

PN-ADD 002

**South Africa:
Training for Employment
Concept Paper**

**Produced for the U.S. Agency for International Development
Under the Auspices of the**

Academy for Educational Development

**David Plank, Team Leader
Furhana Bhoola
Isabel Gabashane
William Reynolds
James Statman**

**Education Indefinite Quantity Contract
AID-PDC-5832-I-00-0081-00**

January 1993

2

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acronyms and Abbreviations	i
Executive Summary	ii
I. The Nature of the Training for Employment Project	1
A. The Youth Crisis	2
1. The Political Origins of the Crisis	2
2. Reconceptualizing the Crisis	4
B. The Economic Crisis	8
1. Growth and Employment	9
2. Employment Trends	12
3. Economic Strategy and Human Resources Development	15
II. Living on the Periphery of Apartheid	18
A. Definition of the Periphery	20
1. The Concept of Disempowered Youth	21
B. Formal Structures of Disempowerment	25
1. Education	25
2. Economic Stagnation	29
C. Social Structures of Disempowerment	31
1. Urbanization	31
2. The Rural Dilemma	32
3. Violence	34
D. Conclusion	37
1. Designing Appropriate Services	37
2. Future Projections	37
3. Participation of Youth	38
III. Provision of Services to Disempowered South Africans by NGOs	41
A. Introduction	41
B. Analytical Model	43
C. Dimensions of Analysis	45
1. Population Characteristics	45
2. Services Characteristics	46
3. Organizational Characteristics	57
D. Conclusions	63
IV. Literacy Training and Vocational Skills for Youth	68
A. Background	68
B. Literacy Education	69
1. The Aim of Literacy Education	70
2. The Nature of the Programs	70
C. Private Sector and Education	71
D. Rural Urban Situation	72

E. Women and Literacy	73
F. Conclusion	75
V. Vocational Training Centers	75
A. Introduction and Overview	75
1. Technical Colleges	76
2. Technikons	77
3. Regional Training Centers	77
4. Privately Funded Schools	78
5. Industry and Proprietary Training	78
B. Programs and Admission	79
C. Instruction and Linkages	85
D. Emerging Concepts	87
VI. Policy and Program Options	89
A. Policy Options	89
B. Strategic Options for USAID	92
VII. Recommendations to USAID	97
A. Principles for USAID Intervention	97
B. Comprehensive Youth Services	98
1. Problem Statement	98
2. Statement of Need	100
3. A Youth Services Demonstration Program	101
4. Steps Towards Implementation	102
C. A South African "Job Corps"	104
1. Introduction to the Job Corps Model	104
2. Relevance to the South African Context	106
3. Implementation Process	107
D. Additional Recommendations	108
1. Communities, NGOs, and Training Institutions	108
2. Capacity-building for the Joint Enrichment Project	109
3. Training and Employment	110
4. Support for Community College Development	111
5. Information Gaps	112

APPENDICES

Persons Consulted	113
References	118
Scope of Work	129

TABLES AND FIGURES

The Relationship of the Formal Sector to Disempowerment	39
The Relationship of Social Structures to Disempowerment	40

ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

ACT	- Advanced Certificate for Trainers
AED	Academy for Educational Development
AID	United States Agency for International Development
AIDS	Acquired Immuno-Deficiency Syndrome
CASE	Community Agency for Social Enquiry
CBO	Community Based Organization
COBERT	Council for Black Education and Research Trust
COSATU	Council of South African Trade Unions
CRIC	Career Research and Information Center
CT	Certificate for Trainers
DBSA	Development Bank of Southern Africa
DRC	Development Resources Center
EEC	European Economic Community
EPM	Educational Policy Unit
ERIP	Education Resource and
ETC	Eastcape Training Centre
GED	General Equivalency Diploma
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HSRC	Human Sciences Research Council
IYF	International Youth Foundation
JCP	United States Job Corps Program
JEP	Joint Enrichment Program
KTT	KwaZulu Training Trust
NEPI	National Education Policy Investigation
NGO	Non-governmental Organization
NICRO	National Institute for Crime Prevention and the Rehabilitation of Offenders
NTC	National Training Certificate
PWV	Pretoria, Witwatersrand, and Vaal region
SA	South Africa
SABSWA	South African Black Social Workers Association
SAIRR	South African Institute of Race Relations
SECP	Special Employment Creation Program
STC	Senior Certificate for Trainers
TC	Technical Colleges
TREE	Association for Training and Resources in Early Education
UMTAPO	UMTAPO Centre
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
VT	Vocational and Technical

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

In this concept paper we identify the main issues that must be addressed if USAID is to undertake a Training for Employment project, targeted to the so-called "marginalized youth." The first issue is one of focus. If the principal focus of the project is the expansion of skills training to accelerate economic growth the project will look quite different than if the main emphasis is the provision of services to "marginalized youth" to ease their integration into mainstream society.

The members of the team are skeptical about beginning a project focused on skills training at this time, for three reasons. First, there is widespread agreement that educational and training standards in South Africa need to be raised, but there is little or no evidence to suggest that the unemployment crisis among youth and young adults is caused by their lack of skills. The crisis is caused rather by the ongoing economic recession and the lack of jobs. Expanding training without creating jobs will do little to ease unemployment. Second, existing training capacity continues to be structured by the legacy of apartheid, and remains under the almost exclusive control of whites. Engaging in a large-scale training project before the establishment of a representative government may require political compromises that USAID is unwilling to make. Third, a program that focuses on skills training is likely to bring disproportionate benefits to the best-off young people, even if participation is restricted to blacks.

Two of the team's recommendations suggest ways in which a training project could be begun even within these constraints. First, USAID could support the expansion of skills training and job creation components in current or anticipated programs of public and private investment in the improvement of economic and social infrastructure and the construction of low-cost housing. Second, USAID could encourage partnerships between NGOs and CBOs and existing training institutions in the public and private sectors. Much training capacity is at present underutilized or entirely idle, and such partnerships might put this capacity to work in programs directed to disempowered young people.

A third recommendation that could result in the expansion of training opportunities is that USAID continue to encourage the development of community colleges in South Africa. USAID support might provide incentives for the inclusion of particular kinds of training in community college programs, or for the design of programs targeted to disempowered populations.

If the focus of the project is on the integration of disempowered youth and young adults into the social and economic mainstream the opportunities for assistance are greater but the problems that must be addressed are far more complicated. First of all, the population in question is extremely diverse, ranging from pregnant teenagers in rural homelands to "comtotsis" in urban townships to young people who have passed their matriculation exams but cannot find jobs. No single program can address the needs of all of these groups.

Second, disempowered youth and young adults are almost by definition hard to reach and isolated from social service programs. Successful programs are commonly small and community-based, providing services targeted to a specific population. Third, disempowered young people commonly require a range of services, and not just skills training, if they are to be enabled to assume roles as productive citizens. Programs for this population must therefore offer a comprehensive array of services, ranging from psychological counseling to literacy classes to career guidance. It is hard for small programs to provide all of these services.

The team therefore suggests two models for consideration by USAID which would establish organizational structures for the provision of comprehensive services to disempowered young people. The first would involve the solicitation by USAID of proposals from consortia of community-based service providers who had come together to offer a designated array of youth services. The second would involve studies and policy experiments directed toward the establishment of a South African "Job Corps.

A second problem in the field of youth services is the absence of a strong "second tier" umbrella agency in the field. Such an agency would conduct empirical and policy research, offer support and guidance to grassroots agencies providing services to youth, and interface with policy-makers and funders in government, the private sector, and the international aid agencies. The Joint Enrichment Project is the obvious candidate for such a role, and the JEP has already assumed many of the responsibilities of leadership in the field of services for disempowered youth, but their financial and administrative capacity remains weak. USAID could assist in capacity-building for the JEP, either by strengthening JEP's own financial and administrative resources or by encouraging a partnership between JEP and an established institution with greater financial and administrative capacity.

In the first section of the paper we briefly discuss the political and economic background to the problems of disempowered youth and the training and employment crisis. In the second section we distinguish a number of sub-populations of youth and young adults, whose needs and opportunities differ dramatically. In the third section of the paper we review the programs and services provided for young people by a non-random sample of NGO's, distinguishing among them according to the population served, services provided, and organization type. In the fourth section we address some of the issues involved in literacy training and adult education programs. In the fifth section we review the vocational training capabilities of a variety of institutions in both the public and private sectors. In the concluding sections of the paper we present some options for USAID intervention in the area of Training for Employment, and make some recommendations for the forms that USAID assistance might take.

YOUTH, TRAINING, AND EMPLOYMENT

I. The Nature of the Training for Employment Project

The Training for Employment Project now under consideration by USAID seeks to address three separate but overlapping sets of issues: the problems faced by youth and young adults in South Africa as they seek to assume adult roles; the problems faced by educators as they seek to provide young people with the academic and vocational skills they need to find employment; and the problems faced by present and future public officials as they seek to define policies that will create jobs for a rapidly-growing labor force. These three sets of issues intersect in a variety of ways, but they remain distinct. Choices will therefore have to be made as to the points at which USAID can usefully intervene.

In this concept paper we present a preliminary analysis of these three sets of issues and the ways in which they overlap, and we identify strategies that USAID might adopt to address them in a Training for Employment Project. In the first section of the paper we briefly discuss the political and economic background to these issues, with particular emphasis on the youth crisis. In the second section we distinguish a number of sub-populations of youth and young adults, whose needs and opportunities differ dramatically. In the third and fourth sections of the paper we review the programs and services provided for young people by a non-random sample of NGO's, with particular attention given to programs in literacy training and adult education. In the fifth section we review the vocational training capabilities of a variety of institutions in both the public and private sectors. In the concluding sections

of the paper we present some options for USAID intervention in the area of Training for Employment.

A. The Youth Crisis

Among the many crises waiting to be addressed in the "New South Africa," one of the most urgent is rooted in the complex array of problems faced by youth and young adults. Vast numbers of young people remain on the margins of South African society, without employment, without families, and without confidence in or commitment to prevailing social institutions. The future of South Africa clearly depends on the initiation of these young people into stable and productive adult roles, but for many at present entry into such roles is blocked. The severity of the crisis has been recognized by the government as well as by the non-parliamentary opposition, but to date most efforts to address it have been piecemeal, small-scale, and inadequate to the scope of the problem.

1. The Political Origins of the Crisis

The crisis facing South African youth has its origins in the policies pursued by successive governments. The legacies of apartheid, Bantu education, and the migrant labor system find their current expression in widespread unemployment, slow economic growth, and massive social dislocation. The policies of the apartheid regime deliberately and literally "marginalized" the majority of young people, by denying them the rights of citizenship, by

confining them to townships and "homelands," and by obstructing their access to education and training. Government policies also served to discredit or destroy social and political institutions in many communities, thereby fostering an environment in which crime and violence could flourish.

Since 1976 young people have assumed a leading role in the political struggle to end apartheid and establish majority rule, with school boycotts and some forms of political violence receiving the tacit and sometimes explicit support of political leaders. As the transition to a new government has drawn closer, however, adults have increasingly sought to re-establish their authority over young people, within households and communities as well as in the wider political system. These efforts have achieved only mixed success, for reasons that include the social pathologies spawned by apartheid, the absence of visible progress toward majority rule, the lack of improvement in economic and social conditions in black communities, and the reluctance of many young people to relinquish the power and autonomy that they have gained in the struggle for political change.

Dismantling apartheid and establishing representative public institutions will in themselves go some way toward reducing the "marginalization" of youth and young adults in South Africa. A new government will nevertheless have to address the youth crisis in a concerted and vigorous way. In the short term this will require emergency programs aimed at integrating large numbers of young people into stable and productive adult roles. In the longer term it will require major policy reforms in the education and training sectors, in order to reduce the flow of undereducated and unskilled young people out of the schools and into the labor market.

2. Reconceptualizing the Crisis

The crisis facing youth in South Africa has multiple dimensions. Large numbers of young people lack jobs and incomes, and there are few opportunities for them to acquire the academic and vocational skills that would enable them to support themselves. Many are politically disaffected and hostile to established institutions, and some are participants in political violence. These and other problems faced by youth increase their distance from adult society, pose obstacles to their establishment of stable households, and contribute to rising levels of crime and violence. Lack of hope and fear of the future are consequently widespread.

Different groups of young people face dramatically different sets of problems, however. Some lack employment, but otherwise participate fully and constructively in the lives of their households and communities. Their entry into adult roles has been delayed, but is not otherwise problematic. Others have been severely traumatized and isolated, and will only be incorporated into the political and social mainstream with great difficulty, if at all.

That young people in South Africa face serious problems that demand urgent attention is almost universally acknowledged, but systematic information about the nature of their problems and the range of strategies available to address them is only now beginning to be produced. The Joint Enrichment Program (JEP) has taken the lead in clarifying the issues that underlie the youth crisis, by sponsoring a number of information-gathering activities. In association with Community Agency for Social Enquiry (CASE), the JEP has sponsored a series of seven studies of issues facing South African youth, including education and training,

employment and job creation, activism and political violence, and AIDS. In addition, CASE is now conducting a national sample survey of 2200 young people from all regions and population groups. Initial results from the survey are expected as early as December 1992, with a final report to be published in March 1993. In association with the Development Resources Center (DRC), the JEP is planning to compile an inventory of service and community-based organizations that work with youth. The JEP is also planning to undertake detailed evaluations of a limited number of exemplary programs providing services to youth, to assess their capacities and needs. This evaluation will be accompanied by an analysis of policy options, in preparation for a follow-up to the 1991 Conference on Marginalized Youth in March 1993. It is expected that the Conference will in turn lead to the initiation of a series of program and policy experiments addressed to the youth crisis.

The International Youth Foundation has recently completed a study of the problems facing young people in South Africa, and is expected to publish a report of their findings in October 1992. The local mission of the European Economic Community (EEC) is now completing an assessment of capabilities and needs in the vocational training sector which focuses on Training Centers, Technical Colleges, and Technikons. Their report should also become available in October 1992. Most of the papers commissioned by the National Education Policy Initiative (NEPI) are now available, and reports synthesizing the main findings are expected in November 1992. The Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) has commissioned a series of academic reports on the situation of youth in South Africa, which is expected to yield preliminary results in January 1993. These studies and reports will

greatly increase the supply of reliable information about the problems to be addressed in a Training for Employment project.

The wide array of problems faced by youth and young adults is often characterized as the problem of "marginalized youth," or of the "lost generation." The question of who is "marginal" and who is not under prevailing circumstances in South Africa is politically charged, to say the least. The majority of South African citizens has been systematically "marginalized"--physically, socially, economically, and politically--by their government for decades. To a very large extent the "marginalization" of young people reflects the "marginalization" of their parents, and has arisen in direct consequence of government policies. A new government will face the monumental task of opening political and economic structures not only to youth but to all South African citizens.

Beyond this, however, the terms "marginalized youth" and "lost generation" are misleading in important respects, and at least require clarification if not replacement. These terms often confuse more than they clarify, by attempting to collapse an extremely diverse set of issues into a single category. For example, authors who discuss the problems of "marginalized youth" commonly focus their attention on urban males.¹ It is occasionally noted in passing that half of the "marginalized" population is female (Hartshorne, 1992), but seldom acknowledged that a large percentage of young people (including a disproportionate share of young women) reside in rural areas. In considering the problems of youth, however, it is apparent that young people in rural areas are more effectively "marginalized" than their urban counterparts, because of their distance from the centers of the modern

¹ See for example the cover photograph on "Black Youth in Crisis: Facing the Future," edited by Everatt and Sisulu (1992).

economy. Similarly, females are more fully "marginalized" than males, as evidenced both in higher unemployment rates among women and in violence against women perpetrated by men (Mokwena, 1992). The population of "marginalized youth" thus encompasses young people ranging in circumstance from pregnant teenagers in rural "homelands" to "comtsotsis" in urban townships to students who have passed their matriculation exams and cannot find jobs. Many of these groups have little in common beyond age. Programs and policies intended to address the problems of young people must therefore take into account differences in gender, region, educational background, and employment status if they are to be effective. (See Section II for further discussion.)

A second problem with these terms is that they stigmatize what is in most important respects the "normal" condition of youth in contemporary South Africa. In an economic environment where only one in ten entrants to the labor market is able to find a job, all but a handful of young adults are "marginalized" to a greater or lesser extent. In a political system where the majority of the population remains wholly or partly disenfranchised, "marginalization" remains the status for which most young people are destined.

Finally, reliance on these and related terms may in itself do harm to the effectiveness of programs that seek to address the problems faced by young people, by further alienating the intended beneficiaries of policy interventions and by leading service providers to misunderstand the nature of the problems they seek to address. On the one hand, the use of terms like "marginalized youth" and "lost generation" suggests that young people are useless or worse to the larger society, and obscures the important roles that many have played and continue to play in their families, in their communities, and in the political transition to a

"New South Africa." On the other hand, the term "lost generation" in particular suggests that efforts to aid some young people should be abandoned in favor of programs to prevent the "loss" of others.

What is needed is a more affirmative and inclusive reconceptualization of the crisis faced by South African youth, one that recognizes the diversity of circumstances in which young people find themselves, takes into account young people's own assessment of their situation, and shifts the burden of responsibility from the youth themselves to the government and society that have "marginalized" them. In this paper we suggest that young people are "disempowered" rather than "marginalized;" the JEP and other organizations have now begun to speak of "youth development" strategies rather than programs for "marginalized youth."

B. The Economic Crisis

The crisis in the South African economy will also demand the immediate attention of a new government. The country faces two main economic problems, which are closely related and both of great relevance to a Training for Employment Project. The first of these is the restoration of economic growth; the second is the reduction of very high rates of unemployment. Success in increasing national income and creating employment opportunities for youth and other citizens will be crucially important for a new government's capacity to redress past injustices and to establish its own legitimacy.

