	1.0	98.1
	34	31	.9	1.2	99.3
	35	17	.5	.7	100.0
	Total	2490	70.3	100.0	
Missing	Not applicable	1051	29.7		
Total		3541	100.0		

Educational status of your father

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	None	634	17.9	22.3	22.3
	Junior Primary	217	6.1	7.6	30.0
	Senior Primary	275	7.8	9.7	39.7
	Grade 8 to Grade 11	534	15.1	18.8	58.5
	Grade 12	453	12.8	16.0	74.5
	Post-matric certificate/diploma	277	7.8	9.8	84.2
	Degree	233	6.6	8.2	92.5
	Other	214	6.0	7.5	100.0
	Total	2837	80.1	100.0	
Missing	Don't know	704	19.9		
Total		3541	100.0		

Financial support from family/someone else

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	2162	61.1	61.1	61.1
	No	1379	38.9	38.9	100.0
Total		3541	100.0	100.0	

Relationship with the person who supports you

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Mother	1099	31.0	51.9	51.9
	Father	440	12.4	20.8	72.7
	Grandparents	180	5.1	8.5	81.2
	Spouse/partner	168	4.7	7.9	89.1
	In-laws	7	.2	.3	89.5
	Other relatives	180	5.1	8.5	98.0
	Other non-relational person	43	1.2	2.0	100.0
	Total	2117	59.8	100.0	
Missing	Not stated	4	.1		
	Not applicable	1420	40.1		
	Total	1424	40.2		
Total		3541	100.0		

Main breadwinner in the household

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Mother	911	25.7	27.5	27.5
	Father	818	23.1	24.7	52.2
	Grandparents	199	5.6	6.0	58.2
	Spouse/partner	214	6.0	6.5	64.7
	In-laws	17	.5	.5	65.2
	Self	717	20.2	21.7	86.9
	Shared equal support	278	7.9	8.4	95.3
	Other relatives	157	4.4	4.7	100.0
	Total	3311	93.5	100.0	
Missing	Not stated	230	6.5		
Total		3541	100.0		

Having completed one's education

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Necessary for adulthood	2023	57.1	57.1	57.1
	Not necessary for adulthood	1518	42.9	42.9	100.0
	Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Financially independent from one's parents/caregiver

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Necessary for adulthood	2212	62.5	62.5	62.5
	Not necessary for adulthood	1329	37.5	37.5	100.0
	Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

No longer living with one's parents/caregiver

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Necessary for adulthood	2175	61.4	61.4	61.4
	Not necessary for adulthood	1366	38.6	38.6	100.0
	Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Being married

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Necessary for adulthood	1424	40.2	40.2	40.2
	Not necessary for adulthood	2117	59.8	59.8	100.0
	Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Having at least one child

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Necessary for adulthood	1233	34.8	34.8	34.8
	Not necessary for adulthood	2308	65.2	65.2	100.0
	Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Being employed full-time

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Necessary for adulthood	2115	59.7	59.7	59.7
	Not necessary for adulthood	1426	40.3	40.3	100.0
	Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

After traditional initiation/circumcision

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Necessary for adulthood	1195	33.7	33.7	33.7
	Not necessary for adulthood	2346	66.3	66.3	100.0
	Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Able to decide personal beliefs/values independently of parents

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Necessary for adulthood	2214	62.5	62.5	62.5
	Not necessary for adulthood	1327	37.5	37.5	100.0
	Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Accepting responsibility for the consequences of one's actions

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Necessary for adulthood	2422	68.4	68.4	68.4
	Not necessary for adulthood	1119	31.6	31.6	100.0
	Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Capable of keeping one's family safe

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Necessary for adulthood	2557	72.2	72.2	72.2
	Not necessary for adulthood	984	27.8	27.8	100.0
	Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Capable of supporting one's family

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Necessary for adulthood	2575	72.7	72.7	72.7
	Not necessary for adulthood	966	27.3	27.3	100.0
	Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Capable of caring for children

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Necessary for adulthood	2484	70.1	70.1	70.1
	Not necessary for adulthood	1057	29.9	29.9	100.0
	Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Capable of running a household

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Necessary for adulthood	2541	71.8	71.8	71.8
	Not necessary for adulthood	1000	28.2	28.2	100.0
	Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Capable of bearing or fathering children

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Necessary for adulthood	1929	54.5	54.5	54.5
	Not necessary for adulthood	1612	45.5	45.5	100.0
	Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Having sexual intercourse

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Necessary for adulthood	1415	40.0	40.0	40.0
	Not necessary for adulthood	2126	60.0	60.0	100.0
	Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Establishing relationship with parent or adult as an equal

