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DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY AND ARCHAEOLOGY

MSocSci in Development Studies

Youths, Unemployment and Alternative Strategies for Survival

A Case Study of Young University Graduates in Bulawayo, Zimbabwe

By

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this dissertation is the result of my work and where applicable, I have indicated and given due acknowledgement. I further declare that I have obtained the necessary permission to conduct this research.

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Date

ETHICS STATEMENT

I, Tafadzwa Simphorosa Mhazo , the author of *Youths, Unemployment and Alternative Strategies for Survival: A Case Study of Young University Graduates in Bulawayo, Zimbabwe* have obtained, for the research described in this work, the applicable research ethics approval.

I, Tafadzwa Simphorosa Mhazo declare that I have observed the ethical standards required in terms of the University of Pretoria's Code of Ethics for researchers and the Policy guidelines for responsible research.

ABSTRACT

Youth unemployment is a global problem, which has drawn much scholarly attention because of its complex dynamics within different regions and countries. Two common solutions suggested to tackle youth unemployment in African countries are investing in improved quality of tertiary education, and channelling investments to the agricultural sector in order for it to employ youths. This study examines the problem of youth unemployment in Bulawayo, examining the causes, the survival strategies of unemployed youths, and the sustainability of these strategies. It also explores the possibility of absorbing educated youth into agriculture.

The study adopted a qualitative case study, focusing on 30 graduate youths in the City of Bulawayo. Young graduates were interviewed utilising a semi structured interview technique. The study found that educated youths in Bulawayo have found it difficult to get jobs in the city and were considering options outside the city. The study also showed that young graduates still consider formal employment as key to livelihoods. The youths also understood what they meant by employment, and did not consider activities in the informal sector or agriculture as employment. In fact, the young graduates had a negative perception of agriculture and preferred informal sector activities to agriculture. As such, the majority of young graduates had found solace in the informal sector, and were involved in a range of activities to survive. The conclusion reached by this dissertation is that young people have used their agency to navigate economic difficulties in a city that cannot provide them with sustainable livelihoods, due to neglect and a failing economy. While there is a gap between their education, training and the prevailing industrial needs, agriculture cannot effectively solve the young people's problems. Young people require occupations that offer dignity and status, and sustainable livelihoods, and agriculture cannot provide any of these. This has left young people surviving on the underground economy, which although less sustainable than formal employment, can give them the dignity and financial returns.

In loving memory of my father, Clemence Mhazo (1967–2017)

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LIST OF FIGURES

| | |
|--|----|
| Figure 3.2.1: Map of the City of Bulawayo, Zimbabwe..... | 30 |
| Figure 4.2.1: Gender of participants | 41 |
| Figure 4.2.2: Age groups of participants | 41 |
| Figure 4.2.3: Participants field of study | 42 |
| Figure 4.2.4: Participants number of years seeking employment..... | 43 |
| Figure 4.4.1: Sustainability of graduate survival tactics | 67 |

LIST OF ACRONYMS

ADB: African Development Bank

African Economic Research Consortium :AERC

AU: African Union

DFID: Department for International Development

IGO: International Government Organisation

ILO: International Labour Organisation

ILO STAT: International Labour Organisation Department of Statistics

IMF: International Monetary Fund

IYF: International Youth Fund

FOA: Food Office Agricultural Unions

NGO: Non-Governmental Organisation

RUAF Foundation: Resource Centres on Urban Agriculture & Food Security

SACAU: South African Confederation of Agricultural Unions

UN: United Nations

UNECA: United Nations Economic Commission for Africa

UNCRC: United Nations Convention of the Rights of the Child

UNESCO: United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation

UNESCO UIS: United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation Institute of Statistics

UNSDG: United Nations Sustainable Development Goals

UNISDR: United Nations Strategy for Disaster Reduction

ZIMSTAT: Zimbabwe National Statistical Agency

Table of Contents

| | |
|--|-----|
| DECLARATION | i |
| ETHICS STATEMENT | ii |
| ABSTRACT | iii |
| ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS | v |
| LIST OF FIGURES | vi |
| LIST OF ACRONYMS | vii |
| CHAPTER ONE | 1 |
| INTRODUCTION TO THE RESEARCH | 1 |
| 1.1 Introduction | 1 |
| 1.2 Research Problem | 1 |
| 1.3 Research Questions | 4 |
| 1.4 Rationale for Studying Youths in the City of Bulawayo | 4 |
| 1.5 Structure of the Dissertation | 5 |
| CHAPTER TWO | 7 |
| LITERATURE REVIEW | 7 |
| 2.1 Introduction | 7 |
| 2.2 Concepts | 7 |
| 2.2.1 Agriculture | 7 |
| 2.2.2 Youth unemployment and agriculture | 9 |
| 2.2.3 Employment | 11 |
| 2.2.4 Youth | 14 |
| 2.2.5 Youth unemployment | 17 |
| 2.2.6 Youth unemployment and education | 21 |
| 2.2.7 Livelihoods | 23 |
| 2.3 The Social Exclusion Theory | 24 |
| 2.4 Understanding Zimbabwean Youth | 26 |
| 2.5 Chapter Summary | 26 |
| CHAPTER THREE | 28 |
| METHODOLOGY | 28 |
| 3.1 Introduction | 28 |
| 3.2 The Qualitative Case Study Approach | 28 |
| 3.2.1 The case study | 29 |
| <i>Figure 3.2. 1: Map of the City of Bulawayo, Zimbabwe</i> | 30 |
| 3.2.2 Research population and sampling | 31 |
| 3.2.3 Selection of participants | 31 |

| | |
|---|------------|
| 3.3 Data Collection Approach..... | 32 |
| 3.3.1 Semi-structured interviews | 33 |
| 3.3.2 Non-participant observations..... | 34 |
| 3.4 Data Analysis and Ethical Considerations..... | 35 |
| 3.4.1 Data analysis..... | 35 |
| 3.4.2 Ethical considerations..... | 37 |
| 3.5 Chapter Summary | 39 |
| CHAPTER FOUR..... | 40 |
| YOUNG UNIVERSITY GRADUATES IN A CONTEXT OF ECONOMIC CRISIS AND UNEMPLOYMENT IN THE CITY BULAWAYO | 40 |
| 4.1 Introduction..... | 40 |
| 4.2 Who are the Young University Graduates | 41 |
| 4.3 Perception of Youth on Unemployment and Youth Aspirations | 44 |
| 4.3.1 Youth perceptions on unemployment..... | 45 |
| 4.3.2 Youths aspirations on livelihoods | 47 |
| 4.3.3 Challenges faced by youth when seeking employment | 50 |
| 4.4 Alternative Strategies of Survival for Unemployed Youths..... | 57 |
| 4.4.1 How sustainable are youths' survival strategies? | 67 |
| 4.4.2 Agriculture as a strategy for youth employment | 70 |
| 4.5 Chapter Summary | 75 |
| CHAPTER FIVE | 76 |
| DISCUSSIONS AND CONCLUSIONS | 76 |
| 5.1 Introduction..... | 76 |
| 5.2 Discussions..... | 76 |
| 5.2.1 Young graduates fundamentally aspire for formal jobs | 77 |
| 5.2.2 Young graduates have found alternatives in the informal sector..... | 78 |
| 5.2.3 Alternatives were not sustainable and were seen as temporary | 78 |
| 5.2.4 Young graduates did not see agriculture as an employment source | 79 |
| 5.3 Conclusion | 79 |
| 5.4 Policy Implications..... | 80 |
| 5.4.1 Some specific policy issues..... | 82 |
| 5.5 Limitations of the research..... | 83 |
| References..... | 85 |
| ANNEXURE A: INFORMED CONSENT FORM | 97 |
| ANNEXURE B: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE | 100 |
| PLAGIARISM DECLARATION..... | 103 |

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION TO THE RESEARCH

1.1 Introduction

In most countries, youth unemployment rates are generally observed to be higher than the adult unemployment rates. This phenomenon has attracted significant global attention and thus informs the motivation for this research, which specifically focuses on youth unemployment in Zimbabwe. Zimbabwe provides an interesting case study of youth unemployment, not only because of the economic and social crisis since the 1990s, but also the fact that it has a highly educated youth population (Besada & Moyo, 2008). As such, this study will focus on a certain category of youth – young graduates from the country’s tertiary institutions.

The study is particularly motivated by the discourse on youth and education, particularly the popular notion by the United Nations 2018 (UN), that an investment in quality tertiary education reduces youth unemployment (O’Higgins, 2001). It also explores the equally popular discourse about agriculture as a solution to the youth unemployment problem in poor countries (UN, 2016). Through exploring the two different discourses, the study seeks to contribute knowledge about how youth survive in a situation where both of the above-mentioned presumptions do not apply. This is because not much literature has been provided on the survival tactics of unemployed youth graduates, in scenarios where education and agriculture have not been viable solutions for employment. Therefore, the findings from the study will be useful for academia and it is hoped that they can influence policy debates on youth unemployment.

1.2 Research Problem

In the 21st century youth unemployment has become an area of global focus following increased unemployment rates for most countries, which were exacerbated by the 2008 global financial crisis (Mago, 2014; O’Higgins, 2001; UN, 2018). The phenomenon is seen as a major impediment to development in both developed and developing countries, because it threatens countries’ social, economic and political systems (Kaharaman, 2014).

Africa arguably experiences the highest level of youth unemployment because of her youthful population: half of the population is aged below 25 (Rusivingo, 2014). Moreover, statistics have shown that in sub-Saharan Africa, 60% of the unemployed are youth (ILO, 2010). The

shrinking economy and the developmental challenges currently facing the region have resulted in its failure to absorb the growing youthful population (Azeng & Yogo,2013;ILO ,2016).

Given the growing concerns around youth unemployment, several solutions have been put forward to address the problem. Two in particular have gained prominence. The first solution has been welcomed by African policy makers and development agencies alike. It argues that the abundance of agricultural land on the continent , make the agricultural sector a viable platform for alleviating youth unemployment (Anyidoho et al, 2012, Fox, Simbanegavi & Senbet, 2016, Lubeker, 2008).

