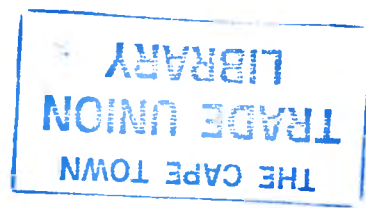


Young Worker's box

BOX 21 C

Youth
Survey



'Growing up tough' A national survey of South African youth

Designed and analysed for the JEP by
David Everatt and Mark Orkin of C A S E

Research co-ordinated by David Everatt

National Youth Development Conference
Broederstroom
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Called by the Joint Enrichment Project on behalf of the Marginalised Youth Conference (June 1991)

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Introduction

The Community Agency for Social Enquiry (C A S E) was commissioned by the Joint Enrichment Project (JEP) to undertake research for the National Youth Development Conference. The research programme had three components:

- the compilation of a computerised and annotated youth database, comprising domestic research into youth, and the extraction of five policy papers covering the areas of education, employment-creation, AIDS, violence and social context, and historical context.
- an international comparative component, which focused on the youth brigades in Botswana, and the whole range of youth development initiatives taking place in Kenya and Uganda, covered in an additional two position papers.
- a national baseline and attitudinal survey into youth in South Africa.

The results of all three components of the research project will be published in book form later this year. The summary reports of the local and international comparative policy papers are available in a separate booklet. This is the report of the national survey into youth in South Africa.

Aims of the survey

The survey has four main aims:

- demographic:** to accurately describe how many youth are in the different parts of South Africa, how many are in or out of school or work, and so on.
- attitudinal:** to allow youth to express their views on a range of social, economic, political and personal issues.
- to analyse youth marginalisation:** to scientifically analyse and describe the marginalisation of youth within South African society.
- programmatic:** to provide results which directly assist organisations designing programmes which target youth.

Designing the survey

The survey was designed by the C A S E senior research team of Professor Mark Orkin, Director of C A S E; Dr David Everatt, Deputy Director of C A S E and project co-ordinator; and Dr Ros Hirschowitz, Specialist Researcher at C A S E.

The design process was lengthy and complex, because the aims of the survey were complicated. As a first step, C A S E gathered together existing youth research and survey data, in order to see what we could learn from them. We then convened a design workshop to assist us. Participants in the

workshop comprised people who had experience with youth, or with survey design. They included John Aitchison (C A S E and the Centre for Adult Education, University of Natal), Debbie Budlender (C A S E and the National Women's Coalition), Dr Jannie Hofmeyr (Research Surveys), Ms Vanessa Kruger and Professor Ari Sitas (University of Natal), Ms Anne Letsebe (SABSWA), Mr Steve Mokwena (JEP), Mr Rory Riordan (Human Rights Trust) and Dr Jeremy Seekings (University of Cape Town).

We also needed input from the youth themselves. Discussion groups with youth (called 'focus groups') were held with youth from Alexandra and Soweto, from Ciskei and the eastern Cape, from Bophuthatswana and the northern transvaal, from Chatsworth and Claremont in Durban, and elsewhere. We reached youth from cities, squatter camps, towns and rural areas. The focus groups were organised by C A S E and Research Surveys, a professional market research company. The youth told us what their concerns were, what their aspirations and fears were, and what interventions they felt are necessary to improve their lives.

C A S E then designed a draft survey. We had to try it out (called 'piloting') to find out if the survey tapped the youth's actual views and experiences, and so give the JEP the information they sought. The survey was piloted on a representative sample of 100 youth (aged between 16 and 30) by Research Surveys. Using the results of the focus groups and the pilots, the C A S E research team then produced the final questionnaire, which went into the field in November/December 1992.

The sample

Altogether 2200 people aged from 16 to 30 were interviewed, in face-to-face discussions in the respondent's choice of language, for up to one and a quarter hours each. The fieldwork was carried out by Research Surveys. The answers were filled in on the questionnaire by the interviewer; assigned numbers; and entered into the computer for statistical analysis. In all, we have a million 'items' of information supplied by our respondents. The graphs and tables in this report reflect the patterns in all this data.

The survey is nationally representative:

- we interviewed young men and women from all four race groups, African, Coloured, Asian and white.
- we covered all parts of South Africa, including the so-called independent states of Bophuthatswana, Ciskei, Transkei and Venda.
- we covered all areas - urban and rural, big cities and squatter camps; we interviewed young people living in domestic quarters and hostels, in huts and shacks and houses and flats.

All these sectors were covered in the sample, in appropriate proportions.

Since the sampling within each sector was strictly random, the results from the survey accurately reflect the feelings and experiences of the ten million young people, aged from 16 to 30, from whom the sample was drawn.

Analysing the data

The results of the survey have been analysed by the C A S E research team, and will be published in book form later this year. This booklet covers key issues, including education, employment, health and AIDS, teenage pregnancies, and self-perceptions.

Where it is appropriate, we translate the results of the survey from percentages into 'real numbers' - that is, we show how many young people are affected. We do this by using population figures drawn up by Research Surveys, which are as follows:

Youth in South Africa (including TBVC)					
	African	Coloured	Asian	White	Total
Male:	4,109,000	502,000	139,000	652,000	5,402,000
Female:	4,046,000	510,000	139,000	627,000	5,322,000
Total:	8,155,000	1,012,000	278,000	1,279,000	10,724,000

In particular, we include the results of our analysis of 'marginalised youth': those young people who - to different extents - see themselves as having little or no future, who are alienated from their families or job or school, who are out of touch with, or hostile to, the changes taking place in South Africa, who have been victims of abuse and/or violence, who have a poor self-image, or who are not involved in any organisation or structure.

Youth in South Africa have been alternately stereotyped as the 'lost generation' or as entirely unproblematic. As the previous paragraph indicates, the truth is far more complex. The problems faced by youth, and their severity, need to be differentiated. They are often specific to areas, age categories, race groups and so on. As important, many young people are fully engaged in society, despite all sorts of adversity, and many others are ready to re-engage, given the opportunity. Detailed information of this kind is crucial for policy makers, and the new state, to formulate suitable programmes and measures.

We believe that this survey - which is unprecedented in its scale and coverage - contains many of the results that they need to hear, and which the youth themselves can use to press their case.

Demographics: overview

- Squatter camps are under-resourced on all amenities, from running water and sewerage, to electricity and telephones.
- According to our sample, nearly all white, Coloured and Asian youth live in a house or flat (97% or more). In contrast, only 74% of African youth live in a house or flat.
- According to the sample, 20% of African youth, equivalent to 1,5 million young Africans, live in shacks. A further 9%, nearly three-quarters of a million African youth, live in huts.
- Young South Africans are serious about religion: more than half of women, in particular, attend services weekly.
- Youth of all races have access to radios (87%), but African youth have significantly less access to television (53%) than the other races (an average of 93%).

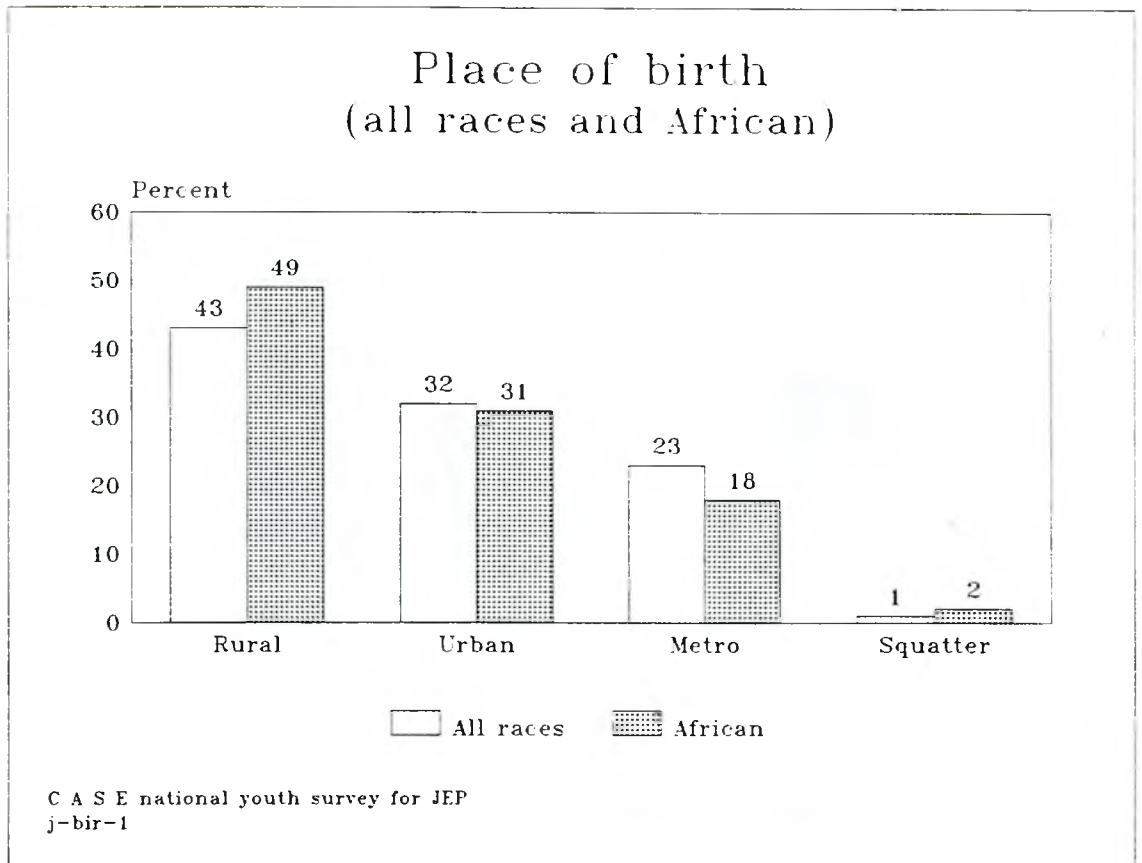


Fig. 1: **Place of birth**
(all races)

- City-dwelling youth most frequently make the newspaper headlines: this graph reminds us of the large numbers of youth of all races born in the smaller towns (32%) and the rural areas (43%).
- Africans are slightly more likely to have been born in the rural areas, and less likely to have been born in the cities.
- The graph also shows that the massive urbanisation of recent years has given rise to a small proportion (2% among Africans) of young people who were born in squatter camps in metropolitan areas.

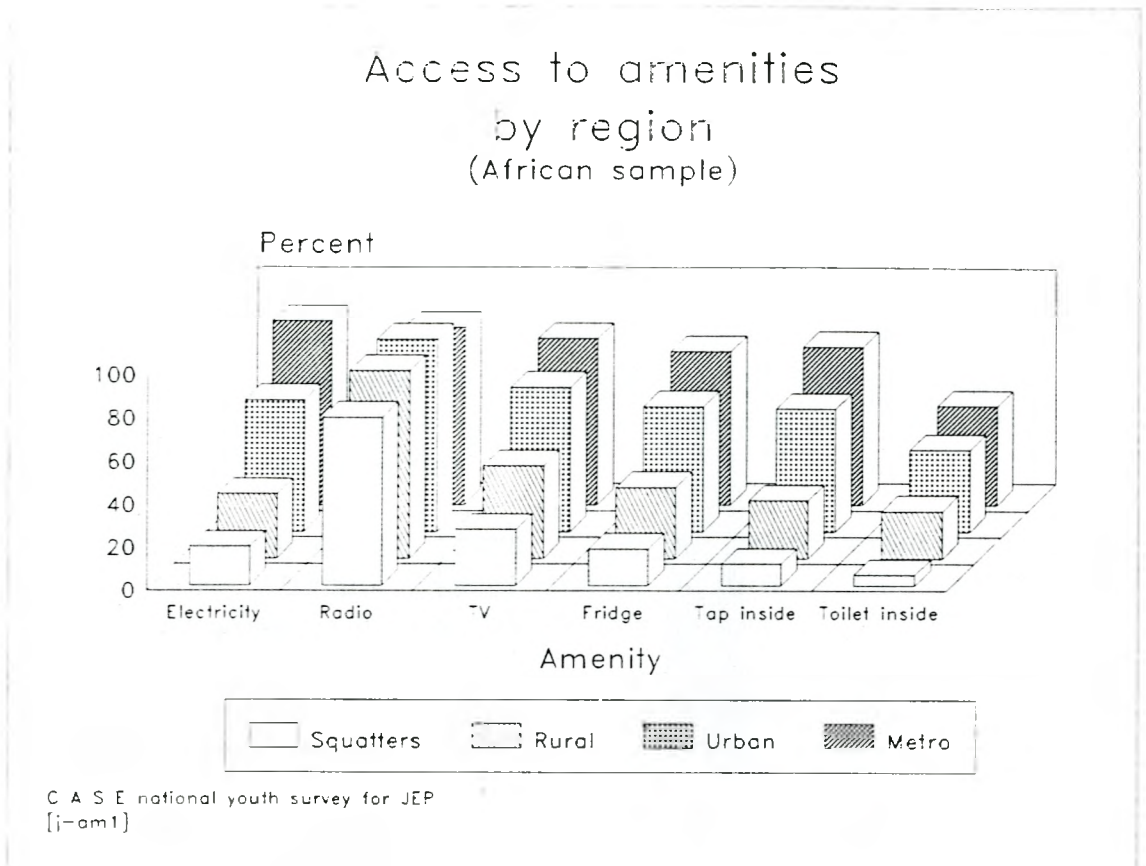


Fig. 2: **Access to amenities**
(African sample)

Our overall results show that only 47% of young Africans live in homes which have electricity. This means that four million young Africans live in homes without electricity (whereas 87% of Coloured, 99% of Asian and 100% of white youth have electricity in their homes). Similarly, only 36% of young Africans live in homes with running water (in taps or water-borne sewerage): contrast this with 84% of Coloured, 92% of Asian and 97% of white youth.

However, there are also significant inequalities within the African population, shown in this graph.

- Although most African households have a radio, items like TV and fridges are much rarer in rural and squatter areas.
- Of note is the relative deprivation, in all respects, of squatter-camps as opposed to cities. The dark 'pillars' at the back of the graph show that city-dwellers have greater access to all forms of amenities than young Africans living in squatter camps in cities or on their borders.

The lack basic amenities (such as electricity, providing light to study by) directly affects the life-chances of millions of young Africans. Affirmative action starts at this level: providing all people with the means to maximise their potential.