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Necessary for adulthood	2258	63.8	63.8	63.8
	Not necessary for adulthood	1283	36.2	36.2	100.0
	Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Learning to have good control of one's emotions

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Necessary for adulthood	2286	64.6	64.6	64.6
	Not necessary for adulthood	1255	35.4	35.4	100.0
	Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Growing to one's full height

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Necessary for adulthood	914	25.8	25.8	25.8
	Not necessary for adulthood	2627	74.2	74.2	100.0
	Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Reaching a specific age

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Necessary for adulthood	1801	50.9	50.9	50.9
	Not necessary for adulthood	1740	49.1	49.1	100.0
	Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Able to support financially without parental help

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	1272	35.9	35.9	35.9
	No	2269	64.1	64.1	100.0
	Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Age first able to support financially

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	9	5	.1	.4	.4
	10	8	.2	.7	1.1
	14	3	.1	.2	1.3
	15	10	.3	.8	2.1
	16	24	.7	2.0	4.1
	17	48	1.4	3.9	8.0
	18	142	4.0	11.6	19.7
	19	155	4.4	12.7	32.4
	20	188	5.3	15.4	47.8
	21	184	5.2	15.1	62.9
	22	122	3.4	10.0	72.9
	23	82	2.3	6.7	79.7
	24	56	1.6	4.6	84.2
	25	77	2.2	6.3	90.6
	26	28	.8	2.3	92.9
	27	26	.7	2.1	95.0
	28	25	.7	2.1	97.0
	29	5	.1	.4	97.5
	30	8	.2	.7	98.1
	31	7	.2	.6	98.7
	32	14	.4	1.1	99.8
	33	1	.0	.1	99.9
	35	1	.0	.1	100.0
	Total	1219	34.4	100.0	
Missing	Not stated	108	3.0		
	Not applicable	2214	62.5		
	Total	2322	65.6		
Total		3541	100.0		

Support others financially

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	1072	30.3	30.3	30.3
	No	2469	69.7	69.7	100.0
	Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Present housing situation

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Own this dwelling FORMAL/TRADITIONAL	798	22.5	22.5	22.5
	Own this dwelling TEMPORARY/INFORMAL /SHACK	396	11.2	11.2	33.7
	Rent/Lease this dwelling from other people or companies	327	9.2	9.2	43.0
	Rent/Lease this dwelling from the government or town council	157	4.4	4.4	47.4
	Receive this dwelling as part of your job	88	2.5	2.5	49.9
	Live with someone else who owns/rents	261	7.4	7.4	57.2
	Illegally occupy this dwelling	38	1.1	1.1	58.3
	Having no home or shelter	25	.7	.7	59.0
	Parents own dwelling	1396	39.4	39.4	98.4
	Other	55	1.6	1.6	100.0
	Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Community centre

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	703	19.9	19.9	19.9
	No	2838	80.1	80.1	100.0
	Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Youth center

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	474	13.4	13.4	13.4
	No	3067	86.6	86.6	100.0
	Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Parks

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	835	23.6	23.6	23.6
	No	2706	76.4	76.4	100.0
	Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Sports facilities

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	1097	31.0	31.0	31.0
	No	2444	69.0	69.0	100.0
	Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Listen to radio

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	5x a week or more	2513	71.0	71.0	71.0
	1-4 times a week	552	15.6	15.6	86.6
	2x a month or less	476	13.4	13.4	100.0
	Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Watch TV

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	5x a week or more	2294	64.8	64.8	64.8
	1-4 times a week	586	16.5	16.5	81.3
	2x a month or less	661	18.7	18.7	100.0
	Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Read a book for study purposes

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	5x a week or more	907	25.6	25.6	25.6
	1-4 times a week	926	26.2	26.2	51.8
	2x a month or less	1708	48.2	48.2	100.0
	Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Read a magazine

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	5x a week or more	799	22.6	22.6	22.6
	1-4 times a week	1308	36.9	36.9	59.5
	2x a month or less	1434	40.5	40.5	100.0
	Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Read a newspaper

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	5x a week or more	967	27.3	27.3	27.3
	1-4 times a week	1224	34.6	34.6	61.9
	2x a month or less	1350	38.1	38.1	100.0
	Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Read a book for entertainment

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	5x a week or more	560	15.8	15.8	15.8
	1-4 times a week	1024	28.9	28.9	44.7
	2x a month or less	1957	55.3	55.3	100.0
	Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Use the internet

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	5x a week or more	394	11.1	11.1	11.1
	1-4 times a week	431	12.2	12.2	23.3
	2x a month or less	2716	76.7	76.7	100.0
	Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Play computer or arcade games