The second popular solution to the problem of youth unemployment is one offered by the UN and relates to education. According to the UN Youth Report of 2016, a commendable and sustainable solution for youth unemployment is ensuring that the youths are sufficiently and appropriately educated. This is articulated by ILO (2016), which holds that:

...the insufficient quality and quantity of tertiary education in developing countries, especially in sub-Saharan Africa that is caused by the expanding youthful population puts pressure on the educational systems, resulting on the absence of decent work.

From this perspective, there needs to be a strong investment in the quality and quantity of education at a tertiary level in low income countries to ensure that there is no mismatch between youth and contemporary available jobs (Sparreboom & Staneva, 2014).

Zimbabwe presents a different situation to the two solutions proposed. Post-1980, Zimbabwe invested massively on education with most investments going to the tertiary sector thereby increasing the number of universities from just one in 1980 to fourteen in 2018 (Chingarande & Guduza, 2011). The results of the country's educational investments are evidenced by the literacy rates, which are the highest in the Sub-Saharan region (Kachembere, 2013). Yet, the country's youth unemployment rates are also the highest in the region. The ILO (2016) report on youth unemployment, stated that the overall unemployment rate in Zimbabwe had reached 95% with 70% of the unemployed being youth. These statistics were further confirmed by the country's 2017 ZIMSAT which put the unemployment rate at an alarming 95%.

Unfortunately, the UN's notion that an investment in education results in decent work for youths does not hold in the case of Zimbabwe, because it has both the highest literacy rates and the highest rate of youth unemployment in the sub-Saharan region (ILO, 2014;SABC News, 2014; News Day Zimbabwe, 2016). The World Employment and Social Outlook (2018) survey

conducted by the ILO revealed that Zimbabwe is one of the top countries in the world where it is extremely difficult for a young person to obtain formal employment. This has been caused by the economic plunge resulting in an extensive reduction in the capacity utilisation of the manufacturing sector (Chingarande & Guduza, 2011; Zinhumwe, 2012).

The argument for agriculture as a solution to youth unemployment has not been feasible in Zimbabwe either because there is a mismatch between the skills available from the youths and the farming opportunities available (Mude, 2014; Tinhu, 2015). There is a demographic profile of highly educated and eloquent youths residing in urban areas who are ill equipped to be in the agricultural sector (Chingarande & Guduza, 2011; McArthur, 2016). According to White (2012), there is deskilling in the rural agriculture sector where the strong educational system in the country, has not only neglected agricultural education and training but has resulted in youths viewing farming as a downgraded occupation suitable for older generations or the uneducated.

Furthermore, it is argued that youths in Zimbabwe often feel intimidated by the requirements needed to demonstrate the capacity to operate a farm productively and efficiently, for example finance and land. This is evidenced by the weak participation of youths in Zimbabwe's land reform programmes, which were considered fundamental for youth empowerment and development (Echanove, 2017).

Zimbabwean youth then find themselves in a unique situation where the most commonly proposed solutions to youth unemployment have not been implemented in a way that successfully tackles the problem.

Despite the statistics about the youth unemployment in the Zimbabwe, little is known about what educated youths do for survival after graduating from the country's universities in a situation where there is a lack formal job opportunities. Their survival strategies remain unknown and their agency unappreciated. This study looks at the youth employment in Zimbabwe, by focusing on educated urban youths' strategies of survival in Bulawayo City under above stated circumstances.

By educated youth, the study means young people that have attained tertiary education from any of the country's recognised tertiary institutions. While the study is cognisant of the fact that there are different types and categories of tertiary institutions in the country, its interest is on youth who have graduated with degrees from the country's universities.

1.3 Research Questions

The objective of this study is to provide answers to one overarching question: What are the survival strategies utilised by the growing population of unemployed youth graduates in the City of Bulawayo, Zimbabwe?

This overarching question was further divided into four specific questions, which guided the research process.

1. What are the conceptions of the youth graduates about employment, and what are their aspirations after graduating from university?
2. What are the challenges faced by youth graduates when seeking employment?
3. What are the alternative strategies for livelihoods and survival that urban young graduates employ after failing to secure formal employment? Are these survival strategies rewarding and sustainable?
4. What are the unemployed graduate youths' perceptions about agriculture, and do they consider it as a sector for employment?

1.4 Rationale for Studying Youths in the City of Bulawayo

I conducted a case study of unemployed graduate youths in the City of Bulawayo. The main reasons for choosing this geographical area were the following:

1. Bulawayo is the second largest city in the country and the largest city in the country's Matabeleland Province. It is located in southwest Zimbabwe making it close to the border of two neighboring countries: South Africa and Botswana, making it a key location on Zimbabwe's road network (World Atlas, 2019). This made it a conducive location for the study because this study focuses on youths who reside in cities and Bulawayo's strategic location stimulates various survival tactic opportunities for unemployed graduate youths.
2. According to the ZIMSTAT (2017), Matabeleland has the largest proportion of economically active persons, with citizens between the ages of 20-24 years of age constituting the highest proportion of the Bulawayo's population. In this manner the city has a youthful population and was suitable for the study because it focused on youth.
3. The city is home to the second largest amount of higher education institutions, namely the National University of Science and Technology, Lupane State University, Catholic University of Zimbabwe, Bulawayo Polytechnic College, Hillside Teachers College

and Zimbabwe School of Mines. It produces a large quantity of graduates yearly and as a consequence there were many graduate youths available to partake in the study.

4. Bulawayo, to some extent, was once revered as the industrial heart and centre of Zimbabwe and of Southern Africa. The deindustrialisation that has taken place since the beginning of the economic crisis in late 1990s, however, has seen the closure of many companies or their relocation to the capital city, Harare (Munyaka,2014; Parliament of Zimbabwe, 2011). The city now has diminished economic importance and a large number of affluent graduate youths. This combination of the high supply of skilled labour with very little demand from employers has led to high youth unemployment rates, therefore the location was very suitable for the purpose of the study.
5. After the country's independence in 1980, Matabeleland province has been marginalised and underdeveloped compared to other regions in the country. There is a perception that the Ndebele ethnic group, which is a minority group, has been confined to second class citizenship. The wider political, social and economic issues around disempowerment and marginalisation are believed to be the cause for very few opportunities of employment, business investments, and access to land and political participation for the largely Ndebele youth in Bulawayo (Ndlovu, 2018). As a consequence, the city was ideal for a study of this nature.
6. Bulawayo is a city with low agricultural activity due to the low average yearly rainfall and water scarcity as well as limited availability of fertile land in the area (RUAF, 2009). The shortage of agricultural opportunities makes the city suitable for the study because it focuses on agriculture as a solution for youth unemployment.

1.5 Structure of the Dissertation

Chapter 1 introduces and provides a justification for the study. It introduces the problem of youth unemployment in Zimbabwe, contextualised within the broader theoretical literature on the subject. It presents the questions asked by the study before presenting the study locale, the City of Bulawayo which is in southwest Zimbabwe. Chapter 2 consists of the literature review and is divided into three sections which contain concepts, theories and a conceptual framework. It begins with a discussion of key concepts and composite concepts to form the basis for understanding the study. This is followed by a theoretical framework, where the social exclusion theory is explained and applied to youth unemployment. Chapter 2 concludes with a conceptual

framework, whereby the key concepts, composite concepts and social exclusion theory are applied to explain the unemployment situation of graduate youths in Zimbabwe.

Chapter 3 presents the methodological approach adopted by the study. The chapter describes the research design, sampling approach and the research techniques employed by the study to find answers to the questions posed. The chapter concludes with the data analysis process and ethical considerations. Chapter 4 gives a presentation and analysis of youth in Bulawayo, their perceptions of employment and agriculture, and their agency in a context of massive unemployment. Lastly, Chapter 5 concludes on the discussion of the study questions and discusses the policy implications arising from the study.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

The problem of youth unemployment in Zimbabwe pertaining to graduate youths is better understood within the context of the theoretical framework of social exclusion theory and concepts related to agriculture, employment, youth and livelihood. This chapter is divided into three sections. It begins with a discussion of the main concepts of the study which are agriculture, employment, youth and livelihood. These concepts are further developed into composite concepts which are youth and unemployment, youth and education, and youth and agriculture.

Thereafter a theoretical framework is provided based on the social exclusion theory to enable the reader to connect and apply the problem of youth unemployment in Zimbabwe to the existing knowledge of the social exclusion theory. The last section of this chapter will provide the reader with a conceptual framework which shall apply and integrate the main concepts of the study and the theoretical framework in the context of Zimbabwe. The concepts, theoretical framework and conceptual framework will be compared and contrasted with the findings in chapter Four.

2.2 Concepts

This section is a discussion of the concepts that frame the study. Composite concepts related to agriculture, employment, unemployment, youth and livelihoods, are discussed below, to aid with our understanding of the study.

2.2.1 Agriculture

According to FAO (2019), agriculture is the science, art and occupation of producing crops, raising livestock, and cultivating the soil. It forms the basis of all civilization and our survival and wellbeing because it includes everything, from the food we eat to the clothing we wear. Agriculture entails the following aspects:

- processing, financing, marketing, and distribution of agricultural products
- farm production supply and service industries
- the use and conservation of land and water resources
- health, nutrition, and food consumption

- development and maintenance of recreational resources and
- related economic, sociological, political, environmental, and cultural characteristics of the food and fibre system.

Over one-third of the world's workers are employed in agriculture, second only to the service sector. The major agricultural products can be broadly grouped into foods, fibres, fuels and raw materials such as rubber (FAO, 2014). These products, as well as the agricultural methods utilised, vary from one part of the world to another. For example, in Zimbabwe tobacco takes up 60 percent of total agricultural production, with other major agricultural production consisting of tobacco, sugar, tea, coffee, cotton, fruit and vegetables, flowers, seeds, maize, animals and birds, beef and dairy products and wildlife and poultry meat (National Trade Development and Promotion Organisation of Zimbabwe, 2019;RUAFA, 2009).

There are two major types of agriculture and these are subsistence agriculture and commercial agriculture. Subsistence agriculture is practiced for satisfying one's family's needs, with little excess production available. On the contrary, commercial agriculture is agriculture for the purpose of a sale, trade and to maximise profit. It is usually characterized by high use of inputs such as fertilisers and pesticides, and technology such as automation, for mass production. It is practiced mainly in developed countries (FAO, 2019). Zimbabwe is mainly characterised by subsistence farming because of two main factors: a majority rural population and the drastic decline in commercial agricultural activities caused by the unsuccessful land reform policies implemented in the late 1990s (RUAFA, 2009).