1. Growth and Employment

After three decades in which the South African economy grew rapidly, economic growth has recently slowed dramatically. The decline in growth rates is attributable to a variety of factors including declining world markets for gold and other South African exports, the economic policies pursued by successive governments, the perpetuation of minority rule and consequent political uncertainties, and external trade and investment sanctions. Between 1946 and 1974, real GDP increased at an average annual rate of 4.9 percent. Over the decade of the 1980s, in contrast, annual growth rates averaged only 1.5 percent, and in 1990 and 1991 the economy hardly grew at all (Gelb, 1991). The economy is expected to shrink by 1 percent or more in 1992, with the resumption of significant growth predicted only for 1994 (Business Day, 1 October 1992).

The slowdown in aggregate economic growth has been accompanied by an even more dramatic increase in the unemployment rate. Data on unemployment in South Africa are notoriously unreliable, because of shifting definitions. The official unemployment rate stands at approximately 15 percent, but it is widely agreed that barely half of the labor force has regular wage employment in the formal sector of the economy. Estimates of unemployment commonly range as high as 40 percent, though it is likely that a substantial number of the "unemployed" are in fact working in the informal sector. The marginal capacity of the economy to absorb new workers is extremely low: fewer than one in ten entrants to the labor market is successful in finding formal sector employment.

Unemployment is heavily concentrated among the young and under-educated. More than two-thirds of the unemployed are under 35, and 60 percent have completed seven or fewer years of schooling (Chisholm, 1992). Rates of unemployment are significantly higher among females than among males.

Present high rates of unemployment are both cyclical and structural in origin. Cyclical factors include the current slowdown in the global economy, the effects of which have been powerfully exacerbated in South Africa by the regional drought and by the political and economic uncertainties accompanying the shift to majority rule. All of these are transitory phenomena: the establishment of representative political institutions, the easing of the drought, and the resumption of economic growth in other parts of the world will in time increase rates of economic growth and labor absorption in South Africa. Improvements in the quality and capacity of current education and training programs may also accelerate growth and so decrease rates of unemployment.

There is growing recognition, however, that present rates of unemployment are in large part accounted for by structural shifts in the South African and world economies (Hindson, 1991). Changes include the introduction of new technologies, the increased openness of the South African economy as international investment and trade sanctions are removed, the declining importance of gold as a hedge against inflation, and the intensification of international competition in an increasingly unified global economy. As a result of these and other changes, South Africa cannot simply grow its way out of the present economic crisis: reducing present rates of unemployment will require new directions in public policy and economic strategy.

In countries around the world the main consequence of many of these structural changes has been a shift away from low-skill, low wage employment toward high-skill labor and the application of new technologies in production. Such changes are likely to proceed or accelerate in South Africa, even with cyclical improvement in the national and world economies, as employment trends on the mines over the past decade suggest (Freund, 1992). Responding to these changes in ways that do not increase unemployment rates or exacerbate present inequalities will be among the most important challenges facing a new government. USAID's proposed Training for Employment project can provide assistance in meeting this challenge, as is discussed below.

Very high rates of unemployment coexist with a scarcity of high-level skills, which in South Africa are attributable to historical barriers to black advancement including Bantu education and the "color bar." Estimates of the "shortage" of skilled workers range as high as 500,000, though such figures are inherently open to dispute. To date the business community and the minority government have responded to shortages of skills by recruiting white labor abroad, but a future government will need to develop policies and programs to enhance the skills of black South African workers.

Reliable information on the labor market and the employment status of youth and young adults is just beginning to become available. Data collected in a tracer study by Bennell and Monyokolo (1992), for example, suggest that more than two thirds of the members of a sample of young people who completed Standard 10 (with or without passing matrix) in the PWV region in 1984 and 1988 were "gainfully occupied" (in wage employment, in post-secondary education, or as housewives) in 1992. Among 1984 Standard

10 leavers 81 percent of the males and 78 percent of the females were "gainfully occupied;" among 1988 leavers the corresponding percentages were 66 and 55.

These same data also show, however, that job searches of as long as five years were often required to obtain employment, and that 14 percent of the males and 19 percent of the females who had completed Standard 10 in 1984 remained unemployed at the time of the survey. Those who had completed Standard 10 in 1988 faced even more difficult circumstances: 31 percent of males and 45 percent of females were unemployed at the time of the survey, and only 41 percent of males and 30 percent of females had ever been in wage employment since leaving school. (In contrast, 78 percent of males and 94 percent of females had experienced at least one period of unemployment.) Among youth who fail to complete Standard 10, or who reside in regions outside South Africa's economic heartland, rates of unemployment are almost certainly far higher. Similarly, the employment opportunities available to young people who have left school since 1988 are likely to be even fewer than those available to the young people included in the sample, because of rapid demographic growth, rising levels of educational attainment, and economic stagnation.

2. Employment Trends

Present trends in the South African labor market are almost uniformly negative. In the 1960's formal sector employment grew faster than the labor force, which meant that jobs were available not only for new entrants to the labor market but for previously unemployed or underemployed persons (e.g., unskilled migrants from rural areas) as well. In the 1980s,

in contrast, formal sector employment growth averaged only 1.2 percent per annum, while the labor force continued to grow at an annual rate of 2.8 percent. Unemployment consequently increased, both because new entrants to the labor market could not be absorbed and because workers displaced from declining sectors could not find new jobs. In 1970 almost 74 percent of new entrants to the labor market found formal sector jobs. The present figure is less than 10 percent.

Over the course of the past decade, therefore, slow growth in job creation has left very large numbers of people without formal sector employment, and their numbers are increasing rapidly each year. The following calculations provide a very rough estimate of the size of this population. It has been estimated that there were approximately three million more available workers than formal sector jobs in the South African economy in 1980 (Loots, 1992). Between 1980 and 1990 the labor force increased by approximately 3.6 million, while formal sector employment increased by 500,000 (Cawker and Whiteford, 1992). Since 1990 the labor force has been increasing by approximately 400,000 per year, of whom fewer than 40,000 are now being absorbed by the formal sector. This suggests that the pool of unemployed and underemployed workers in the South African economy may already exceed seven million, with 350,000 new members joining the pool each year.

In 1990 the number of jobs in the formal sector was equal to slightly more than 50 percent of the number of economically active South Africans. By some cheerful estimates an additional quarter of the labor force was employed in the informal sector, which would nevertheless suggest an overall unemployment rate of approximately 25 percent. Even if it is

assumed that all of those employed in the informal sector are fully and productively occupied, the pool of unemployed workers exceeds 3.6 million.

The present cyclical downturn in the national and global economies has amplified the effects of structural changes in major South African industries, with the result that the number of jobs in many parts of the economy is not growing but declining. The mining sector shed 140,000 workers between 1987 and 1992, the majority of whom were unskilled or semi-skilled Africans (Cawker and Whiteford, 1992). The clothing industry lost 15,000 jobs in 1991 alone (Business Day, 8 October 1992).

Sectors in which employment increased significantly in the 1980s are almost all at the high-skill end of the labor market. Particularly large increases occurred in service industries including finance, and in the public sector. Such labor shortages as occur in the South African economy are similarly concentrated at this end of the market, but only 2.3 percent of jobs (approximately 140,000) went unfilled in 1990 (Cawker and Whiteford, 1992).

The implications of these figures are daunting. In contrast to its present stagnation, the South African economy would have to create new jobs at an annual rate at least equal to the rate of growth in the labor force (2.8 percent) just to keep pace with new entrants to the labor market. To absorb a significant number of those who are already unemployed job creation would have to proceed at an even faster rate. Assuming no further net growth in unemployment (i.e., that all future entrants to the labor market find jobs), and further assuming that those employed in the informal sector remain there, the annual rate of job creation would have to double in order to provide jobs for those who now lack employment

by the year 2000. To shrink the number of workers who are underemployed in the informal sector the rate of job creation would have to be even faster.

The likelihood that the rate of job creation in the South African economy will soon exceed 6 percent per year depends on a variety of factors, including the achievement of very rapid rates of aggregate economic growth, substantial increases in public and private investment, the capital intensity of new investment, and business and labor union strategies with respect to wages. Increased government investment in labor-intensive public works may also play a crucial role in the short-run creation of new jobs, as is discussed further below.

3. Economic Strategy and Human Resources Development

There is increasing consensus on the main lines of future economic strategy in the "New South Africa" among the major participants in the economic policy debate, including representatives of the government, the non-parliamentary opposition, and the trade unions. The main parties are in principle agreed that the resumption of economic growth and the reduction of unemployment rates will depend in the first instance on massive "inward investment" by a new government. Such "inward investment" will focus on the construction or rehabilitation of social and economic infrastructures including housing, schools, roads, and on improvements in public services including rural electrification.² In the longer term the growth of the South African economy will increasingly depend on the success of South

² Some on the left argue that economic strategy should extend to "inward industrialization," which would include massive investments in labor intensive industries producing for the domestic market, including the manufacture of clothing, shoes, furniture, and processed foods. This would imply extensive public control of investment decisions throughout the economy (Gelb, 1991).

African firms in exporting agricultural and industrial products to both regional and global markets (Gelb, 1991; Kraak, 1992). The former strategy is expected to contribute to the success of the latter, first through backward linkages that will increase the efficiency of domestic industries, and second through improvements in the quality of the labor force attributable to increased training and experience. The main parties further agree that raising standards of education and training will be at the heart of a successful economic strategy, though the specific kinds of education and training are still at issue.

Substantial areas of disagreement nevertheless remain, with the present government and business representatives on one side and COSATU and its allies on the other. Serious disputes persist, for example, over the proper role of a future government in the management of the economy, and over the nature and extent of redistribution to be accomplished under majority rule. Two of these areas of disagreement are of particular importance in a discussion of a Training for Employment project.

The first debate concerns South African labor costs, and the more general question of whether South Africa's is a "first world" economy with some third world attributes or a "third world" economy with some first world attributes. On one side of the debate, business leaders and many in government argue that South Africa's comparative advantage in regional and world markets will be found in its status as a low wage, third-world exporter of primary products and light industrial goods. In this view rising wage costs make South African exports less competitive, and so threaten to undermine both of the central goals of national economic strategy. Rising wage costs will also reduce total employment, by encouraging the substitution of capital for labor. On the other side, COSATU and its allies propose that an

immediate increase in wages accompanied by massive investments in training would "kick-start" the process of economic growth, and lead ultimately to the establishment of a "high-skill, high-wage" economy characterized by higher productivity, increased exports, and expanded employment opportunities (Lewis, 1991).³

The prospective role of the informal sector as an employer of "surplus" labor is a second point of disagreement, with the government and some business leaders far more sanguine about the employment-generating potential of micro-enterprise than COSATU. Those on this side of the debate argue that encouragement of the informal sector will over time result in its integration with the large enterprises of the formal sector as a supplier of low-cost intermediate goods and services. As micro-enterprises expand and raise quality and efficiency standards they will provide employment and rising incomes for increasing numbers of South Africans. Those associated with COSATU have argued in contrast that the structure of the South African economy strictly limits potential employment in the informal sector, because the intermediate goods that might be produced by micro-enterprises are already produced at relatively low cost in the formal sector. They claim that entrants to the informal sector seek temporary survival and not entrepreneurial success, and further suggest that efforts to shift production to (non-unionized) micro-enterprises represent a tactic to weaken the labor movement and reduce wages for all workers.

Regardless of the outcome of these debates, the most likely future for the South African economy in all but the very long term has been described as "Brazilianization," in which the emergence of a reasonably large and politically stable "middle class" of employed

³ As above, this would require a major expansion of the government's role in economic planning, as well as the maintenance of strict import controls.

people is accompanied by the effective abandonment of huge numbers of very poor people to the vagaries of informal production, petty commerce, crime, or more-or-less permanent unemployment.⁴ In the "New South Africa" the "middle class" will be increasingly multi-racial, with a large and growing representation of blacks. Those left on the economic margins will be almost exclusively African.

This is the economic context in which the problems of "marginalized youth" must be addressed. Under all but the most optimistic scenarios, and in the absence of direct intervention to advance their interests, large numbers of young people will remain marginalized for the indefinite future. A Training for Employment project can improve their prospects, but the objectives of such a project will have to be very carefully defined. Alternative strategies for USAID intervention and some specific recommendations for USAID assistance are discussed in the concluding sections of this paper.

II. Living on the Periphery of Apartheid

The apartheid system has structured the young individuals life chances, and determined the distinct levels of achievement and failure. Apartheid is also central to the problems associated with the alienation or marginalization of South Africa's black youth.

⁴ Despite COSATU's attempts to avert this danger it is the most likely outcome of their present efforts to increase the wages of their members in the industrial "core" of the South African economy, and it remains the least disruptive outcome for those who are best served by present economic and political arrangements. COSATU's efforts to organize the unemployed appear to be aimed primarily at preventing scabbing, which would put additional pressure on the wages of employed workers.

Percy Qoboza states:

If it is true that a people's wealth is its children, then South Africa is bitterly, tragically poor. If it is true that a nation's future is its children, we have no future...(Percy Qoboza, City Press, 20 April 1986)

This poignant statement made by Mr. Qoboza clearly reflects the magnitude and tragedy of the lot of South Africa's disadvantaged and disempowered youth. In the recent past, this alienated and often ostracized group of young people have been a powerful catalyst for change in South Africa. At present, however, there is a growing tendency to believe that this generation of youth represent a threat to political and social stability.

The obstacles met by black youth may alienate them both from their families, their communities, and the wider society, and from key institutions (education, and employment) that lead to the empowerment of people. Lack of access to and participation in these vital sectors has no doubt contributed to a great extent in further alienating black youth from mainstream society.

To appropriately design a program to target "marginalized youth" (and marginalized adults), the predicaments faced by black youth must be located within a broad framework of analysis to include the following:

- o Factors that have caused their alienation; and
- o Identifiable sub-groups within the broad structure of alienated youth.

This section of the paper describes some of the factors that have given rise to the problems faced by black youth in South Africa, and with distinguishing categories and sub-categories within this population of black youth.

A. Definition of the Periphery

The conference organized by the Joint Enrichment Project (JEP) in Broederstroom in June of 1991 proposed a working definition of the problem, by stating that "marginalized youth refer to people between the ages of 13 and 30 (including distinct categories of adolescents, post-adolescents and young adults) who were typically neither in school nor in employment, and do not exercise responsibility as heads of households."⁵ It went on to say further that they are young people who cannot easily be integrated into societies' educational, economic, social or political institutions - now or in a future democratic South Africa.

Terms used to identify and define black South African youth often include "marginalized youth," "the lost generation," and "alienated youth." Such labels should be used with discretion as the phenomenon in question is complex and the population that is being characterized is large and diverse. It may be useful for academicians, educators, policy makers, and other practitioners to articulate the lot of black youth by the use of such terms. There is a danger that the reliance on such jargon will further estrange black youth from the mainstream of the wider society. The vocalization of deep rooted problems with the use of

⁵ Black Youth in Crisis: Facing the Future edited by David Everatt and Elinor Sisulu. Raven Press, 1992.

words as "marginalized", "alienated", or especially "lost", suggests that the situation of black youth represents a terminal condition that cannot be reversed.

The root causes of the conditions that black youth find themselves in, emanates from the apartheid system, that has for many decades prohibited black South Africans from equal access to and equal participation in all sectors of society. Thus the destiny of millions of black youth are characterized by lack of opportunity and access to education and employment. The "marginalized", are in reality those young people (including adults) who are on the periphery of South African society - they are not found in the school classrooms or university lecture halls; they are not found in any training centers or institutions; and they do not hold any employment. They are divorced from their families and communities. Their daily survival skills are formed by a "street culture," - one of crime, violence and total frustration and despair. The worsening economy, the escalating rate of unemployment, lack of skills, and lack of education further exacerbate the problems faced by black youth. They are alienated, or lost, primarily because the farrago of structures embedded in the apartheid system has effectively coerced them into a chasm of disempowerment and lack of opportunity.

1. The Concept of Disempowered Youth

To provide a more appropriate characterization of black youth who are currently on the periphery of the wider society, the term disempowered youth will be used in this concept paper. The word disempowered in some respects dispels of the notion that black youth are

outside of the mainstream of society, and cannot therefore be easily re-integrated into society. Despite the appalling conditions faced by black youth, they are still very much a part of society.

The apartheid system has given birth to millions of disempowered youth living on the brink of poverty, unemployment, frustration, violence and crime. Growing up in apartheid South Africa has meant a life of deprivation and unequal access to essential resources, access to inferior education, and a sense of hopelessness and powerlessness to take control of and mold ones' future. It is the generation of black South Africans who have grown up under apartheid who have to be empowered.

They make up a vast number; they are both young women and young men; they have various levels of skills and education or none at all; they come from a variety of social and economic backgrounds; they come from rural areas and urban areas and from the pillars of apartheid the homelands; they are the returning exiles; they are the internally displaced squatter communities; they are the street children; the gangsters; the criminals; they are also the physically and mentally handicapped. Many regard them as outcasts, as marginalized, as alienated, as lost, and a threat to the formation of a democratic South Africa; yet they are at the core of society; they are the majority; they are the disempowered. They are the very essence of the society created by apartheid.

It is this generation of disempowered youth that have to be empowered with skills for employment, with education, with the strength to transform their lives of desperation and deprivation into one of meaningful existence. It is not a lost generation, nor is it one that is marginalized - except by society. Black youth living on the periphery do not consider

themselves as lost or marginalized. They see themselves as very much the pulse of society. They want to be given the opportunity to be educated; to be employed; and to acquire appropriate and functional skills.

In this concept paper, we define the problems faced by black youth as problems of disempowerment. The term "disempowered youth" will be used to refer to the group of disadvantaged black youth that are absent from the formal structures of empowerment. The model proposed is one that analyzes the social, political and economic conditions as key indicators of empowerment. These indicators will provide a framework to classify and distinguish the target population.⁶ This multi-dimensional model of categorizing the population according to the broad framework of disempowered youth reflects the further complexity associated with classifying the population under study. Categories and sub-categories can be further broken down using both the social, economic and political dimensions of empowerment or disempowerment. The categories of **disempowered youth** established in this paper are presented as guidelines to USAID, to assist in formulating strategies to appropriately design a program to target **disempowered youth**.

Four vital factors also need to be considered in any definition of disadvantaged black youth.

