## Urban Crisis and Management in Africa

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## Urban Crisis and Management in Africa

A Festschrift for Prof. Akin Mabogunje

Edited by

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and

Taibat Lawanson



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### CHAPTER 27

# The Challenges of Township Youth and their Struggle for Livelihood in South Africa in the 21st Century

Ntokozo Mthembu

#### Introduction

outh Africa, also known as Azania to some of its citizens, experienced socio-political change in the past two decades, but issues concerning inequality and poverty remain observable. To better understand this scenario, let us consider the African philosophy of "Ubuntu" that respects humanity as an essential element of the ecosystems that lead to communal concern for sustaining life. (Johnson and Quan-Baffour, 2016, p. 4). This paper posits that the current compensatory education system is limited when it comes to enabling the youth's ability to attain self-reliance skills in South Africa. Since 1994, the political realm has shifted from a minority hegemony towards a majority rule characterised by the concept 'redressing apartheid injustices and promising equity for all'. However, information on the lives of people shows that there is a gap between macro level politics and the micro level of individual experiences. Thus, township spatiality as seen in KwaMashu can reinforce inequity and access to power and resources (Hall and Ntsebeza, 2007: 7).

This chapter examines the challenges of youth residing in townships in relation to securing their livelihoods. The comprehensive case study focused on 24 participants and their significance in demonstrating the extent of social relations to securing their livelihood. In the context of this study, inequality relations are scrutinised from an Afrocentric perspective, using the concept of coloniality. The Afrocentric paradigm posits that inequality between the previously and still disadvantaged black African community and still advantaged populace is predominantly due to racism and other social manifestations These manifestations include patriarchy, gender, and age (Asante, 2007: 16). Employment is one aspect that is used to propagate and reinforce unequal social relations, entrenching hegemony through the labour market system.

The concept of coloniality is multifaceted along the protracted arrangements of power that resurfaces as the outcome of colonialism and determines culture, labour, and intellectual capability that supersede colonial administrations (Burns, 2008: 11). Coloniality of power is characterised by restructuring that advocates periphery of the global labour division with the universal racial echelons of the metropolitan global cities (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013: 51). According to Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2013), marginalised people opt for the suffer-manage syndrome, as a means of escaping. It includes continual alteration to the performance of a depreciating regime, which involves consumption behaviour (p. 87). For instance, communities, especially township communities, choose initiating vegetable gardening for consumption purposes and adapting the craft industry to become a cottage industry.

#### **Literature Review**

It is widely acknowledged that the concept "youth" is not African and has foreign origins. However, the meaning of the concept has evolved over time to have a different meaning than in the past., The concept now means a transitional phase between child life and adulthood, with prescribed features (Lorenz, 2009: 19). It is paramount to consider the South African socio-political history especially when it comes to issues such as definition, characterisation, challenges and sustenance of black African social structures (Slee, 2002: 11). Therefore, it is important to understand the concept of invented tradition, since it reveals the extent of damage caused by colonialism.

Ranger (n.d.: 6) argues that traditions are invented in all situations and time. It therefore suggests that the term "invention" has been detracted from its original meaning that relates to an innovative exercise; particularly in instances such as technological advancement. It has, in actual fact, become less concerned with the significance of the language in the creation of reality. In simple terms, the reality vanishes through the invented language that dissimulates it. Various scholars concur that the invented tradition can be characterised by three distinctions: firstly, distrustful manipulation by traditional structures, since colonialist bureaucrats bolster a particular cultural

identity when advancing a hegemonic agenda among the colonised people through a "divide and rule" principle. Secondly, media reports are used to promote a specific socio-political front by advancing a particular cultural system; and thirdly, the "gender roles and legitimation of colonialism" (Morwe, Mulaudzi, Tugli, Klu, Ramakuela & Matshidze, 2015: 2). Terence Ranger (n.d.: 9) emphasises this scenario:

... the development of the 'customary' law of persons in terms of the need to control household labour in cash economy, it appeared to be the case that those who were doing economically well within the limits imposed by the colonial regime were those who had the most interest in promoting a 'customary' view of control of persons, a view, that is, that could be presented and validated in customary terms. But the same people would not necessarily adhere to a completely customary package with regard to land . . But with regard to land, these seem to be the very people who would mostly readily defend the customary view, to preserve the possibility of establishing a claim to an increasingly scarce resource.