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	5x a week or more	266	7.5	7.5	7.5
	1-4 times a week	414	11.7	11.7	19.2
	2x a month or less	2861	80.8	80.8	100.0
	Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

How important is religion to you?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Not important at all	297	8.4	8.4	8.4
	Slightly important	336	9.5	9.5	17.9
	Somewhat important	464	13.1	13.1	31.0
	Important	754	21.3	21.3	52.3
	Very important	1654	46.7	46.7	99.0
	Not applicable (eg atheist)	36	1.0	1.0	100.0
	Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Do you have African friends?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	3175	89.7	89.7	89.7
	No	366	10.3	10.3	100.0
	Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Do you have Coloured friends?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	1619	45.7	45.7	45.7
	No	1922	54.3	54.3	100.0
	Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Do you have Indian friends?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	802	22.6	22.6	22.6
	No	2739	77.4	77.4	100.0
	Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Do you have Whites friends?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	1143	32.3	32.3	32.3
	No	2398	67.7	67.7	100.0
	Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Do you have a Television in working order

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	2849	80.5	80.5	80.5
	No	692	19.5	19.5	100.0
	Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Do you have a radio in working order

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	3124	88.2	88.2	88.2
	No	417	11.8	11.8	100.0
	Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Do you have a internet/e-mail in working order

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	490	13.8	13.8	13.8
	No	3051	86.2	86.2	100.0
	Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Do you have a landline phone in working order

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	1207	34.1	34.1	34.1
	No	2334	65.9	65.9	100.0
	Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Do you have a fax in working order

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	312	8.8	8.8	8.8
	No	3229	91.2	91.2	100.0
	Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Do you have a microwave oven in working order

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	1346	38.0	38.0	38.0
	No	2195	62.0	62.0	100.0
	Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Do you have a motor car/truck in working order

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	1215	34.3	34.3	34.3
	No	2326	65.7	65.7	100.0
	Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Do you have a washing machine in working order

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	1085	30.6	30.6	30.6
	No	2456	69.4	69.4	100.0
	Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Do you have a cell phone in working order

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	2455	69.3	69.3	69.3
	No	1086	30.7	30.7	100.0
	Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Do you have a computer in working order

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	716	20.2	20.2	20.2
	No	2825	79.8	79.8	100.0
	Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

How do you describe your health?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Good	2749	77.6	77.6	77.6
	Average	741	20.9	20.9	98.6
	Bad	51	1.4	1.4	100.0
	Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Have you been admitted to hospital in the past two years?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	732	20.7	20.7	20.7
	No	2809	79.3	79.3	100.0
	Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Have there been any deaths in your household in the past two years?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	841	23.8	23.8	23.8
	No	2700	76.2	76.2	100.0
	Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Has there been any HIV/AIDS related deaths in your household in the past two years

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	279	7.9	7.9	7.9
	No	3262	92.1	92.1	100.0
	Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Do you have a disability?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	128	3.6	3.6	3.6
	No	3413	96.4	96.4	100.0
	Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Do you receive a disability grant?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	73	2.1	2.1	2.1
	No	3468	97.9	97.9	100.0
	Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Do you currently smoke tobacco?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	853	24.1	24.1	24.1
	No	2688	75.9	75.9	100.0
	Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

How often do you consume alcoholic beverages?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Daily/Almost daily	107	3.0	3.0	3.0
	Few times a week	390	11.0	11.0	14.0
	Once a week	350	9.9	9.9	23.9
	Occasionally	1206	34.1	34.1	58.0
	Never	1488	42.0	42.0	100.0
	Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Have you ever used drug substance in your life?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	473	13.4	13.4	13.4
	No	3068	86.6	86.6	100.0
	Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

During the past 12 months, have you ever seriously thought about committing suicide?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	295	8.3	8.3	8.3
	No	3246	91.7	91.7	100.0
	Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Is there a security officer or police on duty in your community?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	1889	53.3	53.3	53.3
	No	1652	46.7	46.7	100.0
	Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Have you ever spent a night in jail or in a police holding cell?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	355	10.0	10.0	10.0
	No	3186	90.0	90.0	100.0
	Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Have you ever been convicted of a crime in a court of law?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	143	4.0	4.0	4.0
	No	3398	96.0	96.0	100.0
	Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Have you ever carried a gun to protect yourself?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	249	7.0	7.0	7.0
	No	3292	93.0	93.0	100.0
	Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Has anyone ever pulled a knife/gun on you?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	724	20.4	20.4	20.4
	No	2817	79.6	79.6	100.0
	Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Have you ever suffered an injury as a result of a gun/knife?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Yes	455	12.8	12.8	12.8
No	3086	87.2	87.2	100.0
Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Played in a community sports team