The first is that broad-based terminology still invokes the image of young males and not girls. Young girls and women are disempowered both by the culture of male domination emanating from a patriarchal society, and the exploitation in the job market.

⁶ It is important to note that the model proposed in this concept paper attempts to explore and distinguish various groups of **disempowered youth** according to various categories and sub-categories. Within each of these categories various other groups of **disadvantaged youth** can be further distinguished. The model proposed is therefore not a restricted or absolute model.

Young women are as affected by the stagnant economy as are young men. Women in the work force have also had to contend with low salaries, and inadequate skills preparation. Women are also the victims of the youth crisis, but they have also become the targets and victims of young males living on the periphery. The increase in youth violence has as its most noticeable feature a further increase in violence against women. It is estimated that 1000 women are raped in South Africa daily. Racial and gender oppression are thus compounded and reinforced by violence directed against young black women. The particular obstacles faced by young girls and women should be a special focus in project implementation and design.

The particular obstacles faced by young girls and women who tend to be "living on the periphery of disempowerment," should be a special focus in project implementation and decision-making.

Secondly, the terminology of "disempowered youth" as used in this paper includes adults. Many non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and community-based organizations (CBOs) that were visited provided services to adults as well in their particular youth programs. Recognizing that there may be potential difficulties in generational attitudes in a given context, services are still provided to adults who are disempowered. Young adults in their twenties are still trying to complete formal schooling or obtain skills training for employment. It is also not uncommon to find a person in his or her thirties seeking access to alternative forms of education to further enhance their skills, literacy and numeracy, and education.

Thirdly, it is vital that any program planned to address the needs of disempowered youth be aware of the various needs of specific groups within this broad definition of disempowered youth. The concept of disempowerment cuts through all distinguishable categories of youth. Nevertheless, the overall skills development needs of young girls and women will be different to those of young boys and men; the needs of the physically and mentally handicapped will be different to those matriculants without jobs.

Fourthly, a vast majority of the population in rural areas are young boys and girls, and young adults. The term disempowered youth incorporates rural youth in its definition.

B. Formal Structures of Disempowerment

1. Education

The political violence of the 1970s and 1980s witnessed massive revolts and protests by black youth against inferior Bantu education. Large numbers of children dropped out of school. Studies have shown that 1.7 million black children are currently out of school while another 1.7 million drop-outs under the age of 30 have accrued over the last ten years. Less than 54 percent of South Africa's population is functionally literate while more than 7 million out of a work force of 11 million have no secondary education.⁷

⁷ Statistical data obtained from the South African Institute of Race Relations Survey (1990).

The South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR) has also documented that whilst the number of matriculants have continued to grow over the years, the numbers who actually matriculate with an Exemption pass is declining. Thus, despite the fact that more students enter the system every year, only a small number are able to qualify for tertiary education, or seek employment. Qualifying for tertiary level education or being absorbed into the job market thus become major factors in the disempowerment of black youth. The overwhelming majority of black youth are left to join the ranks of the unemployed, and the disenfranchised who cannot further their education because of poor passes or lack of funds to go to college.

Moreover, the inability of teachers and parents to protect the children against the state, and grapple in any meaningful way with the massive problems among youth and school children exacerbated and deepened the explosive crisis.

Black education in South Africa clearly does not provide any clear correlation between schooling and the job market. It remains ineffective in enhancing and improving the lot of black youth faced with the ever present crisis in the education system. Millions of youth have been denied access to a holistic and constructive learning process. The push-pull factors of the education system have resulted in the "push" of black youth out of the formal education structures - and their "pull" into the streets and struggle for survival. The inferior quality of black education has contributed significantly to the problems of disempowered youth.

One approach used to distinguish the categories of disempowered youth using education as a primary criteria, is a typology provided by Ken Hartshorne (1992; pg.54) classified as follows:⁸

Group A

- o Those with no schooling at all.

It has been estimated that in 1988 there were two million youngsters between the ages of seven and 16 who were not in school.

- o Those who dropped out of school before completing Standard 4 -and are not literate or numerate.

Group B

- o Those who completed primary schooling but went no further with their education;
- o Those who dropped out in secondary school.

It is estimated that the total number in Group B amounts to 225,000 school leavers per year.

Group C

- o Those who passed the senior certificate examination, but failed to obtain a matriculation exemption; as a result the vast majority of matriculants are unable to get entrance into university to further their education.

⁸ This information is extracted from the article by Ken Hartshorne, "Education and Employment," (pp.52-68) in Black Youth in Crisis: Facing the Future, edited by David Everatt and Elinor Sisulu.

- o Those who failed to gain any certificates in the final secondary school leaving examination.

It is estimated that Group C is increasing rapidly by about 125,000 disempowered youth per year.

The categories propounded in Groups A, B, and C are useful guidelines in distinguishing drop-outs from the educational sector. However, an additional category needs to be included in this conceptualization, ie., those students who passed the Matric examination with an Exemption pass. This group should be included as a sub-category in Group C. They are disempowered because of two mitigating factors: 1) they cannot proceed further with their education because of financial constraints, and 2) they are excluded from the job market because of a lack of skills amongst other factors such as job reservation.

There is also the dilemma faced by many students who have been able to obtain one or two years of a university education but have dropped out of college because of financial reasons. They are unable to enter the job market because they have not acquired the necessary skills for employment. This group will be classified as Group D - university drop-outs.

Special consideration has to be given to the physically and mentally handicapped who are essentially excluded from the "formal" education system, and whose education and specific skills development needs have to be met by alternative institutions. The physically and mentally handicapped are included in Group E.

2. Economic Stagnation

a. Unemployment

The economic index with the most direct implication for black youth is unemployment. In Rory Riordan's case study of Port Elizabeth, over half the total of unemployed are aged 29 or below.⁹ The case study of Port Elizabeth indicates that the youth who constitute the majority of new job seekers are thus the main victims of unemployment. It is also indicated that only 20% of the new job seekers are able to secure employment. It is reasonable to assume that the phenomenon of new job seekers comprising large numbers of the unemployed is true for the rest of the country.¹⁰ It is estimated that the present unemployment rate is at a staggering 40%. and that disempowered youth constitute over 30% of this group.¹¹

⁹ For further information about unemployment in Port Elizabeth see "Marginalized Youth and unemployment," in Black Youth in Crisis: Facing the Future (1992).

¹⁰ It is important to note, however, that the great variance in regional and local characteristics such as the presence of various industries, the rural/urban dichotomy will influence to a large extent the numbers of unemployed individuals.

¹¹ Estimates of the unemployment rate vary considerably - some "experts" have put the figure at even 60%. It is reasonable to assume that when the unemployment figures in the rural areas and homelands are included the percentage would continue to rise.

b. The Informal Sector

Appalling unemployment statistics, continued economic stagnation, and the shrinking job market are some of the factors that have given rise to the formation of a large number of informal sector activities as alternate means for income generation. The informal sector concept as used here embodies the idea of "survival" and not profit-making as may be more representative of micro enterprise business efforts.¹² The numbers of traders (both men and women) in the city centers and other areas has increased dramatically. Their presence is etched in the landscape of the cities, squatter camps, and other localities. Individuals who are engaged in the informal sector are also amongst the disempowered - a lack of education, skills, and economic recession has resulted in their exclusion from the formal sectors of employment.

Identifiable categories of disempowered youth as a result of economic stagnation are as follows:

Group A

- o New job seekers - those with a Matric pass (Exemption and non-Exemption passes) but are seeking employment as they do not have the funds to further their education;**
- o Old job seekers - those who have been out of a job due to factors such as being laid off; dissatisfaction with their job; and being terminated from their jobs;**

¹² For a discussion of the informal sector and micro enterprise business activities, see "Formalizing the Informal: Training for the Informal Sector in South Africa," by Nicola Swainson. This document is part of the NEPI Working Paper Series.

Group B

- o **The unemployable - those without skills to market their employability;**

Group C

- o **Informal Sector Wage Earners - those who have resorted to trading commodities for income generation.**

It is important to note, however, that the apartheid system of job reservation and unequal access to employment for disadvantaged South Africans are overriding factors contributing to the large numbers of unemployed black South Africans. This phenomenon has been further compounded by the economic crisis and recession facing South Africa.

C. Social Structures of Disempowerment

1. Urbanization

The level of poverty in rural areas and the abolition of laws regulating influx control have further exacerbated the urban unemployment rate. Thousands of disempowered South Africans are flocking to the cities and establishing squatter camps to have access to the expected employment opportunities in the city. The new process of urbanization in South Africa is taking the shape of the mushrooming of many squatter settlements near major city centers and residential districts. The squatter communities, while informal and temporary in

nature, will no doubt continue to exist as formal, permanent communities for many years to come. The demands created by this expanding formation of squatter communities for housing, health care, education, and employment are ever more intense.

The process of urbanization is also evident in the sprawling townships across the country. The release of Nelson Mandela in February 1990 and the subsequent unbanning of political organizations paved the way for the return of thousands of South Africans who had sought refuge overseas and in neighboring countries. The influx of returning exiles and refugees is another dimension to the rapid process of urbanization of the townships and squatter areas. Moreover, the proportion of young people unable to continue with their education and out of work has increased, as the new urban population is made up of thousands of youth and young adults.

2. The Rural Dilemma

The use of the term "rural" in South Africa is fraught with many difficulties. A useful explication of the term "rural" as used in the South African context is explored in the National Education Policy Investigation (NEPI) Working Paper titled "Summary of Document on Rural Adult Basic Education." The term rural according to the NEPI paper connotes two meanings:

- 1) An agricultural community/livestock rearing community: Their activities satisfy the consumption needs of the household. Employment outside of farming for the

family is merely supplementary. An example of a "rural-rural" area is a village near the Warmbaths area;

- 2) The households that are dependent on wage labor ie., employment outside the communal farm is the major livelihood. In South Africa these rural communities because of the proximity of the households to one another are known as rural towns. An example of a rural town is Kangwane.

A profile of Kangwane reflects the following trends: rapid population growth compounded by the influx of Mozambican refugees; the formal employment sectors of industrial centers are outside of Kangwane - and residents have to seek employment outside the area; inadequacy of arable land; overcrowded schools; a lack of technikons and universities.

The two-faceted explanation concerning the definition of the word "rural" in the context of South African society is a useful one, and is drawn upon in this section to classify rural youth and adults.

Disempowered communities arising from the increasing rate of urbanization and the rural dichotomy are classified as follows:

Group A

- o Squatter communities - to comprise disempowered youth and young adults;

Group B

- o Returning exiles

Group C

- o Agricultural/livestock rearing communities;
- o Youth and adults from rural towns.

The level of education and skill for both Groups A, B and C will vary quite substantially.

3. Violence

South African society is ridden by violence with the highest incidence of rape in the world, and an ever escalating crime rate. According to the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC), serious assaults were committed every four minutes, car theft every nine, a break-in every three, a rape every 26 and a murder every 45 minutes in South Africa in 1990. (The Citizen, 20 November 1990). The impact of violence in the South African community has had far reaching consequences. The annihilation of the family, deaths, and the internalization of violence among young black children are endemic.

Many young children have internalized violence. One mother recounted an incident as she watched her four year old daughter playing with her doll. Her daughter would not hug the doll but would pretend to shoot the doll, and then prepare the doll for a funeral by throwing a cloth over the doll. The child would then call for its sibling to play the role of the policeman coming to the scene of the crime.

An escape from the poverty and overcrowding of family life has led many youths to the opt for a life of survival in the street. The failure and the inability of families to minister to the material and emotional needs of youth explains the ease with which youth slide into the

streets. High levels of alcohol and drug abuse permeate family life. The large numbers of now single parent families and the problem of teen age pregnancies are all factors in the social disintegration of the family.

While the apartheid system has caused the destruction of family life through deliberate attempts to separate families, the social disintegration of the family now continues not only as a legacy of the apartheid system but as a consequence of the violence.

Political violence has also isolated youth and resulted in the death of many young people. Young black youth between the ages of 15 and 24 years of age are the most frequent perpetrators and victims of violence. Many young people who were the backbone of the South African liberation struggle now lie idle and subsequently disempowered. This deepening crisis of disempowerment is feeding directly into the growth of a violent and criminal youth culture, manifested in escalating formation of gangs and violence.

Furthermore, the actions of youth gangs very often assume a political character. Factors such as the education crisis in the schools, the lack of alternative education, and little hope for employment are motivating factors in the creation of gangs and crime. Gangs of youth cast a reign of terror in black townships, eliminating youth leaders and curtailing the social mobility of residents. Gangs, particularly those who re-emerged from the resistance movements - *comtsotsis* are a powerful resource for state officialdom. Michael Cross (1992: pg. 26) defines the term *comtsotsis* as referring to ex-comrades - gangs who have joined the resistance movement since the 1976 school crisis, but have not been able to assimilate its

political discipline, or marginalized youth who have appropriated the status and the label of comrade to serve their opportunistic goals.¹³

The most likely candidates for imprisonment are to be found within the disempowered youth population. Persons released from prison find themselves confronted with a serious lack of resources which serves further to entrench their unemployability. The prison system contributes in the long term to their further disempowerment, and does not serve to rehabilitate offenders.

The discernible categories from this culture of violence and crime are as follows:

Group A

- o Victims of violence/teenage mothers¹⁴

Group B

- o Tsotsis or gangsters;
- o Comtsotsis

Group C

- o Ex-offenders/Prisoners

¹³ A detailed framework of youth culture is presented by Michael Cross in his paper titled, "Youth Culture and Politics in South African Education: The Past, Present, and Future."

¹⁴ It is important to note that teen-age mothers are included here because they are the victims of rape. Violence against young women further disempowers them. The special needs of young women and teen-age mothers should be given special consideration and focus.

D. Conclusion

1. Designing Appropriate Services

The great diversity in the levels of skills and education amongst the millions of disempowered youth clearly points to the need to develop and design programs and services to appropriately target their needs. For example, the services developed for rural women would have to include services such as day care for their children; the services provided to individuals functioning in the informal sector would be quite different to services provided to returning exiles.

Furthermore, various social, economic, and political factors would have to be taken into consideration in the design of such a program. Attention should also be given to the array of regional, provincial, and local conditions. For example, the services provided to the community in Imbali in northern Natal would be unique to the programs and services provided to the community of Tembisa in the Transvaal.

2. Future Projections

It is currently estimated that almost 60% of the black population is below age 19. It is also estimated that in the year 2000, 60% of the African population will be under the age of 20.¹⁵ The magnitude of the dilemmas faced by black youth will no doubt continue to

¹⁵ Statistical data are extracted from the South African Institute of Race Relations Survey (1990).

multiply as the population increases. The disempowered youth of South Africa will continue to face enormous hurdles if their needs are ignored. Their lot in life will continue to be fuelled by structural factors embedded in the apartheid system. Structural factors include apartheid education, lack of skills and work experience, economic stagnation and disintegration, and unemployment and job reservation. These factors in turn will advance the disintegration of family and community life.

3. Participation of Youth

Any program designed to target the needs of disempowered youth would have to involve the participation and input of youth themselves.

A MODEL OF DISEMPOWERMENT

The Relationship of the Formal Sector to Disempowerment

Table 1

FORMAL STRUCTURES	CATEGORIES OF THE DISEMPOWERED YOUTH AND ADULTS
EDUCATION	<p>Group A Those with no schooling Drop-outs from primary school</p> <p>Group B Those with primary level education Secondary school drop-outs</p> <p>Group C Those who have passed the senior certificate Those with no senior certificate pass Matriculants with no Exemption pass Matriculants with an Exemption pass</p> <p>Group D University drop-outs</p> <p>Group E The physically and mentally handicapped</p>
ECONOMY	<p>Group A New job seekers Old job seekers</p> <p>Group B The unemployable with no skills</p> <p>Group C Informal-Sector Wage Earners</p>

A MODEL OF DISEMPOWERMENT

The Relationship of Social Structures to Disempowerment

Table 2

SOCIAL STRUCTURES	CATEGORIES OF DISEMPOWERED YOUTH AND ADULTS
URBANIZATION	<p>Group A Squatter communities</p> <p>Group B Returning exiles</p> <p>Group C Agricultural/livestock rearing communities Youth and adults from rural towns</p>
DISINTEGRATION OF SOCIETY/FAMILY LIFE	<p>Group A Victims of violence/Teen-age mothers</p> <p>Group B Tsotsis/Comtsotsis/Gangsters Ex-offenders/prisoners</p>

III. Provision of Services to Disempowered South Africans by NGOs

A. Introduction

It can be said with some truth and not a little irony, that amidst the gloom of South Africa's lingering economic recession, non-governmental organizations (NGO's) represent perhaps the most robust "growth sector" in the nation. One need only examine any recent edition of The Weekly Mail to find quarter-page notices from a variety of newly formed or expanding NGO's searching for program staff or perhaps for a national director. As South Africa grapples with the formidable challenges of transition to democracy, black leadership, and the creation of a more equitable distribution of opportunity and resources, the non-governmental sector would appear to offer the possibility of a politically legitimate source of talent and resources for national development, and a ready link to community members and local structures. In principle, NGO's could also come to constitute a potentially significant component of a pluralistic, liberal and democratic civil society, a "check and balance" to the power of government, political organizations and business.

While it is therefore plausible to look to the NGO sector as a source of current and potential capacity for the delivery of effective services to disempowered youth and young adults - services aimed at enhancing the capability of these populations to find employment in the labor market or engage in viable self-employment, to secure access to adequate shelter, health and educational opportunities for themselves and their families, and to help build and sustain a community spirit of hopefulness, appropriate expectation, participation in and

commitment to the peaceful development of their country - as with most institutions in South Africa during this time of transition, the NGO "community" itself remains fragmented, with many organizations reassessing their role and mission, lacking a secure funding base, and scrambling to solidify their position within a services network that is increasingly crowded and competitive.