In other words, the pervasiveness of western neo-liberal capitalism become one of the defining development features of young people in relation to equity for a political system and establishing their capabilities in pursuit of their personal and cultural affiliations. Furthermore, decisions made by youth in their milieu are influenced by the approval of their parents, families, community and peers; and are normally based on one of the two trails: a positive youth and negative youth trail (Fox, Senbet and Simbanegavi, 2016: 5). A positive youth trail produces the development of a matured adult empowered with the relevant skills to engage efficiently with the economy and society, enabling him or her to deal with challenges that he or she encounters in daily life. A negative trail concerns threats and a delinquent attitude, such as "teen pregnancy and out-of-wedlock births, crime and violence, self-destructive health habits and disengagement from society, all of which can lead to household poverty and lower economic growth" (Statistics SA, 2015:1).

Transitional phases – from childhood to adolescence or youth and transition from youth to adulthood – cannot be ignored especially when dealing with issues pertaining to relevant skills required to secure livelihood; and establishing family and community structures in general (International Labor Organization, 2015: 2). In other words, youths that grew up in vulnerable households are bound to experience challenges when they transit to adulthood. To this effect, the post-apartheid urban setting is characterised by the insurgency among the youth due to the challenges they experience with limited economic opportunities.

Despite the highly celebrated democratic rule in South Africa, it is argued that the post-apartheid era tends to act as a gauge for "a dynamic relationship between space and inequality" on two accounts (Schensul & Heller, 2010,

p. 1). Firstly, the colonialist apartheid policy produced a literal, segregation and highly spatialised bureaucratic racism, class and access; and secondly, the collapse of apartheid rule launched a transformative agency with a task to redress past injustices. From a configurational perspective, it is significant to identify the power of structural market agents and their impact that is reconciled by various aspects.

Johnson and Quan-Baffour (2016: 2) as well as Lahiff (2014: 587) argue that race and class in post-apartheid South Africa illustrate that there is no tangible improvement geared to bring about social and economic transformation; except the drastic increase in inequality and division. The sociological cartography approach is suggested when attempting to gain a better understanding of the variation in the progression strategies associated with race and class; and distribution related to developmental trails in the urban space.

When dissecting the racial, economic and inhabited change of the postapartheid city of Durban, it is significant to note that the discussion is based on the bases that the liberation struggle in South Africa was waged to bring about social change (Lahiff, 2014: 587). In relation to the limitations place on the struggle for liberation of indigenous people, a historian, Jacob Dlamini (as cited in Sapire, 2013: 168) argues the following:

the revolutionary movement never really moved out of its urban base despite agrarian pretensions best exemplified by anti-apartheid slogans such as 'MayibuyiAfrika' (meaning bring back Africa) and 'Izwe Lethu' (refers to our land).

Literature on post-apartheid cites that there are three characteristics: the racialised city, the class-stratified city and the transformed city that are interlinked to spatial approaches (Schensul and Heller, 2010: 3). However, Schensul and Heller (2010: 3) argue that the first two forms tend to emphasise the widely accepted view on post-apartheid urban development; and the third form introduces a new phase to the interpretation of urban transformation. Furthermore, Schensul and Heller (2010: 4) emphasise that literature on transformation highlighted three observable facts: firstly, the post-apartheid urban setting experiences increase in spatial segmentation and social polarisation motivated by decentralisation, deindustrialisation, suburbanisation and greenfield developments. Secondly, changes in the urban spatial arrangement are mostly driven directly and indirectly by structural market agents. The impact of introducing new market fronts and repealing the segregation policy resulted in the shift and justification of spatial inequality from racial segregation to class segregation via the Wakefield approach to land distribution. The Wakefield approach refers to a system of selling land based on an inflated price (Mthembu, 2006). Thirdly, the democratic state has attempted to deracialise the urban space, but it has not dealt with racial or economic inequity effectively.