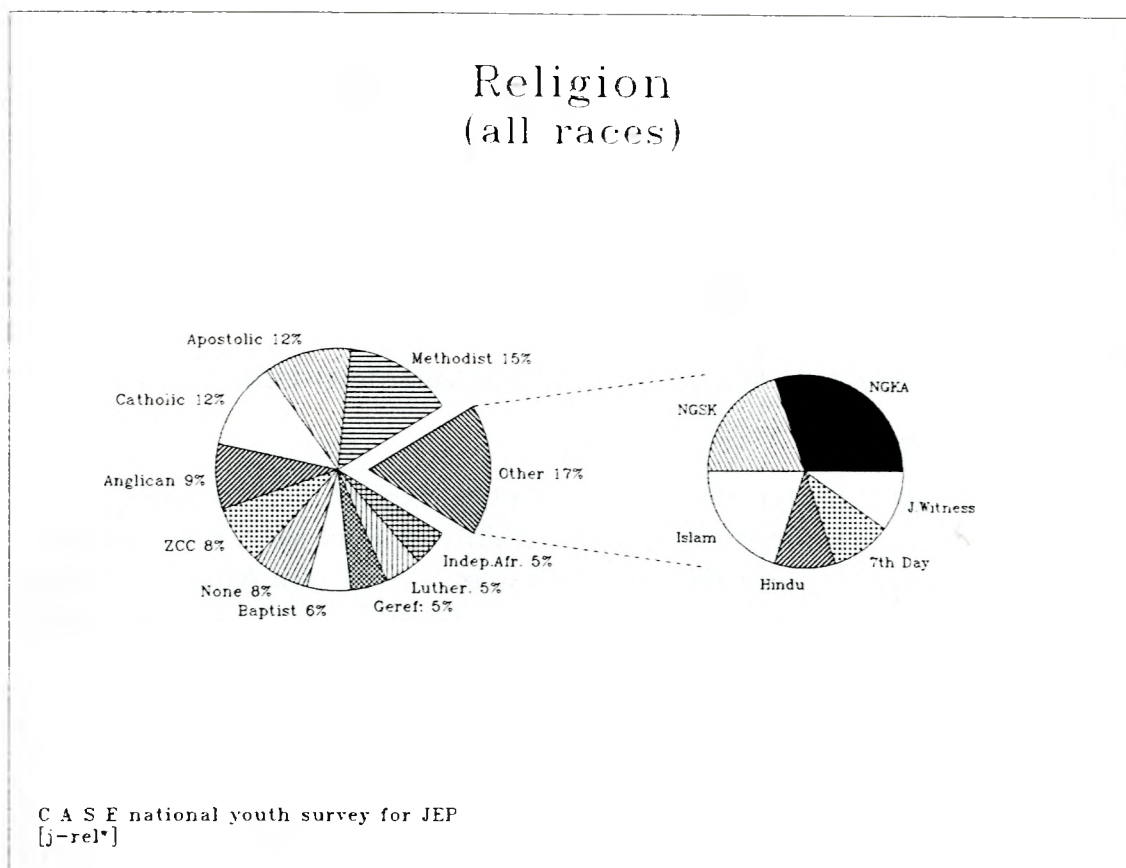


Fig. 3: Religion
(all races)

This graph illustrates which religious denominations young South Africans belong to. This is important when thinking about outreach strategies.

- The four largest denominations across all races were Methodist (17%), Catholic and Apostolic (12% each), and Anglican (9%).
- In the African sub-sample (not shown here), the main churches were Methodist (17%), ZCC and other independent churches (16%), Apostolic (13%) and Catholic (13%).

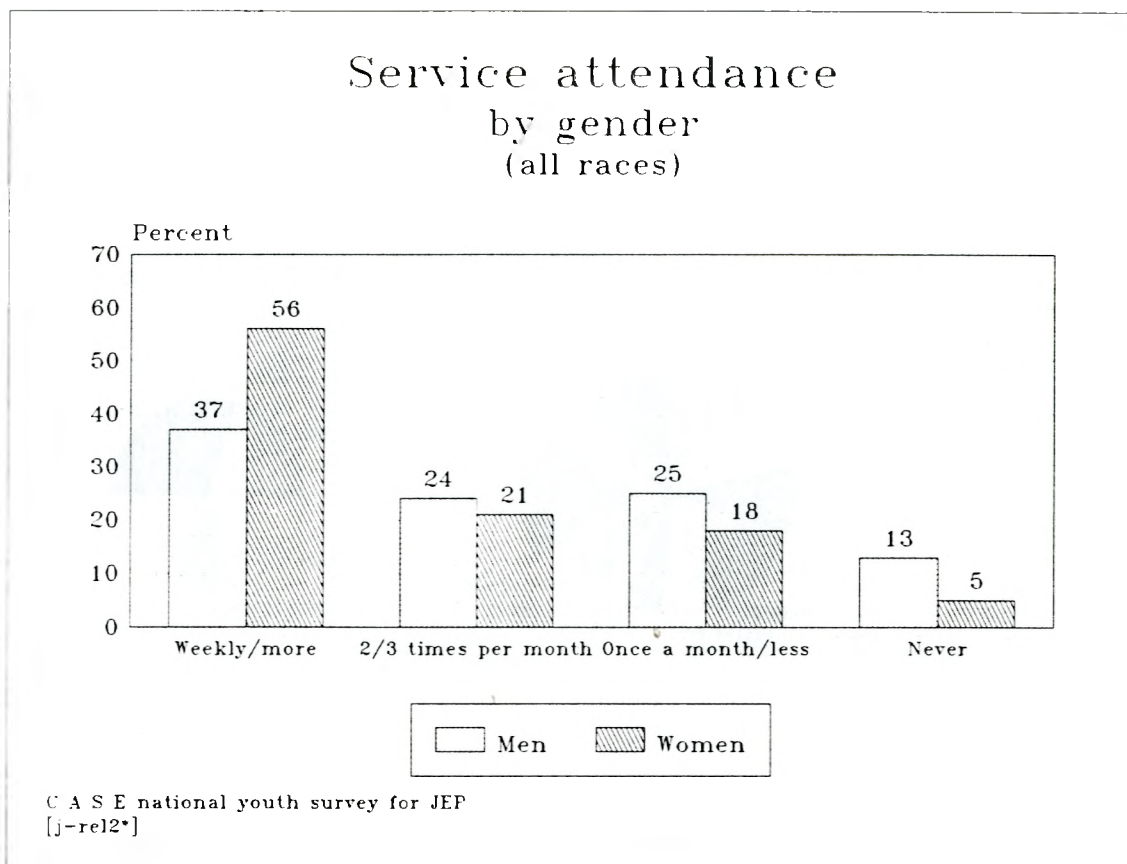


Fig. 4: **Religiosity (service attendance)**
(all races)

This graph illustrates the *intensity* of people's religious commitment. It shows very clearly that 56% of young women attend church once a week or more. Young men attend church slightly less frequently; even so, 37% attend church once a week or more.

- Taken as a whole, the youth of South Africa are highly religious, in contrast with the conventional wisdom that 'the younger generation' is not religious: only 9% of the youth never attend church at all.
- More than half (53%) of the younger age category, aged from 16 to 20, attend church once a week or more.

The churches have a major role to play in programmes aimed at reaching youth. In particular, they are a key means of reaching young women of all races.

Education: overview

- 34% of the sample are scholars (at school).
- 7% are students (at technikon, university etc.).
- Women are under-represented at higher education levels, compared to men.
- Only 12% of all African respondents had studied as far as they planned, and only 18% of Coloured youth had done so. This compares with 39% of Asian youth, and 58% of white youth, who had studied as far as they had originally planned.
- Nearly half of youth of all races had to stop studying for financial reasons.
- 69% of the youth interviewed still want to study to the level they had originally planned

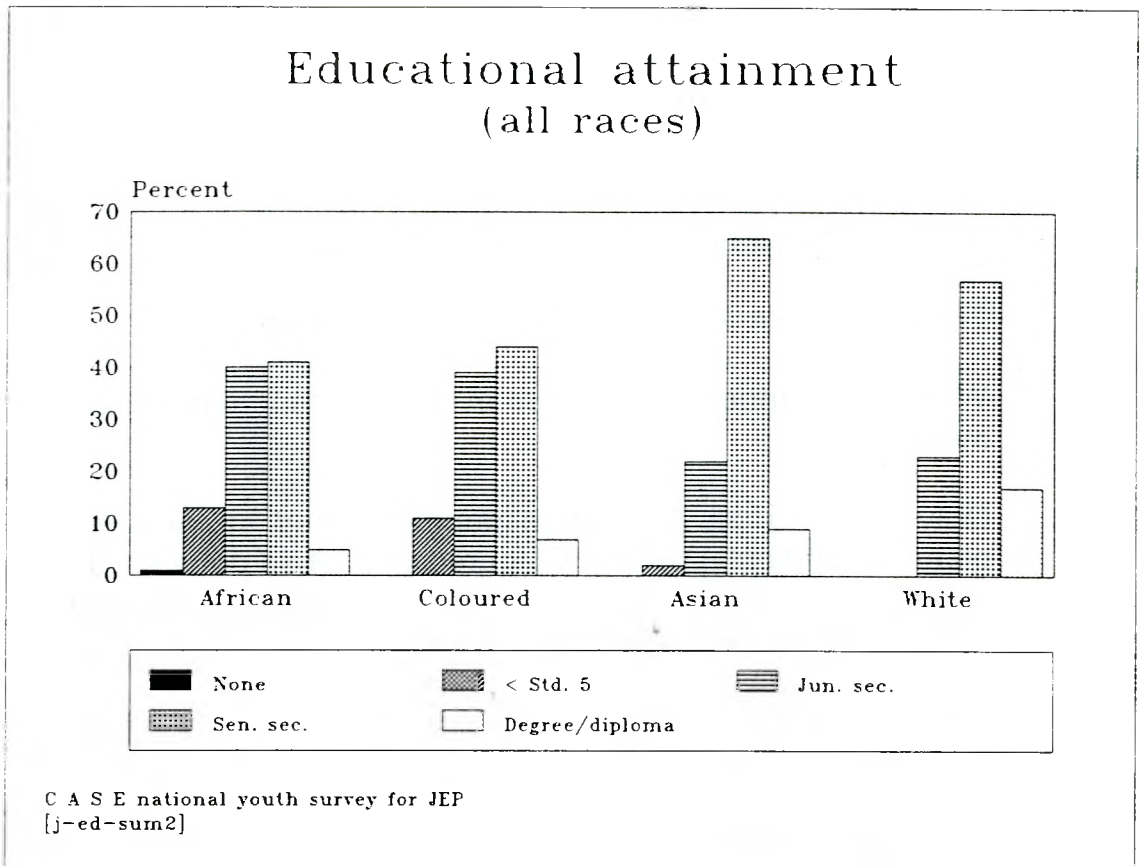


Fig. 6: **Educational attainment**
(all races)

Few people should be surprised by this graph, which shows the effects of Bantu Education on our youth - but all of us should be concerned by it.

- Look first at the pillars with diagonal stripes, showing people with Std. 5 or less. 14% of young Africans, 1,1 million, have only primary.
- The picture is hardly better for Coloured youth: 10%, more than 110,000, did not enter secondary school.
- All white youth reached secondary school, as did the vast majority of Asian youth.
- These two groups also have a high number of diplomas and degrees (nearly one in five whites, one in ten Asians).
- A tiny proportion of Africans, one in twenty, have a degree or diploma.

A dramatic intervention is needed to assist our current generation of scholars to pass their exams; but also to allow those young people who want to continue their studies, to do so.

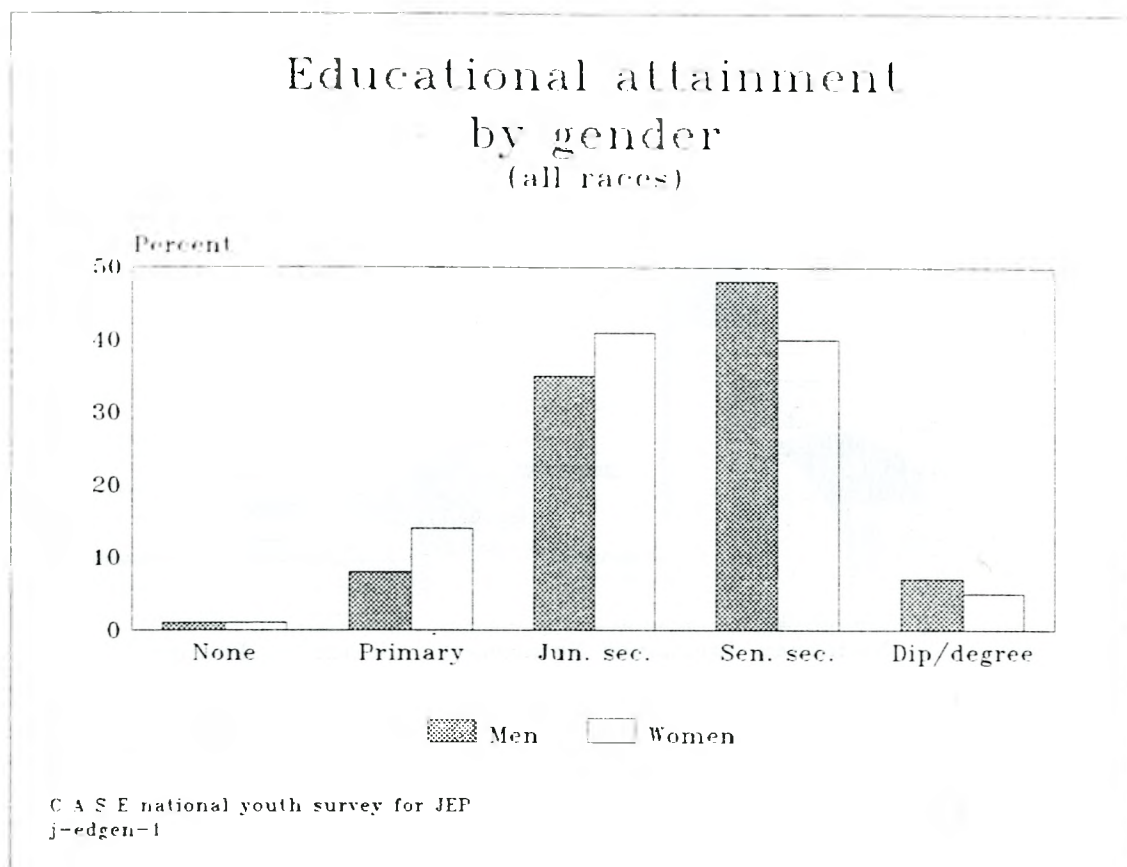


Fig. 7: Educational attainment by gender (all races)

- While African youth have been deliberately under-educated, as part of apartheid's grand plan, at the same time, women of all races have been discriminated against in the education system.
- The lightly dotted lines in the graph shows how women predominate in the lower education levels (primary and junior secondary), while men tend to be more encouraged to study until senior secondary (std. 9 - 10) or post-secondary.

In a situation where only a quarter of all young people pass matric, it is clearly vital that schooling be made freely and easily available to all young people. In addition, scholars at school need to learn life-skills (such as birth control) as much as classical curricula subjects.