As with the concept "marginalized youth and young adults", the term "NGO" categorizes a broad variety of organizations which may share a common legal status for purposes of taxation, but which may differ substantially in terms of size, operational style and governance, and relationship to the client community and historical relationship to the state. These variables may have a substantive effect upon the credibility, the delivery and the impact of services. NGOs relevant to our discussion include a host of traditional human services agencies and trusts, often established twenty or more years ago, which are national in scope and which are almost always directed by white South Africans; a diversity of community-based organizations and "civics", generally politically affiliated, which were established during the 1980's as alternatives to discredited state structures and as part of the overall anti-apartheid "struggle"; post-February, 1990 NGOs often established in response to or conjunction with the initiative of donor agencies; and former parastatal organizations such as the regional training centers which have reconstituted themselves as NGOs but which may have changed little in other respects.

Any current assessment of the non-governmental sector's potential to provide cost-effective services for so-called marginalized youth and young adults, services with measurable and substantive outcomes, must therefore contend with a murky and proliferating constellation

of organizations, and with a rapidly evolving social, political and economic context within which such organizations must function. And, as noted in earlier sections of this report, such an examination is also hampered by the lack of consensus on an operational definition of and a dearth of reliable information on the populations in question, by the absence of a useful census of NGOs working in this field, and of valid data evaluating the outcome of various approaches and interventions with particular sub-populations.¹⁶ Moreover, with the exception of those programs actually visited by the concept paper team, such an assessment must also contend with descriptions of NGO programs, services, and structures which are prepared by the organizations themselves and which may conform more or less accurately to the realities of that agency.

B. Analytical Model

In order to organize this initial exploration of the potential role of the NGOs in this area, and to assess the trade-offs and policy ramifications of providing USAID support for one or another type of program or agency, we have found it useful to attempt to conceptualize the problem in terms of a three-dimensional model which examines the sub-populations of youth and adults to whom services would be targeted (client population types), the types of specific services or interventions to be provided (services types), and the kinds of NGOs capable of providing such services to specific subpopulations (organization types). This rough three-fold typology attempts to organize an analytical scheme which ultimately can

¹⁶ Useful data on these questions will become available in the next six months, as noted in Section I above.

address the question, "which types of services, provided by what kinds of NGOs have the greatest utility for reaching which subpopulations of youth and adults?" It suggests that various subpopulations of disempowered youth and adults may have differing service needs, and that various types of NGOs may be more or less efficacious and cost-effective in delivering such services.

As an organizing scheme, this model is intended to disaggregate the factors which we may assume are associated with the effective provision of services and to thereby assist in clarifying issues and policy options. At this initial stage, however, the model functions primarily as a general outline, a means to assist us in presenting a first-cut at the categories along each dimension and a way to remind us that we must examine all three dimensions in order to understand the potential for NGO involvement in this area. We should also note that the model is limited in that the three dimensions (population; services; organization) comprise rough categories which are not completely discrete or exclusive and which are nominally scaled, and that the three dimensions are certainly not completely independent.¹⁷

¹⁷. While the outline of the model presented here is directed towards services provided by NGOs to various sub-categories of disempowered youth and adults, there is in principle no reason why this analytical scheme could not be utilized to explicate the role of public, private sector and union-sponsored training initiatives including those provided by technikons, technical colleges, regional training centers, private enterprises, proprietary schools, universities and labor unions.

C. Dimensions of Analysis

In this section of the report we will present a brief description of the categories represented on each dimension of the model and discuss their interaction and the policy implications of this analysis.

1. Population Characteristics.

Section II of this paper described in some detail various approaches to disaggregating the overall population of marginalized youth and adults, considering factors including level of educational and skills attainment, gender, age, social class, physical locale (rural/urban township/inner city), and involvement in criminal and/or violent activities, and there is no need to repeat that analysis here. For purposes of this model however, the critical criteria for identifying sub-populations are pragmatic; populations would be separately defined only to the extent that they require a unique set of service interventions in order to achieve an acceptable and cost-effective outcome level.

If it were found for example that young unemployed women and men non-matriculants in rural settings required the same set of educational and training interventions to enable them to secure adequate employment, then these populations could be combined for purposes of developing services. If it were determined that young rural women with children needed child care assistance in order to effectively access services, however, then for analytical purposes they would constitute a distinct sub-population and service providers would be

expected to provide such assistance. This approach suggests a process of moving from many discrete population categories to a smaller number as it is determined that the categorical differences do not significantly affect services outcome.

2. Services Characteristics

The typology of services represents the core of the model, presenting an array of interventions which may be usefully applied to diverse population types. The services required by different groups may include a wide range of activities:

- o outreach interventions such as sports and cultural events, aimed at engaging the client populations and involving them in positive social activities and at community building;
- o counseling and psychological services including individual, family and group counseling for persons traumatized by violence, career guidance services and legal advice;
- o youth leadership training;
- o literacy and numeracy educational interventions which may be in formal or informal settings;
- o vocational skills training, ranging from short courses in sewing, knitting, and leather work to lengthy programs in building and construction, computer skills or electronics;
- o job placement and follow-up support services;

- o training in entrepreneurship including small business advisement and mentoring programs and assistance in loan acquisition and in product or service marketing.

In addition, we find a series of "second order" services aimed not at assisting the clients themselves but at providing support and assistance to the provider agencies. Such services include the following activities:

- o provision of staff development and training services;
- o technical assistance;
- o policy analysis and advocacy;
- o networking and inter-agency coordination;
- o liaison with other national and international structures;
- o research and information dissemination; and
- o public education.

a) outreach, sport and cultural activities

Outreach, sport and cultural activities can help to establish initial contact with younger populations and others who might be mistrustful or reluctant to participate in other types of service activities. They may also represent a prevention strategy to divert youth and young adults from criminal, violent or destructive behavior; and as a means of community organizing and building. Such services may stand alone or be a component of a more holistic set of services provided by a network of NGOs or by a larger, more formal provider.

54

These services are also conceptualized as a door or access point for involvement of marginalized populations in educational, training, health and social services.

Some interesting examples of such services include the Oral History project of the Eldorado Park Violence Prevention Program (Eldorado Park), an attempt to organize community members to create a history of their township, to build community participation, identity and cooperation, and to facilitate access to the other services provided by the organization; Ntsika-Ya-Afrika (Guguletu), a self-help project developed and conducted solely by youth, aimed at involving young people in traditional music and dance, providing hands-on skills "training" in arts and arts administration, and at diverting youth from criminal activities; and the Phakamani Sporting Organization (Khayelitsha), a service organized by parents in the community who are concerned with the increasing involvement of youth in criminal activities, to provide organized sporting activities for these young people. Operating on a "shoe string" and employing only volunteers, Phakamani has involved several hundred youth in soccer, netball, karate, boxing, tennis and track and field and looks to expand their program to other sports and areas of the township.

Outreach activities, particularly "street work", are essential for reaching so-called street children and other runaway or homeless youth. In urban and even in rural areas, young people can be found on the streets involved in glue-sniffing, petty or more violent crimes, prostitution and "informal sector" activities such as washing cars or providing parking spots. A number of successful interventions in working with these populations have been reported, but all involve a patient and lengthy period of initial trust-building on the streets before the youth become involved in educational, training and social services. For example,

For example, the Qwaqwa chapter of the South African Black Social Workers Association (SABSWA) has worked with a group of youth who congregated in a local shopping center. Over a period of two years the program has facilitated their successful return into the formal educational system, and has also provided family counseling services, recreational activities, and advocacy with the schools and teachers. Street outreach activities are also an essential component of programs aimed at addressing the issue of "gangsterism", and in engaging young people and adults involved in gangs and criminal enterprises.

b) Counselling, guidance and career advisory services

Counselling, guidance and advisory services are focused on providing clients with the knowledge and skills necessary to effectively examine their options, choices and behavior, and to consider and resolve conflicts and issues which may be hampering their ability to make productive choices. Such services range from legal advice and career guidance, to more intensive individual, group or family counselling for subpopulations including returnees, ex-offenders, and people involved in and/or traumatized by violence including rape.

Counselling, guidance and advisement services are thus not ends in themselves, but rather means to enable clients to usefully access other services or to commence more productive and effective lives.

Within the context of the NGOs studied for this assessment, counselling, guidance and advice services are typically offered in conjunction with other individual or community programs. Examples of interventions in this area include:

- o the provision of career guidance and advisement services to young people concerning educational and training requirements and job options, which are offered by career centers such as Career Research and Information Center (CRIC), in Athlone and the Careers Centre in Soweto;
 - o victims' support and ex-offender counselling services provided by the Cape Town branch of the National Institute for Crime Prevention and the Rehabilitation of Offenders (NICRO); and
 - o the "healing and reconciliation" counselling services provided by the Imbali Rehabilitation Program (Pietermaritzburg) directed at youth and young adults who have participated in violence within the township.
- c) Youth leadership training

Youth leadership training is an intervention aimed at facilitating and strengthening the cadre of leaders of various youth organizations, including political, church, cultural, sport and other recreational groupings, to enhance their effectiveness and help build a superstructure of youth-led organizations which may engage young people in productive individual and communal activities.

Leadership training is strategically designed to provide a "ripple effect", strengthening organizations which engage numbers of marginalized youth and young adults by helping their leaders to become more effective. In many instances in which participating youth leaders are consciously selected to represent diverse political or community orientations, the training

program also helps to model tolerance for diversity and encourage acceptance of competing points of view. The training itself generally focuses on skills building in areas including leadership development, program planning, dispute resolution, organization and community development.

Two current examples of such initiatives are the Youth Leadership and Development Training Course conducted by the Education Resource and Information Project (ERIP) at the University of the Western Cape, and the Youth Leadership Development Program sponsored by the UMTAPO Center (Durban). The ERIP project is providing an intensive four-month course in leadership skills, including a three-week internship with a community organization for unemployed youth leaders aged 20-27 years, who represent a diverse array of political, church and social groupings. Participants in the program, all of whom have completed at least standard 8 or its equivalent, have received the endorsement of their organizations and are expected to help strengthen and build their organizations upon completion of the training.

The UMTAPO model presents much of the same content, but does so during once-monthly intensive weekend residential training workshops. As with ERIP, the UMTAPO program is directed towards participants drawn from a diversity of organizations and perspectives, and helps to create a cooperative relationship between these leaders over the period of one year. After noting that young women often appeared reluctant to participate actively in the presence of males, UMTAPO initiated leadership training groups for women and has found these to be successful.

Both the UMTAPO and ERIP youth leadership training programs make use of input and training assistance from a variety of community and political organizations, and represent one component of multi-faceted service and community development organizations.

d) Youth and adult literacy interventions

Literacy services represent a key component of many programs serving marginalized youth and young adults and are the primary focus of several NGOs. In view of the centrality of this area, youth and adult literacy programs are discussed in greater detail in Section IV of this concept paper.

e) Job skills training programs

Job skills training programs are directed toward providing participants with the specific vocational skills necessary to secure full-time employment in the formal sector, or to become self-employed or a member of a viable cooperative endeavor. The ultimate aim of such training is to enable the participants to generate sufficient income to enjoy an acceptable standard of living for themselves and their families and to facilitate access to and mobility within the social and economic mainstream. Training programs often also include "life skills" modules, which are training components aimed at assisting the participants in related areas such as money management, job readiness, communications skills, street law, and time management. Some programs also include job placement and follow up activities.

Vocational skills training may range from relatively simple skills such as handicrafts, leatherwork, and sewing and knitting to more involved and equipment-intensive training, including office and computer skills, mechanical operations and other technical areas.¹⁸ At this point in South Africa's development, however, most NGOs and certainly the community based organizations (CBO'S) have little capacity or resources to themselves offer training in the more technical areas, or to serve significantly larger numbers of trainees. At the same time, these are the very organizations with the greatest access to and credibility with the target populations, which greatly complicates the task of providing job-related skills to disempowered young people.

A good example of community based skills training is the Sewing Training Project of the Council for Black Education and Research Trust (COBERT) in Langa. Working from four community centers in townships around Cape Town, the COBERT program trains approximately 300 students each year in basic machine sewing skills, and also provides more advanced courses in dressmaking, tailoring, and tie-dying. Program graduates typically become self-employed within their communities, or they may find employment in the garment factories in the area.

Skills training may also be used to promote other social benefits, as is done in the program in basic early childhood education skills provided by the Association for Training and Resources in Early Education (TREE) in Natal/Kwazulu. This program serves both to give women viable employment possibilities, and to provide skilled community workers to staff early childhood care centers.

¹⁸ The former range of skills has been particularly targeted to women with little formal education, who often find that they have almost no access to employment beyond domestic work.

In considering job skills training programs it is important to mention those programs directed towards the needs of special populations, such as handicapped youth and young adults, which in many ways represent particularly marginalized segments of South African society. Programs such as the Takalane Training Center in Soweto and the Harvey Cohen Center in Newclare offer handicapped children, youth and young adults the opportunity to learn simple income-generating skills and to enjoy more productive, safe, and independent lives.

f) **Entrepreneurship training, small business support and advice**

Recent years have seen rapid growth in the number of NGOs providing training, advice, loan assistance, and other small business support services to black South Africans interested in learning entrepreneurial skills and in operating their own micro or small enterprises. While some of these programs focus on creating business and jobs in the informal sector, an increasing emphasis is being placed on developing viable businesses and creating jobs in the formal sector. Entrepreneurial training may be provided as a stand-alone service, offered in conjunction with vocational skills training, or integrated into a more comprehensive set of program services.

The Triple Trust Organization in Cape Town, for example, offers youth and adults skills training in vocational areas such as sewing, leatherwork, and pork butchering. It also provides loans to enable participants to purchase necessary tools, supplies and equipment, and trains students in basic business management and entrepreneurial skills.

Beyond this, the Trust facilitates the marketing of the participants' products through "hives" where graduates, if they wish, may sell their output to the Trust (which then offers them to retail outlets) and purchase additional supplies and materials. The Triple Trust program places particular emphasis on assisting students in understanding the requirements of operating a small business, and in encouraging participants to resist long-term dependency upon the parent organization.

The Cape Town Job Creation Project is an NGO created and operated by black South Africans which seeks to promote entrepreneurship within the townships surrounding Cape Town. The Job Creation Project focuses not on job skills training, but rather on enabling youth and young adults who already possess vocational skills to develop viable businesses in the formal sector, through a two-year process of intensive business counselling and mentoring. Participants in the project are often workers who have been retrenched, or graduates of regional training centers who have been unable to find work. Entrepreneurs enrolled in the program are also offered access to low cost accountancy services, and to space for product production in the organization's industrial site in Phillipi, near D. F. Malan airport.

The Cape Town Job Creation Project is also establishing an independent Trust in Mfuleni township to administer the first small business industrial hive in the area. The hive, situated on the site of an abandoned builders' yard, offers an opportunity for small enterprises such as auto repair services and cabinet makers to secure inexpensive space. The Project will in addition provide them with on-going business counselling, a revolving loan service, and accountancy support.

g) Organizational support and networking services

A number of "second order" NGOs provide training, technical assistance and other services in support of the operations of organizations that offer direct services to marginalized youth and young adults. "Second order" services often include staff training, development workshops and seminars, training of trainers, technical assistance in program administration and management, and assistance in the development of specialized materials and media. Some "second order" NGOs also serve as umbrella organizations linking agencies engaged in the direct provision of services. In this capacity they may offer training, develop program standards, conduct policy analysis, build political coalitions, facilitate liaison with other bodies, and sponsor research and evaluation studies.

The Joint Enrichment Program (JEP) stands alone as the leading agency in the area of programs and policies for disempowered youth and young adults. Through its conferences and publications the JEP has raised public awareness of South Africa's youth crisis, and its ongoing research projects and policy analyses will provide an empirical basis for the identification and design of effective interventions in this area by domestic and international agencies. The JEP does not provide services directly to young people, but encourages program development and coordination among NGOs working in this area. While not a direct services organization, the JEP supports the operations of its constituent NGOs.

A number of direct service providers also conduct training and support services for other NGOs. The Family Institute (Newtown, Johannesburg) for example, provides

numerous direct skills workshops in counselling and crisis intervention for NGO staff working in black communities throughout South Africa.

3. Organizational Characteristics

Organizational characteristics represent the third dimension of the model. While some of the services described above may typically be associated with particular types of NGOs or even with public or private sector training organizations, any of the services can in principle be provided by any type of organization. This does not imply that all organization types are equally well suited to deliver all types of services to every subpopulation, however, and it is precisely in determining this interaction of the three dimensions that the best fit of organization, service, and client will be found. Broad categories of NGOs are presented below:

a) Small, community-based organizations

Community-based organizations (CBOs) are characterized primarily by their close ties to the communities in which they operate. Such organizations are generally created by community members, who may or may not have formal training in the area of services to be provided. They are typically directed and staffed by community residents. As such, CBOs enjoy a strong identity with and credibility among at least certain segments of the community. Many South African CBOs are politically affiliated, having been established during the 1980's

as part of the anti-apartheid struggle as a means of offering needed services to communities in which state sponsored services were either non-existent or had been driven out of the area.