The situation is aggravated by the governments' introduction of low cost housing and upgrades to informal housing that remain highly criticised for its reinforcement of apartheid style development. In addition, the African National Congress (ANC) adoption of a neoliberal policy in 1996 resulted in a shift of power from the public authority to capitalist forces. Furthermore, literature reveals that most studies are limited when it comes to the investigation of variation in each metropolitan therefore this discussion attempted to contribute in closing the gap.

The majority of literature shows that South Africa is currently experiencing a high unemployment rate especially among young people. According to the World Bank (2016), the Gini coefficient in the country ranges from 0.66 to 0.70; the top decile of the population accounts for 58 percent of the country's income, the bottom decile accounts for 0.5 percent and the bottom half accounts for less than 8 percent. This shows that South Africa is rated as the most unequal country in the world. Statistics reveal that 62 percent of the population in KwaMashu do not have a direct income, the majority (32%) is not economically active, 24 percent are unemployed and 6 percent are discouraged job seekers. So, this suggests that this would put a strain on the 38 percent employed individuals, as 62 percent don't have any tangible income except that some depend on government social grants (Dayomi and Ntiwane, 2013: p.16).

In addition, it is argued that more than half of the people in South Africa are in the age group 18-24 who live below the poverty line of R604 per month; and about two-thirds of them live below the poverty line of R1113 per month (Altman, Mokomane and Wright, 2014: 348). Furthermore, a large number of young people grew up in households where nobody was working and they all depended on government social grants. Statistics shows that about one third (36%) come from households where nobody is working and 55 percent come from households where none of the adults are working. It is also argued that the lack of financial support further influences the school drop-out rate and access to institutions for higher learning (Altman, Mokomane and Wright, 2014: 348). This situation is exacerbated by the apartheid spatial mismatch between work and job seekers leading to high search expenses that the majority of vulnerable people cannot afford. Ardington, Bärnighausen, Case and Menendez (2016: 456) argue that this scenario leads to a large number of youths in the developing countries to be considered 'idle', denoting that they are not involved in education or training, unemployed or looking for employment.

Socialisation in Africa followed a variety of ways that depended on the locality and rite of a particular community, however, the common factor to

all different cultural groups was the access to land where these rituals of socialisation took place (Morwe *et al* 2015: 1). Mthembu (2009: 16) stresses the significance of gender and age in the socialisation of youth in the African community:

A clear distinction was made on the basis of sex, age, and ranks. The young boys were responsible for taking the cattle out into the veld to graze; the girls, either on their own or with their mothers, went to the river to fetch water. The . . . children were exposed to nature at the early ages inculcating a deep, lasting understanding and empathy for the environment in which they lived.

Although age plays an important role in the African context, what counts the most—irrespective of age—is the ability of the individual to achieve, contribute; or show wisdom in particular activities towards a social responsibility that enhances community value systems (Hart and Vorster, 2006: 9). In other words, the current education system interrupted the family-based education system in Africa prior to colonisation with an emphasis on lifelong educational values and enhancement of natural abilities that had always been practised (Maposa and Wassermann, 2009: 43). The practice of acquiring identity from the community is defined as 'youth culture'; a unique manner of life that facilitates the changeover of youths to adulthood by helping them to manage the challenges they encounter in adulthood (Mukuka, 2010: 4). Abdi (1999: 150) argues that in pre-colonial Africa, identities were embedded in the ways of life that colonisers either destroyed or relegated to the status of uncivilised and backward beliefs; sometimes labelled as superstitious practices, or unacceptable challenges to colonial programmes and preferences.