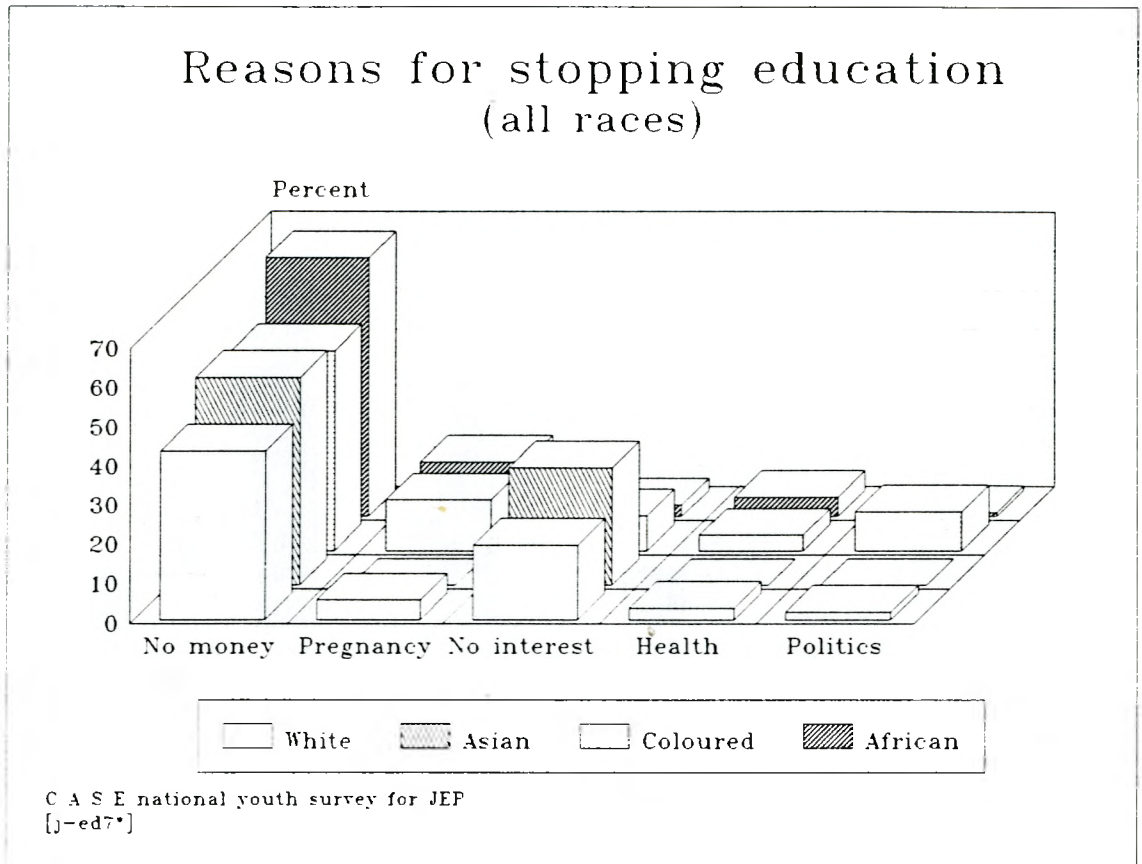


Fig. 8: **Reasons for stopping education**
(all races)

- This graph highlights the economic pressures, i.e. "no money", which force young people of all races to drop out of education: 66% of African youth, 51% of Coloured, 53% of Asian and 43% of white youth.
- In addition, 13% of young women are forced out of school because of pregnancy. The graph shows that the problem is much more marked among Coloureds and Africans.
- It is notable that of young people who did not study as far as they had planned, only 2% cited 'politics' as the reason for not completing their education (this was much higher amongst Coloured youth, at 10%, than African youth, at 1%).

Alternative, more affordable means of schooling - such as distance education - is essential for those who are off the education agenda to resume studying.

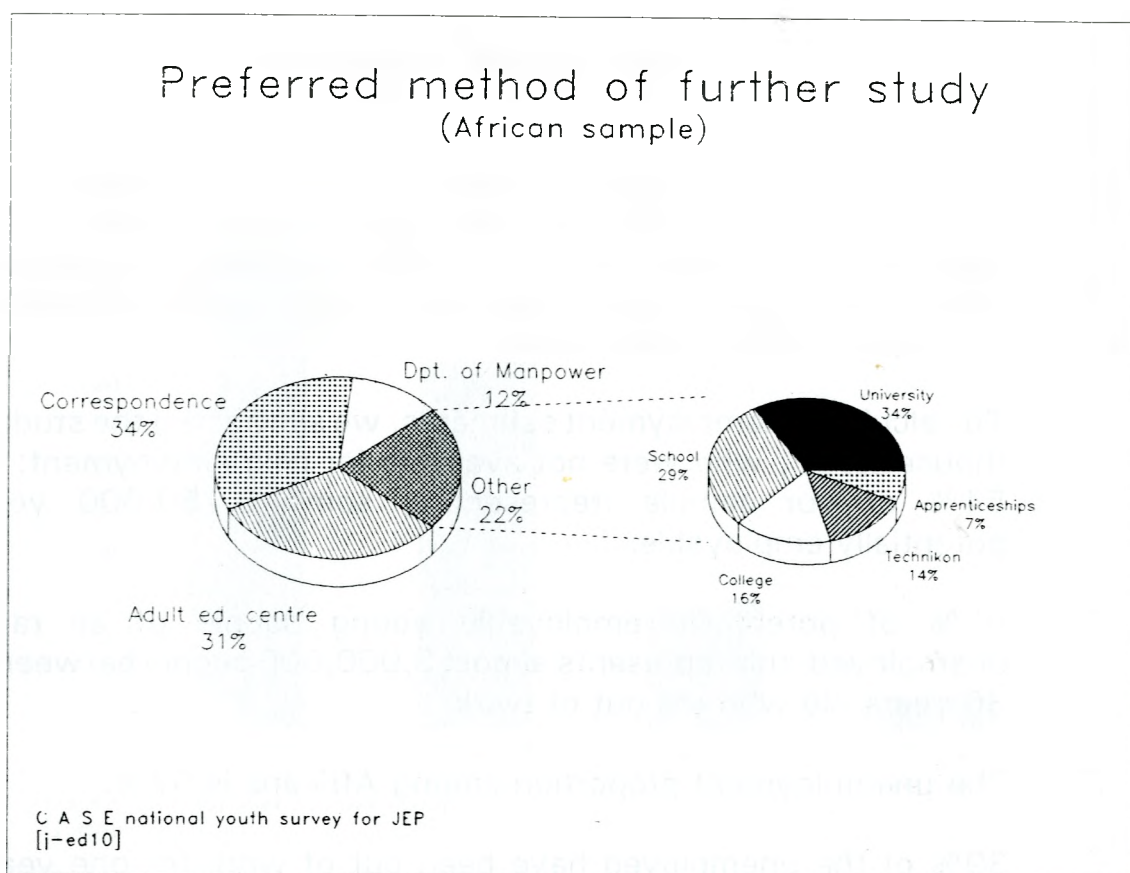


Fig. 9: Preferred means of further study (African sample)

This graph is restricted to the African sample, because as we have seen African youth have been hardest hit by the education system, and urgently need programmatic intervention.

We asked all young people who had not studied as far as they planned, and who said they planned to study further, to tell us what would their preferred means of study would be. We offered them the choices of a correspondence course, an adult education centre and a training course. Their additional choices are reflected in the second, smaller pie chart.

We also asked those young people who want to study further, why they are not currently doing so. Their main three answers are shown below:

	African	Coloured	Asian	White
No money	73%	55%	56%	45%
No time/energy	12%	26%	33%	25%
Marriage	4%	2%	9%	8%

Employment: overview

- 41% of the sample were students. A further 5% defined themselves as 'housewives'. 23% of the total sample were in full-time employment, and another 5% of the total were in regular part-time employment. Only 1% of the total sample defined themselves as employed in the informal sector.

To calculate unemployment estimates, we subtracted the students and 'housewives', who were not available for paid employment: this left 54% of our sample (representing some 5,750,000 youth) as potentially employable.

- 52% of potentially employable young people of all races are unemployed: this represents almost 3,000,000 people between 16 and 30 years old who are out of work.
- The unemployment proportion among Africans is 57%.
- 30% of the unemployed have been out of work for one year, 21% have been out of work for two years, and a further 15% have been unemployed for three years.
- The vast majority (79%) of the unemployed are presently looking for work.

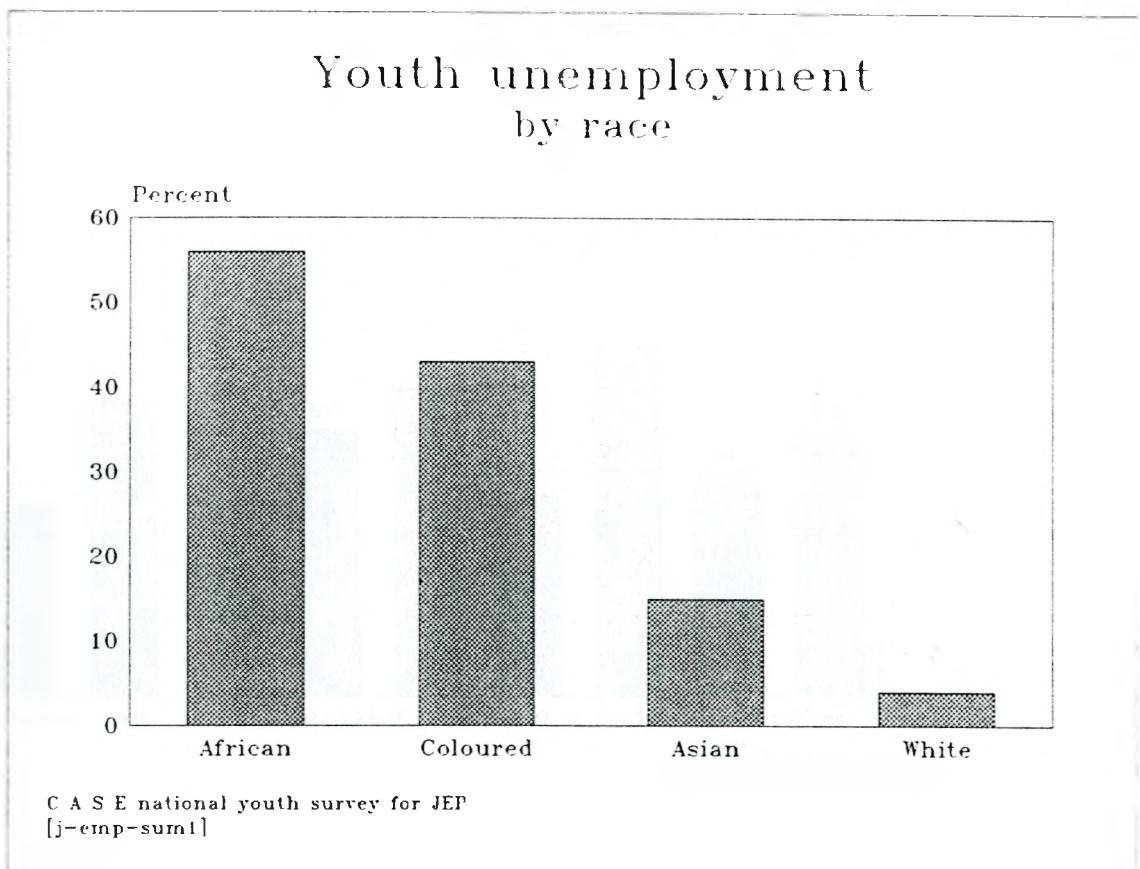


Fig. 10: **Youth unemployment**
(all races)

This graph starkly reveals the racial divisions of South African society.

- Unemployment among African youth in our sample (at 57%), and to a lesser extent among Coloured youth (at 46%), make up the majority of the 52% total of youth unemployment. Asian unemployment stands at 17%, and white unemployment at 4%.
- Secondly, not reflected in the graph, is the fact that women suffer as badly in the economic environment as we saw in the educational arena. Average unemployment is 14% higher among women than among men.

With only 5% of matriculants reportedly finding formal employment each year, the ranks of the young unemployed - currently standing at 3 million - will increase annually, at an alarming rate. What is being done about skills training, job-creation, and other interventions aimed at the youth?

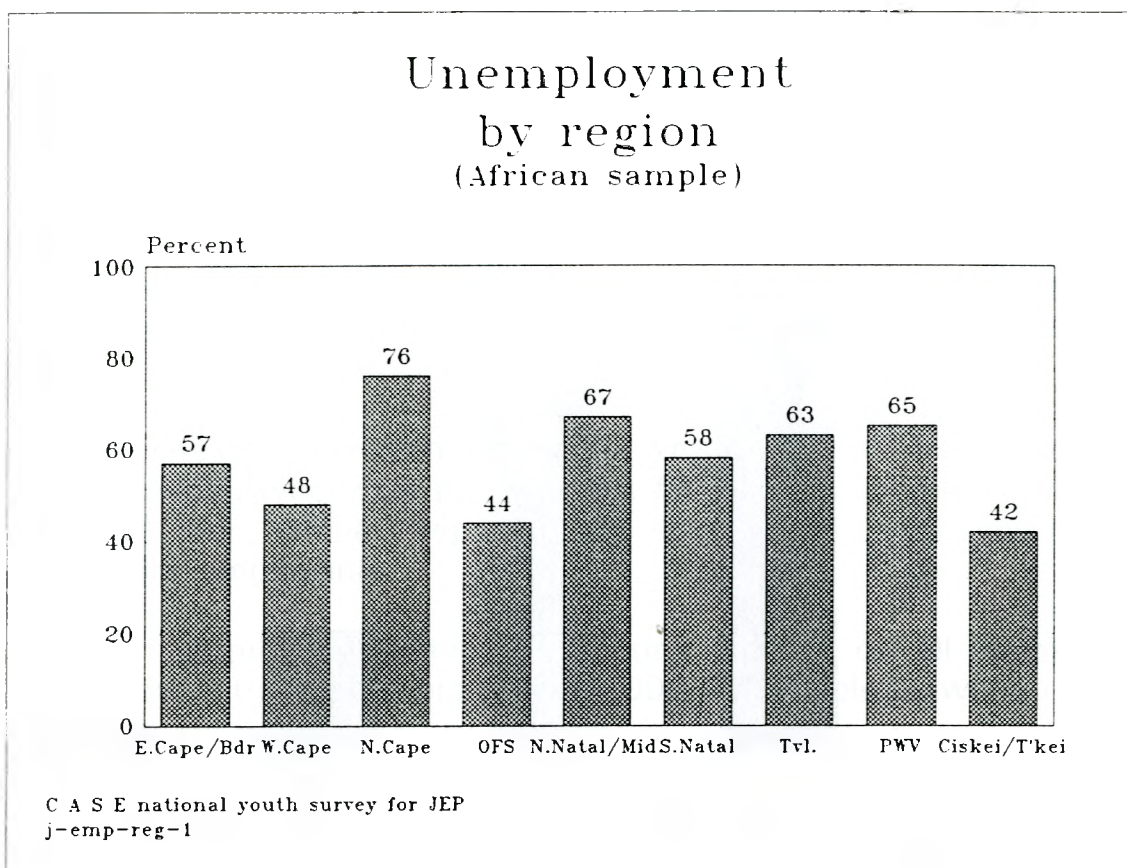


Fig. 11: **Youth unemployment by region**
(African sample)

We have seen that young Africans bear the brunt of youth unemployment. This graph maps African unemployment across the regions of South Africa.

- The lowest level of unemployment among African youth is to be found in the Transkei and Ciskei - where it nonetheless stands at 42%!
- At the other extreme, in the northern Cape fully three-quarters (76%) of young Africans are unemployed; and in north and mid-Natal, two-thirds (67%).

These are shocking statistics. Job-creation, and economic development paths and policies which further job creation, are a top national priority.