While closely aligned with community needs, many CBOs suffer from lack of adequate funding and administrative infrastructure. Many are also struggling with issues of redefining their roles and missions in light of changing political, social and economic realities. The current vocational training capacity of many CBOs is severely restricted, both in terms of the number of possible students and in terms of the range and sophistication of programs. The CBOs' strength lies in their capacity to reach into the community and to offer social and human services adapted to community needs and interests. As such, they represent the most viable point of entry for young people into a comprehensive system of training and support.

b) Traditional social services NGOs

South Africa maintains a significant network of traditional social services agencies focused on many areas of concern for populations of marginalized youth and adults. These agencies, many of which are organized nationally with local chapters, are almost always directed by white South Africans, although they employ increasing numbers of blacks as direct services providers. The traditional NGOs often have well-developed administrative infrastructures and funding bases and a strong professional staff, and they are relatively rich in their access to materials, supplies and physical plant. They are generally less tied into community needs and structures than are the CBOs, however, and as white-led organizations

they neither provide role models for black youth nor serve as examples of local control of institutions affecting the lives of black South Africans and their communities.

c) Post-1990 development agencies

With the unbanning of the political organizations, the release of political prisoners, and the start of negotiations for the creation of a non-racial democracy in South Africa, a number of NGOs, Foundations, and Trusts devoted to national and community development have been established. These organizations often work in conjunction with international donor and development assistance agencies, and they find themselves jockeying for position in an increasingly crowded field. They also compete with the traditional NGOs, and with the increasing number of CBOs as well. Development agencies are often staffed and directed by former political activists, and they may still enjoy close working relationships with various political organizations. Many of these organizations are staffed and directed by black South Africans, but others are not. Moreover, they increasingly appear to be adopting a professionalist orientation towards development activities, which could easily lead to their estrangement from a community base.

d) "Reformed" parastatal organizations

The rush towards the "privatization" of state assets in anticipation of black control of public institutions has been accompanied by the "transformation" of a variety of formerly

parastatal agencies into newly constituted NGOs. The most notable example in the training field is the Regional Training Centers, which are now formally independent of the minority government. These agencies enjoy a relative wealth of experience, physical plant, and other resources, but their "transformation" has been almost entirely restricted to their legal and fiscal status. They remain under the direct and exclusive control of white South Africans, and their staffs remain almost entirely white and mostly Afrikaaner. They continue to provide the bulk of their services to the white community, and they are consequently viewed with a fair amount of cynicism, suspicion and even hostility by segments of the black community. Although formally categorized as NGOs, these agencies retain their association with apartheid structures, practices, and attitudes, and they certainly represent a statist rather than community based perspective. Given the dearth of reliable outcome data through which to evaluate the utility of various interventions and program models, and the tendency for NGO's across the spectrum to claim both "success" and community "basedness", claims which must be viewed with some healthy degree of caution particularly when promulgated by former statist institutions, it may be useful to briefly outline the major components which should be examined in assessing Non-Governmental Organizations and some indicators associated with each area. These are:

- o substantial community support - as indicated by participation of community members on the Governing Board and other advisory bodies; presence of community residents in staff and particularly administrative and administrative posts; formal working relationships with other community structures; participation of community residents in

volunteer programs and in events at the program site; positive references from community members, former clients and prominent community leaders.

- o effective Boards of Directors - as indicated by a board which consists of community representatives, persons with significant ties to major civic structures, experienced managers and others competent to provide overall organization policy direction and to assist in developing funding support; records of regular Board meetings, active sub-committees and other articulated structures; Board involvement in overall organization, program and fiscal planning and review.
- o competent, trained and effectively supervised staff - as indicated by staff background and qualifications; presence of community residents on staff; appropriate blend of staff backgrounds and skills; in-service training support; a formal system of supervision, case management and quality assurance.
- o strong service components - as indicated through case records review and supervisor assessments; feedback from other organizations and agencies; client evaluations; outcome evaluation studies.
- o effective management and administration - as indicated by allocation of appropriate resources to organization administration and management; experienced and qualified management staff; in-place administrative systems including files and records of services and financial transactions; sound bookkeeping and accountancy functions; in-service training to administrative and support staff; in-place personnel systems; in-place organization structure and chart; evaluative feedback from staff, clients and community members.

- o significant youth participation - as indicated by the existence of structures to enable youth and other client populations to participate in policy and program decision making; involvement of youth in voluntary and paid staff and leadership positions; youth training activities including peer-counselling and youth leadership programs; feedback from youth, including current and former clients and youth in the community.
- o strong, working linkages with other NGO's and community structures - as indicated by the presence of formal and informal linkage arrangements; membership and participation in appropriate community, professional and other bodies; a record of appropriate referrals to and from other organizations.

While NGO's present a myriad of patterns of strengths and weaknesses in these component areas, certain broad generalizations may be discerned, albeit with many exceptions. As a whole, one finds CBO's to be strongest in community involvement, some areas of staffing and board functioning, in basic services provision, youth participation and inter-organization linkage. By the very nature of their process of development, often arising from within the community to respond to specific community needs or crises, CBO's however, may tend to suffer from a lack of adequate administrative infrastructure, including fiscal controls, and less well developed systems of supervision and training. CBO's may also appear on paper at least, to have a less professionally "qualified" staff, but there is good reason to believe that indigenous community members with less formal training may provide

a quality of service at least equal to that delivered by their more "papered" professionals colleagues from outside the community.

The larger NGO's, including many of the older human service provider agencies, the former state-aligned bodies and to some degree the newer development NGO's, display an almost opposite pattern. While often strong in infrastructure and administration, more financially stable and possessing larger and more formally trained staffs, such organizations must struggle to create genuine community ties and to insure that they are responsive to local needs and perceptions. Within the South African context, to the degree to which services, systems and programs are perceived as imposed from without and nonresponsive to the community voices, such services, regardless of the competence of the staff or quality of the physical plant, will certainly produce poorer outcomes than would more community-based models.

D. Conclusions

The preceding brief analytical outline of population categories, service types, and organizational forms suggest several trends and points of conclusion which may merit further investigation. It is clear that there is an immense need for services for disempowered youth and adults. The NGO "community" is in principle capable of playing a significant role in the delivery of these services, but it is currently in a state of disorganization and flux, with many organizations dying, others reassessing their roles and functions, new development

organizations appearing almost weekly, and formerly state agencies reconstituting themselves as NGOs and requesting recognition and support.

In general, CBOs are moving away from their former somewhat narrow political orientation as constituents of the liberation movement, and they are adopting a more "professional" stance towards their work. They have internalized the necessity of strengthening their organizations' administrative and financial infrastructure if they are to expect funding support. Many organizations are also explicitly recognizing the importance of political tolerance and acceptance of diversity, and they are utilizing youth leadership development programs as one vehicle to help establish a community-wide democratic culture. A number of "second tier" organizations has also emerged. These agencies offer policy, advocacy, training, and networking services to provider institutions, which significantly strengthens the capacity of NGOs and CBOs to provide effective services. Traditional NGOs are moving to emulate CBOs, for example by employing community members as line workers and first line supervisors, but they seem to be unable to seriously confront the real and symbolic meaning of their white leadership.

Almost all NGOs now seem to acknowledge the critical importance of employment training and job creation for disempowered South Africans, and many have jumped on the bandwagon of entrepreneurial skills training and small business support, led by the newly emerging development trusts. The danger in this development is that such services will be directed towards the most easy-to-reach and readily employable subpopulations, and that the time- and labor-intensive service interventions such as outreach, counselling, literacy instruction, and basic vocational skills training that would be necessary to enable relatively

less advantaged subpopulations to successfully rejoin the social and economic mainstream will be relegated to an increasingly hard-pressed and thinly-stretched array of CBOs. With leading educationists and black political leaders often expressing a profound wariness and even fear of the potential for societal unrest inherent in the marginalized populations, such a near term strategy favoring the most employable may prove tragically short sighted and ultimately far costlier than options which attempt to address the needs of the more "hard core" populations of youth and young adults.

Our review indicates that taken as a whole, the NGO "community" does include specific examples of virtually all of the critical functions or components necessary to provide skills training, educational support and human services to the varying populations of marginalized youth and young adults. But the operational presence of some viable and effective service delivery models, models which are usually restricted to a limited number of service areas, does not, of course, signify the existence of a coherent system of services to marginalized populations. Despite the presence of a number of what would appear to be effective and innovative programs, overall NGO services tend to be narrowly focused, isolated and at times of questionable quality, and are clearly insufficient to meet the demand requirements of the population.

While South Africa's NGO's present a valuable source of innovation and connection to the communities to be served, during this transitional period, they are directing increased organizational "energy" inwardly, as they reexamine their missions and roles in the light of changing services contexts. And, even under the best of economic circumstances, NGO's everywhere historically must contend with ongoing problems of "soft money", devoting some

significant percentage of management initiative towards fund raising and tailoring services to meet the changing programmatic demands of various donors.

This process is not unusual or necessarily alarming and certainly replicates examples from the development of the NGO sector in the United States and elsewhere. While like a healthy business community, a responsive, effective NGO sector must remain dynamic rather than static, the current process, coming after so many years of state repression, lack of services and resulting disorder, will surely result in some clarification of the various component organizations and a sorting out their various positions and service niches. And it would appear certain that in this current period of realignment, a number of the smaller CBO's will certainly falter.

If present trends continue, the danger is that a significant number of the genuinely innovative and effective community-based, "home grown" models will be incapable of surviving this "shake out" period and that the larger, presently white led organizations, and newer development NGO's with closer ties to foreign donors may assume an even greater share of the market. While this outcome is not inevitable, it would certainly appear to be the most likely scenario at this time. It should also be noted that there is at least some body of opinion in the field which holds that all of the major NGO's will rapidly and inevitably adopt black leadership and that this issue will essentially take care of itself. Other observers however, appear far less sanguine on this point, arguing that the system is adept at maintaining entrenched power bases and asserting that the outside donor community appears to favor white-led organizations over black. Whether the leadership of larger, nationally affiliated NGO's, be they black or white, can effectively represent community interests and

perspectives remains highly dubious, and the shrinkage of CBO activity may presage a lingering marginality of many disadvantaged communities.

If the NGO community is to emerge significantly strengthened from the current "sorting out" phase, far greater emphasis must, in our judgement, be placed on the linkage and integration of organizations and services (just the opposite of the South African government's traditional "divide and rule" approach); on the achievement of more and better outcomes from available services resources. As demonstrated in the United States, second tier networking organizations can play a significant role in the creation, operation and quality control of such an integrated services system. Our observations suggest however, that while some efforts at linkage are certainly occurring, these are at least offset by widespread isolation in the planning and conduct of services for marginalized young people, operating from the level of the various international funding organizations right down to the grassroots, with protectionism, turfism, and "backbiting" endemic amongst some funders, service providers, community activists and within the (largely white) community of social researchers and planners.

In view of the magnitude of the problem, and the broad array of services needed by the various sub-populations, it would appear that no single type of service or category of organization can in itself provide the "solution" to the problem of marginalized youth and young adults. Nevertheless, the situation is far from hopeless. We have seen numerous examples of agencies of various types producing effective, measurable service outcomes for members of the seemingly most intractably marginalized populations.

By assuming a perspective which focuses on the needs of the population rather than on those of the providers, we can chart a general approach or direction which offers a holistic continuum of services for these young people. Such a network of services would by necessity be provided by a number of cooperating NGOs, with case management functions assuring that no components or persons are lost between the cracks. Descriptions of two possible models of such holistic services systems - a comprehensive community services approach which organizes a network of primarily existing services, and an intensive residential model based on the U.S. Job Corps program - are included in the recommendations section of this paper. If the NGO community is to successfully meet the challenge of these populations, however, they must find a means both of harnessing the resources controlled by more traditional agencies and former state institutions, and of building on the community leadership and sensitivity provided by the CBOs.

IV. Literacy Training and Vocational Skills for Youth

A. Background

In 1976 black students rebelled against the inferior education provided to them in government schools. Their protests resulted in a large scale disruption of school activities, mass arrests, and the deaths of many young people. Subsequent attempts to normalize the situation in black schools met resistance from students, who were disillusioned and traumatized. One result was a high drop out rate among students at all levels of the

educational system. These young people entered society without the credentials or skills they needed to find jobs. Their difficulties have been made worse in the years since by the stagnation of the South African economy.

Some students dropped out of school not with the purpose of terminating their education, but in order to enroll in classes offered at the adult education centers. These provided a safer and less stressful environment than government schools for many young people.

B. Literacy Education

It has been estimated that the largest number of drop-outs are young people who are in the second year of schooling. According to RIEP, 60 percent of black students left school at the primary school level in 1988. Of these, 31 percent were in sub-A and sub-B, that is the first and second year of schooling respectively. (South African Institute of Race Relations Survey, 1990) COSATU observes that the problem of children leaving school without the necessary education is worse in the rural areas for many reasons including inadequate resources and facilities (1992, 9).

Literacy and continuing education programs tend to focus on adult participants. In view of the high drop-out rate among very young black pupils, however, the growing problem of young people who are out of school with no means for self-sufficiency calls for programs to be developed which will accommodate them.

1. The Aim of Literacy Education

The principal aim of literacy education should be to enable participants to gain the ability to read, write, and count so that they can conduct their affairs without complete dependence on external assistance.

2. The Nature of the Programs

The main aim of Bantu education, which is an education based on the policy of apartheid, was to prepare blacks to be better servants to white employers. It was not designed to prepare them for occupations which might require managerial and other leadership capabilities, decision making or problem solving skills, or creativity. Students were seldom encouraged to take an active role in teaching-learning activities or open discussions and analyses of subject matter. Analyses of current affairs and politics were especially discouraged.

NGOs dealing with literacy programs should be persuaded to provide a wider scope of learning experiences, in the form of rehabilitative programs which incorporate literacy and basic numeracy. Such an approach will ensure that young men and women are given skills to cope with the literate world around them. Literacy and numeracy will stretch their otherwise restricted social and economic opportunities.

Among the young people who need basic education are those who drop out at the primary school level and are therefore still in their formative years. Programs to be

developed will need to promote their ability for self development and other life or coping skills. They will need to be participative in nature to promote group learning and peer teaching, thereby reducing teacher dependence and promoting participant drive. Literacy NGOs should therefore be persuaded to explore the extent to which they can work together with youth structures to address illiteracy.

C. Private Sector and Education

Education systems have been criticized for providing an academic education irrelevant to the world of work. Educators are frequently challenged to identify fields of occupation for their students, in the ever changing industrial and technological world.

It is not enough for the private sector to donate money and offer scholarships for education. Prospective employers have to work closely with organizations that implement literacy and upgrading programs, in order to advise them on the skills required and the level of literacy expected of prospective employees for various occupations. Organizations which plan to provide educational services need to be persuaded to take the initiative to approach members of the private sector to encourage cooperation and partnership in educating members of the future labor force.

D. Rural Urban Situation

There is a bias towards the urban centers in the provision of literacy programs as well as in adult continuing education. The neglect of rural areas is due to the assumption that there are few young adults outside the urban area who are able or willing to enroll in literacy training programs. The claim is that the continuous migration of these people to the cities renders literacy and upgrading programs a waste of resources. What is often overlooked is that the majority of young people in the rural area are child laborers on farms, and are consequently invisible to the society. Most cannot afford to attend school, and those who can sometimes live too far from schools to allow regular attendance.

A survey conducted by the Department of Education and Training (DET) shows that only 3 percent of the 5,782 schools for Africans in the rural areas offer education past standard 5, and 21 percent do not provide education beyond standard two.

Literacy is a vocational skill needed by all, because it is a precondition for citizenship and empowers the individual.

There is a perception that basic literacy and numeracy are irrelevant to people in rural communities. Some educators observe that learners from rural areas (who visit the urban centers and sign up for courses) perform well during the program, but when they return a few months later to enroll for a higher level course they have forgotten what they had learned previously due to lack of opportunities to use their acquired knowledge in their communities.

Suggestions are often made to develop education programs which are relevant to the situation/environment of learners. In this view, job-related skills for urban dwellers have to

match the requirements of industries and services essential in an urban setting, while those for rural dwellers need to match activities like farming, cattle rearing, and irrigation.

In a country characterized by large-scale rural-urban migration, however, literacy and education programs must prepare all children for life in a modern, urban environment.

Essential as it is for education to be situation-specific, what needs to be emphasized is that everyone, irrespective of regional affiliation must receive basic literacy education. South Africa has urban, rural and semi-rural communities, and migration patterns are changing with the abolition of the Group Areas Act.¹⁹

A universal literacy program will provide a stepping stone for urban, rural and semi-rural citizens to obtain further education or training which will allow them to function in any area where they wish to live.

E. Women and Literacy

Many of the literacy programs offered in most black townships are sponsored by the Department of Education and Training (DET). Most of those provided by NGOs are located in urban centers, and especially in the suburbs. On average, more female than male participants enroll in these programs, in part because of their work as live-in domestic workers.

¹⁹ There is a noticeable trend in the migration of people (especially blacks,) from urban to semi-rural and rural areas, which might be due to the continuing violence and the unstable living environment in and around the urban centers.

50

Since the aim of Bantu education was to produce servants who could interact better with their white employers, it was not by accident or coincidence that after the introduction of Bantu education subjects such as needle work, domestic science, woodwork, tree planting, and gardening were offered as compulsory subjects for black students. Only later under the guise of expanding the curriculum did the government make these courses elective for students who wished to specialize in these areas.

There is a tendency in literacy programs as in other educational institutions to channel women into courses which reflect their traditional roles. Many of the "job-related" skills offered in some literacy programs actually serve the purpose of further oppressing women in the workplace. These skills are provided to women domestic workers so that they may better serve the households in which they work.

Literacy programs should not further lock these women into situations in which they find themselves, but should serve to open the doors of opportunities towards progress and self-improvement. It would be more viable, however, if women themselves made choices regarding the enhancement of their skills rather than being coerced into narrow curricula of this kind.

There is a need to examine the rationale for the creation of some of the literacy programs and the nature of their course content.

F. Conclusion

Basic education is a right for every citizen of South Africa. The education system provided by the current government has neglected to provide quality education for 80 percent of the people in the country. NGOs have taken the initiative to meet the people's need to be educated. Their services will, however, need to be extended to assist the unemployed youth and adults.

V. Vocational Training Centers

A. Introduction and Overview

This section addresses the human and physical resources that are and could be available to disempowered youth and adults in the field of vocational and technical training. An effort was made to sample both formal and non-formal programs, public and private. Time constraints ruled out a representative sample, and thus the observations and comments that follow relate only to the relatively few institutions visited. They are not meant to be indicative of all training programs of the specified type. The institutions that were visited included: Technikons, Technical Colleges, Regional Training Centers, and training centers that are privately funded by business, industry, trusts and other donors. Programs operated by industry for their own purposes as well as proprietary programs were included. A list of the institutions visited may be found in Appendix V-1. Instead of reviewing each institution's

programs, we present some of the strengths and weaknesses of all of the programs along dimensions that may have a direct impact on the provision of training for disempowered youth and adults. A brief overview of each type of institution follows.