#### Methodology

The data in this article were extracted from a Ph.D thesis based on a case study about the youth survival strategies of the KwaMashu township situated within eThekwini Municipality in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. The case study was useful, since it enabled the application of mixed method, the qualitative and quantitative approaches in data collection simultaneously (Creswell, 2014, p. 5). It also helped in grouping numerous views that enabled the researcher to have a broader depiction of reality, which, in turn, helps to develop theoretical notions and approaches. Figure 1 shows the KwaMashu Township situated about 32 km north of Durban.

Apurposive sampling method comprising volunteer participants was used. The sample size consisted of 24 participants aged between 18 and 29 years, which were explored in relation to the manner in which they experience and secure their livelihood and other related activities. An open-ended interview

guide questionnaires and observation were used to elicit information on these young people; and define what they view as the challenges of meeting their livelihoods; how they respond to the challenges they encounter; and what activities they engage in to meet their livelihoods.

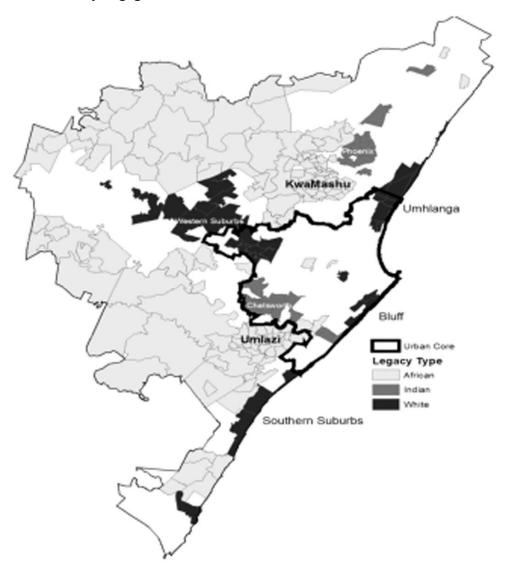


Figure 1: Spatial map of eThekwini Municipality

Source: Schensul and Heller (2010, p. 14).

The qualitative data were collected by means of four in-depth interviews and two focus group discussions that were conducted, which consisted of six and seven participants respectively. The in-depth interviews included two participants who were representatives of two non-governmental organisations; and two participants who were involved in informal trade. The focus groups

had an uneven, mixed representation of male and female participants. The discursive nature of the focus groups enabled the researcher to obtain a wide range of shared personal perceptions that motivate a social action (Patel, 2013: 44). The quantitative data were extracted from 20 questionnaires. It was useful in the sense that it added to gaining a deeper understanding of issues pertaining to the participants' daily experiences in meeting their livelihood needs. The quantitative approach focuses on measuring the number of descriptions of participants; that is, large data sets from related samples of a limited population with few variables; whereas the qualitative method uses smaller sample sizes with fewer participants (or objects) in order to gain a deeper understanding and knowledge of the phenomenon being studied (Thomas, 2003: 1).

Ethics Committee and data collection commenced. Participants were also required to complete consent forms containing the details of the study. All interviews were recorded in a notebook and transcribed immediately after each interview. The data were coded and analysed, using two computer-aided software programs in the IT industry programs are used Atlas.ti 6.2 for open and axial coding and identification of themes and SPSS 22.0 for the statistical profile of participants. The thematic approach enables the development of themes from the research questions and the narratives of participants (Leedy and Ormrod, 2005: 136). Triangulation was used to validate data, although there were few in-depth interviews, but other data collection tools, such as focus group interviews and direct observation, ensured the cross-checking of the validity of the data gathered (Creswell, 2014: 15).

#### **Research Results**

Narratives are viewed as the account of "social events that instruct us about social processes, social structures, and situations;" and also reveal and reproduce existing relations of power and inequality. So, "the racial stories of the participants can be read as a lens through which to view the contemporary dominant practices of race in South Africa as manifested in day-to-day life" (Vincent, 2008: 1429). The participants' narratives are clustered into three themes for the purposes of this submission: personal attributes, education system and survival strategies.