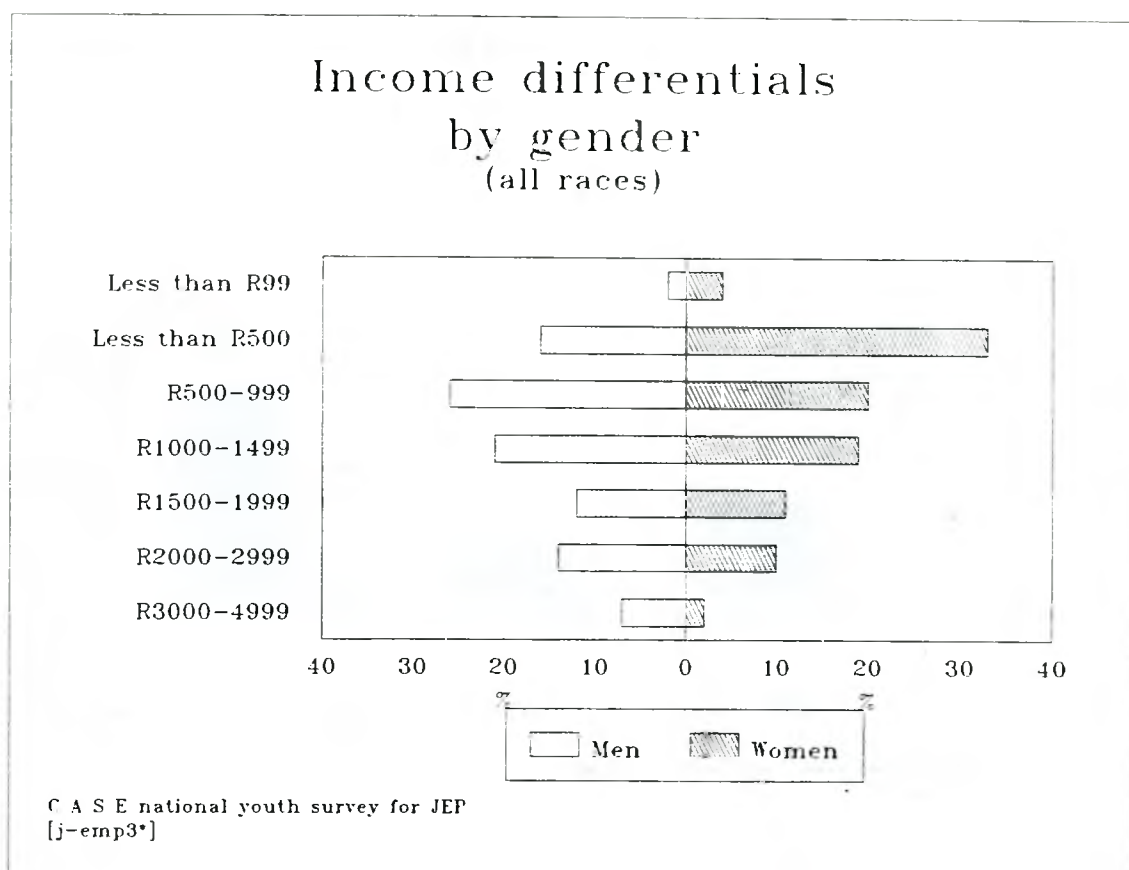


Fig. 12: Income differentials
(all races)

This graph reminds us of the fact that to find a job may be the start, not the end, of a young person's problems - particularly for young women.

- 37% of young working women of all races earn between R100 and R500 per month, compared with 18% of men.
- Only a quarter of young working women fall into the categories above R1500 per month.

While the gender discrimination in employment is starkly visible, the racial discrimination we indicated in Fig. 11, on youth unemployment, continues to operate in employment: 33% of young working Africans earn R500 per month or less, while this is true of 17% of Coloureds, 14% of Asians and 5% of whites. (These figures are not shown here.)

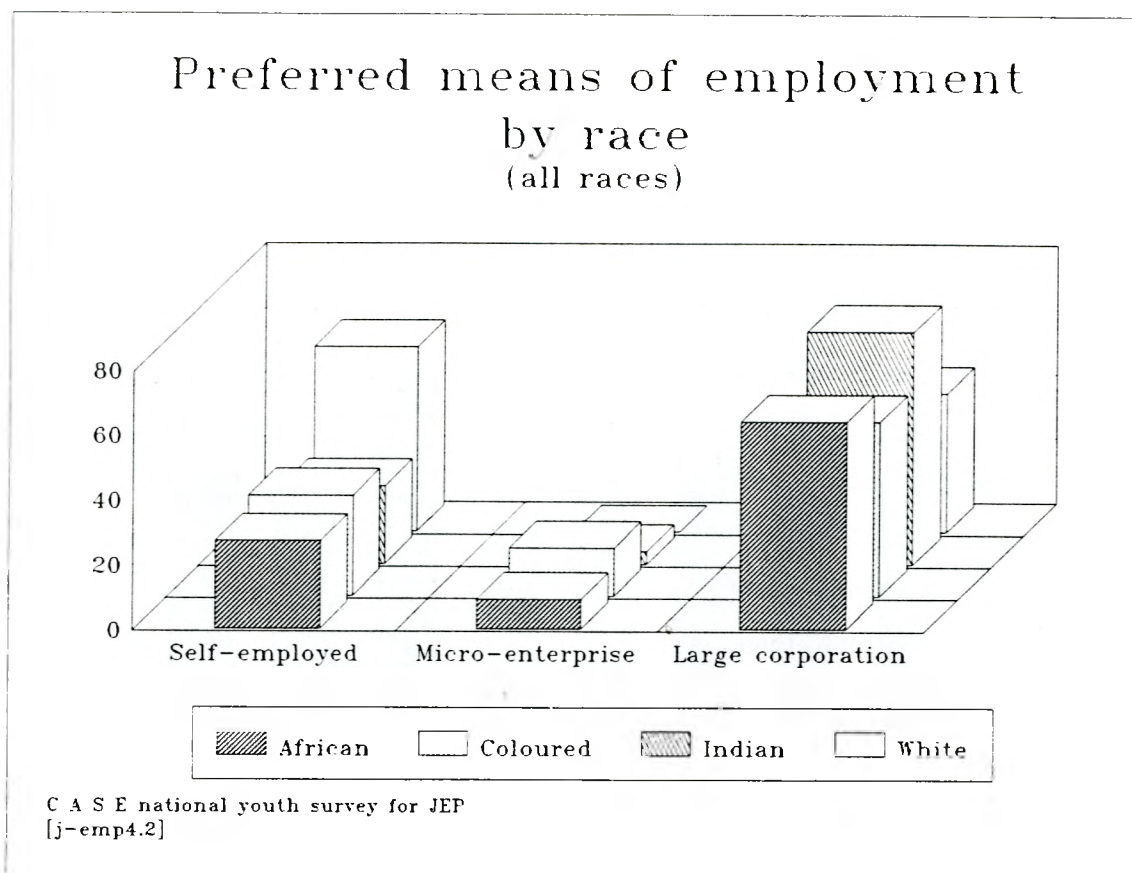


Fig. 13: Preferred means of employment
(all races)

We asked the unemployed to tell us what kind of employer they would most like to work for.

- Youth express little enthusiasm for small local businesses (micro-enterprises). Only 9% of all races chose this as their preferred means of employment. This will have to be tackled by those who feel that these are a viable means of alleviating unemployment.
- By the same token, only white youth (at 57%) reveal appreciable interest in self-employment. Both of these factors reflect on the state of the informal sector in South Africa.
- Finally, however, the dominant preference for employment in a large corporation, common to all four race groups, needs to be treated with some caution: a large corporation gives the appearance of greater job security.

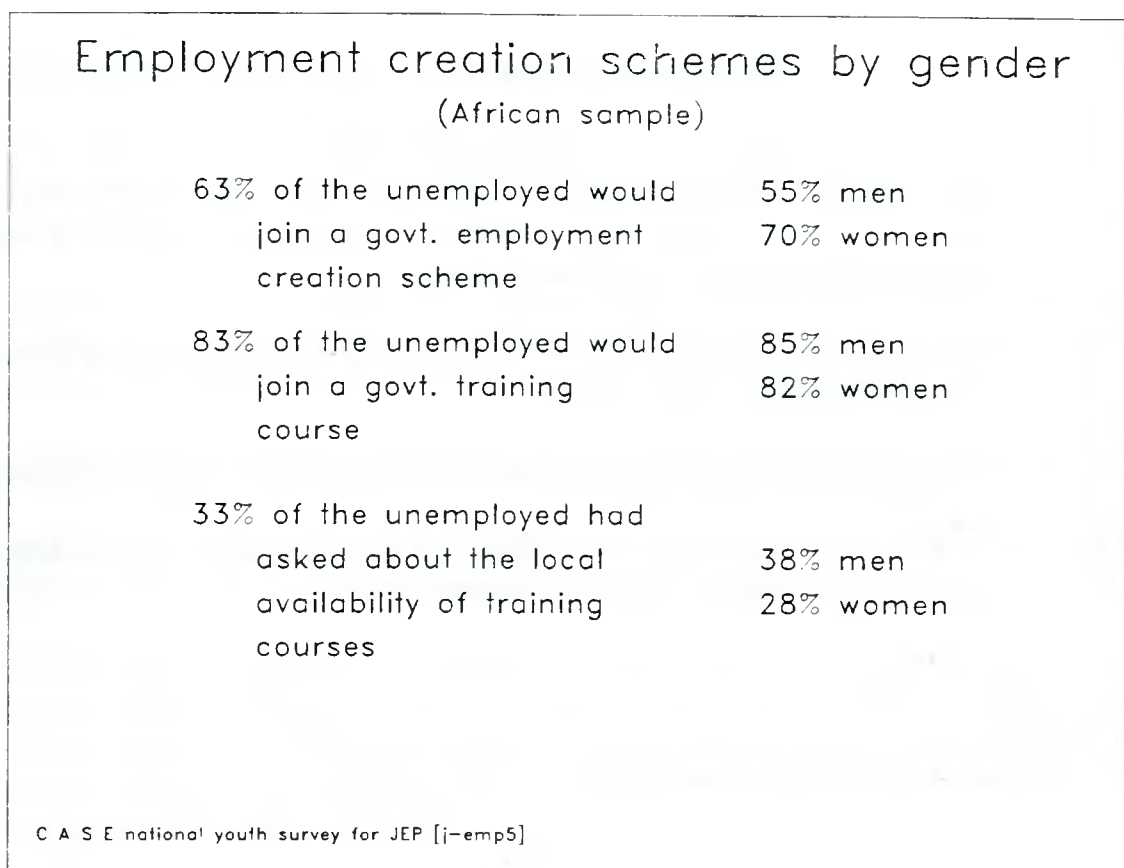


Fig. 14: Employment creation schemes
(African sample)

This graph focuses on young Africans because, as we have seen, they comprise the majority of youth unemployment, and most urgently require targeted interventions.

Two main points need highlighting:

- The larger preference for training schemes (83%), as opposed to job-creation schemes (63%), may reflect a sophisticated approach to the question: namely, that road-building or sewing circles have a shorter duration than gaining a skill through training.
- Secondly, training centres have historically ignored African youth.

What is needed is a high-profile propaganda campaign to inform all South Africans of the training (and other) facilities which are available to them.

Life circumstances: overview

- We have considered youth in their education and employment contexts: in the following section we analyse AIDS, pregnancy, domestic violence and other issues.
- Three quarters of all South African youth wrongly believe they are not personally at risk from AIDS.
- Sixty percent of young people do not expect to fulfil their potential.
- Youth are three times more likely to be involved in church or sports organisations than in political organisations.

Teenage pregnancies

- We have already seen that pregnancy was one of the main reasons cited by women for having to end their education earlier than they had planned.
- 29% of young women of all races who have a child, had their first child by the age of eighteen. Of African women who have a child, a third (33%) had their first child by the age of eighteen.
- Only a third (32%) of women who have a child, had planned to do so.
- 43% of young women with children were at school when they fell pregnant; 31% were working, and 20% were unemployed.
- Unplanned pregnancies directly affect women's life-chances. More than half (56%) of the young women with children that were interviewed for the survey had to leave their school or job because of their first child. Less than a third of their partners (28%), however, had to leave their school or job.

It is clear that young women require life-skills training, to equip them against unplanned pregnancies. This must also include, among other things, assertiveness training for young women brought up in a male-dominated society.

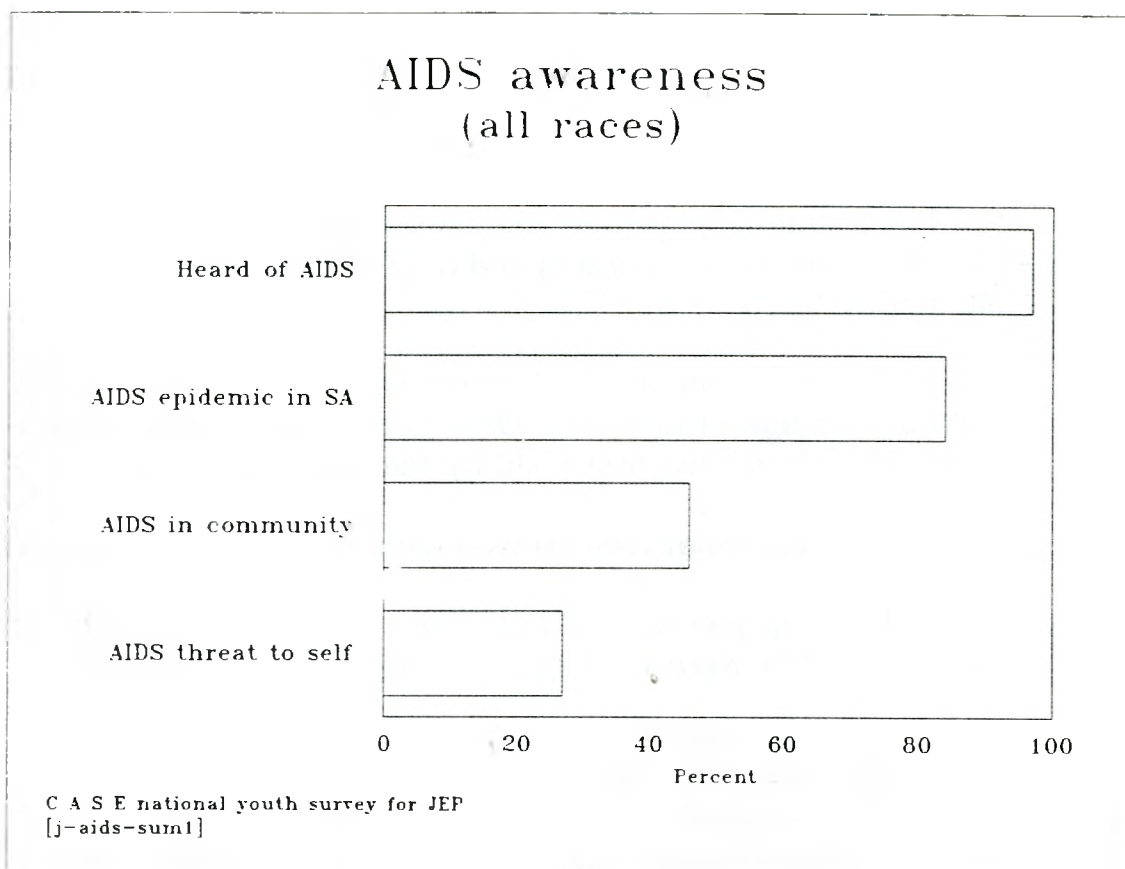


Fig. 16: **AIDS awareness**
(all races)

This graph is one of the most frightening included in this booklet.