1. Technical Colleges

The technical colleges were developed to serve the needs of the vocational training communities in which they were established at the NTC (National Training Certificate) levels 1 through 6 or tertiary level. In fact some 76 percent of the 55,000 students are enrolled at the secondary level. Programs are offered in areas such as building trades, automotive, cosmetology, and commercial subjects in four courses of 13 weeks, each ranging from basic to advanced. Additional courses are provided in areas such as sewing and child care. Curriculum development is carried out by the Home Affairs Office and is based on trade analysis. Staff and administrators are almost all white, as are approximately two-thirds of the students served. Admission generally requires matriculation, but there is considerable variation as 91 of the 136 colleges set their own standards. More than half of the technical colleges were until recently open only to white students, but all are now formally open to all qualified candidates. The colleges receive most of their financial support from the government. Additional revenues are obtained from student fees, and from payments by business and industry for special training programs.

2. Technikons

These institutions were developed to provide advanced education at the tertiary level to prepare students for a specific profession or career. They require at least a senior certificate for entry. There are fifteen technikons scattered across the country. In addition to preparing technicians they also have programs for preparing vocational and technical (VT) teachers. VT teachers who are employed by a public institution are given a one-year leave of absence to take the teacher training program, with their salaries and fees covered by their employers. As the technikons' entry requirements and fees are high, they are in general accessible only to the best-off young people. For this reason they will receive no further consideration in the report, except as regards their role in preparing VT teachers.

3. Regional Training Centers

There are a total of nine regional training centers, one in each major region of SA. They form a national network which aims to provide training for both urban and rural constituents in the areas of commerce, industry, and agriculture. Each of the regional centers has a number of satellite centers which also offer programs, in order to ensure outreach and availability of training programs to as many people as possible. Additionally, mobile units are available to travel to areas where there are no fixed training installations. Funding is received from the Departments of Manpower Development, Health, and Population; from various trust funds; and from regional businesses. (Details of the budgets and fund sources

may be found in Appendix V-2: Regional Training Centers. Utilization rates may be found in the same document, although data are incomplete.)

Most of the teachers come directly from industry, but a few have received some teacher training. Teacher training programs that lead to the Certificate for Trainers (CT), the Senior Certificate for Trainers (STC), and the Advanced Certificate for Trainer (ACT) are available.

4. Privately Funded Schools

There are a wide variety of privately funded vocational and technical training programs. Since these programs are not bound by public school admission standards, they are especially attractive to those who have left the regular school system. They range in size from single purpose institutions (e.g., building construction training) to comprehensive training centers offering many different trade, business, industry and agricultural programs.

5. Industry and Proprietary Training

Many large industries with specialized training needs, prefer to train their own entry level workers, but may provide opportunities for disempowered people if they have had basic education. It is possible that some of these industries might open their training facilities for wider use, if suitable incentives were provided.

A variety of "for profit" training schools are available to anyone who can afford the tuition and meet minimum entry requirements. These schools offer a variety of courses in the business and commercial fields, as well as in other career areas. In most cases their fees are prohibitive for disempowered youth and adults.

B. Programs and Admission

Programs offered by the technical colleges (TCs) include those in industrial trades, automotive, business, clothing design and production, and building and electrical trades, along with enrichment and hobby courses. Students in the business and clothing programs are largely females. Some colleges offer both theory and shop courses; others offer only theory, and require their students to enter apprenticeships in order to obtain practical training. Curricula were developed by a central authority based on job analysis, and there was no evidence of competency based programs. Although the programs were well organized and operated they appeared rigid and somewhat behind current technology. Programs appeared to be instructor-driven rather than student-centered. Shops and laboratory activities were exercise-oriented, with limited opportunities for working on actual job problems. Admission requirements for the lower level were quite rigid, requiring a standard 6 certificate or 2 years work experience. Little evidence was found of bridging programs to facilitate entry of those who failed to meet admission requirements, although Port Elizabeth reported that 10 percent of its students were drop outs. The absence of bridging programs effectively rules out the admission of most disempowered people, who lack sufficient academic qualifications.

TC programs may represent a viable country-wide training resource base for the future, however, on the assumption that they develop flexible admissions procedures, provide remedial or bridging programs, and upgrade their curricula. They would also need to add life adjustment skills their training programs in order to facilitate the return of disempowered people to full participation in training and society.

Facilities and equipment in the TCs ranged from very old to very modern. The Swinton Road TC serves a predominantly black student body, and is equipped with new shops, facilities, equipment, tools and computers, all of which have been provided within the past two years. The college charged a student fee of R1250.00 per year, which severely restricted the entry of all but the best-off students. The other TCs reportedly need new equipment and physical plant in order to bring their programs up to business and industry standards.

The Eastcape Training Centre, one of the main regional centers, was "state of art" in terms of its programs and facilities. It is by many accounts the best training center in South Africa. Its major programs are in literacy, trade and industry skills, business, and agriculture, and bridging programs are provided for students at almost any level. Students who lack the credentials required for entry into technikons or technical colleges will find the opportunities they need at Eastcape for terminal employment, transfer to the formal education system, or starting their own business. In effect, the programs offered provide a significant entry point for marginalized youth and adults seeking to return to the educational system and a productive life.

The Centre also offers the usual building trades courses along with programs for handymen, security guards, and caterers. A special and unique program is their driver and operator training, which provides for driver training at all levels up to truck and bus. Technical programs are offered in a wide variety of industrial fields such as welding, machine, electrical and heavy equipment repairs. Some 60 courses are offered to farmers in their center at Cradock. Management and computer training are also offered. All of the center's programs are competency based.

One of Eastcape's most significant contributions is its life adjustment skills program, which is available to all students along with the literacy program. These programs may equip disempowered youth and adults with the skills they need to acquire further education or training. The physical plant at Eastcape is among the best observed, with modern buildings and up-to-date equipment. The operation is well organized and managed.

In Chisholm's recent paper (1992), "State Policy and Youth Unemployment In South Africa, 1976-1992" she reports that a major challenge for the regional training centers is to gain accreditation for their courses through the Industrial Training Boards. She notes the current lack of uniform standards, and asserts that "regional training center courses do not carry much weight in the market place." Since the regional centers are very much driven by the needs of business and industry in the communities in which they are located, and since they provide for open entry for students, they could strengthen their reputation through appropriate upgrading and accreditation of their curricula.

Evidence of the response to community needs was Chandor's program for accommodating some 400 returning exiles with appropriate training. All of the students at Chandor are black, as are 60 percent of the faculty. The experience gained by the faculty in

working with black students and with exiles who have returned with a variety of experiences from other countries, should be transmitted to other VT training institutions.

Public and trust-supported training programs were extremely varied, ranging from the comprehensive programs offered at KwaZulu Training Trust (KTT) to the Sunflower Projects Program for training people from communities in building construction procedures on-site.

The strongest and most comprehensive of all the programs visited was the KwaZulu Training Trust (KTT), which is located in Durban. The philosophy, operation, and management of the institution was superior. The emphasis on the learner was clearly evident throughout. The training programs included building trades, building management, supervision, auto and diesel, welding, machine, entrepreneurial/business program, and agriculture. All programs, were competency based, with the basic skills transmitted through exercises and advanced skills through "live" jobs including production and consumer service activities. More than 30 percent of the training occurs in the KTT center, and the rest occurs in the community. A number of special outreach programs give emphasis to the community service orientation. A Community Empowerment Program aims at training community leaders, establishing community learning centers, and providing liaison between communities and developers, employers, NGOs, and other donors. The Youth Enrichment Program provides basic skills training for 18-25 year olds. Tracer studies indicate that 800 small businesses were developed as a result of training received at KTT, and that 96 percent of trainees felt that KTT had assisted them in self improvement. An Entrepreneurship Development Program has led to the creation of 2800 small business and the creation of 7,000 jobs. KTT also assisted about 300 graduates of the program to obtain start-up capital without collateral. Other special programs at KTT include Affirmative Action to prepare and

place blacks in upper skill levels in industry; Farmer Renewal to assist farmers in expanding agricultural output; and Youth Enrichment to assist disempowered youth to become productive and motivated community members.

Sunflower Projects is more narrowly focused, but no less effective than KTT. They became aware that literacy was a major problem among the jobless, and so developed a comprehensive approach providing six hours of skill training, two hours of literacy training, and five days of work per week. Literacy training for all levels was also provided to communities. About 100 community centers have been constructed through this program. Additionally, Sunflower provides business and management training for community leaders, entrepreneurs, and others plus informal programs in a variety of crafts. In order to ensure complete community participation in the community development center program, Sunflower assists in all aspects from design through construction and financing to effective use of the facility.

The Chamber of Mines Education Services is the central organization coordinating the education and training efforts of the six major mining companies in SA. These companies operate a number of vocational skill training centers in the mining regions, but most of these are now closed due to the cut-back in employment. The companies usually maintain dormitories and food service facilities, either at the training centers or nearby. This would seem to open up the potential for intensive skill training for disempowered people who need life adjustment skills and literacy classes in addition to skill training for employment. The General Manager of Education Services thought that the companies would be very interested in the potential of using their facilities to provide training for this population.

An NGO program at Funda Ubugoisa provides training, financial support, and monitoring for entrepreneurs. A somewhat similar program is operated by the Southern Cross Business Development Trust, which works with other NGOs to identify clients needing start-up or expansion capital. Clients are screened and assisted in developing a business plan and provided with a small loan. They must put up a 20 percent interest fee on the loan at start-up.

Still another organization, the Urban Foundation, provides vocational training and business counselling for disempowered youth through a grant from the Mott Foundation. They operate an intensive eight hour day, one month course (competency based) in building construction with on-the-job training in the construction of community centers.

Proprietary institutions can play a vital role in training, especially at the upper levels. The Damelin Education Group operates programs at 14 centers from Cape Town to Pieterburg. Admissions standards and steep fees place most of its programs far beyond the reach of the disempowered.

The "Training For a Career" supplement to the Star newspaper (9/24/92) included notices for about 30 proprietary institutions offering education and training. None of these offered programs in the skilled trades or industrial fields, probably because equipment for training is expensive. The areas of training most frequently offered were accounting/bookkeeping, drafting, beauty culture, computing, fashion design, hotels and catering, and secretarial.

These proprietary institutions represent an additional resource beyond those provided by the government and NGOs, the extent to which they can contribute to the education and training of disempowered youth and adults is limited by the costs imposed on students. It is unlikely that in the "New South Africa" large amounts of educational funds will be allocated to proprietary schools, given the competition for funds in the public sector. Some students might benefit from programs offered through proprietary schools, however, if financial assistance were to be made available.

C. Instruction and Linkages

As would be expected, there was considerable variation in the experience, professional preparation, and quality of instructors in the various programs visited. The technical colleges hired instructors with at least four years work experience. Once hired, instructors were expected to attend a one year teacher training program at a technikon, as noted earlier. Some of the NGO training programs had qualified instructors, but others did not. A discussion with the people responsible for the teacher training program at the technikon indicated the need for a major review of program content and organization to reflect the significant political changes that are now in prospect. It seems apparent that as new directions emerge instructors will need to assume roles as managers of the learning process in a learner-centered environment with emphasis on working on live projects rather than the exercise approach. Further, instructor training curriculums should be competency based and trainees should receive instruction in developing competency-based curriculum and teaching procedures.

Carefully monitored student teaching experience working with outstanding master teachers should be an integral part of the program.

The level of development of instructional materials was outstanding at several institutions, as were linkages with business and industry. Eastcape Training Centre operates a Research and Development program which develops competency based training programs for business and industry. They have a well-equipped facility and a staff who prepare and reproduce video tapes for their own programs. These are also made available nationally. Instructors in their skill training and business programs seem well qualified.

ETC maintains frequent contact with business and industry with a full-time marketing manager to explore the market for training services. The Center also maintains a large conference facility which serves business, industry, and education. These linkage resources not only help to ensure the relevance of the training programs but also provide articulation with the Placement Centre, which assists students in finding employment.

Kwazulu Training Trust has instructional material development resources and linkages with business and industry similar to those at Eastcape. They are the only training program among those visited that has conducted formal follow-up studies of graduates from selected courses. Like ETC, KTT has a full-time person responsible for marketing and development.

Most of the NGOs visited had good business and industrial linkages, since they often are in contact for support and placement, or in response to specific training requests. The technical colleges have linkages with industry through their apprenticeship programs. Evidence seems to point to a rather limited relationship with business and industry by most training organizations. It would be to their advantage to institutionalize these relationships

through technical advisory groups who met at least twice a year to assess program, equipment, staff and student needs. Effective linkage by both instructors and administrators could ensure the relevance of programs and enhance placement opportunities.

D. Emerging Concepts

Through the visits to the institutions reported above, a number of concepts have emerged. It should be pointed out again that these concepts or impressions are based on a very limited sample of institutions. Further study would no doubt add considerably to the list, and might alter some items.

1. There are a wealth of skill training human and physical resources in South Africa, ranging from state-of-the-art facilities to the bare minimum. There is considerable room for increasing the number of students participating in many programs.
2. The Regional Training Centers seem to be better equipped than the technical colleges, although there are exceptions.
3. Curricula in the Regional Training Centers are frequently competency based, while curricula in Technical Colleges are defined by the central authority, and are typically training needs driven.

4. There are numerous programs which offer entrepreneurship, small business development, and self employment training. Some make provision for financial assistance and follow-up monitoring.

5. A number of training programs contribute to community development by providing building construction training to residents who subsequently build multi-purpose centers. Assistance is also provided for community leadership training, craft training, and other programs at the community centers.

6. The teacher training program for vocational and technical teachers appears to lack instruction in the application of competency based teaching and provision for a practice teaching program under a master teacher with supervision by the college.

7. There is no program to identify and provide training to prospective black vocational and technical teachers and administrators who lack formal credentials to fill these positions.

8. Although skill olympics are offered and supported by some institutions, no program was identified through which vocational students could develop an appreciation for their chosen trade or business career, or gain an opportunity to participate in organizing and developing career oriented clubs.

9. There are large numbers of proprietary institutions offering academic education and training in business and commercial areas. There appear to be a few in the skilled trade field as well. Given the high cost to students it is unlikely that these "for profit" institutions would provide services to disempowered youth and adults unless subsidies were available.

10. There are a number of professional associations related to different types of training institutions, including the Association of Regional Training Centers and the Association of Technikon Principals. Discussions with various principals and training directors in both NGOs and government institutions revealed that there was very little communication either formal or informal between groups or even internally.

11. The major mining companies have training facilities and housing that are currently closed due to severe cut-backs in employment. There is the potential for these facilities to be used for training disempowered youth and adults. Similar opportunities may be available in other large industries.

VI. Policy and Program Options

A. Policy Options

In the final analysis the crisis facing South African youth is a public policy problem, the resolution of which will require large changes in economic, fiscal, and educational

policies. As noted above, a long term strategy will require continued expansion and improvement in the basic education system, in order to provide children with the cognitive skills they need to participate successfully in a rapidly-changing labor market. Experience from around the world confirms that a solid foundation of literacy and general education is the best "vocational" preparation that can be provided, as it lays the groundwork for the subsequent acquisition of work-related skills.

In the short run, however, the urgent problem facing public and private agencies in South Africa is to develop programs for the large numbers of youth and young adults who are out of school and out of work, to prepare them for employment or self-employment. A comprehensive response to the problems of these young people will have to be developed and implemented by the present or a future government, acting in concert with civic organizations, unions, political parties, NGOs, the private sector, and foreign donors. Many of these organizations are already involved in efforts to address some aspects of the issue, but government and the business community have to date played a far smaller role.

The present government has not devoted much attention to the problems of youth.²⁰ One exception is the publicly-funded training programs targeted to the unemployed that have been offered in recent years through the Technical Colleges and the Regional Training Centers. Technical College programs enroll negligible numbers of students; in 1991, for example, 349 students enrolled in programs around the country. Programs offered through the Training Centers are reputed to have serious problems with the depth and quality of training (some programs last as little as five days) and with placement. Recent government

²⁰ This section of the paper draws heavily upon data and analysis presented in Chisholm (1992).

publications on the subject have suggested that unemployment and consequent "marginalization" can be addressed by changing the attitudes of young people, and specifically by providing them with better information about how markets work.

The government made stronger efforts to provide opportunities for young people in the 1980s, when the struggle to end apartheid was at its height. The Department of Manpower offered training for both formal and informal sector employment through the Special Employment Creation Program. An evaluation of this program by the Development Bank of Southern Africa (DBSA) concluded that it had been at least partly successful on 'socio-psychological-political' criteria, in that it had brought some young people into training schemes who might otherwise have contributed to political "unrest." On economic criteria, however, the program accomplished little in terms of job creation or expanded employment; fewer than 20 percent of those passing through the SECP were successful in obtaining employment. According to the DBSA evaluation, the program was undermined by its approach to unemployment as a cyclical rather than a structural problem. Furthermore, given the structural character of much unemployment in South Africa, the DBSA concluded that the resources allocated to the program had been entirely inadequate.

In response to the problems faced by young people in acquiring skills and finding employment, and in light of past efforts, the DBSA and the HSRC are now advocating large-scale public-works programs, though plans for implementation have yet to be developed. Such programs are expected to accomplish at least three objectives. First, they will provide youth with skills-training and job experience in order to equip them for subsequent employment or self-employment. Second, they will help to expand and upgrade social and

economic infrastructures including schools, roads, and the electricity grid. Finally, it is hoped that public-works programs will be a spur to renewed economic growth, in association with other types of "inward investment."

In contrast to these governmental agencies, COSATU has proposed much more active public intervention in the economy, under the "tri-partite" leadership of business, unions, and the government. While acknowledging the potential importance of public works in reducing unemployment, COSATU has called for greatly increased "supply side" investments in education and training, for both employed and unemployed workers, in order to encourage the shift toward a high-skill, high-wage economy. Such investments are expected to improve employment opportunities and living standards by increasing the productivity of South African workers.

Though governmental and COSATU proposals differ, both will almost certainly yield disproportionate benefits for the best-off young people, whether employed or unemployed. By way of contrast, the efforts of many NGOs and civics continue to focus on more severely marginalized groups. In moving toward the design of a Training for Employment project, USAID will face some difficult choices about which population to target, and what kinds of services to provide.