#### Personal Attributes

Almost all nations in the world use age as category to determine the phase in which each individual is entitled to enjoy certain benefits in a particular society, especially in socialisation processes (Boyce, 2010: 88). Data shows the age category of participants as follows: 22-25 years made up 42,86 percent;

18-21 years that made up 33.33 percent, and 26-28 years which made up 23,81 percent. Youth category in known to be the stage where individuals are able make decisions for themselves, whereas children depend on parents for guidance. The understanding of the current socialisation process is based on the significance of ethical and *cultural vacuum* that represents the "pre-figurative society" that is not clearly defined (Morwe *et al* 2015: 4). This situation cannot be understood without consideration of the impact of colonialism on indigenous cultural value systems, such as parental inculcation of related values in relation to the empowerment of the youth to meet challenges in their daily lives. This scenario was emphasised by one of the participants during an in-depth interview:

... the worst part is that even our parents they don't have the way to guide us or curb us in case we go wrong in life ... So, in other words the young people are trained whilst they are young and this tend[s] to go against the traditional culture of Africa, as it is usually stated that young people are tamed whilst they are tender and even wood is bent whilst is still wet to avoid to break. So that means there is a gap between parents and their children.

Furthermore, in attempting to understand the youth's extent of awareness of their social and cultural values in particular the engagement in sexual activity prior marriage that used to be a taboo for young persons. Data shows that when one participant was asked about the challenges they encountered to meet their daily needs, the response was as follows:

. . . Except, if you talk about impregnating each other and drug abuse . . . Furthermore, there is no relevant recreation infrastructure in our area, as we are not even allowed to use the community hall for our activities. We don't have even a simple playground for youth as there is only one for the whole township that is why we are playing on the streets.

#### Education System

The introduction of the current compensatory educational system emphasises the pass and failure principle, which tends to limit the development of individual natural abilities (Gay, 2004: 109). Although the current South African socio-political and education system is considered inclusive, it still does not represent cultural values of the indigenous people. For instance, the English language and European values remain enforced while African languages and values are still being marginalised (Johnson and Quan-Baffour, 2016: 2).

Although the present compensatory education system is perceived as empowering youth to meet challenges they encounter in the course of life, but reality in fact shows that such an assumption tends to be limiting.

When participants were asked about the viability of the present education in inculcating self-reliance abilities, data shows that 55 percent of participants have a variety of skills that range from computer usage, gospel music singing, hair styling, motor car driving, civil engineering, to nursing assistant, social developer, teacher, and telesales agent. Another 35 percent of the participants did not respond, and 10 percent did not have any skill. In addition, one of the participants highlighted that:

... other problems that are rife among the young people are that ... the current education standard in the township is meant for creating tools to be used by other people, as there is no educational structures that are meant to offer training to young people about self-reliance ...

Another participant emphasised the statement above by saying:

Although my parents could afford to pay for my tuition fees . . . I opted not to pursue it any further and to sell fruits in the market or collect scrap metal in the community and sell it, because the current education system tends to be foreign to my traditional aspirations, as it teaches me how to sell my labour power as a worker, which is something that is alien and not African and also demeaning.

#### Survival Strategies

This study revealed that youth are not homogenous, since all the participants narrated their different survival experiences. When the researcher asked participants about the challenges they encounter daily to secure livelihoods, data shows that participants reflected diverse answers. For instance, data shows that 50 percent did not respond. While 15 percent noted that: "they depended on the selling of perishable products such as sweets, cakes and vegetables" and 15 percent indicated that they "sold their labour as cleaners and cashiers". Another 10 percent highlighted that they were involved in various activities that included "giving clothes to needy people" and "developmental activism", and 5 percent contributed that they were involved in activities such as being music disc-jockeys or DJ players. The last 5 percent of respondents saw the need to further their education with a hope of living better in the future. Participants in the in-depth interviews shared their diverse experiences as follows:

Increase of food prices that make it hard to afford to live daily.

The rise of family members disputes at home because of being unemployed and need food.

It is sorrow and poverty that is very humiliating at present.

I stay at home and receive a grant; besides that grant I was going to live just like other people who cannot meet their daily needs.

While other participant stated that:

A person is a person through other people, it's good that you be friends with different people, so that you can get help in times when you need it.