- 3% of youth - more than 300,000 people - have not even heard about AIDS.
- 73% of South African youth - almost 8 million people - wrongly believe themselves to be at no personal risk from AIDS. The truth is that we are all at risk from the virus.

What the graph does not reveal is the fact that in a series of eight questions regarding AIDS knowledge, an average of 30% of respondents were wrong (on some of the questions, wrong scores were higher than 70%). We also asked five questions regarding the myths propounded about AIDS, such as 'it doesn't exist', or 'it only affects homosexuals', and the overall incorrect score was 39%.

Urgent AIDS programmes are clearly needed. Who will reach and educate the 3% of youth who do not even know that AIDS exists? Who will reach the 8 million youth who falsely believe themselves to be safe from the virus, and convince them to take responsibility for their sexuality?

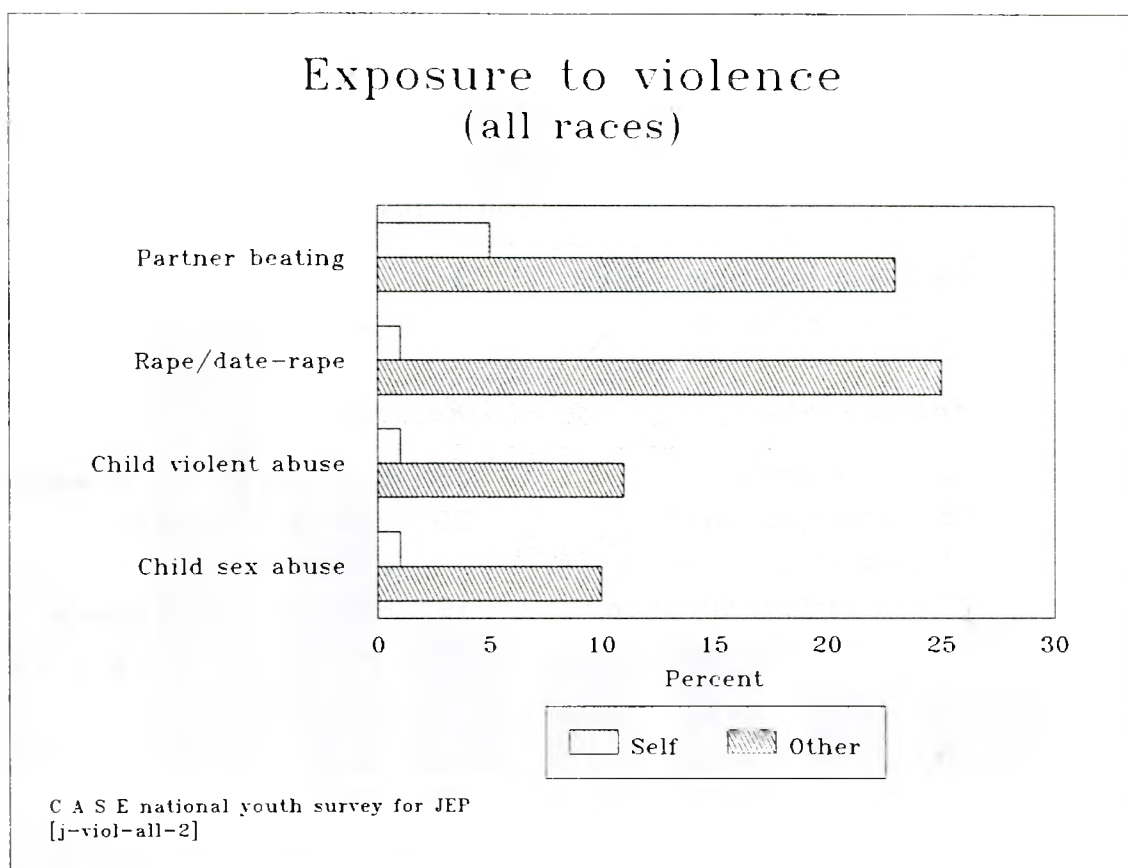


Fig. 17: Exposure to violence
(all races)

The youth of South Africa are frequently cited as a violent generation. Most commentators fail to ask what level of violence the youth themselves suffer.

We asked young people to talk about domestic violence. However, because this can be a painful thing to do, we also asked them a 'projective' question: to talk about people they knew who had suffered such violence. The result is a frightening picture of a brutalised generation:

- 1% of young people admitted to having been violently abused as a child, and another 1% to having been sexually abused as a child. Each one percent is equivalent to over 100,000 people.
- While only 1% of women said they had been raped, or raped while on a date, fully 25% of them knew of other women who had suffered this form of male violence.
- 5% of young people - more than half a million people - are currently being beaten by their partners, while a further 23% know of other people who are suffering this violence.

The youth we interviewed included proportions who admitted to this violence, even to a stranger doing the interview. Are they being reached by welfare services? And if so, are they being adequately and appropriately counselled?

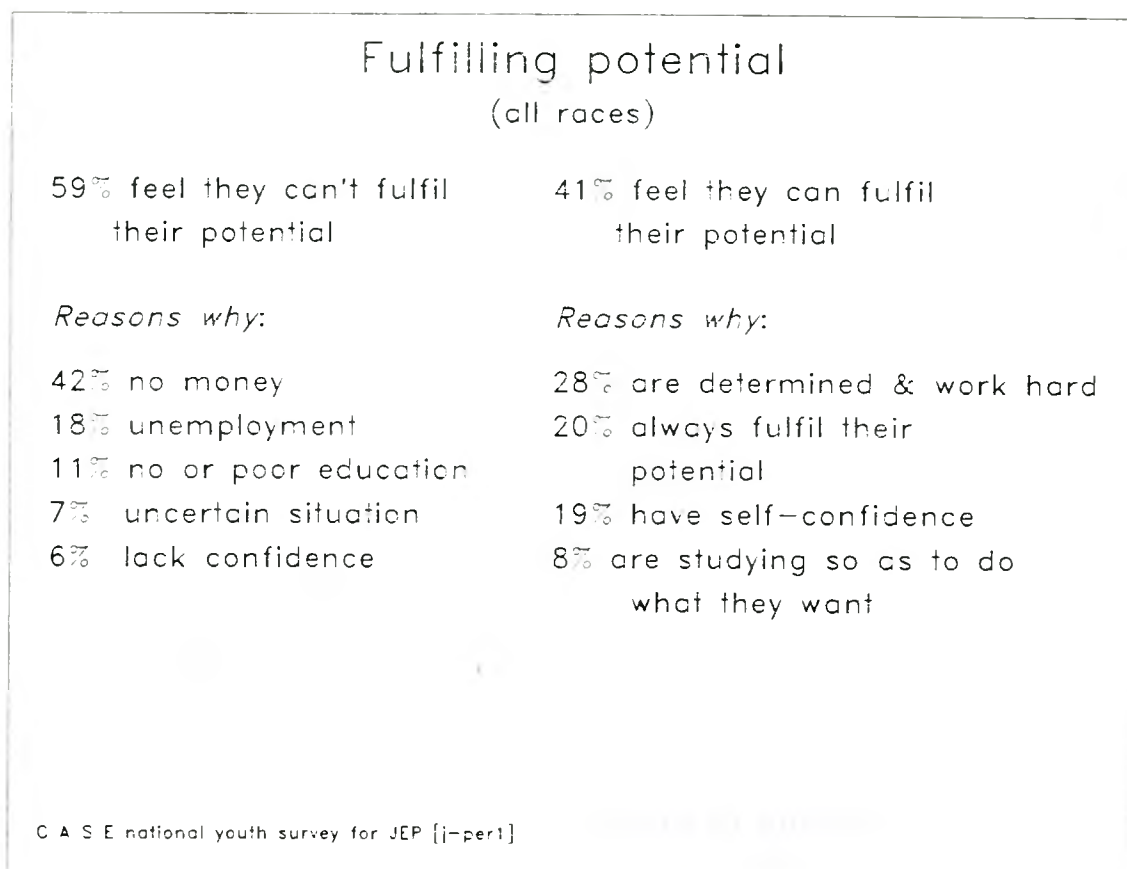


Fig. 18: Fulfilling potential?
(all races)

We asked the youth whether they believed they would be able to fulfil their potential.

- A massive 59% of young people of all races do not believe that they will be able to fulfil their potential.
- The reasons cited for this - financial, unemployment, lack of education - point to the structural inequalities in South African society, which we saw in the sections covering education and employment.
- Only 6% of those who do not believe they can fulfil their potential cite personal reasons (a lack of confidence) for this.

The youth have energy and commitment: one commodity in short supply, however, is hope. Youth need to be fully integrated into society, equipped to contribute to society, and empowered to fulfil their potential.

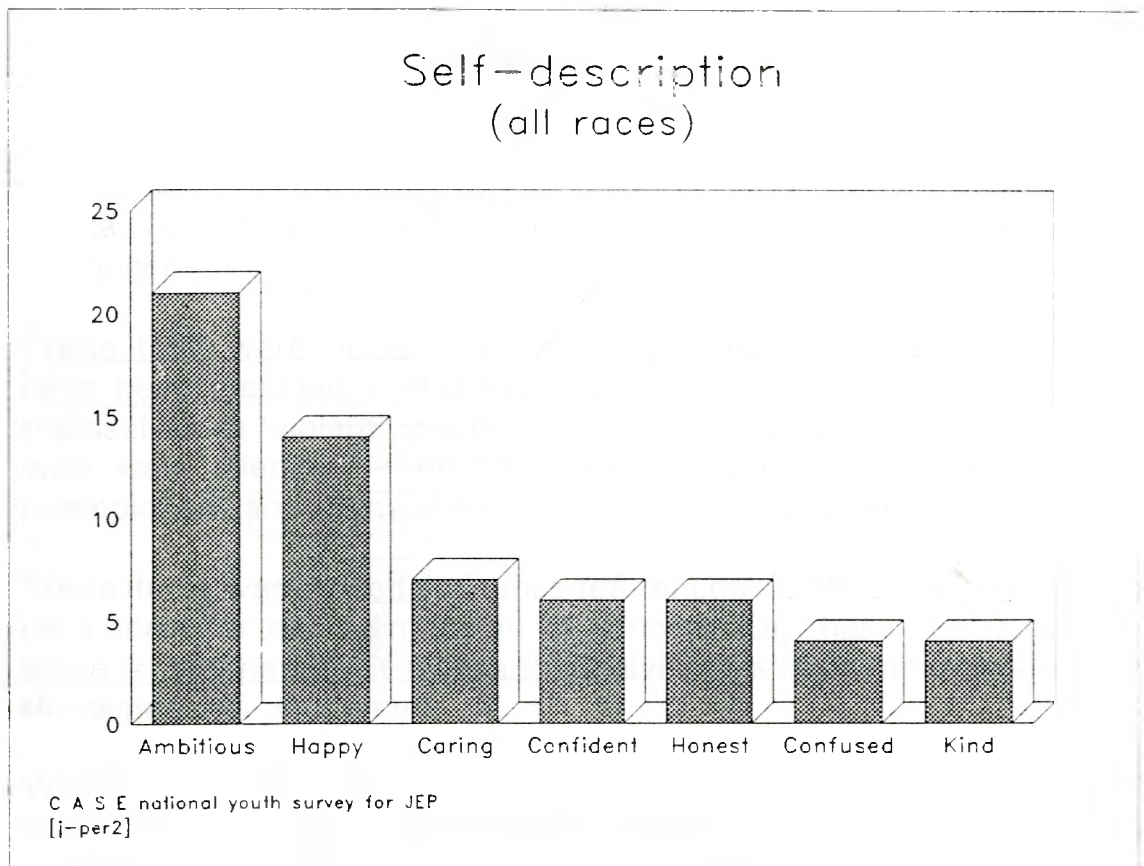


Fig. 19: Self-description
(all races)

We gave respondents a list of some thirty 'feelings' which could describe how they felt inside, and asked them to choose three; we also gave space for them to offer their own adjectives. The result is a picture of the youth as highly positive in outlook, notwithstanding the majority feeling that they will not be able to fulfil their potential.

- 21% of all young people chose 'ambitious' as the adjective which best described how they felt about themselves.
- The first 'negative' adjective, 'confused' was chosen by 4% of young people.
- The adjectives 'ambitious', 'happy', 'caring', 'confident' and 'honest' comprised 54% of first choice adjectives among the youth.
- More worryingly, however, were the 2% who chose 'angry', or 'frightened', or 'insecure'. Some of these self-descriptors have been used to trace aspects of youth marginalisation, discussed in the next section.

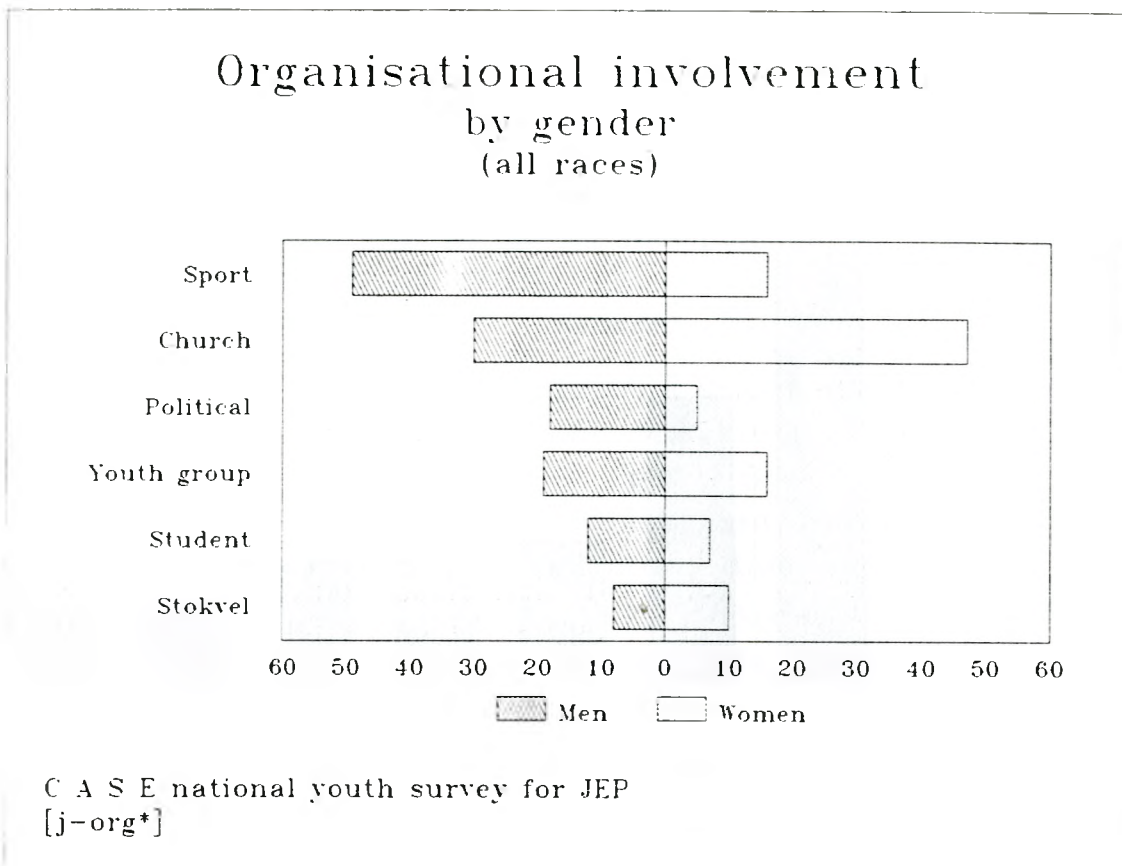


Fig. 20: **Organisational involvement**
(all races)

- This graph shows very clearly that the generation dubbed 'the Young Lions' has changed significantly: only 12% of youth (more men than women) are members of political organisations. This only increases slightly, to 15%, among young Africans.
- Rather, youth are involved in the church and choirs (38%), and in sports organisations (32%).
- There is a clear gender difference in organisational involvement: young women are mainly to be found in church organisations (47%), while young men are involved in sport (49%). Politics is a male affair: young men comprise more than two-thirds of the 12% of young people who belong to a political organisation.