B. Strategic Options for USAID

As noted in the introduction to this paper, the Training for Employment project under consideration by USAID seeks to address three sets of issues: "marginalized youth," skills

training, and job creation. The weights assigned to each of these sets of issues will determine the nature of the project: if the central objective is to provide services to "marginalized youth" the project is likely to look very different than it would if the main goal is to expand the supply of skilled workers in the South African economy. Choices must be made about the goals that USAID seeks to pursue before a project can be designed.

To pose the choice in the starkest possible terms, a project may either emphasize activities that aim at assisting youth with little stake in social, political, or economic institutions to assume mainstream adult roles; or activities that aim at increasing the productivity of South African workers. It is possible for USAID to do pursue both objectives, of course, but it makes little sense to do so under the aegis of a single project, as there are clear tradeoffs between the two objectives.

On the one hand, there is a deep and widely-recognized need in South Africa for projects and programs to reintegrate youth and young adults who have been marginalized into the broader society, and to prepare them for productive citizenship. Over the past two decades substantial numbers of young people have become increasingly isolated from adult institutions of all kinds, including schools, jobs, families, churches, political parties, and civic organizations. Many of them have been involved in political violence, and some have turned to crime. In their alienation they pose a threat to the security and social stability of their own communities; if their expectations for political and economic change are not met they may pose a serious challenge to a future democratic government. Addressing the crisis rooted in the myriad needs of this population is therefore an urgent priority for public officials and foreign donors.

On the other hand, the future of a democratic South Africa also depends on the resumption of vigorous economic growth, in order to provide previously marginalized citizens with jobs and incomes and to satisfy their expectations for a better life. Reversing the present economic downturn will require a dramatic improvement in the quality of the labor force, to undo the effects of Bantu education, to increase the economic participation and productivity of South African citizens, and to equip South African companies for success in intensely competitive world markets. Providing young people with opportunities to upgrade their academic qualifications and acquire saleable vocational skills is another urgent priority for a future government and for USAID.

In the first instance a project directed to the problems of youth would need to take account of the diversity of the population of young people, as discussed above. Specific groups may require specialized services: programs for pregnant teenagers in rural "homelands" will necessarily be quite different from programs for ex-convicts seeking rehabilitation in urban townships. Beyond this, programs for youth must adopt a "holistic" approach, providing young people with a comprehensive array of services in order to equip them for entry into adult society. Such services may range from psychological counseling for victims or perpetrators of violence through "life-skills" and career guidance programs for young people who have never held a job to specifically vocational training for those who are ready to enter the labor force. The variety of populations to be served and the wide array of services to be provided together suggest that successful programs will most often be relatively small, community-based, and fully informed of the needs and aspirations of young people themselves.

Programs directed to increasing the supply of skilled workers would in contrast be guided primarily by analyses of employment trends in the South African labor market. Such programs might work through existing training institutions in the public and private sectors, with USAID support provided either to institutions that have demonstrated success in recruiting black youth and placing them in jobs, or directly to young people to enable them to pay for vocational training. In the present South African context this would almost certainly entail support for training programs administered by the Regional Training Centers, or by large corporations in construction and other industries. In the absence of careful safeguards it would also provide disproportionate benefits to the best-off young people, as these would be the most likely to seek or be offered training opportunities. The truly "marginalized" are unlikely to be reached by such programs, either because they distrust institutions or because they lack the basic academic and social skills precedent to their recruitment.

There are costs and benefits associated with each of these two strategies. If the main criterion for project performance is economic, then investments in skills training will almost certainly yield greater benefits. Investments in programs that seek to resolve the myriad problems facing young people are likely to bear high administrative and personnel costs, and to carry high risks as well. Some programs will produce very large gains, but others are certain to "fail." Some participants will be successful in acquiring skills and establishing themselves as productive citizens, but many will not. Project impact and project "success" may be observed only in the very long term, and will in any case be difficult to measure. Returns may be spectacularly high in some cases, and negative in others.

If the main criteria for project performance include the construction of democratic institutions and black empowerment, however, then the returns to programs directed to the

problems of youth may be significantly larger.²¹ As noted above, investment in skills training is likely to work to the benefit of the best-off young people, facilitating their entry to the economic and social mainstream while providing little assistance to those closer to the margins. In addition, a project that focuses on the provision of saleable skills will require an uncomfortably close relationship between USAID and institutions closely associated with apartheid and the minority government. Virtually all public and semi-public training institutions remain under the close control of whites, with very few blacks in administrative or instructional roles. The same is true of private sector training ventures, whether run for profit or not. Investments that benefit such institutions may require political compromises that USAID is not prepared to make. Moreover, the long-term cost of neglecting the problems faced by disempowered young people may be extremely high.²²

²¹ It should also be noted that broadening the definition of the benefits derived from such projects to include costs averted when young people do not contract AIDS or go to prison may yield very different estimates of the rate-of-return. Policy debate over the merits of Head Start and Job Corps programs in the U.S. often turns on such questions.

²² It may be worth noting in this connection that U.S. public policy over the past three decades has focused on the latter issue rather than the former. Some successes in expanding access to the African-American middle class have been accompanied by the emergence of a growing population of unemployed (perhaps unemployable) young people in many American cities. Like their South African counterparts, many of these young people lack jobs, skills, and commitment to social and political institutions, yet to the present public policies have done little to address their many needs. Programs and policies that focus on the best-off among the so-called "marginalized youth" in South Africa are likely to produce similar outcomes.

VII. Recommendations to USAID

A. Principles for USAID Intervention

During the course of our study strong reservations and sentiments were expressed about the way in which international donor agencies, especially USAID, "involve" themselves in designing and planning services and programs for black South Africans. Concerns from the NGO sector, leading educators, and other practitioners relate to the following issues:

Lack of Consultation with the Black Community: The tendency to design programs without any constructive dialogue with representative individuals from the South African community.

Support of White-Led Organizations: The tendency to support white-led organizations for reasons including that they already have a well-developed infrastructure, administration and management capacity.

Ethical Considerations: Organizations also felt strongly about being studied without any feed back or report presented to them after completion of the study. One of the ways in which this aspect was strongly articulated was the coining of the phrase, "the commercialization of misery." - to describe the way in which the international donor community functions.

Organizations are perturbed that they are constantly "studied" by many "experts" from the international donor arena.

USAID has to take cognizance of the opinions expressed by black South Africans and the concerns of the NGO community, educators and other practitioners. It is suggested that organizations "studied" be provided with feed-back in the form of an Executive Summary of the report.

Potentially successful programs can only be designed and viable if they are developed in consultation with the community. It is imperative that USAID consult and establish constructive dialogue with black South Africans working in the area of youth and provision of services for youth. It is also essential to involve youth representation in the process of dialogue.

It is in this light that the following recommendations are made.

B. Comprehensive Youth Services

1. Problem Statement

Although more study and analysis is required to quantitatively define many specific aspects of the crisis affecting disempowered youth and young adults, the general dimensions and shape of the problem are all too apparent. The analyses presented in this concept paper have identified several basic parameters upon which there would appear to be a reasonable consensus in the field, and upon which a coherent program of interventions could be developed. The elements or premises of the underlying analysis are straightforward:

- o there are, and will, in the foreseeable future continue to be large numbers of youth and young adults who for a variety of reasons are effectively locked out of meaningful participation in the economy of South Africa;
- o these young people represent not only a terrible loss of human potential for national development, but also represent a genuine and substantial threat to the creation of a stable, peaceful and more equitable democratic nation;
- o while problems of unemployment, woefully inadequate education, and violence affect all segments of South Africa's black population, they are most severe and widespread within the African community;
- o the population of disempowered youth and adults comprises a number of overlapping sub-populations, which may have somewhat differing service needs and intensities;
- o a large majority of these disempowered populations have multiple services needs which must be addressed if they are to be in a position to effectively participate in the mainstream economy and social and civic institutions of the nation;
- o no current institution or organization, whether NGO, labor, public or private sector, has the capacity to provide by itself the range and diversity of training, education, and human services necessary to adequately address these problems;
- o South African NGOs and public and private training and educational institutions operate in an environment which is increasingly fragmented, competitive, and resource poor;

- o these institutions are failing to effectively plan for or come to grips with the problems of disempowered youth and young adults, and many seem resigned to an outcome in which the majority of black youth and young adults will remain locked outside of the structures of opportunity through which they might better their lives and strengthen their families and communities;
- o strategies which focus on providing training to the most advantaged and employable segments of the disempowered populations may produce short term benefits in terms of modest increases in employment and job creation;
- o "writing-off" the futures of the majority of disempowered young people will ultimately prove far costlier in both economic and human terms.

2. Statement of Need

In light of these conclusions, it becomes apparent that piecemeal interventions will leave most young people falling between services cracks that are better described as chasms; will be needlessly costly; will tend to place the needs, interests or capacities of the providers above those of the population to be assisted; and will not make efficient use of the capacity currently available. The barriers confronting disempowered youth and adults are serious and multidimensional and only serious, multidimensional strategies will have a demonstrable impact.

What is needed therefore, is an approach which:

- o makes full use of the significant and multifaceted resources for training, education and human services that are available in South Africa;
- o integrates and coordinates the provision of training, education and human services, linking existing institutions and programs, eliminating needless redundancy and creating new, specific program capacity only where necessary;
- o provides a system of case management so that young people have access to the specific set of services necessary to meet their needs including outreach; advice and counselling support; literacy education; vocational, life skills and entrepreneurial skills training; and placement and follow up services.

Such a comprehensive, integrated and holistic system of services for disempowered youth and young adults, a system which is accountable and evaluable, will not only provide more effective, flexible and less costly services to a potentially far broader segment of the population, but by linking existing programs and institutions across sectors, will help build and promote a healthier civic structure.

3. A Youth Services Demonstration Program

USAID could make a significant and innovative contribution to addressing the issue of disempowered youth and adults through the support of a five year demonstration program in three South African communities, which would develop, operate, support and evaluate comprehensive youth services systems models appropriate to the needs and resources of those communities. These demonstration models would link and integrate vocational training,

literacy education, human services, and community development components, creating an accessible, client-centered system of services on behalf of these populations-in-need.

The demonstration models would be planned, organized and implemented by an umbrella agency or consortium in each community comprising participating training, educational and human services institutions and representatives of political, business, professional and civic bodies, which would serve as the local grantee. Each demonstration site would assess community needs and resources, define appropriate services and service outcomes, develop and monitor inter-organizational linkage, offer training and technical assistance as warranted to participating components, provide case management and monitoring to insure that young people receive appropriate an appropriate sub-set of services, and link this initiative to other community and national structures and endeavors. In each locale the consortium would also manage the grant, insuring compliance with USAID administrative and fiscal requirements.

4. Steps Towards Implementation

The demonstration program requires that various communities in South Africa organize consortia or other umbrella structures which would develop program models, enlist community and institutional support, and submit competitive proposals. A two-phased process might be appropriate. In the first round the consortia would compete for funding for the conduct of needs and resource assessments, program planning, organization and development functions. A second competition would result in implementation funding.

Program evaluation and training and technical assistance support to grantee consortia could be separately contracted.

The initial step in the development of such a program would be the convening of an advisory body comprising USAID and other South African and American experts who would operationally define the broad parameters of what component services and integrative mechanisms would serve to constitute a comprehensive services system for disempowered populations. These would then become the elements to be addressed in a community consortium's funding proposal.

If, for example, outreach, literacy, counselling, vocational training, life skills, leadership and entrepreneurial training, placement and aftercare support services were identified as the basic elements comprising a service system, then each application would be required to describe a model appropriate to that community for delivering such services to a specific number of young people defined as "disempowered;" to identify which agencies and organizations would provide which service or set of services; to propose mechanisms of case management to insure that each client received appropriate services; and to demonstrate administrative and management capacity and broad community support.

Within this framework, communities would be encouraged to creatively develop mechanisms and approaches for addressing the populations' needs in their locality. For example, rural programs could propose mobile outreach facilities or satellite services stations. Urban areas which discover a redundancy of certain types of training or other services could experiment with a voucher system whereby clients were enabled to select providers to meet their services plan up to a fixed financial amount. In any case, the Mission would likely

receive several interesting alternative models from which to choose three for implementation and demonstration.

C. A South African "Job Corps"

1. Introduction to the Job Corps Model

An alternative approach to the development of a comprehensive and integrated set of vocational training, education and human services for disempowered youth and adults derives from the U.S. Job Corps Program (JCP), which is conducted under the sponsorship of the U.S. Department of Labor. The oldest, largest and most successful non-military training program for disadvantaged young women and men in America, the JCP creates physical centers at which Corpsmembers participate in a holistic set of program services and at which most reside. Young people, almost all of whom have left school prior to graduation, and are under or unemployed, and many of whom have become involved in the criminal justice system, are recruited to attend one of more than 100 centers around the country, where they receive competency-based vocational training in one or more skills areas for which there are employment openings in the locale. The Centers themselves, often former military facilities, university compounds or religious retreat centers, are owned by the U.S. Government, but operated by private businesses, including some of the nation's largest corporations, by NGO's and by some Federal agencies. While offering each Corpsmember flexibility of program,

training areas and "jumping off point" the JCP maintains overall strict quality performance standards for each program component, center and contractor.

The strengths of the JCP have been found to center upon its primarily residential nature and its provision of comprehensive services to its students. By residing at the center rather than within their usual milieu, Corpsmembers are better able to focus on their program of studies, to avoid the temptations and distractions of their neighborhoods and to develop residential living skills, a pride in their surroundings, and a sense of "belongingness" and commitment to the institution and the other members. Job Corps students, all of whom are paid a stipend during their participation, receive a comprehensive set of program services including:

- o basic and more advanced, competency-based vocational training in one or more skills areas;
- o basic educational instruction sufficient to earn a high school equivalency diploma (GED);
- o on-going counselling, career guidance, mental health, medical, and dental services including, as needed, drug and alcohol counselling;
- o a full array of "life skills", leadership training, inter-group relations, nutrition, AIDS and pregnancy prevention and other health courses, and community service programs;
- o recreational and avocational opportunities including participation in a host of sports, arts, cultural and other recreational and religious activities;

- o programs for students with handicaps, for young women with children and for those with other special needs.

Job Corps Centers typically provide services for 300-600 youth at any time, although the largest enroll more than 1,200, with most students requiring nine to twelve months or more to complete the program. A series of outcome evaluation and cost/benefit studies conducted throughout the course of the program's almost thirty year history reveal that the model has been effective in enabling many "hard core" young people to develop the skills, knowledge-base, and most importantly, attitudes to work and towards themselves which have resulted in their pursuing productive, effective and peaceful lives. And, econometric studies suggest that despite rather high per student training costs, the program actually saves money by generating employed, tax paying community members rather than young people involved in criminal careers or languishing in prisons.

2. Relevance to the South African Context

The Job Corps model would appear to hold significant promise for providing services to a wide population of disempowered youth and young adults. Unlike programs which narrowly focus on one aspect of the young person, such as vocational training or guidance, it is an intensive and comprehensive intervention, one aimed at providing the holistic array of services necessary to successfully assist these young people. As a residential program, the model would free young people from impoverished communities from having to find funds for daily transportation, to risk these commutes and to find a quiet place to study amidst often

massively overcrowded, noisy, and at times dangerous surroundings. The program would also provide the students access to needed health, social services, literacy and avocational services and to ongoing counselling and career guidance. And by bringing together young people from diverse backgrounds and affiliations, the center can help address issues of tolerance and respect for differences which are essential for creating a stable democracy.

Like its American counterpart, a South African JCP could enlist the expertise and resources of private industry, the NGO's and eventually government, and make use of presently unutilized private industry or Regional Training Center capacity for a venue. Staff, instructors, teachers and administrators could be drawn from a variety of training institutions, educational centers and community-based programs, with strong links developed to other community institutions. The JCP would also need to receive input, support and encouragement from the major black organizations concerned with education, training and youth services, and from the appropriate political groupings.

3. Implementation Process

Given the long history of the program in the United States, the first step would involve the convening of a joint South African and U.S. expert team to prepare a rapid feasibility study of this project. This process should also include site visits to U S. Centers by the South African team members, including some youth representatives. Assuming that the feasibility analysis proves promising and the concept has generated sufficient support in

the Mission and within appropriate sectors of South African society, plans could be initiated for the development of an initial pilot center to be inaugurated within one year²³.

D. Additional Recommendations

1. Communities, NGOs, and Training Institutions

One of the principal obstacles to the initiation of a Training for Employment project in South Africa is that virtually all existing training institutions are structured by the legacy of apartheid, and most remain under the almost exclusive control of whites. This is as true of the private and so-called NGO training organizations as it is of institutions that are still administered by the government.

Much existing training capacity is at present underutilized or entirely idle. The Chamber of Mines Education Services, for example, administers a large training establishment including workshops, dormitories, and food service facilities, which has been closed for some time because the mining companies are not taking on new workers. Facilities in many public training institutions are used for only a few hours on weekdays, and not at all on weekends.

To expand the training opportunities available to disempowered young people, USAID could encourage partnerships between NGOs and/or CBOs and existing training institutions. Under the auspices of such partnerships otherwise idle training facilities could be brought into

²³ It is interesting to note that the initial Job Corps Centers established in the United States, were done so as a "crash" program under the "War on Poverty" and were implemented within a period of several months.

service to provide training programs. Financial support for such programs could be provided by USAID, with responsibility for student recruitment and program administration assumed by the NGO/CBO. Instructors could be contracted from within the existing institution, or recruited from outside.

2 Capacity-building for the Joint Enrichment Project

An obstacle to the provision of effective programs for disempowered youth and young adults is the lack of coordination among a multitude of small service providers. The seriousness of South Africa's youth crisis is acknowledged on all sides, but many of the organizations that are directly involved with young people are competing for recognition and resources rather than working together. The consequence is a host of small programs, often duplicating one another's efforts or working at cross purposes, which have almost no opportunities to share information or learn from one another's experiences. There is a clear need for a "second tier" umbrella agency in the field to serve as an information clearinghouse and provide support to NGOs and CBOs working directly with young people.