The World Bank Development Indicators (2019) reported the rural population as a percentage of total population in the Zimbabwe to be 67.72%. This population mainly engages in small scale subsistence farming. The virtual collapse of commercial agriculture in Zimbabwe began in the early 2000's and was caused by the unsuccessful land reform policies, which were implemented to address past land injustices. The land reform policies exclusively transferred successful commercial farms to natives who often lacked the commercial management skills required for commercial farming. The government failed to immediately help them to adopt new production methods and secure markets for their produce. Consequently, the land reform policies undermined commercial agricultural productivity (Maiyaki, 2010;Marongwe, 2001).

2.2.2 Youth unemployment and agriculture

A host of documents and programmes by development and donor agencies have put forward the view that agriculture has the potential to solve the world's youth unemployment crisis (Binswanger & Deininger, 1999 & MacArthur, 2014). Today, Africa faces a complex mix of challenges and promise. With almost 200 million youths ages 15 to 24, the continent has the world's youngest population. It also boasts seven of the world's 10 fastest growing economies. Yet many of Africa's young people live in poverty and struggle to find employment (SACAU, 2013). On the other hand, according to the IYF (2014), Africa holds half of the world's uncultivated arable land, with agriculture set to create stable employment for eight million people by 2020.

Therefore, a common approach suggested to address Africa's youth unemployment crisis is to engage more young people within the agricultural sector. A recent study by the World Bank (2017) shows that a large portion of people aged 15–24 in Sub-Saharan Africa, including graduates, are self-employed in the informal sector. Formal employment levels for this (15–24) age bracket, compared to the total population, have remained largely stagnant despite this age group increasing in size. Overall, sub-Saharan Africa needs to generate more jobs and reverse the employment gap because more and more youths are not fully absorbed in the economy and as a result, they are not making significant income. Agriculture must be afforded a high priority in the strategy of economic development because the agriculture sector has the potential to provide the greatest opportunities (Kilimani, 2017; World Bank, 2019).

In the context of Zimbabwe, the agricultural sector is the largest economic sector in the country and Zimbabwe is thought to have fertile soil and ideal farming climates. The sector has a heavy influence on the other economic sectors, particularly the manufacturing sector. It is central to trade in Zimbabwe, including international trade – and the entire nation's wellbeing. From this standpoint it appears that the notion of agriculture as a solution for youth unemployment would be feasible and would result in the strengthening of the country's economic sector (Maiyaki, 2010; National Trade Development and Promotion Organisation of Zimbabwe, 2019; NEPAD, 2013).

The Zimbabwean government believes that youths should engage in agriculture in order to boost the Zimbabwean economy and foster international trade. This is evidenced by government programmes for youth which began in 2000 with a key focus to implement youth land distribution and micro-grants to encourage youths to start agribusinesses and pursue agro-based

livelihoods (National Trade Development and Promotion Organisation of Zimbabwe, 2019; RUAFA, 2009).

The FAO (2014) and ADB (2015) consider agriculture to be among the most viable potential source of employment for young people in Africa. Despite this potential and the much attention which has been paid to the agriculture sector by governments and development partners, the sector has registered very limited success in terms of generating decent and gainful rewarding employment opportunities for young people.

Large investments by African states towards education for the youth have decreased the interest and knowledge needed amongst young people to engage in agricultural activities. Higher education has resulted in young African graduates viewing farming as an unglamorous sector for the less educated and older generations. After obtaining their education youths aim to obtain jobs within the formal sector because this is perceived as befitting their education, with agriculture as a resort for the educated youths (Binswanger & Deininger, 1997; RUAFA, 2009).

Moreover, in the rural areas of Africa, Proctor and Lucchesi and Proctor (2012) and White (2012) discovered that rural youths also have little interest agriculture, leading them to migrate to urban areas. Many rural youths believe that the trends of developed cities and towns offer a “*better life*”. In most cases, rural African youths migrate to the cities from rural areas after high school to obtain tertiary education qualifications. Thereafter, they resort to remain the cities to seek employment. They believe the urban areas will provide them with routes out of poverty (Van der Ploeg, 2008).

Unfortunately, the youths who have migrated are faced with the reality of African urban areas, which are often characterised by weak economies unable to create enough jobs to absorb the graduates. Despite this, many of the youths have no interest to return to the rural areas to engage in farming because their life aspirations are changed by their education. They view and believe agriculture is a demeaning activity unbefitting of the hard work they would have put towards their education (Mago, 2014). Many African youths perceive agriculture as a poverty trap, consisting of hard labour and reward limited to subsistence. They do not see agriculture as a business or a source of employment (White, 2012).

Moreover, the Stanford University Innovation Social Review (2019) uncovered that parents in African states prioritise financial investments towards their children’s higher education. This

is because education is believed to be the only factor which can enable an individual to obtain the white-collar jobs, which are perceived as an upgrade and advancement from the older generations' occupations. The result is that the young educated people view work in agriculture as 'dirty' or as a 'last resort' amongst economic options. As most of their parents, who were likely not financially well off, would have been active in (almost exclusively) subsistence agriculture, therefore the youths view working in agriculture as backwardness and a lack of advancement (Byerlee & Deininger, 2011).

Agriculture has an image problem for many youths. The (FAO) 2015 article on "*Youth and agriculture: Key challenges and concrete solutions.*" discovered that despite the negative image around agriculture by young people, a few youths seemed to have an interest in agriculture in developing countries. It revealed, that those few young people who showed an interest in agriculture reported that they had lost hope in the sector. This is because they had lack of access to information, training, required documentation and credit, and the procedures to enter the sector through government programmes were too time consuming.

To summarise the concept of youth and agriculture, the rise of investments in education by African states has increased literacy rates and the educational attainment of young people. However, it has also had the unintended consequence of reducing young people's desire to follow in the footsteps of the older generations in farming and agriculture. This has proved to be less than ideal for many African countries where the economies are largely dependent on agriculture, because they have been unable to create sufficient formal jobs in other sectors to accommodate young people, who constitute the majority population.

2.2.3 Employment

The ILO (2019) states that employment is any work executed by an individual for pay or profit who, during the reference week, worked for at least one hour, or was temporarily absent due to personal (e.g. illness, holiday, parental leave) or economic reasons (e.g. industrial action, reduction in economic activity, suspension of production). This definition is however often argued to be distorted because it communicates that certain segments of the inactive group have no attachment to the labour market. For example, people engaged in home production. Home production is the production of goods and services by the members of a household, for their own consumption, using their own capital and their own unpaid labour. Goods and services produced by households for their own use include accommodation, meals, clean clothes, and childcare (World of Labour, 2018).

In this regard, the production of services for own final consumption within households is excluded from the scope of this definition. A major reason for this is that if the production of personal and domestic services by members of households for their own final consumption such as the preparation of meals, care and training of children, cleaning, repairs, all persons engaged in such activities would become self-employed, making unemployment virtually impossible by definition (Luebker, 2008).

The definition leads to broad cognitive problems when trying to determine if people have worked or not during the past week. This is because it undermines personal economic activities to be work. For example, in the case of Zimbabwe, where there is an economic collapse and an unemployment rate which is over 90%, people have been forced by the environment to engage in their own economic activities that are survivalist in nature and for their own consumption. This is evidenced by Luebker's (2008) study "*Employment, unemployment and informality in Zimbabwe: Concepts and data for coherent policy making*". In this study, unemployed respondents from Luebker's interviews in the city of Harare denied their activities to be "work", especially when the activities were executed at home or in agriculture sector, despite having participated in the activities for an hour or more within a working week. The respondents denied the activities to be work despite the fact that they were sometimes visibly participating in the activities during the interviews.

On the other hand, unemployment occurs when an economically active population (persons between the ages of 15 to 64 years) does not have work but has the ability to work and is actively taking steps to seek employment (World of Labour, 2018). The ILO (2019) provides a universal definition of unemployment which describes unemployment as a condition whereby a person of working age (15 to 64 years) meets the following three conditions simultaneously:

- being without employment, meaning having not worked for at least one hour during the reference week
- currently available to take up employment
- is actively seeking work or having found one starting within the next three months.

Practical implementation of the above three guidelines provided by the ILO (2019) is generally difficult because there are individuals without work and are inactive in terms of seeking work. However, they are available to take up employment and would accept a job if offered one. This is because in many national contexts there may be persons not currently in the labour market

who want to work but do not actively “seek” work because they view job opportunities as limited, or because they have restricted labour mobility, face discrimination and structural, social or cultural barriers. Therefore, the definition excludes people who want to work but are not seeking work and these individuals are defined as discouraged workers. Discouraged workers are people of legal employment age who are not actively seeking employment but who would prefer to be working (World of Labour, 2018).

Discouraged jobseekers are made up of those persons available for work but who did not seek employment for labour market-related reasons, such as the past failure to find a suitable job or the lack of work experience (ILO STAT, 2019). This is usually because an individual has given up looking; hence the term discouraged. Their giving up on job-seeking may derive from a variety of factors including a shortage of jobs in their locality or line of work; discrimination for reasons such as age, race, sex, religion, sexual orientation, and disability; a lack of necessary skills, training, or experience; a chronic illness or disability; or simply a lack of success in finding a job. In this regard the ILO definition excludes unemployed individuals who are inactive in terms of seeking employment as unemployed, yet they are of legal working age, are able to work and are available to take up employment if presented with the opportunity (Evans, 2017).

Furthermore, the ILO (2019) definition is imprecise because it excludes individuals who are over the age of 64 years who may meet the three prescribed unemployed conditions simultaneously. The definition simply assumes that anyone 65 years and older is retired. Therefore, the use of age to define unemployment is not adequate because individuals over 64 years could be unemployed but willing to work and actively seeking work (World of Labour, 2018).

Unemployment is a broad concept because it consists of different types of unemployment. The types of unemployment are structural, frictional, cyclical, seasonal and technological unemployment. Technological unemployment arises when workers’ skills become obsolete because of the use of machines. Thus, technological unemployment is caused by the replacement of employees by machines to conduct the work. Seasonal employment occurs when employees are unemployed during certain times of the year when the demand for that particular labour is extremely low).