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Never	2329	65.8	65.8	65.8
Few times a year	498	14.1	14.1	79.8
Once or twice a month	297	8.4	8.4	88.2
Once a week	138	3.9	3.9	92.1
Few times a week	169	4.8	4.8	96.9
Daily/Almost daily	110	3.1	3.1	100.0
Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Supported a community sports by attending its match or games

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Never	1784	50.4	50.4	50.4
Few times a year	732	20.7	20.7	71.1
Once or twice a month	436	12.3	12.3	83.4
Once a week	234	6.6	6.6	90.0
Few times a week	223	6.3	6.3	96.3
Daily/Almost daily	132	3.7	3.7	100.0
Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Participated in a community society or club

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Never	2667	75.3	75.3	75.3
Few times a year	376	10.6	10.6	85.9
Once or twice a month	244	6.9	6.9	92.8
Once a week	99	2.8	2.8	95.6
Few times a week	90	2.5	2.5	98.2
Daily/Almost daily	65	1.8	1.8	100.0
Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Worked in a community garden

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Never	3117	88.0	88.0	88.0
Few times a year	226	6.4	6.4	94.4
Once or twice a month	116	3.3	3.3	97.7
Once a week	32	.9	.9	98.6
Few times a week	20	.6	.6	99.2
Daily/Almost daily	30	.8	.8	100.0
Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Collected money or goods for a community project, church or a charitable organization

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Never	2262	63.9	63.9	63.9
Few times a year	735	20.8	20.8	84.6
Once or twice a month	272	7.7	7.7	92.3
Once a week	131	3.7	3.7	96.0
Few times a week	104	2.9	2.9	99.0
Daily/Almost daily	37	1.0	1.0	100.0
Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Participated in sport or sports club outside your community

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Never	2493	70.4	70.4	70.4
Few times a year	475	13.4	13.4	83.8
Once or twice a month	265	7.5	7.5	91.3
Once a week	134	3.8	3.8	95.1
Few times a week	116	3.3	3.3	98.4
Daily/Almost daily	58	1.6	1.6	100.0
Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Participated in a dance or music group

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Never	2381	67.2	67.2	67.2
Few times a year	578	16.3	16.3	83.6
Once or twice a month	279	7.9	7.9	91.4
Once a week	158	4.5	4.5	95.9
Few times a week	94	2.7	2.7	98.6
Daily/Almost daily	51	1.4	1.4	100.0
Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Attended a cultural event

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Never	1814	51.2	51.2	51.2
Few times a year	1152	32.5	32.5	83.8
Once or twice a month	344	9.7	9.7	93.5
Once a week	126	3.6	3.6	97.0
Few times a week	75	2.1	2.1	99.2
Daily/Almost daily	30	.8	.8	100.0
Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Participated as a member of a civic or community organization other than those mentioned above

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Never	2838	80.1	80.1	80.1
Few times a year	377	10.6	10.6	90.8
Once or twice a month	140	4.0	4.0	94.7
Once a week	74	2.1	2.1	96.8
Few times a week	58	1.6	1.6	98.5
Daily/Almost daily	54	1.5	1.5	100.0
Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Watched the news on TV

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Never	582	16.4	16.4	16.4
	Few times a year	250	7.1	7.1	23.5
	Once or twice a month	178	5.0	5.0	28.5
	Once a week	157	4.4	4.4	33.0
	Few times a week	676	19.1	19.1	52.0
	Daily/Almost daily	1698	48.0	48.0	100.0
	Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Read the newspaper

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Never	638	18.0	18.0	18.0
	Few times a year	333	9.4	9.4	27.4
	Once or twice a month	318	9.0	9.0	36.4
	Once a week	297	8.4	8.4	44.8
	Few times a week	992	28.0	28.0	72.8
	Daily/Almost daily	963	27.2	27.2	100.0
	Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Given money to someone who is poor or hungry

		Frequenc	Percen	Valid	Cumulativ Percen
Valid	Never	1358	38.4	38.4	38.4
	Few times a	1065	30.1	30.1	68.4
	Once or twice a	463	13.1	13.1	81.5
	Once a	235	6.6	6.6	88.1
	Few times a	252	7.1	7.1	95.3
	Daily/Almost	168	4.7	4.7	100.0
	Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Attended a religious service

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Never	717	20.2	20.2	20.2
	Few times a year	607	17.1	17.1	37.4
	Once or twice a month	465	13.1	13.1	50.5
	Once a week	882	24.9	24.9	75.4
	Few times a week	485	13.7	13.7	89.1
	Daily/Almost daily	385	10.9	10.9	100.0
	Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Attended a stokvel meeting/gathering