Possibly most important in this graph is the fact that youth are in structures, and can be reached. As we have seen, the church must play a very large role in this.

Youth marginalisation: overview

- In this section, we analyse the marginalisation of youth in South Africa. To do this, we first compiled a series of indexes, or dimensions of concern.
- These items were based on a wide range of questions, many of which have been included in this booklet, such as people who described themselves as 'violent', people who had never heard of AIDS, or those who were alienated from their school or place of work or were unemployed, and many more.
- These items were tallied and cross-referenced on the computer, to give us a scale for each dimension of concern. On these scales, a high score is 'bad news' - it means the individual is highly marginalised on the dimension concerned.
- We then ran the entire sample of 2,200 young people against the dimensions of concern, so that everyone in the survey received a score - either low, medium or high - on every dimension.
- Later in this section we shall combine these twelve dimensions into an overall measure of marginalisation for the youth of South Africa.
- We are then able to identify gender, race and other differences in aggregate marginalisation.

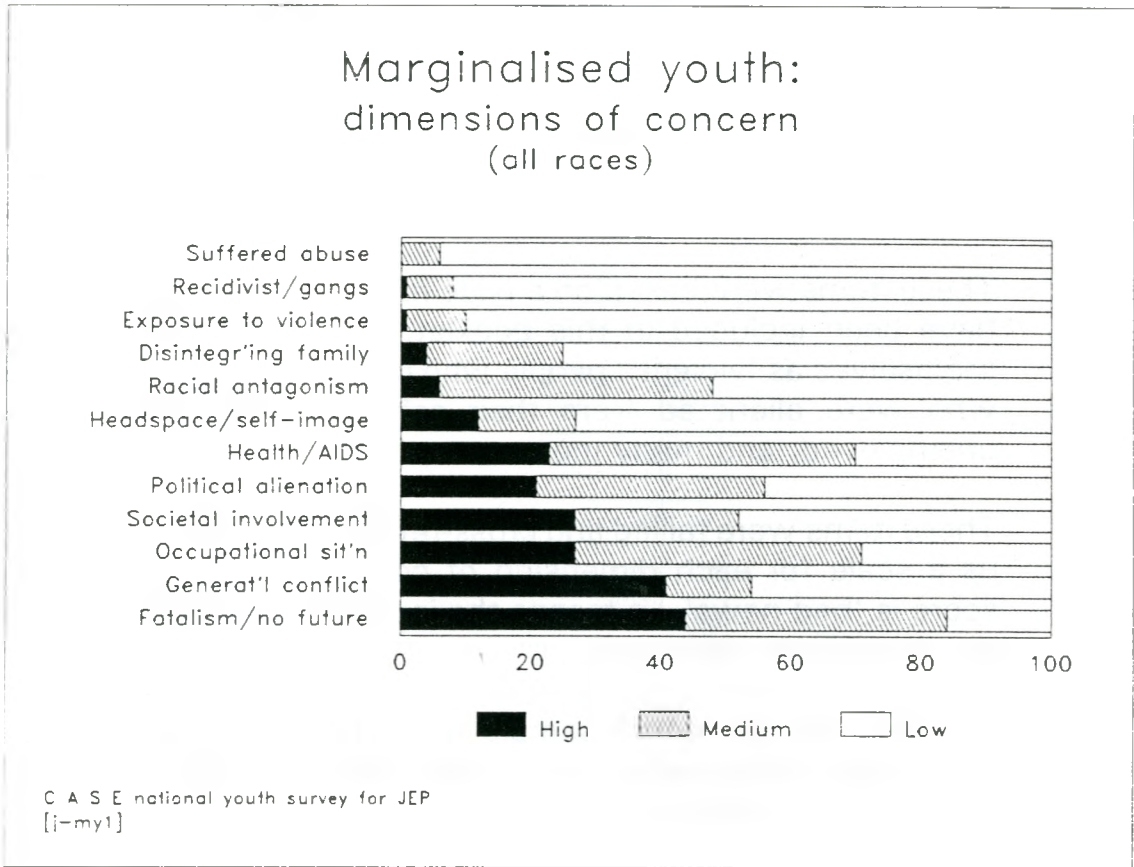


Fig. 21: Dimensions of concern

- This graph shows the twelve dimensions of concern, and the high, medium and low scores within each one.
- Each dimension is compiled from different questions. 'Legal', for example, includes young people who are members of a gang, or who admire people sent to prison for rape, fraud or assault. 'Futur' includes those young people who feel that South Africa has no future, that it is terrible to be young in the 1990s, and that they have no real future in the country. 'Head', which is short for headspace, includes those who, amongst other things, described themselves as "violent" or "angry".

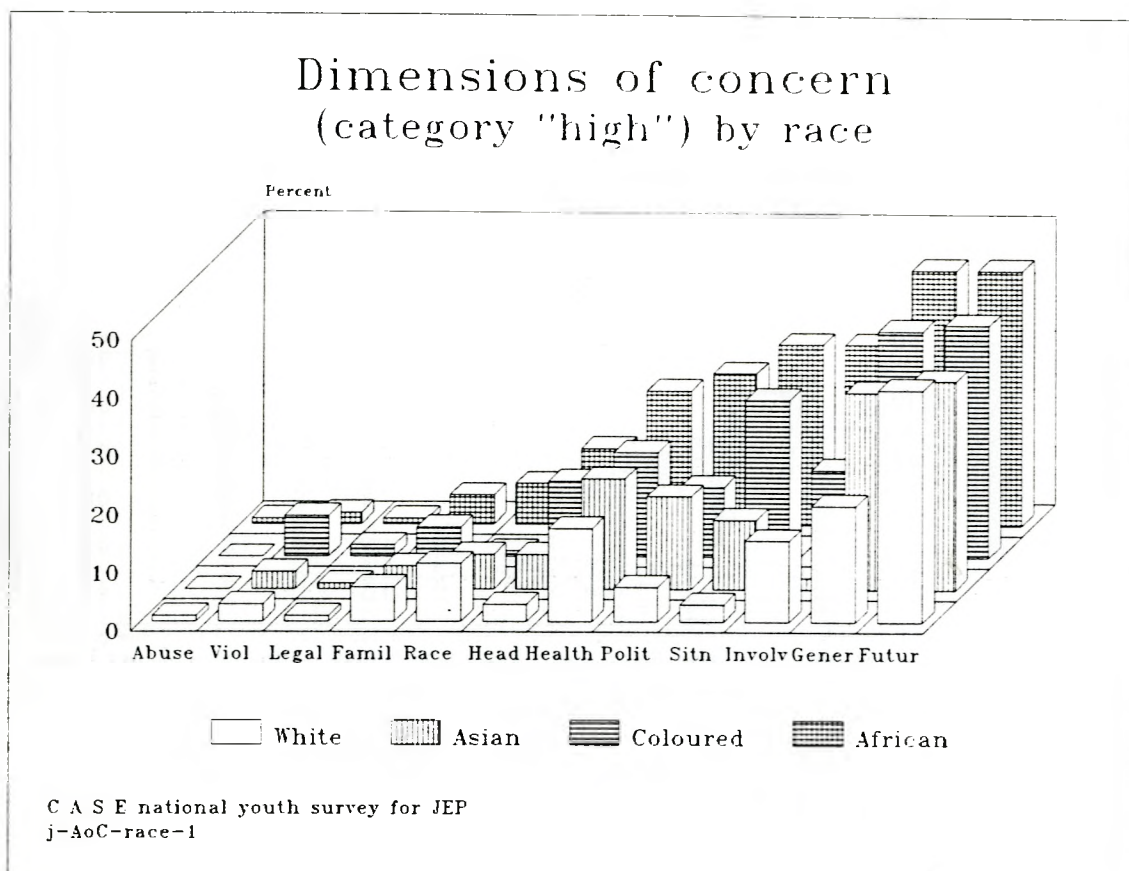


Fig. 22: **Dimensions of concern, by race**
(category "high")

This summary graph is simplified to show only those people who scored high (i.e. 'bad news') on the twelve dimensions of concern, broken down by race group. It is important to note that while some of the dimensions of concern score low across all four race groups, such as abuse, others such as future alienation score high amongst all race groups. The issue of youth marginalisation is a national problem. The following are some of the relevant nuances:

- It is clear that youth of all races are alienated about their own future, and that of South Africa.
- African and Coloured youth score higher on generational hostility than Asian youth, and much higher than white youth; likewise on 'headspace'.
- All four race groups score low on abuse and legal alienation.
- Whites score lower than the other groups on marginalisation in their occupational situation, because relatively few are unemployed; but they score higher on racial antagonism.

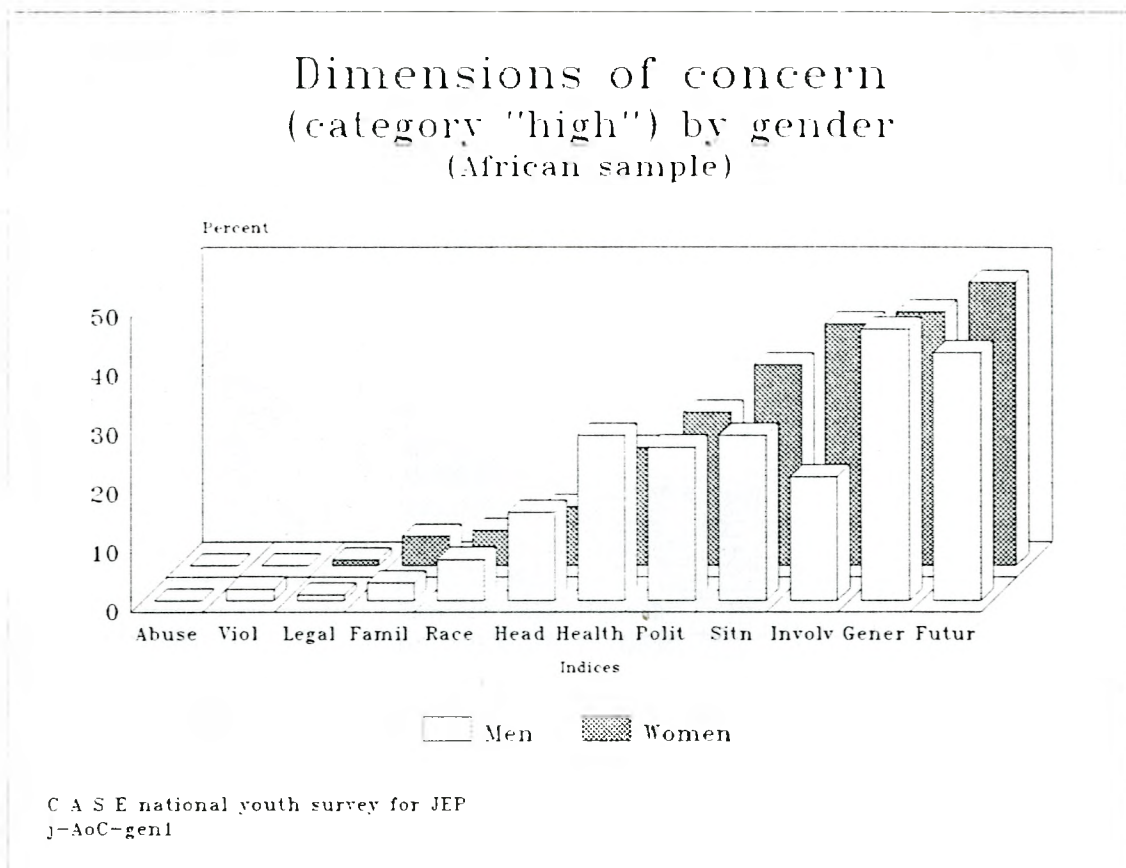


Fig. 23: **Dimensions of concern, by gender**
(category "high")

- Young women scored notably higher than men on the societal-involvement dimension of concern; i.e. they are more isolated, and less organisationally involved, than men.
- Young men, on the other hand, have a poorer self-image than women.
- Both men and women scored equally high on generational hostility, and equally low on the abuse and legal dimensions of concern.

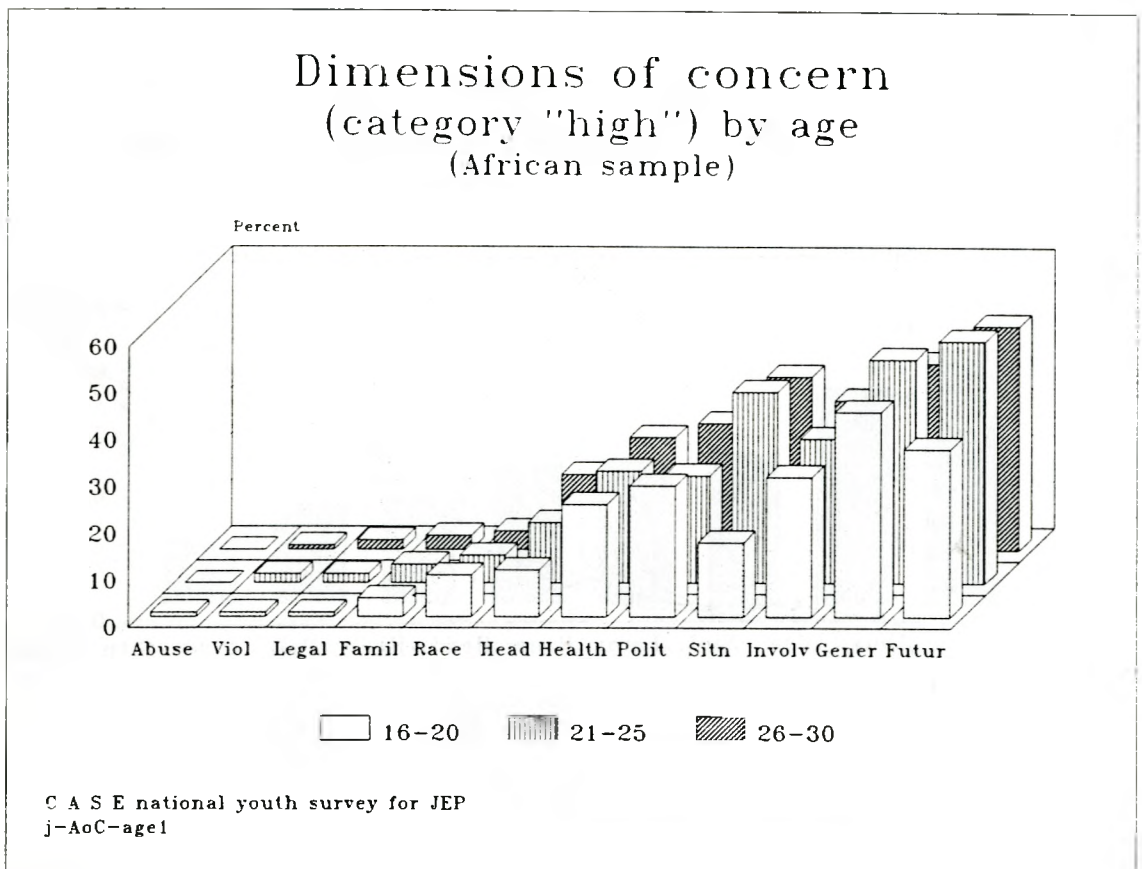


Fig. 24: Dimensions of concern, by age (category "high")

- The light coloured 'pillars' at the front of the graph show that the youngest age category, aged between 16 and 20, score highest on the political and racial dimensions of concern.
- The middle age category, aged 21-25, are most alienated in their occupational situation (school, work or unemployed), as well as in the generational conflict and future alienation dimensions.
- The oldest group, aged from 26 to 30, are similarly high on the future alienation dimension, and are the most uninvolved or isolated.