A further problem is the diversity of donor and other agencies that are currently interested in the problems of "marginalized youth," all of whom are at present compiling their own information on the issues involved. An umbrella agency in the field of services for disempowered youth might conduct and disseminate empirical and policy research, undertake public advocacy on behalf of this constituency, and interface with foreign and domestic

donors. Such an agency might ultimately play a coordinating role in the evaluation of existing programs, and in the solicitation and distribution of foreign and other resources.

The key agency in the field of services for disempowered youth is the Joint Enrichment Project (JEP), which was established under the auspices of the South African Council of Churches and the South African Catholic Bishops Conference. The JEP has taken a leadership role in raising public and political awareness of the problems faced by young people in contemporary South Africa, and has assumed many of the responsibilities that would fall to a "second tier" organization in the field.

The JEP's efforts in this regard are greatly hampered by its limited financial and administrative resources. USAID could make an important contribution to the provision of services for disempowered youth by helping to enable the JEP to assume a "second tier" role. This might involve either direct support to the JEP to build its own financial and administrative capacity, or the provision of support for a partnership between the JEP and a related organization with larger financial and administrative resources. Either of these approaches would be preferable to the creation of a new organization to fill this role, as has reportedly been proposed by another international agency working in the field.

3. Training and Employment

There is a relatively high level of consensus among governmental and non-parliamentary organizations that a strategy to address South Africa's unemployment crisis will require a massive program of "inward investment." Such a program is likely to focus on the

construction or rehabilitation of social and economic infrastructures including housing, schools, and roads, and on improvements in public services including rural electrification. If such a program is to reduce unemployment it will necessarily feature labor rather than capital intensive techniques of production.

A program of "inward investment" must be accompanied by investments in training if it is to contribute to the reduction of unemployment in the long-term. A large share of such training will inevitably be directed to disempowered youth and young adults, who comprise much of the unemployed population.

USAID could provide support to training programs for disempowered young people in the building, electrical, and plumbing trades, in association with its own or others' efforts to expand the supply of low-cost housing. Such support could take a variety of forms. One would be to encourage the formation of partnerships between NGOs and/or CBOs and existing training institutions in order to establish or expand training opportunities for disempowered young people. Another would be to provide subsidies to private sector firms that offer training to disempowered populations.

4. Support for Community College Development

One type of institution that is well positioned to provide many of the wide variety of services foreseen in the Training for Employment project is the community college. Such institutions are beginning to emerge in South Africa, with some previous support from USAID. Under the aegis of the Training for Employment project USAID could continue to

encourage the development of community colleges, and could also provide incentives for the extension of their services to disempowered youth.

5. Information Gaps

USAID should carefully monitor the activities and publications of organizations including the Joint Enrichment Project, the Community Agency for Social Enquiry (CASE), the Development Resources Center (DRC), the National Education Policy Investigation (NEPI), the five Educational Policy Units (EPUs), the International Youth Foundation (IYF), and the European Economic Community, all of which are now engaged in compiling and analyzing information on issues relevant to a Training for Employment project. Information gaps on these issues are large at present, but many of the most important are now in the process of being filled.

APPENDIX A

PERSONS CONSULTED

Johannesburg Area

Katrina Arends, El Dorado Park Violence Prevention Program, El Dorado Park

Paul Bennell, Education Policy Unit, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg

Martin Terre Blanche, El Dorado Park Violence Prevention Program, El Dorado Park

David Bonbright, Development Resources Center, Johannesburg

Harry Buys, Midrand Labour Exchange, Johannesburg

Saths Cooper, The Family Institute, Johannesburg

Dorothy Cornelius, Harvey Cohen Centre, Johannesburg

Michael Cross, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg

Zubeda Dangor, El Dorado Park Violence Prevention Program, El Dorado Park

David Everatt, CASE, Johannesburg

Penny Foley, Joint Enrichment Project (JEP), Johannesburg

Benji Francis, African Cultural Institute, Newtown, Johannesburg

Garnett Garden, ANC Youth League, Johannesburg

Thobile Gola, PAC, Johannesburg

Jonathan Jansen, Project ABEL, Johannesburg

Henry Jeffries, Funda Centre, Soweto

Charles Kunene, El Dorado Park Violence Prevention Program/Centre for Peace Action,

El Dorado Park

Lindelwe Mabandla, ANC, Johannesburg

121

Abel Majola, Wits Business School, Johannesburg
Lesaoana Makhanda, PAC, Johannesburg
Matsumi Makhane, Funda Center, Soweto
Patricia Maloka, Tembisa Careers Centre, Johannesburg
James Maseko, National Education Coordinating Committee, Johannesburg
Charlotte K. Matheba, Career Centre, Soweto
Babini Mde, PAC, Johannesburg
Johannah D. Modiga, Career Centre, Soweto
Duku Mogogi, Educational opportunities Council, Johannesburg
Ismail Mohammed, Brenda Weimers - Community Theatre Program, Lenasia
Themba Mohlongo, PAC, Johannesburg
Steve Mokwena, Joint Enrichment Project, Johannesburg
Eleanor Molefe, Educational Opportunities Council, Johannesburg
Eric Molobi, Kagiso Trust, Johannesburg
Dan Monyonane, Career Centre, Soweto
Yogesh Narsing, Kagiso Trust, Johannesburg
Ntjantja Ned, South African Black Social Workers Association, Johannesburg
Oupa Ngwenya, AZAPO, Johannesburg
George Ngwenya, AZAYO, Johannesburg
Mark Orkin, CASE, Johannesburg
Fébé Potgieter, ANC Youth League, Johannesburg
John Samuel, ANC, Johannesburg

John Samuel, ANC, Johannesburg

Mohammed Seedat, El Dorado Park Violence Prevention Program, El Dorado Park

Jacob Semela, Takalane Training Center, Johannesburg

Lerato Seseli, El Dorado Park Violence Prevention Program, El Dorado Park

Koki Seshabela, South African Association of Youth Clubs, Johannesburg

Elizabeth Sibeko, PAC, Johannesburg

Hazzy Sibonyani, Kagiso Trust, Johannesburg

Sheila Sisulu, Joint Enrichment Project, Johannesburg

Nick Taylor, Education Development Trust, Johannesburg

Buti Thagale, Educational Opportunities Council, Johannesburg

Cape Town Area

Roland Charles, Cape Town Job Creation Project, Phillipi and Mfuleni

Chris Ferndale, National Institute on Crime and the Rehabilitation of Offenders (NICRO),

Cape Flats

Samuel Isaacs, Centre for Continuing Education, Peninsula Technikon, Cape Town

Vuyisikla Mabombo, Ntsika-ya-Afrika, Guguletu

Maqelana, Phakamani Sporting Organization, Khayelitsha, Cape Town

Lucas Malakane, National Institute on Crime and the Rehabilitation of Offenders,

(NICRO), Cape Flats

Joseph Matolengwe, Cape Town Job Creation Project, Phillipi and Mfuleni

Carmel Marock, Education Resource and Information Project, Bellville

Mervin Mehl, International Development Trust (IDT), Cape Town

Nombeko Mlambo, Council for Black Education and Research Trust (COBERT), Langa

Mzwanala Mvimbi, Ntsika-ya-Afrika, Guguletu

Brian O'Connell, Peninsula Technikon, Bellville

Jill Ritchie, Triple Trust, Cape Town

Tahir Salie, Careers Research and Information Centre, Cape Town

Andile Siyo, Ntsika-ya-Afrika, Guguletu

Poppy Tsira, Council for Black Education and Research Trust (COBERT), Langa

Durban

Peter Derman, Centre for Community Organization and Research Development, University of

Natal, Durban

Nonhlanhla Maduna, TREE, Durban

Zandile Mdhladhla, Educational Opportunities Council, Durban

Tembi Nene, Career Information Centre, Durban

Deena Soliar, UMTAPO Centre, Durban

John Volmink, University of Natal, Durban

Silas Zuma, Education Foundation, Durban

Pretoria

David G. DeGroot, USAID, Pretoria

Volkhard Harry Hunsdorfer, Commission of the European Communities, Pretoria

Karl F. Jensen, USAID, Pretoria

Alan Johnson, EEC Consultant, Pretoria

Johan L. Olivier, Human Science Research Council, Pretoria

Nomea Masihleho, USAID, Pretoria

K.F. Mauer, Human Science Research Council, Pretoria

Natal Region

Ruth Bhengu, Imbali Rehabilitation Program, Pietermaritzburg

APPENDIX B

REFERENCES

- Hartshorne, Ken (1992). "Education and Employment." In Black Youth in Crisis: Facing the Future, ed. David Everatt and Elinor Sisulu. Johannesburg: Ravan.
- Mokwena, Steve (1992). "Living on the Wrong Side of the Law." In Black Youth in Crisis: Facing the Future, ed. David Everatt and Elinor Sisulu. Johannesburg: Ravan.
- Loots, Lieb (1992). "An Integrated Employment Strategy." In Transforming the Economy: Policy Options for South Africa, ed. Graham Howe and Peter le Roux. Durban: Centre for Social and Development Studies.
- Cawker, Gary and Andrew Whiteford (1992). "The Extent of Unemployment in South Africa." Unpublished manuscript.
- Kraak, Andre (1992). "Beyond the Market: Comprehensive Institutional Restructuring of South African Labour Markets, Education, Training, and Work." NEPI Working Paper.
- Bennell, Paul with Mareka Monyokolo (1992). "The Lost Generation? A Tracer Survey of African Secondary School Leavers in the PWV Area." Unpublished manuscript.
- Chisholm, Linda (1992). "State Policy and Youth Unemployment in South Africa, 1976-1992." Paper presented to the Joint Enrichment Project Workshop on Skills Training and Employment for Youth, Johannesburg, September.
- Gelb, Stephen (1991). "South Africa's Economic Crisis: An Overview." In South Africa's Economic Crisis, ed. Stephen Gelb. Cape Town: David Philip.
- Freund, Bill (1991). "South African Gold Mining in Transformation." In South Africa's Economic Crisis, ed. Stephen Gelb. Cape Town: David Philip.
- Hindson, Doug (1991). "The Restructuring of Labour Markets in South Africa, 1970s and 1980s." In South Africa's Economic Crisis, ed. Stephen Gelb. Cape Town: David Philip.
- Lewis, David (1991). "Unemployment and the Current Crisis." In South Africa's Economic Crisis, ed. Stephen Gelb. Cape Town: David Philip.

APPENDIX C

SCOPE OF WORK

TRAINING FOR EMPLOYMENT PROJECT

I. BACKGROUND

A. BACKGROUND

Since 1976, when black students in Soweto rose up against the South African Government's (SAG) attempt to impose the teaching of Afrikaans in the classroom, the black youth have been in the forefront of the anti-apartheid struggle. In the mid-1980's the slogan "liberation before education" kept thousands of children out of school. Years of protest politics outside the classroom, combined with sub-standard "Bantu" education for those students who did attend school, resulted in a whole generation of young people who were deprived of any meaningful education. This group of black, primarily urban, youth has been receiving increased media attention as the so-called "lost generation." These youth, who range in age from their teens to early thirties, are generally poorly educated, highly politicized and lacking skills that would lead to employment. While some have found work in community and political organizations, the vast majority are unemployed.

For years apartheid has ensured that blacks have received the fewest resources in all spheres of life. It is in regard to education, however, that the effects have been most damaging. Even the youngest school children are quickly disillusioned about the standard of education they receive: only a very few make it through the public school system. The majority either drop out or are so poorly prepared that they are unfit for most occupations. Technical or vocational education has been virtually closed to blacks until recently and, in any case, is viewed by most blacks as a second rate option. In rural areas, where the majority of South Africans live, the education system is even worse. The net result is a huge number of alienated, uneducated (frequently illiterate) adults who have no skills and, therefore, no job prospects.

Due to the recent political changes in South Africa, great expectations have been built up, particularly among the youth. Many believe that as soon as a majority government is formed, they will be given a house, a job, a car, etc. As the negotiation process draws out, these expectations are likely to become frustrated and lead to a potentially explosive situation.

The problem, then, is manifold. There are legions of poorly educated, unskilled youth and adults seeking employment. The jobs that do exist are primarily for skilled laborers or professionals. The education system responsible for educating

black youth has virtually collapsed and the non-governmental programs reach only a handful each year. In addition, there is a political dynamic which has for years stressed protest over education.

B. USAID ASSISTANCE FOR YOUTH

The greatest amount of USAID assistance goes to the scholarship program and is thereby specifically targeted at young people. Over \$92.0 million was provided for 2,085 scholarships or bursaries in the United States and South Africa between 1983 and 1990. This program, however, only reaches the best and brightest and the number of participants, while large, still represents only a fraction of the youth.

The Education Support and Training Project (ESAT) provides assistance to a number of areas, including curriculum development, pre-school teacher training, literacy training at private, non-racial secondary schools. Again, the program can only reach a fraction of targets given of marginalized youth and adults.

Under the Community Outreach and Leadership Development (COLD) Project, USAID attempts to assist young people through service organizations specializing in leadership training and counselling for young people. Since 1988, \$2.0-3.0 million under COLD has been provided to a variety of organizations for youth programs. In most cases, the youth programs have been only one component of larger grants. Only one grant, of almost \$500,000, focuses exclusively on youth.

While youth was identified as a key area for assistance early in A.I.D.'s history in South Africa, in 1988 the USAID decided that it lacked both the resources and the expertise to directly assist in this area. The rapidly growing magnitude and urgency of the problem has now caused the USAID to reevaluate that position. Increased USAID funding levels, combined with the fact that youth and adult service organizations have now better defined their strategies and programs, mean that the stage is set for a well planned A.I.D.-funded program that could effectively reach adults and "the lost generation," by helping them to develop the skills required to find employment and thus become productive members of society.

C. LEGISLATION AFFECTING THE USAID PROGRAM IN SOUTH AFRICA

United States Government (USG)-funded programs in South Africa are currently circumscribed by the CAAA, which prohibits USAID from working with organizations financed or controlled by the SAG. As a result, USAID works solely with non-government organizations (NGOs). As the political situation in South Africa changes, however, it is expected that the CAAA will also change and that the A.I.D. program in South Africa will

eventually evolve into a more "typical" government-to-government program.

II. PURPOSE

The objective of the scope of work described below in section III is to develop a concept paper which outlines a strategy and provides recommendation to USAID/SA on what interventions can be carried under the current CAAA legislation during FY 92/93. We view this assessment as part of a step process toward developing a long term project designed to provide marginalized youth and adults with the skills required, to obtain employment. This scope of work is the first step in the process and will focus on the institutional capacity of the training providers to meet the needs of marginalized youth and adults in South Africa. To carry out this scope of work, it is expected that the contractor will need to review the existing literature on the topic in South Africa, gather and analyze and evaluate data on the target group, identify and evaluate key non-governmental South Africa providers of training most needed by the target group; and make recommendations for interventions with NGO's that could be initiated by USAID/SA in FY 92/93. The second step (not part of this scope of work) will be to build on the information gathered and analyzed during this scope of work and develop a Project Identification Document (PID) for the design of a long-term project. We envision that this project will adopt a phased design that will have the flexibility to adapt to changes in the South African political situation and the expected corresponding changes in the U.S. legislation.

III. SCOPE OF WORK

The Contractor is requested to conduct an assessment which will result in recommendations for immediate actions to be initiated by USAID/SA during FY92/93 which will assist marginalized adults and youth in gaining the skills required to obtain employment.

The Contractor will gather data on the training and support needs of South African marginal youth and on the ability of the providers of training in South Africa to meet these needs. In carrying out this task, the Consultant will:

1. Define the term "marginalized adults and youth" and the sub-categories within this proposed target group (e.g. by age cohort, geographical location, or other);
2. Collect and review relevant studies and data on South African marginalized youth and their opportunities for employment and training;
3. Identify the constraints which restrict the participation

of the proposed target beneficiaries, the marginalized adults and youth, in the economy;

4. Hold discussions with informed organizations, such as career guidance centers and youth organizations, to understand their views on the training needs of marginalized adults and youth;
5. Identify and prioritize the most important types of training (e.g. skills or job training, remedial education, adult literacy) for each sub-category of the proposed target beneficiary group and make recommendations for which segment(s) can be meaningfully reached by a potential A.I.D. program;
6. Identify and evaluate key South African providers of the types of training most needed by the proposed target beneficiaries;
7. Identify information gaps that would need to be filled prior to designing a long-term intervention in training for employment for marginal youth; and
8. The Contractor will make recommendations for interventions with NGOs already working with adults and youth that could be initiated by USAID/SA in FY92/93, including recommendations for specific organizations with which the Mission could work and suggested programs for each organization.

IV. LEVEL OF EFFORT

The Contractor will be expected to work full-time for a three week period, beginning on/about May 1, 1992 and ending on/about June 1, 1992.

V. METHODOLOGY AND REPORTING REQUIREMENTS

- A. The Contractor will meet with USAID/SA personnel to review the scope of work and develop a workplan for completing the assessment/survey.
- B. Within five days of initiating the scope of work, the Contractor will provide, for USAID approval, a draft outline for the final report and a verbal briefing on findings to date.
- C. Periodic oral or written progress reports may be required as determined by the cognizant project officer.
- D. By the beginning of the third week, the Contractor will submit a draft report to USAID. Upon submission of the draft report, the USAID will schedule a meeting for the Contractor to present its findings and recommendations.

- E. The final report shall be provided to the USAID within 10 working days after the team receives final written comments on the draft report from USAID.

The final report shall be double spaced, paginated and contain a table of contents. The report shall contain a separate executive summary not to exceed ten pages. The Contractor shall present five copies of the final report to USAID/SA.

The first section of the final report should include a synopsis of the literature reviewed and should address each task outlined in Section III.A. The second section of the report should include clear recommendations for which organizations USAID/South Africa could initiate programs with in FY92 as well as recommended programs for each organization.

VI. RELATIONSHIP AND RESPONSIBILITIES

The Contractor will work under the supervision of the Chief, Education and Training Division, David Evans, or his designee.

VII. QUALIFICATIONS

The Contractor team will have a background in adult and youth programs, service organizations, remedial education, or a related field. Some familiarity with South African formal and non-formal training organizations is desirable. Good writing skills are essential.