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Never	2589	73.1	73.1	73.1
	Few times a year	383	10.8	10.8	83.9
	Once or twice a month	261	7.4	7.4	91.3
	Once a week	111	3.1	3.1	94.4
	Few times a week	106	3.0	3.0	97.4
	Daily/Almost daily	91	2.6	2.6	100.0
	Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Attended a burial society meeting

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Never	2021	57.1	57.1	57.1
	Few times a year	522	14.7	14.7	71.8
	Once or twice a month	465	13.1	13.1	84.9
	Once a week	367	10.4	10.4	95.3
	Few times a week	117	3.3	3.3	98.6
	Daily/Almost daily	49	1.4	1.4	100.0
	Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Are there any Government or NGO training or skills development centers in your area?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	542	15.3	15.3	15.3
	No	1632	46.1	46.1	61.4
	Don't know	1367	38.6	38.6	100.0
	Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

**Have you ever participated in in the skill development centers
mentioned above?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	245	6.9	6.9	6.9
	No	3296	93.1	93.1	100.0
	Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Ever married

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	498	14.1	14.1	14.1
	Never	3043	85.9	85.9	100.0
	Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Age at first marriage

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	13	1	.0	.2	.2
	15	1	.0	.2	.4
	16	1	.0	.2	.6
	17	10	.3	2.0	2.6
	18	26	.7	5.2	7.8
	19	7	.2	1.4	9.2
	20	26	.7	5.2	14.5
	21	34	1.0	6.8	21.3
	22	44	1.2	8.8	30.1
	23	22	.6	4.4	34.5
	24	32	.9	6.4	41.0
	25	40	1.1	8.0	49.0
	26	20	.6	4.0	53.0
	27	21	.6	4.2	57.2
	28	8	.2	1.6	58.8
	29	11	.3	2.2	61.0
	30	10	.3	2.0	63.1
	31	6	.2	1.2	64.3
	92	178	5.0	35.7	100.0
	Total		498	14.1	100.0
Missing	Never married	3043	85.9		
Total		3541	100.0		

Highest education level achieved

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	None	16	.5	.5	.5
	Gr 1-3	45	1.3	1.3	1.8
	Gr 4-7	94	2.7	2.8	4.6
	Gr8-11	1014	28.6	30.0	34.5
	Gr 12	1474	41.6	43.5	78.1
	Post matric	742	21.0	21.9	100.0
	Total	3385	95.6	100.0	
Missing	Not stated	156	4.4		
Total		3541	100.0		

Head of household

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	827	23.4	23.4	23.4
	No	2714	76.6	76.6	100.0
	Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Youth has matric education

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	2218	62.6	65.4	65.4
	No	1172	33.1	34.6	100.0
	Total	3390	95.7	100.0	
Missing	System	151	4.3		
Total		3541	100.0		

Received additional job training

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	567	16.0	16.0	16.0
	No	2974	84.0	84.0	100.0
	Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Age at first pregnant

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	13	3	.1	.3	.3
	14	23	.6	2.0	2.3
	15	14	.4	1.2	3.5
	16	46	1.3	4.0	7.5
	17	84	2.4	7.3	14.8
	18	144	4.1	12.6	27.4
	19	151	4.3	13.2	40.6
	20	120	3.4	10.5	51.0
	21	109	3.1	9.5	60.6
	22	100	2.8	8.7	69.3
	23	76	2.1	6.6	75.9
	24	77	2.2	6.7	82.6
	25	81	2.3	7.1	89.7
	26	28	.8	2.4	92.1
	27	27	.8	2.4	94.5
	28	21	.6	1.8	96.3
	29	11	.3	1.0	97.3
	30	8	.2	.7	98.0
	31	7	.2	.6	98.6
	32	5	.1	.4	99.0
	33	7	.2	.6	99.7
	35	4	.1	.3	100.0
	Total	1146	32.4	100.0	
Missing	No pregnancy	1396	39.4		
	Not sexually active	999	28.2		
	Total	2395	67.6		
Total		3541	100.0		

Ever had children

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	1076	30.4	30.4	30.4
	No	2465	69.6	69.6	100.0
	Total	3541	100.0	100.0	

Children ever born

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid 0	2465	69.6	69.6	69.6
1	600	16.9	16.9	86.6
2	330	9.3	9.3	95.9
3	98	2.8	2.8	98.6
4	35	1.0	1.0	99.6
5	10	.3	.3	99.9
6	3	.1	.1	100.0
Total	3541	100.0	100.0	