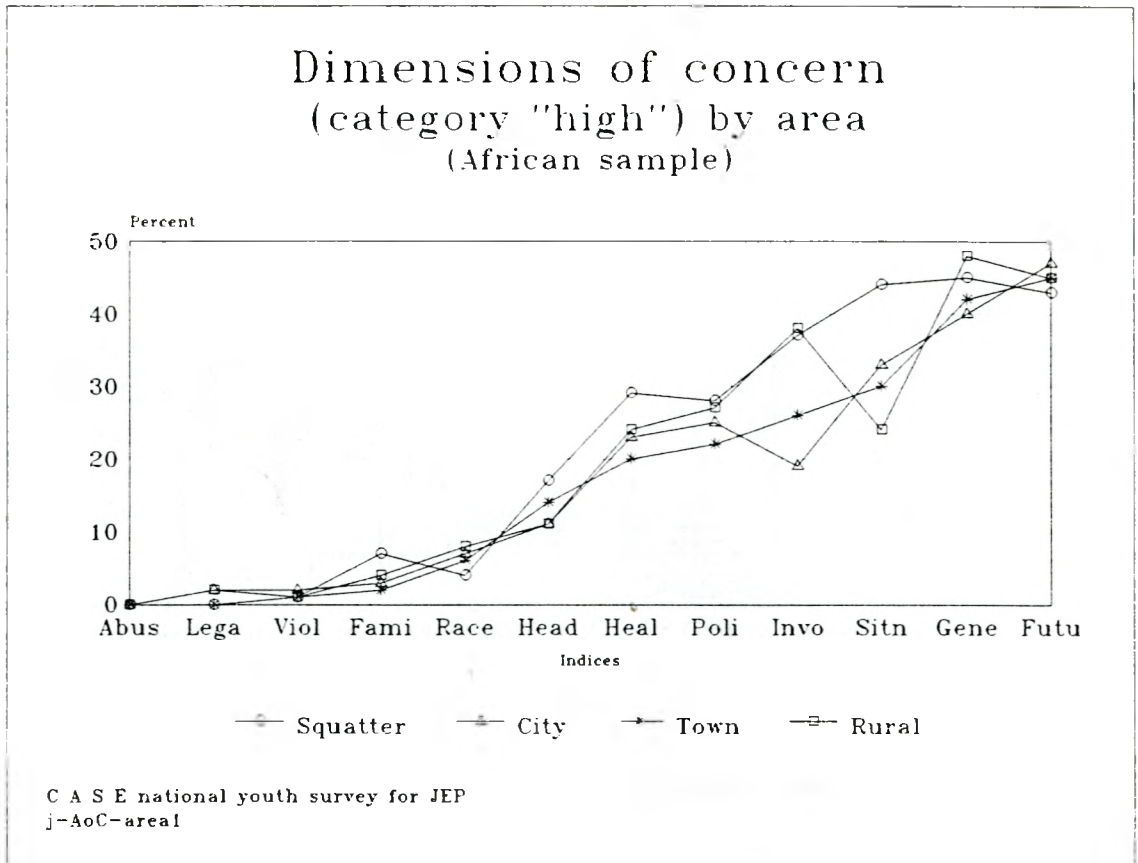


Fig. 25: **Dimensions of concern, by area**
(category "high")

- This graph shows that the dimensions of concern vary according to where people live - city, town, squatter camp or countryside - but that (as we have seen) people in all four areas score high on many of the dimensions of concern.
- Youth in all four areas score very similarly on the first eight dimensions of concern, from 'abuse' to 'politics': violence, as one might fear, is worst experienced in squatter camps (but racial antagonism is lowest!).
- After that, however, we see considerable variation. People from squatter camps and the rural areas are most societally isolated or uninvolved, while city dwellers are better off in this regard. Young people from squatter camps are also higher than others on occupational alienation. But all four areas score similarly high on generational conflict and alienation about their and South Africa's future.

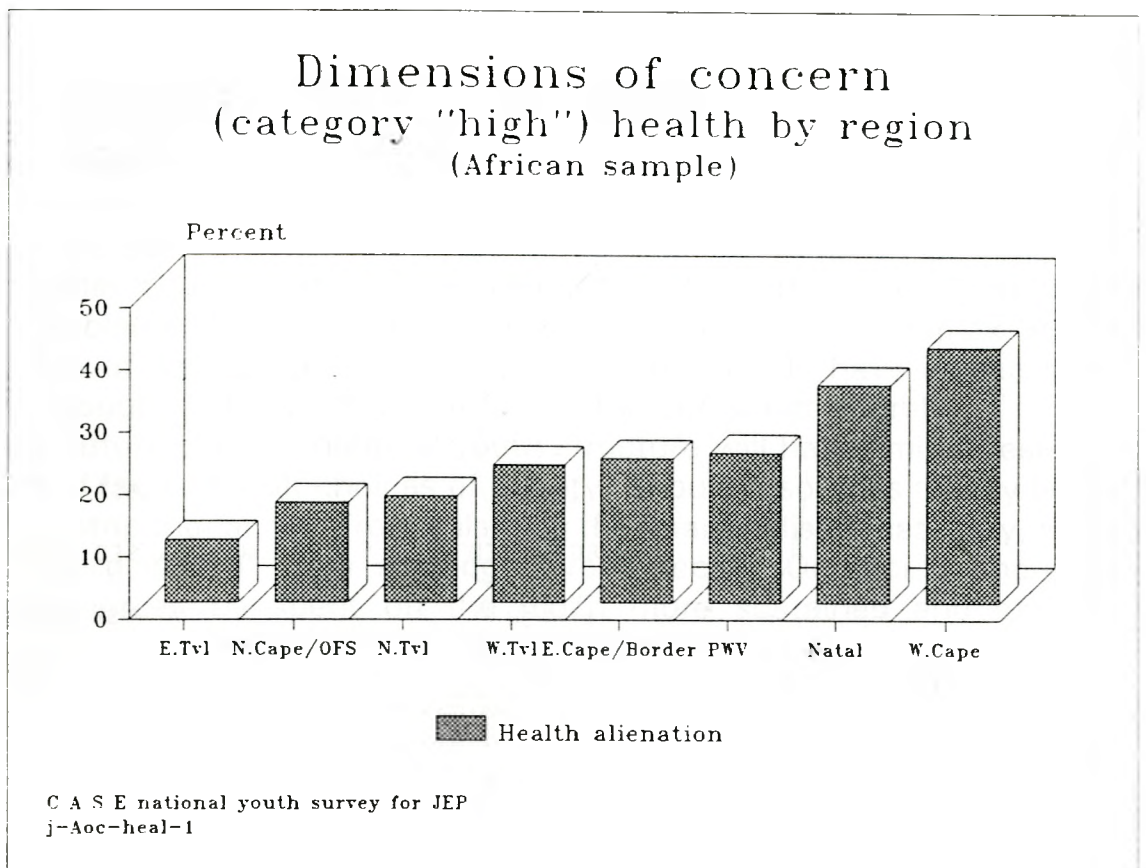


Fig. 25: **Dimensions of concern: health by region**
(category "high")

Each of the twelve dimensions of concern varies by region. We have chosen one, 'health', to illustrate this point.

- This dimension of concern, which includes people who have never heard of AIDS or who have never received sex education, scores relatively high across all regions. We saw some evidence of this in our graph on AIDS awareness across the four race groups.
- The eastern Transvaal, and northern Cape and Orange Free State, are the two least problematic regions.
- In contrast, Natal and the western Cape show the highest level of concern on the health awareness issue.

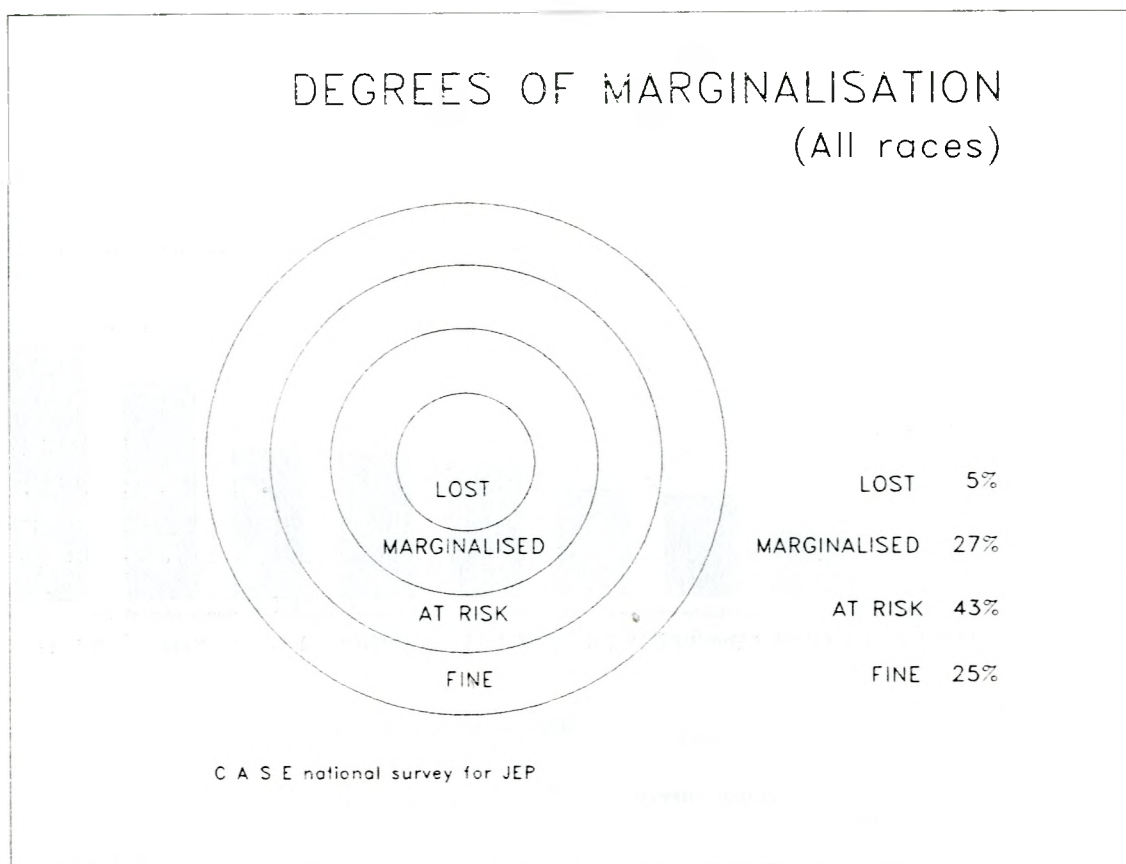


Fig. 26: Degrees of youth marginalisation

Having compiled our twelve dimensions of concern, each individual in the entire sample (of 2,200 young people of all races) was measured against all dimensions simultaneously. This graph shows the resulting aggregate levels of marginalisation across the youth population as a whole.

- 'Fine' means that the young people in this category are fully engaged with society. Comprising a quarter (25%) of youth, they need no intervention - but they need to be identified, so that they can be trained in peer education and leadership courses.
- 'At risk' means that the youth in this category are functioning, but showing signs of alienation on a few dimensions of concern. They comprise 43% of the overall sample. They must not be allowed to drop into the next category.
- 'Marginalised' youth are the focus of this survey, and are those youth most in need of urgent intervention. They amount to more than a quarter (27%) of the sample, being people who score high on many of the twelve dimensions of concern. This group must be differentiated by region, gender and other factors and targeted with specifically tailored programmes covering a range of issues. In other words,

particular groups score high on different dimensions of concern, and these insights must guide any intervention.

- 'Lost' youth are the 5%, one in twenty young people, who scored high on nearly all, of the twelve dimensions of concern.
- We use the term 'lost' with care. A whole generation of young people have been written off by some commentators as a lost generation. Other commentators have claimed that youth are experiencing no problems. The truth, as our results reveal, is more complex. A tragic 5% of young people, some half a million in all, have indeed slipped through, or been shoved through, the social net entirely.
- A future state or national youth structure will have limited resources, and face difficult choices of priority. Should resources mainly be used to stop the 'at risk' from enlarging the 'marginalised' category, and the 'marginalised' from slipping beyond recall? Or should appreciable resources be spent on the much more sustained and expensive interventions required to access and re-engage the 'lost'?