Structural employment is a circumstance whereby there is a mismatch between the skills that workers in the economy can offer, and the skills demanded of workers by employers. Frictional unemployment is known as the timeframe taken by economically active individuals to obtain a job (O’Higgins, 2001; Shang, 2015). Cyclical unemployment occurs when there is a lack of aggregate demand for goods and services which is generated by an economic recession. When the labour market consisting of the labour force increases whilst the demand of job vacancies accessible decreases, resulting in a situation where there are not enough jobs to cater for the high supply of labour (Kanaparo, Rayel & Imbun, 2014).

Most of the unemployment in underdeveloped countries is of a different nature from that of developed countries and unemployment is significantly higher in developing countries. A major part of unemployment in present-day developed countries is of technological and structural nature. This is because they possess highly advanced economies coupled with continuous and constant advancements which constantly result in major technological changes. This makes the jobs of many workers defunct, creating unemployment (UN, 2018).

Developing countries are often characterised by a chronic problem of weak economies which consist of a slow rate of industrialisation, low per capita income, ineffectively utilised factors of production and a strong dependence on developed countries for their growth. This results in a high supply of labour with very few jobs available due to failure of their economies to generate enough jobs (UN, 2018). This is the case in Zimbabwe’s high unemployment situation which has been mainly characterised by cyclical unemployment. Zimbabwe’s economy began to drastically weaken significantly after 2000 and has continued its downward spiral to date (Tinh, 2015), generating a situation where many major industries and companies have become redundant, and leaving a huge labour supply in the country with no jobs available. The youth is the social group which has become mainly affected by the cyclical unemployment in the country because while unemployment rate is 95%, 70% of that portion is youth unemployment (BheBhe, 2016;ILO, 2016).

2.2.4 Youth

Chirisa and Muchini (2011) assert that there is no neutral English noun which can identify a period of youth with the same certainty and impersonality as child or adult. This statement echoes the difficulties that one can encounter when trying to define the youth cohort of any population. Whereas people are aware who is a child and who is an adult, it becomes hard for

them to know who is a youth. Various definitions can be applied with varying connotations and implications to understand the concept of youth. Along these lines there are three main methods to define youth, these are youth as age, youth as a stage in personal development and youth as an emotive term. These definitions are complimentary to each other.

Youth as an age

The United Nations (2017) commonly views youth in terms of a biological age, therefore as reported by the organisation; a youth is someone who is between the ages of 15 and 24. This definition is commonly utilised by most western countries and international organisations. On the other hand, African states utilise the definition of youth based on the age cohort promulgated by the UN with a further extension of the maximum age to 35 years. This can be identified through the Youth Charter of the AU (2003) which has defined youths as individuals who are aged between 15 and 35 years. The AU (2003) argues that the extension of the maximum age for youth is because the defining process of the youth can occur at different ages and periods, depending on the social, cultural and political context of each country. The AU (2003) also proclaims that the prescribed age range is where the life transition from childhood to adulthood takes place which is dependent on three main transitions. These are schooling, labour market and marriage which are also dependant on the social and economic conditions in a specific country.

An age-related definition of youth seems simple to understand. However, analysing how different societies and writers have approached this task reveals how difficult it is to allocate a certain age group to the youth cohort of a population. A simplistic way is to divide the population into two groups namely, children and adults and then consider the term youth to be synonymous to children. The UNCRC (2019), for example, has stated that the term child be used to describe all those under the age of 18. The 18 years also coincides with the age of majority for the constitutions of most countries including that of Zimbabwe (Constitution of Zimbabwe, 2013). Yet at the same time individuals aged 18 years of age are defined as youth. The overlaps between different age groups reflect the lack of precision with the definitions which describe youth as an age. Thus, it is evident that the term youth cannot be restricted to children and should be used to mean people from both children and adults. The difficulty comes when considering how much of children and how much of adults should be taken to refer to youth (Chirisa & Muchini, 2011). The definition of youth as an age is a simple definition yet the least satisfactory way of viewing youth because of its contradictions.

Youth as a stage in personal development

Morch (2003) asserts that youth is an agent of change or developmental phase which is depicted by the ability of a young person to set up their own household, marked by a period when the individual becomes more independent from families, relies increasingly on peers for advice and approval and experiments in high risk behaviour. Munchie (2004) adds to this viewpoint by stating that youth refers to a particular stage in the development of an individual when the person starts to define new roles and relations in terms of friends, family and work.

According to Thorsen (2007) youth is the transition to adulthood. It is a time of significant change and adjustment, a time when physical development outpaces social and emotional maturity. Hasen (2008) simply proclaims that youth is a life stage whereby one transitions from being a child. Along these lines, youth can also be defined in terms of the stage or extent of a person's employment or preparation for employment, including school, high-school or university students, graduates, first-time labour entrants or job seekers (Delvin, 2013).

In most African societies, youth is associated with the transition to marriage as evidenced by the AU's Youth Charter, which extends the prescribed age range of youth by the UN. The Charter states that youth is a life transition from childhood to adulthood which is dependent on marriage alongside work and school. Unmarried men and women are considered boys and girls because marriage is viewed as the complete adulthood stage accompanied with economic dependence and wellbeing (Thorsen 2007). Thus, in African societies a youth is simply one who is not yet married despite the gender, and one is no longer a youth when they move from the state of being single to become married.

Moreover, African men are referred to as youth not based on their age but based on their economic capacity and ability to pay the bride price. In certain cultures, the developmental phase is often associated with an individual having undergone and completed certain cultural rituals. These rituals mark an individual's transition from childhood to adulthood (Abdullah, 1998; Sedibe, 2019). For example, in South Africa many ethnic groups have male and female initiation rituals undertaken by young people to mark their transformation from children to young men and women.

Youth as an emotive term

Youth is also an emotive term which can conjure up a number of emotive images. Youth is largely defined by a lacking and uncontrolled life stage, associated with immaturity, deficiency, vulnerability, neglect, poverty, rebellion and deprivation (Dube et al, 2010). Charisa and

Muchini (2011) state that the two sides from which youth are viewed first in terms of its great potential to act as agent for growth and secondly in terms of its destructive capacity.

For example, in western societies youth are viewed as a subculture entity in society and a socially and culturally divided unit in the society usually associated with lack, vibrancy, rebellion and violence (Van der Ploeg, 2008). These views depict youths as self-sufficient young adults who no longer need adult support but yet are idle, aimless and potentially threatening individuals. All the above views contain a common denominator linking youth, which is subordination. Youth is thus an inferior group based on this emotive view (Munchie, 2004).

Through exploring the concept of youth, it can be noted that youth is a complex term which is burdensome to define and apprehend. Along these lines, for the purpose of simplicity and considering the fact that Zimbabwe is an African state, the study made use of the definition of youth provided by the AU through the AU Youth Charter (2003), which describes youth as any individual who is aged between 15 and 35 years old, regardless of their marital status.

2.2.5 Youth unemployment

Youth unemployment is defined as the conglomerate of young people with diverse backgrounds who are willing and actively seeking to work but they cannot find any (UNESCO 2017). The term youth is associated with a stage in personal development, and employment is one of the major factors which marks the transition of young people from school to work whilst simultaneously shifting them from being children to being adults (Von Hoof & Bradley 2000). However, according to the ILO (2004), in the domain of labour market, youths are always more likely to become unemployed compared to adults. In this regard unemployment is a prominent problem that youths face universally. It weakens their integration within the labour market, consequently leading to their prolonged transition from childhood to adulthood (Von Hoof & Bradley 2000).

Kahraman (2011) states that unemployment is a major challenge that youths face in both developing and developed countries because youth comprise approximately 40% of the world population. On the other hand Lam, Leibbrandt and Mlatsheni (2008) stated that the ILO (2004) discovered that youth, based on the UN definition of youth (people aged between 15 and 24), make up nearly half of the world's unemployed (88 million out of 186 million), even

though youth are only 25% of the world's working age population. Kilimani (2017) noted that youth, especially in Africa and South Asia, make up nearly a third of the population, generating their vulnerability in the labour market.

The discussion of the youth-unemployment construct for developing countries can be premised upon three tendencies identified by Fox, Simbanegavi & Senbet (2016) which are:

- the tendency in developing countries for the youth cohort to grow as a proportion of the overall population,
- the tendency for youth unemployment rates to double or even treble the corresponding adult rates, and
- the tendency for teenagers or first-time job entrants to experience even higher levels of unemployment.

O'Higgins (2011) and Kahraman (2011) both mentioned that the main cause of youth unemployment in African states is the high volume of youth in the labour force combined with the low levels of job creation. A great number of young people in the labour force exemplifies that there is a need of a greater number of jobs to accommodate them. Okojie (2003) outlined three factors that have been identified to be major causes of high youth unemployment in Africa to be stagnating economies, underground economies and defective educational systems.

The UN Office of the Secretary General's Envoy on Youth (2016) research based on *the biggest obstacles educated youths face in both developed and developing countries* discovered the reasons for youth unemployment to be qualification mismatches with the labour market, lack of work experience, unequal employment opportunities, and lack of business and social connections. These reasons are explained briefly below:

Stagnating economies combined with population growth

The UN Youth Report (2016) identified stagnating economies to be one of the major factors behind high youth unemployment. The economies are unable keep up with the bountiful yearly number of entrants in the labour market, leaving school graduates staying at home without gainful or productive employment. McArthur (2014) states that African countries are plagued with a combination of rapid population growth and stagnating economies resulting in a lack of job opportunities for young people. Anyidoho et al (2012) detected that the decline in the manufacturing sector for most African states which was impacted by the global economic

recession of 2008 is still responsible for the decline in the demand for a certain type of labour in the cities.

Underground economy

Official unemployment occurs in areas when there is a thriving black economy because there are very few formal jobs available. This is a common cause of unemployment in developing countries because their weak economies result in the rise of the underground economy (Okojie, 2003). This is particularly the case in Zimbabwe, whereby there has been significant shrinking of the economy after 2000 till date. The informal sector has been simultaneously growing drastically such that it has become the largest in Africa and the second largest in the world (IMF, 2018).