The lack of employment opportunities and that is frustrating at present.

... I started gardening in a small plot of land that we have as part of trying to alleviate poverty especially to our families and other vulnerable community members.

In addition, the observation shows that participants were aware of the selection of activities they engaged in, such as collecting cans or plastic material and cleaning their neighbourhood, as they knew where to sell as part of their engagement in the informal trade.

#### **Discussion with Policy Recommendations**

The impact of colonialism and related alteration with negation of African cultural practices cannot be divorced from coloniality especially when it comes to the socialisation of township youth and the African community in general. In other words, the experiences that youth encounter in their daily lives need to be linked to the liberal capitalist system that deliberately deprived indigenes their self-reliance abilities with a view to create a dependency syndrome of relying on selling their labour power in the labour market as the only means of securing livelihood. This situation concurs what has been emphasised by Burns (2008, p. 11) that the current social setup has analogous connections to marginalisation with discouraging effects especially on the population of the southern hemisphere like South Africa.

The data revealed that the current compensatory education system tends to be central in profiling indigenes into classes in society through its golden rule – pass and fail, as it moulds individuals as workers and fall short of inculcating self-reliance abilities. In responding to colonialist schemata, the participants tended to espouse the opportunity perspective that argues that certain social conditions cause the individuals to opt for the best approaches that they deem appropriate in securing and improvement of their livelihoods (Peters *et al* 2003: 11).

Although government has promulgated a series of legislations relating to the development of young people, still, the coloniality reflects a negative reality of neo-liberal government policies that are not intended to enable previously 'oppressed' majority to achieve their emancipation and an education system that incorporates the African knowledge value systems (Gay, 2004: 115; Boyce, 2010: 87; International Labor Organization, 2015: 2). The narratives from the participants tended to suggest a need for government and related academia and stakeholders, development institutions and community structures to incorporate the aspects of African values, including languages in

the education curriculum to enable the development of natural abilities and self-reliance among the black African communities especially young people (National Youth Development Agency, 2015: 15).

In attempting to respond to these challenges, the African nations including South Africa, have adopted the linkage of three resources, namely a bulging youth population, promotion of innovation and agricultural development as the alternative youth participation to ensure sustainable development (UNDP, 2012: 4). Although agencies such as the African Union have been promulgated various policies in this regard, however, envisaged social changes in eradication of dependency and poverty have not yielded positive results towards African people and youth development programmes. The findings emphasises what DeJaeghere and Baxter (2014) highlights regarding the experiences of disadvantaged youth living in some African states such as Uganda and Tanzania. In summary, the findings also emphasises that young people living in precarious situations are experiencing various development approaches that can be summarised into to two fronts. The *first* front that is characterised by the failure of the neoliberal paradigm to meet its promise of liberation, civilisation and better life for all; and the second front, opt to use their natural abilities as a reliable and sustainable approach in securing their livelihood (Fox et al 2016: 5).

#### **Conclusion**

Although findings in this study cannot be generalised to a broader South African society, it can be used as the baseline for further studies. However, the data enabled to reveal the glimpse of experiences that youth encounter in securing their livelihood. Three main conclusions are reached in this discussion: the first is that the democratic era in South Africa is highly celebrated for nullifying apartheid policy; however, labour reserves or townships remain intact, despite the promise of redressing the past injustices. The second conclusion concerns the individuals' adoption of alternative means of survival in view of the current compensatory education system that is limited in providing self-reliance ability skills and continuous marginalisation of African value systems. The third conclusion concerns the individual or community's response to the current social changes in the country that tend to reflect the neoliberal agenda. It can be concluded that the limitations to transform the social settings and related education system can be linked to the increase in protests for service delivery in the townships and student protests in the academic sphere (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013: 87). Although the findings in this study cannot be extrapolated, the situation in other township cannot be much different from this instance. In summary, this scenario suggests that stability and true emancipation of the African people in general remain viewed as something that needs to be strived for in the future.

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## Section VI

Governance

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