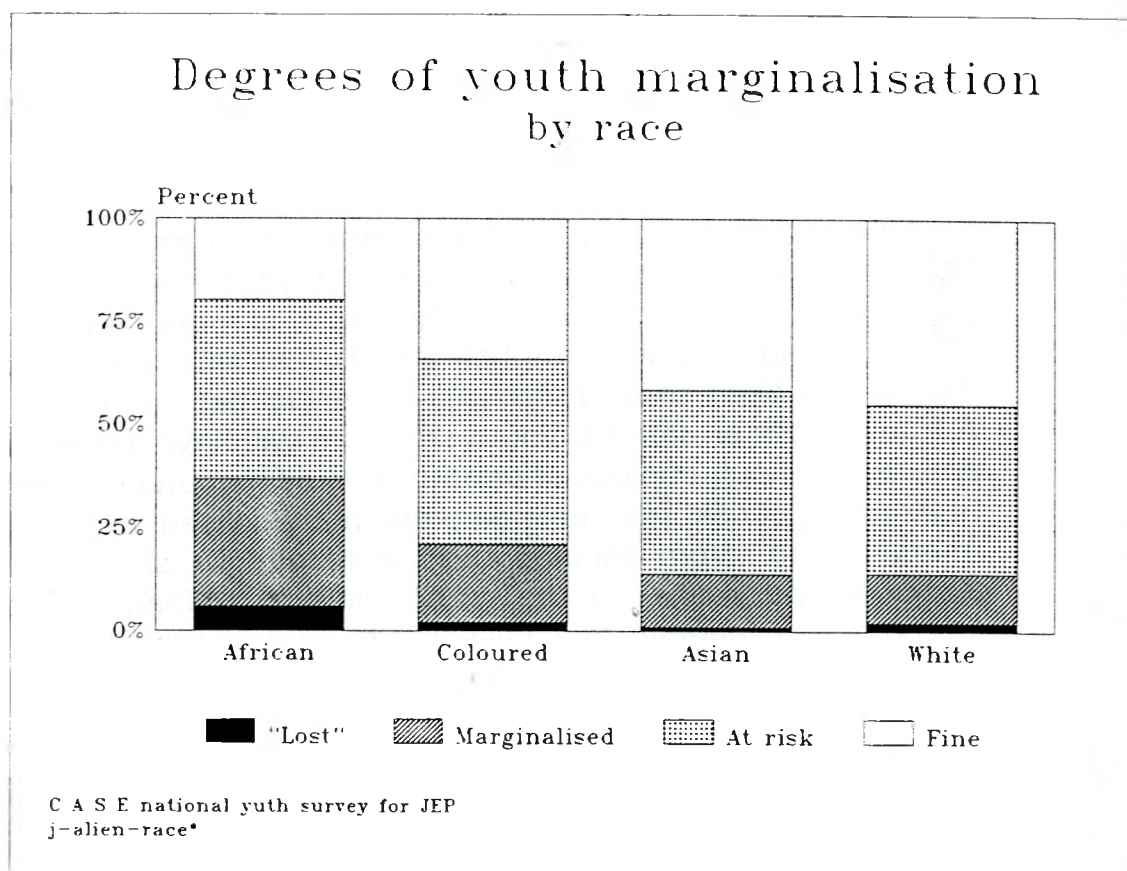


Fig. 27: **Degrees of youth marginalisation by race**

- Youth marginalisation is clearly a national, nonracial problem. Youth of all races are to be found in all four categories.
- Throughout this booklet we have seen the results of the systematic discrimination against African people in particular. It is unsurprising that the segments of both 'lost' and 'marginalised' are largest among African youth. This is the task which apartheid has left us: to reach these youth, and offer them the opportunities to re-engage with society.
- Coloured youth are second to African youth in proportions of 'lost' and 'marginalised', while the proportions are clearly less among Asian and white youth.
- In all race groups, the proportion of 'fine', fully-engaged youth must be drawn into programmes aimed at stopping more of their contemporaries from joining the 'marginalised' or 'lost' categories.

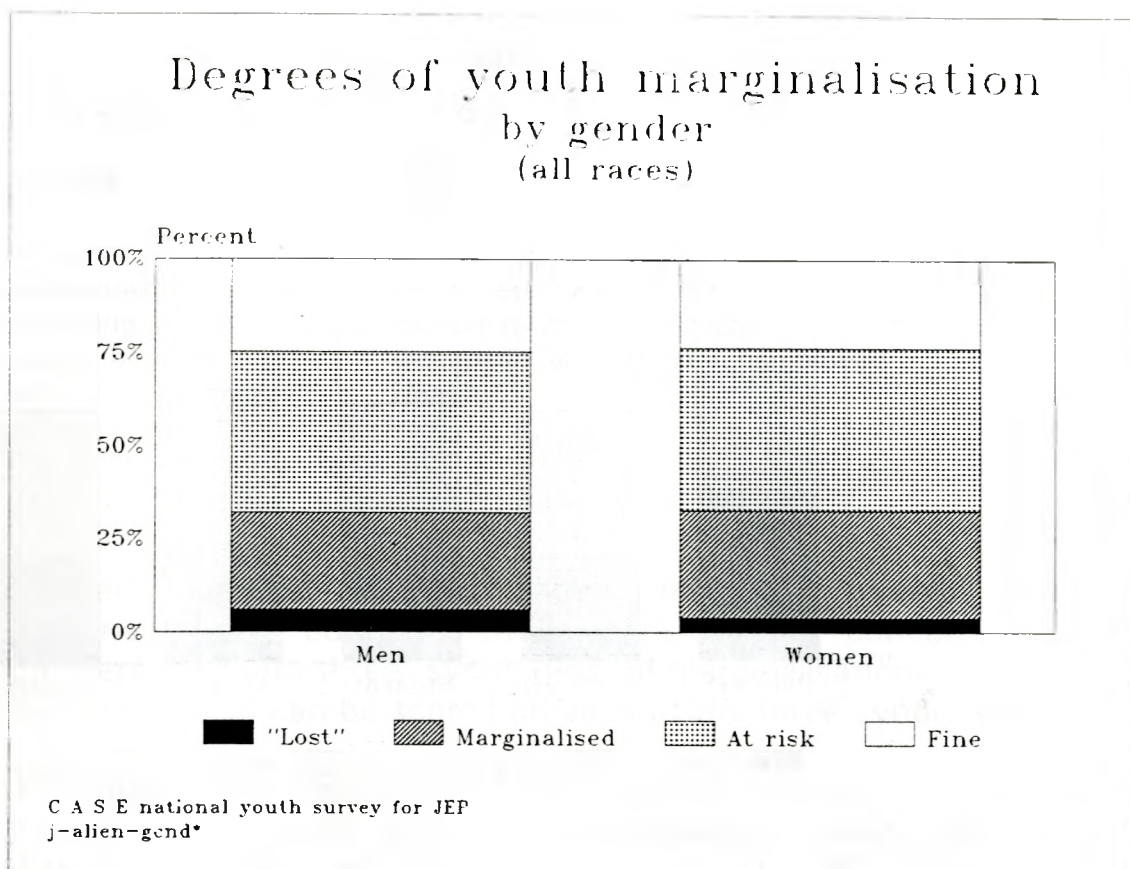


Fig. 28: Degrees of youth marginalisation by gender

- There are more men than women in the 'lost' category.
- However, women outnumber men among the 'marginalised'.
- These differences do not affect the fact that youth marginalisation is a problem affecting all young people, whether distinguished by gender, race or other factors.

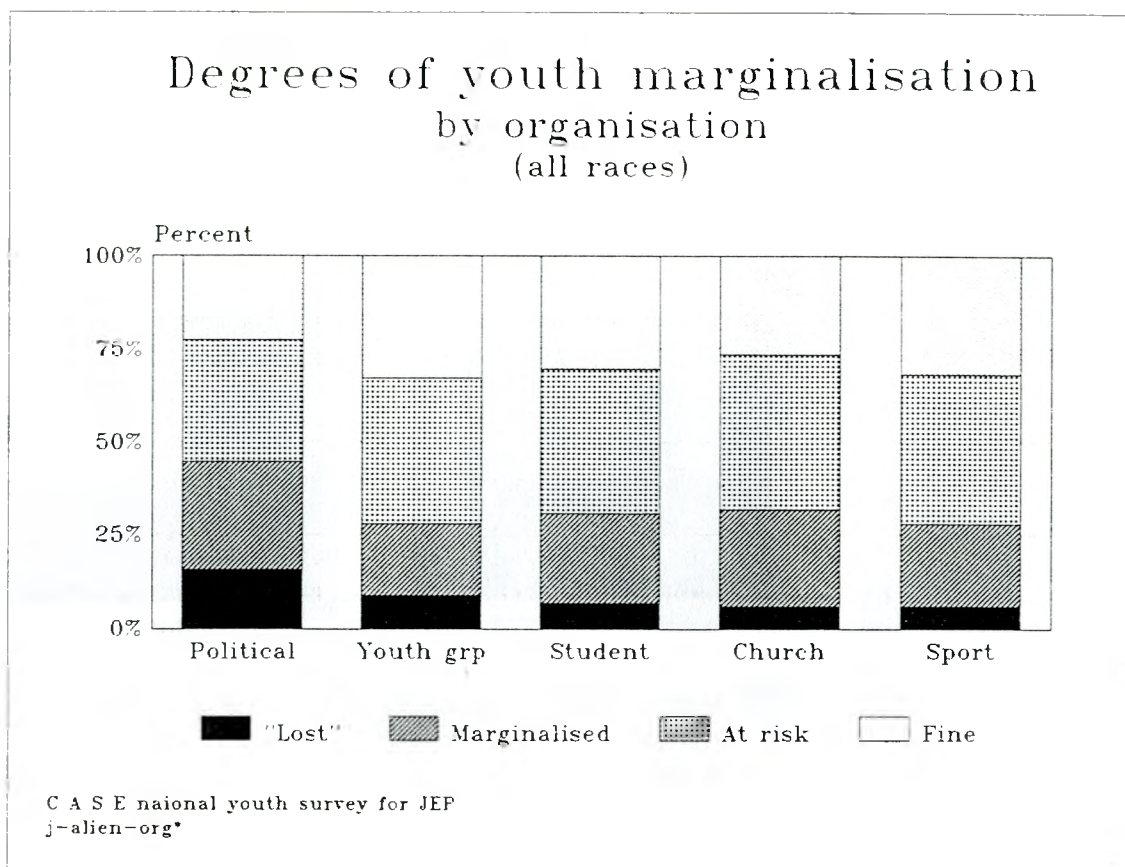


Fig. 29: Degrees of youth marginalisation by organisation

- Political movements might be tempted to say, "Our youth are okay". In fact, as the graph shows, the fractions of 'lost' and 'marginalised' are appreciably higher than in non-political organisations.
- Sport groups are at the other end of the spectrum, with the lowest proportions of 'lost' and 'marginalised'. Youth organisations fare equally well, followed by student and church associations.
- An important finding not shown in the graph is that the more kinds of organisation a young person participates in, the lower his/her marginalisation.

Three 'syndromes' of marginalisation

Antagonists

Political alienation
Racial antagonism
Recidivist/gang member
Generational hostility
Fatalism

Outsiders

Disintegrating family
No societal involvement
Headspace/poor self image
Occupational alienation/unemployed
Health

Victims

Suffered abuse
Exposed to violence

- Further empirical analysis shows that the overall index of marginalisation, built on the dimensions of concern, can be differentiated into three 'syndromes' of marginalisation.
- Each individual can be scored on each of the three syndromes.
- The Antagonists** are more politically alienated, racially antagonistic and hostile to the older generation than average. They may tend to disregard the law, and see no positive future for themselves or South Africa. They are especially prevalent in their early twenties.
- The Outsiders** more often than average come from broken families, and are alienated from their work or school environment, or are unemployed. They rarely belong to organisations. They have a poor self-image. They are often found in squatter settlements, especially in the western Cape.
- The Victims** were abused as children, or are being violently abused by their partners, or have had wide exposure to political violence. They are more prevalent than average in the PWV and western Cape.
- As illustrated above, each syndrome can be investigated in detail for its regional, age, gender and other indications. This data will be useful to youth organisers and policy planners in establishing their programme strategies.

Recommendations

In a separate booklet, C A S E has submitted a set of detailed recommendations drawn from our six position papers on youth. These cover

- AIDS
- education
- employment-creation
- social context and violence
- the Botswana brigades
- comparative African experience

The results of our survey of 2200 respondents - across all races and regions - emphasise the urgency of the need for interventions in these areas.

The holistic approach

The survey also endorses the overall thrust of our policy recommendations: namely, the need for a holistic approach to youth development. By allowing youth to express their views on a mix of socio-economic, political and psychological concerns, the survey highlights the fact that, for example, economic security does not necessarily lead to emotional or mental well-being. It also highlights the fact that youth who are 'fine' - fully engaged with society and happy in themselves - may nonetheless be ignorant of their personal risk from AIDS. To be successful, a national youth development policy must tackle these issues simultaneously.

A national youth development policy or interventionist programme must not approach youth merely as potentially productive units in the labour market, or numbers in an education strategy. Young people are complex individuals, who have signalled the range of their concerns through the survey. Any policy or programmatic response must recognise this complexity.

It follows that, for example, education courses or economic skills training must include a life-skills package which educates youth about birth control and AIDS awareness, and provides psychological interventions where appropriate. Such a programme must be sensitive to the particular needs of young women; of youth from squatter camps and shacks; of regional, racial and other differences relating to groups deliberately disadvantaged by apartheid. A national youth development policy is necessary and desirable; but initiatives are best designed and implemented at a local and regional level.

Differentiating degrees of marginalisation

As we have seen, youth are at differing stages of risk. The survey has differentiated this by identifying and then combining socio-economic, generational, political, psychological and other indices. We have been able

to assess relevant groupings of individuals across twelve dimensions of concern.

Thus we have moved beyond asserting, for instance, that all youth in squatter camps must be equally at risk because of the nature of their home-life. By using our survey to build on the responses from youth themselves in squatter camps, we are able to disaggregate them by the four categories, from 'fine' through 'at risk' and 'marginalised' to 'lost'. This allows differentiated programmes to be developed. Some would offer supportive courses for youth from squatter camps who are fully engaged with society to remain so; and to train them as peer educators. Other programmes could then employ them to allow greater outreach to their fellow youth in squatter camps who may be 'at risk' or 'marginalised' or 'lost'.

The positive potential for re-engagement

Youth concerns range from economic, educational and social issues, to psychological scarring and familial conflict. We find that young respondents tend to describe themselves in positive terms, as ambitious, happy and caring - and yet are pessimistic about their future, with the majority not believing that they will be able to fulfil their potential. The task of policy makers and programme designers is to harness the positive aspects of our youth, their energy and affirmative self-image, to a set of interventions which will allow young people to overcome the negative future they perceive.

Specific suggestions for discussion

Our recommendations flow from this approach. In general, we envisage:

- 'fine' youth as a resource for implementing the programmes below
- 'at risk' youth as the target of state-wide policy improvements
- 'marginalised' youth as addressed by specific programmes, which are regionally and locally differentiated and implemented, and administered by partnerships among NGOs, youth structures, community organisations, as well as churches, sporting bodies and so on
- 'lost' youth as available for re-engagement by improvements in the existing judicial and social work systems.

Further to the specific proposals made in the six position papers, we now mention methods of approaching the four overall categories of 'fine', 'at risk', 'marginalised' and 'lost', that are suggested by the findings of the survey. The commissions can take these as starting points; and come up with many more.

For 'fine' youth

- provide leadership training

- encourage them to act as peer educators and role models
- identify what makes them 'fine'
- draw on their ideas and experiences

For 'at risk' youth

- facilitate the setting up of small local enterprises and self-employment
- provide socio-economic interventions such as skills training, job-creation etc.
- widely disseminate AIDS-awareness and sex-education materials and provide training
- improve resourcing of the voluntary organisations in which they already participate

For 'marginalised' youth

- galvanise community participation to reach this group, re-integrate them, and sustain them there
- devise programmes to induce them into the norms of the community, as well as a means of channelling aggression, via widely available church, youth and sport structures
- provide assertiveness and communication training
- multiply crisis centres, family and rape counselling clinics, while providing localised services in appropriate languages
- apply the 'at risk' strategies wherever possible

For 'lost' youth

- skills training and education, perhaps leading to remission of sentence, for those within prison
- encourage community service for appropriate crimes, with community support for these activities, as a means of re-integrating the 'lost' into the community
- provide family counselling by lay practitioners who 'graduated' from the programmes
- offer individual counselling (as done by NICRO, for example).