Poor education quality

AERC (2013) and African Commission (2009) cited education quality as a factor that affects the labour market integration of young people in Africa, especially in sub-Saharan Africa. This is because the educational system in most sub-Saharan African countries suffers from low capacity, poor school quality and gaps in school participation. Meanwhile, Boafo, Wuni and Romanus (2017) uphold that the bulk of young people in East Africa lack the necessary education and relevant training for productive jobs. Therefore, in East Africa, training remains grossly unrelated to labour market needs, with lack of information, and access to the labour market being major issues young people face.

Qualification mismatch with the labour market

In both developed and developing countries there are structural characteristics whereby there is mismatch between the skills demanded in the market and those supplied by labour market entrants. The ILO (2010) stated that the majority of the African youth who were educated at tertiary level and unemployed, were those who had obtained qualifications in the humanities and business fields, because they would always find themselves with lower prospects of employment. These youths would become underemployed because they settle for surviving jobs in order to sustain a living despite their higher education qualifications.

Lack of work experience

The low availability of high-skilled jobs and the low value placed on skills gained through the system of vocational training, has the greatest explanatory power for this finding. There is a

global problem of tertiary institutions churning out graduates yearly. Yet they enter the job market, they realise they lack the right skills to fit into today's job market. This is because school curriculums are not being updated fast enough to keep up and meet the present day needs of employers (Azikwe, 2010). This inability of young people to transition from college to work due to lack of the right skills is therefore a big contributor to youth unemployment. Additionally, Mago (2014) stated that educated youths are very vulnerable in the labour market more than uneducated ones in Africa, because the coordination between the educational institutions and industry creates a permanent skills gap. This affects the educated young people because with the few jobs available, adults have higher prospects of obtaining the jobs, because of the work experience, knowledge and skills they possess.

Lack of equal employment opportunities

Geographical unemployment and cultural/social factors are common causes of unequal employment opportunities. Geographical unemployment is often focused in certain areas, where there is a cycle of low achievement and low expectations (Kingdom and Knight, 2005). Cultural/social factors also impact equal employment opportunities. For example, in a study by Baldry (2013) in South Africa, it was found that graduates of low socio-economic status and graduates with difficulty accessing resources showed the highest prevalence of unemployment. This is because the common job search techniques, such as internet access, newspapers for job adverts, calling or visiting labour market networks, and mailing, all require money.

For the socially and economically disadvantaged graduate, such an expenditure would not be an option to incur if the basic needs like water and food for survival are not met, particularly where there is pessimism over job prospects. Youth unemployment is also higher among people who have a history of broken families, drug use or criminal records, and amongst minority ethnic groups. Language can also be a barrier when it comes to employment opportunities for youth (Dube et al, 2010). Such employment opportunities tend to cause graduates to become discouraged job seekers due to inability to effectively search for jobs.

Lack of business and social connections

The lack of applicable business and social networks to secure employment is one of the biggest obstacles educated youths face in both developed and developing countries. Graduate youths who have social and business networks within the labour market are often very successful when seeking employment compared to those that do not have any (UN Office of the Secretary

General's Envoy on Youth, 2016). Thus, the lack of professional and social relationships is a major contributor to youth unemployment.

2.2.6 Youth unemployment and education

The UN advocates promoting wide access of quality education for young people. This is because it is typically accepted that highly educated youths enhance their employability and are the precondition for eradicating poverty and bringing innovation and sustainable development (UNECA, 2011). In correlation with this notion, African countries have invested greatly towards youth education, which has resulted in higher literacy rates for youths, and has undeniably concurrently reduced the gender discrepancies in young people's education (UNESCO, 2019). For example, the UNESCO UIS (2009) revealed that most African states had greatly invested in tertiary education and it indicated that South Africa, Zimbabwe, Mauritius, Namibia and Equatorial Guinea were the top five African countries which had strong investments towards tertiary education.

Nevertheless, the increase in investments towards education concurrently raises the aspirations and dreams of young people which may be beyond their reach because of the lack of employment opportunities complimentary to their education (Nguyen, 2014). A problem the continent is facing is the growing number of highly educated youths entering the formal labour work force with no correlated increase in formal jobs available, yet according to the United Nations, the higher a young person is educated the better their prospects of employment (UN Youth Report, 2016). The UN fails to observe that unemployment especially for educated youth is caused by the lack of advancement of African state economies, resulting in most jobs which are available being unskilled or semi-skilled in nature, creating a mismatch between the youth graduates' qualifications and the demands of the labour market (Nguyen, 2014).

Mude (2014) and Ekane (2010) both state that the high investments towards education in Africa has not correlated with the amount of employment rates for young people. This is because educational systems fail to align their curricula with the needs of the private sector. Tertiary institutions are producing more graduates in humanities than engineering or biological sciences resulting in most graduates produced by African universities not matching up to the requirements of the regional labour markets (ILO, 2010).

Mago (2014) asserted that educated youths are very vulnerable in the labour market more than uneducated ones in Africa, because the poor coordination between the educational institutions and industry creates a permanent skills gap. This affects the educated young people because they are unable to penetrate the small job market owing to the fact that with only a few jobs available, employers prefer to hire adults because of the work experience, knowledge and skills they possess within the industry.

Moreover Kahraman (2011) states that if unemployment is prolonged there are negative consequences especially for the educated youths because their skills become depreciated. The result is usually young educated people forced to do casual and informal work, creating underemployment. Secure jobs, which were once the norm for previous young educated generations, have become less easily accessible for today's educated youths. This has left the young people and their parents or guardians frustrated because they would have invested immensely towards their children's education, so they may have a prosperous future (ADB, 2015).

Mangule (2016) expresses that the issue of culture is still prominent in most African countries, where higher education for young females, whose role is confined to the household, is not encouraged because they are still perceived as helpers for males. She states that this is the main cause of unemployment in the continent despite the improved educational systems. Bhebhe (2016) supports this factor by stating that educated female youths in most African states are struggling to obtain occupations compared to the male youths. This has been particularly identified in Northern Africa where employers prefer hiring young men over young women. A significant amount of the female graduates' unemployment is because of cultural beliefs, prejudices and limitations.

In conclusion, Africa has revealed that a high level of educational attainment does not guarantee increased employment prospects. Despite investments by African governments to increase and improve the quality and quantity of education, African states do not have advanced economies and as a consequence have a very low demand for highly skilled labour. Another problem exists whereby there is a mismatch between the private sector requirements and labour supply, caused by the majority of qualifications produced by African universities not being relevant to the demands of the labour market. Moreover, the youth graduates lack the work experience and skills to obtain the few formal jobs available. In addition, the continent's

cultural beliefs around females obtaining higher education qualifications and formal employment hinders their prospects of employment.

2.2.7 Livelihoods

Krantz (2001) asserts that a livelihood is the manner in which the necessities in life are procured, and is sustainable when it can maintain or enhance its capabilities to provide livelihood opportunities for the next generation (Adebyao & Lundi, 2016). Livelihoods consist of the activities, assets and capacities essential for a means of living. The FOA (2019) defines livelihood as the means of securing the basic necessities of life such as food, water, shelter and clothing. Therefore, livelihoods are secured when the basic necessities can be met on a sustainable basis. In this regard, a set of activities must be performed repeatedly, individually or as a group, by using endowments to acquire the necessities. There are five categories necessary for the pursuit and maintenance of positive livelihood outcomes. These are human capital, natural capital, financial capital, social capital and physical capital (Adebayo & Lundi, 2016).

Human capital consists of people's health, knowledge, skills and motivation. All these things are needed for productive work. Natural capital can be defined as the world's stocks of natural assets which include geology, soil, air, water and all living things. It is from this natural capital that humans derive a wide range of services, often called ecosystem services, which make human life possible. Social capital concerns the institutions that help us maintain and develop human capital in partnership with others; e.g. families, communities, businesses, trade unions, schools, and voluntary organisations. Financial capital is the savings and regular inputs of money and other economic assets to ensure the necessities of life are provided. Physical capital entails man-made products which are utilised to make the manufacturing process possible or simple to create smooth positive livelihood outcomes (Harvard Humanitarian Initiative, 2017; UNISDR, 2016;UNSDG, 2018).

Many disruptions to livelihoods are caused by human agents, such as the elites' mismanagement of resources, corruption and bad governance, and economic recession (Dube, et al 2010). Zimbabwean graduate youths experience disruptions to their livelihoods which is evidenced by the extremely high youth unemployment caused in part by the major recession in the country characterized by foreign currency shortages, a debilitating liquidity crunch, power shortages and low productivity (IMF, 2018). Due to unemployment, the youth lack financial

capital, which is one of the five categories necessary for the pursuit and maintenance of positive livelihood outcomes. The youths' livelihoods are therefore compromised. As a consequence, graduate youths are absorbed into the informal sector to engage in economic activities that are survivalist in nature, in order to meet their most basic requirements to sustain their livelihoods (Luebker, 2008).

2.3 The Social Exclusion Theory

The term social exclusion was utilised for time by former French Secretary of State for Social Action Rene Lenior in 1974 to describe a scenario where particular groups of people are driven by unequal power relationships which exclude these groups of people in particular contexts from engaging fully in community or social life (DFID, 2005). The groups in question include the mentally and physically handicapped, suicidal, aged invalids, abused children, drug addicts, delinquents, single parents, multi-problem households, marginal persons, and other queer groups.

Dumela, Molomo & Rispel (2008) stated that social exclusion is clearly a multidimensional process which combines various forms of exclusions. In this regard it is a form of inequality in material and power relations in society creating a condition where individuals fail to completely engage in a society's economic, political, cultural and social life. This engagement is impeded when the individuals fail to obtain material resources, for example employment and or services such as healthcare. Moreover, this engagement is hindered when people are unable to exert their voice, reach out to one another and when their rights and dignity are not conferred equivalent preservation.

Social exclusion not only brings about material dispossession but additionally the lack of agency over key decisions. In this fashion social exclusion denies individuals from participating in normal activities and relationships available to the majority of individuals in the society. The result is low quality life and failure of social cohesion for the society creating feelings of inadequacy and alienation for individuals. In every country age, sex, disability, race, ethnicity, religion, nationality, social economic status, sexual orientation and race have all been reasons for social exclusion (DFID, 2005).

According to Guildford (2000), social exclusion is caused by social problems in society such as the lack of education, health services, and employment. It reflects itself in individuals through different forms of poverty which include lack of information, unemployment, poor

housing, lack of freedom and power, lack of peace and safety, family breakdown, and lack of education. Sen (2000) states that exclusion can happen unintentionally (passive exclusion), for example, due to slow economic growth, while at times it can be intentional (active exclusion), for example, due to a certain policy being enforced. Both passive and active exclusion in society are routes to capability failure and poverty that certain people experience.

The DFID (2005) affirms that the social exclusion theory is helpful in building an inclusive society because it gives a better understanding of the diverse phenomena of deprivation and poverty, with a particular focus on relational obstacles to social inclusion. Social exclusion theory also offers the policy implications of that understanding. Haralambos and Holborn (2008) highlight that a society should take a multidimensional route to addressing social exclusion problems. For example, lack of education among female youth may result not only from lack of schools, but also from poor health, society cultural norms, and other factors that should be recognised and addressed to solve the problem.

Youth unemployment can be considered as a form of social exclusion. Alheit's (1994) popular biographical analysis of youth unemployment identified the main social problems of youth unemployment as disruption of social reference points, dramatic change in everyday habits or habits of a lifetime, loss of identity, feelings of rejection and humiliation while the lack of financial resources prevents them from becoming independent. He concluded that this often leads to drug and substance abuse by youth.

Thorsen (2007) stated that the social problems youths face due to unemployment can facilitate the formation of youth groups either as youth gangs or as formal youth groups such as youth clubs. These behaviours are necessitated by the fact that exclusion from unemployment often leads to social exclusion hence youth are likely to form their own groups or engage in destructive behaviours in order to compensate for this exclusion.

Zimbabwean graduate youth are socially excluded passively from employment opportunities. This has been mainly caused by the stagnating economy in the country which limits the availability of formal job opportunities, and the thriving underground economy. Additionally, qualification mismatch with the labour market, lack of work experience, unequal employment opportunities, lack of business and social connections have also contributed to the exclusion of youths from employment opportunities. This exclusion has denied the youths ability to become economically independent and transition to adulthood, thus posing a threat to their livelihoods

and creating feelings of inadequacy and alienation (Luebker, 2008) In this regard, this research seeks to uncover the survival tactics utilised by unemployed graduate youth.

2.4 Understanding Zimbabwean Youth

For the purpose of this study, youths in the context of Zimbabwe are individuals between the ages of 15 and 35. Graduate youths are faced with a major challenge of unemployment. This has been caused mainly by the economic collapse in the country which began in the early 2000's resulting in the closure of many major companies, deindustrialisation and the rise of the informal sector.

Zimbabwe has a lot of universities and has one of the highest rates of youth education in Africa. Education is strongly believed to be the solution to combat unemployment. Yet graduate youths in Zimbabwe have been excluded from the job market because the massive deindustrialisation in the country has resulted in the lack of formal jobs.

Agriculture is also believed to increase young people's chances of getting a job, especially in Zimbabwe because the economy is mainly driven by the sector. However, agriculture has not been feasible for the youth because they lack the interest, knowledge and skills and this is another factor which has excluded them from the job market. The exclusion from the job market has disrupted their livelihoods and as a consequence the youth are pushed into the informal sector in order to sustain their livelihoods. This leads to the main purpose of the study which is to research on what graduate youths do in order to sustain their livelihoods

2.5 Chapter Summary

This chapter outlined the main concepts of the study which are agriculture, employment, youth, and livelihoods. It also discussed the sub-concepts which are youth unemployment, youth unemployment and education, and youth unemployment and agriculture. It enabled the reader to understand the broad definitions surrounding the concepts and as well as the complexities surrounding them. The chapter provided literature which evidenced that good quality education is not a guarantee to secure employment in African states for youths. This is because there are other factors that cause high youth unemployment in the continent despite the improved quality of education. These factors include stagnating economies, underground economy, a qualification mismatch with the labour market, lack of work experience, unequal employment opportunities, and a lack of business and social connections.

The chapter also discussed the literature on agriculture as a solution to youth unemployment. An analysis of the literature revealed that agriculture has not been successfully exploited as a solution to youth unemployment, partly because young people do not want to engage in the agricultural sector because of lack of interest, skills, information, credit, required documentation, training and loss of hope caused by the poor governance of agricultural programmes.

The chapter then considered youth unemployment in the context of social exclusion theory to explore the phenomenon of youth exclusion from employment and its consequences. The chapter concluded by applying the main concepts of the study and social exclusion theory in the context of Zimbabwean youth, to highlight the importance of the purpose of this research, which is to research the survival strategies of unemployed youth graduates.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

The previous chapter was a review of relevant literature. It developed a conceptual framework for this study. This chapter presents the methodological approach adopted by the study. The study adopted a qualitative design based on detailed interviews with young graduates in the City of Bulawayo. The chapter begins with a discussion of the qualitative research design adopted by the study of young university graduates and their experience in a harsh economic environment. The study adopted a qualitative case study design and an in-depth discussion of the case study is provided, which explains and justifies the choice for the study and provides a profile of the case study area, before describing the population and the sampling techniques used. This is followed by a description of the research techniques used to collect data and a discussion of the data analysis approach, together with the ethical considerations and fieldwork challenges. The last section of this chapter is the chapter summary.

3.2 The Qualitative Case Study Approach

In order to achieve the objectives of the study, a qualitative approach was adopted by the researcher. A qualitative approach is better suited for getting an in-depth understanding of the challenges of youth and their survival strategies. According to Whitehead (2005) qualitative methods provide a deeper understanding of complex issues and allow the researcher to discern and scrutinize the human or social obstacle. Using a qualitative approach allows for the building of a comprehensive picture through reporting the detailed views of informants of the particular research area. In this case the approach allowed me to explore the selected issues central to this research in detail through a combination of description, interpretation and explanation of information that emerged from collected data (Starman, 2013; Willams, 2007).

To execute this effectively, the study adopted a case study qualitative research method. A qualitative case study research method examines a person, place, event, phenomenon, or other type of subject of analysis to extrapolate key themes and results that help predict future trends, illuminate previously hidden issues that can be applied to practice, and/or provide a means for

understanding an important research problem with greater clarity (Harrison, 2017). This allows information to emerge that is descriptive and heuristic to readers.

For this study, a case study enabled the researcher to examine the circumstances of unemployed youths in Bulawayo closely, and to understand them in great depth. The study attempted to derive information on the dynamics of their lives including the various survival tactics which youths deploy in the city in a context of severe job shortages and an economy in rapid collapse.

Qualitative case studies are commonly utilised in a number of social sciences disciplines, to investigate people's lives and experiences with the sole purpose of gaining insight on how the individuals interpret and attribute meaning to their experiences and constructed worlds (Johansson, 2003). In this regard, a case study allowed the researcher to effectively achieve the objectives of this study through obtaining information from the youths directly in order to understand their perceptions and experiences. In essence, a qualitative case study approach allowed me to obtain information on the perceptions and experiences of the unemployed graduate youths.

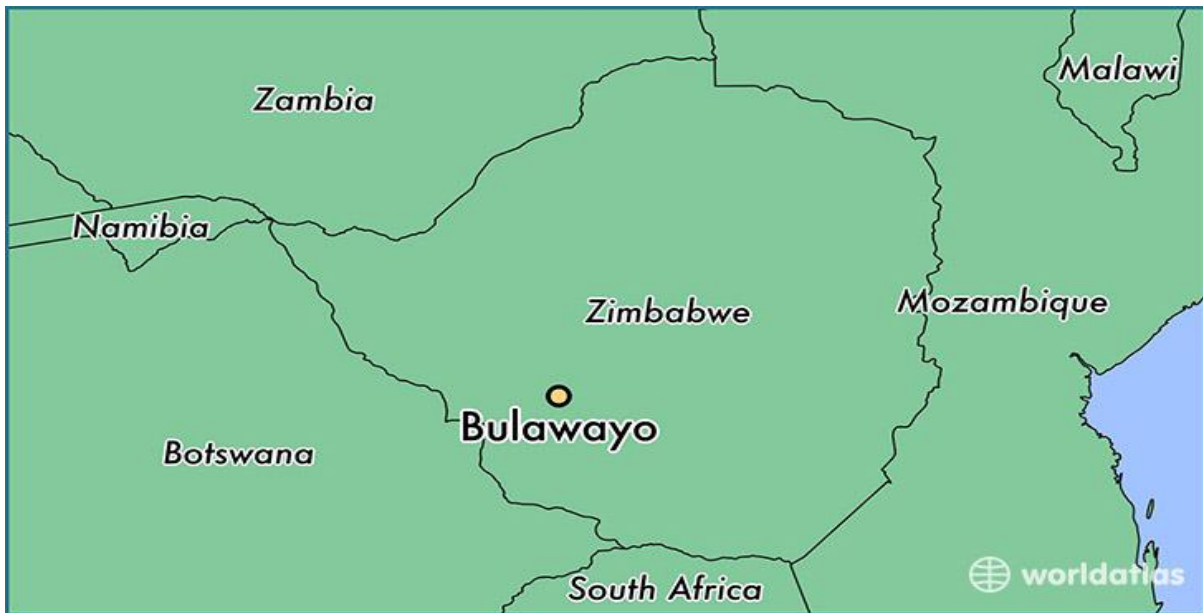
According to Zainal (2007) a case study is a specific research design for examining a problem where the information discovered is utilised in most circumstances to generalise across populations. It is an intensive, systematic study of a group of people or a unit with an aim to generalise a substantial unit, group of people or geographical area. In this manner, because of the time and resource constraints of this particular study, I was unable to conduct primary research in all the urban areas in Zimbabwe. Therefore, a case study was useful and convenient because it a common method which is utilised to generalise obtained information across populations and to address a broad problem. In this case, the information obtained in Bulawayo is generalised as illustrative of the unemployed graduate youths' survival strategies in the urban areas of Zimbabwe.

3.2.1 The case study

The case study was conducted in the city of Bulawayo, Zimbabwe (shown in Figure 3.2.1 which is below). The city is located in the Matabeleland region, Matabeleland, is a region in south-western Zimbabwe inhabited mainly by the Ndebele ethnic group. It is the second largest city in the country and largest in the Matabeleland province. Bulawayo is strategically located and consequently forms the axis of road and rail network links to the rest of the country and the southern African region providing important railway linkages to South Africa and

Botswana. As a result of its links to the border with South Africa and Botswana cross border trade is one of the most common sources of livelihoods, because of the country's weak economy (Bulawayo City Council, 2019; World Population Review, 2019).

Figure 3.2. 1: Map of the City of Bulawayo, Zimbabwe



Bulawayo's location which is near the Kalahari Desert makes it vulnerable to droughts and rainfall tends to vary sharply from one year to another. This is a common cause of challenges in the agricultural sector of the city (Parliament of Zimbabwe, 2011)

The city has a population of 653,337 and has five districts which are Bulawayo Central, Imbizo, Khami, Mzilikazi and Reigate (ZIMSAT, 2018). It is a multicultural city inhabited by people of the various ethnic groups in Zimbabwe such as the Ndebele who are a majority, Shona, Tonga, Kalanga, Venda and Sotho (Bulawayo City Council, 2019).

Bulawayo is the hub of Zimbabwe's rail network and the headquarters of the National Railways of Zimbabwe and it was historically the principal industrial centre of Zimbabwe. It is popularly known as *koNtuthu Ziya-thunqa* which is the Ndebele name for "a place that continually exudes smoke", and during the colonial days it was referred to as "the Manchester of Rhodesia" due to its heavy industrial sites. Bulawayo had factories which produced cars and car products, building materials, electronic products, textiles, furniture, and food products and hosted a number of large manufacturing and engineering companies. These included companies such as

the Tragers Group, Hubert Davies, Merlin Textiles, Stewarts & Lloyds, The Cold Storage Commission and Dunlop (Munyaka, 2014;Parliament of Zimbabwe, 2011).

In the past years, the city's economy has struggled as many factories either closed or moved operations to the capital city, Harare. Forcing several people into unemployment and creating high unemployment rates or the future generations, which is the current youth (Munyaka, 2014; Parliament of Zimbabwe, 2011).

3.2.2 Research population and sampling

The research population contained unemployed youths with the following characteristics:

- Zimbabwean youth citizens residing in the city of Bulawayo;
- Female and male youths who were willing to participate were between the between the ages of 21 and 28, with a tertiary education qualification from any tertiary institution in Bulawayo, Zimbabwe. Participants were selected according to the AU (2003) and Constitution of Zimbabwe (2013) youth age range (15 and 35). However, the study's starting age range was 21 because this is the age when most youth begin to obtain their higher education qualifications and begin to seek employment.
- Participants selected were those who had been seeking employment for minimum period of 12 months. This was to ensure that there was a reasonable timeframe to ensure that the information obtained would be line with the research objectives.

3.2.3 Selection of participants

This research had a target of interviewing a total of 30 unemployed youth graduates in the city of Bulawayo. This is because it was a qualitative study which was meant to provide an in-depth understanding of the survival strategies of the youth, therefore 30 youths were an appropriate small sample size to reflect the strategies and experiences of the youth in the area. To achieve the desired sample size, the study utilised purposeful sampling and snowball sampling. Purposeful sampling is widely used in qualitative research by a researcher to identify, select and focus on particular characteristics of a population that are of interest to the researcher, therefore enabling the best answers for the research questions (Suri ,2011). In this regard, my focus was to identify and select youth's which had been unemployed for minimum of 1 year and had graduated from any tertiary institution in the City of Bulawayo.

The snowball technique is a popular technique among social scientists whereby a researcher begins with a small population of known individuals and expands the sample by asking those initial participants to identify others that should participate in the study. In other words, the sample starts small but "snowballs" into a larger sample through the course of the research. Snowball sampling is a very good technique for conducting qualitative research with a specific population which is somehow marginalised and difficult to find (Charles & Kirchherr, 2018). In this regard I did not know 30 unemployed graduate youths in the City of Bulawayo, so I asked the first set of participants to assist me reach the desired sample size because they were aware of the youths who could participate in the study.

To begin the selection process, I approached the Head of Department for a youth group at a faith-based organisation where I attended services weekly. The reason for selecting the faith-based organisation to assist with identification of young graduates was because it is the largest faith-based organisation in Bulawayo with membership of approximately 3000 people. Therefore, catering for a large number of diverse social groups, which guaranteed that I would find some youth meeting the criteria for the study.

The Head of Department for the youth group assisted me to identify 8 youths who met the criteria for the study after a Sunday service. After introducing myself and explaining my study, they provided me with phone contacts and agreed that we meet for further interaction. I then contacted them through phone calls and WhatsApp messenger to set appointments for interviews at a time and venue, which was convenient for them. It was after my meeting with the 8 young graduates that I was able to contact more youths who met the criteria. The 8 youths referred me to 12 more young graduates they knew. These were either college mates, friends, relatives, neighbours or people they interacted with in their line of work. After meeting the 12 young graduates who were referred to me, they also referred me to 15 young graduates, from there, I was able to identify and select 10 to participate in my study. In total, I was able to obtain a total of 30 young graduates who agreed to participate in the study voluntarily.

3.3 Data Collection Approach

To collect the required information, a semi-structured interview technique and non-participant observations were utilised during the research project. This section is a discussion of the semi-structured interview technique and the non-participant observations which I adopted and the process of data collection.

3.3.1 Semi-structured interviews

A semi structured interview consists of a combination of predetermined questions and the opportunity for the interviewer and participant to explore responses further. Allowing the participants to share as much information as possible. According to McLeon (2014), semi-structured interviews are easy to transcribe because they contain a set of rigid questions which are utilised to guide a research project whilst the participants are at liberty provide in depth answers. They are easy to quantify, not burdensome to test for the reliability and generally quicker to conduct, especially if one is interviewing a large number of people (Whitehead ,2005). I conducted semi-structured interviews with the 30 youth that were identified during the selection process. I particularly adopted semi-structured interviews because it allowed participants to have the liberty and flexibility to share their opinions and experiences in detail, while I maintained a degree of control of the process.

The interviews took place at appointed times and at places convenient for the participants. Some of the interviews took place in public spaces including the Bulawayo Centenary Park, the Municipal Caravan Park and restaurants such as Nando's, Chicken Inn and KFC. While others took place at the participants homes. The duration of the interviews was between twenty minutes and one-hour, although in some cases repeat visits were made to clarify certain issues that emerged during data transcribing. All the interviews were guided by one stencil structured interview schedule to principally answer the main research question and the five specific questions. The interview schedule had open ended questions to allow the youths to give as much information as they could and to enable me to probe responses, this was key avoid data distortion. The schedule began with the introduction, whereby I introduced the purpose of the study, the ethical principles around the voluntary participation, permission to record the interview and the estimated length of the interview. The interview schedule which was utilised is attached in **Annexure B**.

Once I had introduced myself, participants were asked a total of seventeen questions which were split into four themes namely: General demographic information, employment, agriculture and survival strategies. This was in order to gather the information into categories from each research objective, which would further enable me to understand and analyse the data into themes. To conclude each interview, the participants were asked if they had more information, they had to share which was not addressed in the interview. Thereafter I thanked

the participants for taking part in the interviews and asked for permission to contact them if further information was required. All the youths agreed to be contacted further and I managed to contact some of the participants after the interviews, to obtain more information for data analysis and verification purposes.

With the signed consent of the youths the interviews were recorded with my cell phone. Recording the interview sessions allowed me to be well engaged with the participants, without any distractions. Fortunately, no disruptions occurred during all the interviews.

3.3.2 Non-participant observations

I also used the non-participant observation technique to supplement the semi-interview technique. Some of the interviews were conducted in public, and mainly where the young graduates were conducting their business. This dictated that I observe survival tactics of the youths. Sometimes, interviews were conducted at the young graduates' homes, which allowed for observations on certain issues emerging from the discussions. In particular, non-participant observations were done to ascertain or confirm certain aspects discussed with the youths. According to Barner-Barry (1986) non-participant observation involves observing participants without actively participating in their activities. Non-participant observation is a data collection method used with other methods such as interviews, document analysis and surveys. Nonparticipant observations are utilised extensively in case study research, whereby the researcher enters a social system to observe events, activities, and interactions with the aim of gaining a direct understanding of a phenomenon in its natural setting. This allows the researcher to be more open minded as they're an outsider looking inside a particular scenario. In this regard I was able to observe the youths conducting their business and make an objective analysis for this research.

Non-participant observation can be overt or covert. Overt means that research subjects know that researchers are present, and these can be combined with other methods, like in-depth interviews. Covert non-participant observation refers to observing research subjects without them knowing that they are being observed at all. Non-participant is more ethical if done overtly because there are no ethical issues if people are aware they are being observe. In this regard I utilised overt non participant observation because participants were made aware of the data collection process before it began and this removed ethical issues (Barner-Barry, 1986).

3.4 Data Analysis and Ethical Considerations

This section looks at the data analysis approach adopted in the study, the ethical issues that were considered, and the challenges faced during fieldwork. It describes the steps utilised in analysing data, before identifying and discussing research ethics and the challenges encountered in the field.

3.4.1 Data analysis

The data collected through interviews and non-participant observations was qualitative in nature and was analysed through the thematic analysis method. The data analysis process followed the step-by-step guide outlined by Delahunt & Maguire (2017). Here, I highlight the steps that I followed in order to develop the thematic areas that informed this thesis.

Transcribing the information

I began by transcribing the recorded data of each participant into a written form. Thereafter I read through the written information to understand the data. Any deficiencies identified in the collected data were addressed by contacting the relevant participant for follow up interviews. Thereafter further information was added to the interview transcript.

Becoming familiar with the data

During this process I would read and re-read the written data to make sure it was understood and that I was very familiar with the entire data collection. I also began to make a few simple notes of my early impressions of the information collected.

Generating initial codes

During this phase the information was organised in a significant and systematic way. This process involved grouping information into meaningful categories I chose to code each segment of data that was relevant to achieving the research objectives or data which captured something interesting or new about the research topic.

Searching for themes

I examined the codes generated. A few codes clearly fit into one theme while the majority of the codes fit into more than one theme. At the end of this step the codes had been organised into descriptive main themes and subthemes.

Reviewing the themes

Once all the main and subthemes had been developed, I reviewed the themes to ensure that all the data was relevant to each theme and to determine if all the themes were distinct from each other. During this phase I began to modify the themes to align them to the research questions. At the end of the process, I developed four major themes, which formed the core of my argument in the dissertation. The themes were:

- Young graduates aspire to hold formal jobs which reflect their areas of study
- Young graduates have found alternatives in the informal sector
- Alternatives are not sustainable and are seen by the young graduates as temporary
- Young graduates did not consider agriculture to be employment.

Writing-up

Once the themes had been reviewed and organised, I began to write the information in the research report. This was executed through identifying each objective and question and obtaining the information which answered the research questions to achieve the objectives of the research.

Researcher critical commentary and analysis

Content and narrative analysis methods were utilised to analyse the data and provide commentary to the information, thus developing discussions with the collected data. According to Elo and Kyngas (2008), content analysis is one of the most common methods to analyse qualitative data. It is used to analyse documented information and is usually used to analyse responses from interviewees. In this regard I conducted content analysis through utilising information from the youths and comparing and contrasting the information with similar literature which was provided in the literature review.

McAlpine (2016) asserted that a narrative analysis is a method utilized to analyse content from various sources, such as interviews of respondents. It focuses on using the stories and experiences shared by people to answer the research questions. Along these lines, I made use of raw data in the form of quotations from participants to further analyse and provide commentary on specific findings is provided in this research paper.

3.4.2 Ethical considerations

Ethics pertains to engaging in good research practices and avoiding harm. Harm can be prevented or reduced through the application of appropriate ethical principles and considerations. Thus, the protection of human subjects or participants in any research study is imperative Fouka and Mantzorou (2011) state that the main ethical principles which need to be applied when a researcher is conducting primary research with human subjects are informed consent and respect for confidentiality and privacy. This is important in order to not cause mental, financial, emotional or physical harm to participants. To make sure that the research applied the ethical considerations, the research proposal underwent a thorough review process before I could begin data collection. It was approved by the Postgraduate and Research Ethics Committee of the Faculty of Humanities at the University of Pretoria. The research applied the principles in the following manner.

Voluntary participation

My first conversation with the youths was through telephone phone calls and WhatsApp Messenger. I informed them about the study, its purpose and that it was completely voluntary. Upon the first physical contact with the youths before the interviews commenced, I also explained the research process and purpose in detail and reiterated that taking part in the research was on a voluntary basis with no tangible benefits. I informed the participants that they could withdraw from taking part in the interviews at any stage of the research process and if they withdrew the information would be erased and assumed void. The participants were also made aware that withdrawal of consent would not result in any penalties.

Informed consent

Written informed consent was sought from every participant. I provided all participants with full disclosure of all information necessary for making an informed decision of whether to participate or not in the research. At first contact with all the research participants, the research participants were provided with a written informed consent form. I explained the contents of the informed consent form which included a statement of the research purpose, the identity of the researcher, the identity of the institution from which the researcher is from, an invitation to participate, the expected duration and nature of participation, a description of research procedures, an explanation of the responsibilities of the participant and information pertaining to the recording of the interviews and storing of the data. Thereafter, they made a voluntary

and well-informed decision to participate in the research. This was followed by the signing of the consent forms by the youths to cement the voluntary agreement. The informed consent form that I utilised is attached in **Appendix A**.

Confidentiality and privacy

Confidentiality and privacy pertain to the manner in which the participants' information is used and the protection of his/her identity. I informed the research participants that the information would only be utilised for academic purposes and that all the transcribed data and recordings would be kept strictly confidential and only available to myself and my supervisor. The participants were also informed that the data would be stored in an electronic format in a password-controlled device during the study and in the Department of Anthropology and Archaeology at the University of Pretoria after the completion of the study. I also informed the interviewees that the data would be stored for archiving purposes and may be utilised for further research and if this occurred they would be informed. No names were mentioned in the interpretation of the data and where applicable, pseudonyms were utilised to ensure that the participants' assertions could not be traced back to them. All the information regarding the anonymity of a participant's identity was also explained to them.

Debriefing sessions

I understood that some of the data would contain sensitive information as the youths would disclose the negative life experiences and consequences from their unemployment status. Debriefing sessions were conducted after the interviews with the participants. The debriefing sessions were conducted through, short informal verbal interviews with respondents after the study had been completed. This was in order to remind the respondents the context of the study and to provide the final report and findings. This provided closure to youths and the researcher informed the youths individually that they could withdraw from the study after the research findings had been revealed. Fortunately, none of the participants withdrew from the study.

I did not encounter any challenges while I was collecting the data because the participants were excited to take part in the research. Many of the participants expressed how they found the research to be a very interesting. Many participants indicated that the research was meaningful and impactful to them as it addressed their everyday experiences and challenges, which would give them a voice. The participants were vibrant during the interviews and comfortable to express themselves freely. The fact that I am a graduate youth myself, helped me to relate to the participants and allowed them to be more comfortable during the interviews.

3.5 Chapter Summary

This chapter presented the methodology which was utilised to obtain data for this research paper. The chapter outlined the study area, which was the city of Bulawayo. The chapter then explained the research design utilised, which is qualitative in nature. Snowball sampling was utilised to identify the research participants. The data was collected using semi structured interviews. The last sections of the chapter presented detailed information of the data analysis procedure, which involved a content and thematic analysis and the ethical considerations. The next chapter discusses the outcomes of the methodology, presenting and analysing the data collected.

CHAPTER FOUR

YOUNG UNIVERSITY GRADUATES IN A CONTEXT OF ECONOMIC CRISIS AND UNEMPLOYMENT IN THE CITY BULAWAYO

4.1 Introduction

Chapter 3 discussed the methodological approach adopted by this study of youth, unemployment and their agency in the City of Bulawayo, Zimbabwe. The study adopted a qualitative approach based mainly on interviews with the youth. What follows in this chapter, therefore, draws from the interviews and is a presentation of the situation, perspectives and strategies of the youth in Zimbabwe's second largest city. One of the key areas of the presentation is the aspirations of the youth after graduating from university. These aspirations are key to our understanding whether agriculture can be used as a strategy to create youth employment in a country that has recently undertaken land reforms and is in the process of rationalising land allocations. It also acts as a test case for the discourse on youth employment through agriculture.

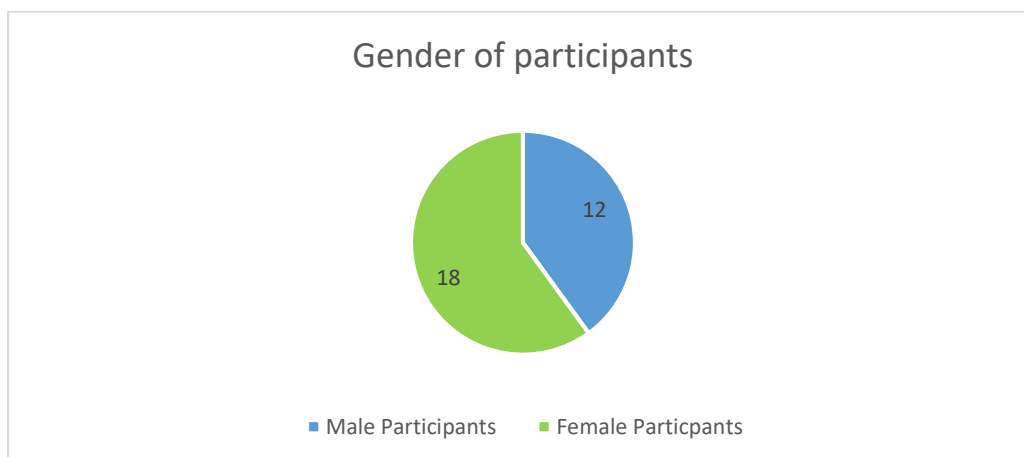
The chapter begins by providing a profile of the participants in the study. The profile is discussed in relation to broader issues of age, sex, ethnicity, qualification and place of origin. The perceptions of the participants on unemployment as well as their aspirations for their livelihoods are documented and analysed. The chapter then considers the alternative strategies for survival adopted by participants and analyses the participants' response to the idea of employment in agriculture. The chapter concludes with a summary of issues discussed.

4.2 Who are the Young University Graduates

The young university graduates that participated in the study came from different backgrounds, were of diverse ages, had different educational qualifications and expertise, and were of different gender. Zimbabwe generally has an educated youth population, and with an increase in the number of universities in the 2000s, more graduates have been produced every year. This has surely placed a strain on the ailing industrial and service sectors, while the civil services have struggled to accommodate the growing numbers of aspiring workers.

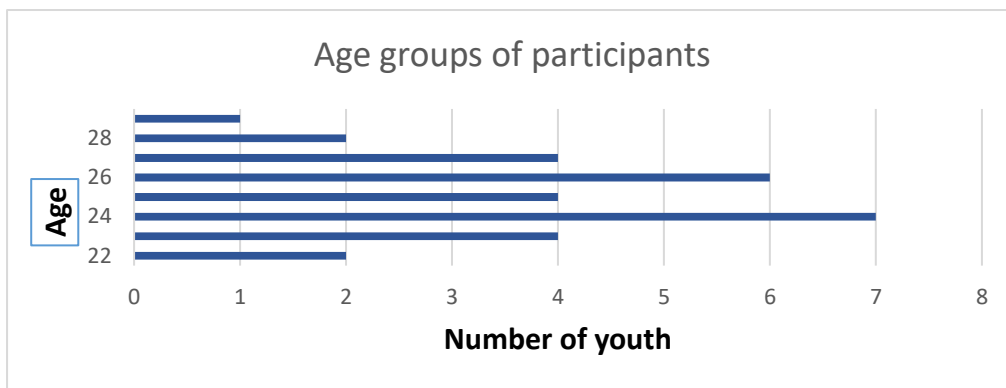
In a study of 30 young graduates in the City of Bulawayo, 12 were male and 18 were females as shown below in figure 4.2.1. This distribution is significant in our understanding of perceptions, aspirations and access to alternative methods for survival. Discourses on gender portray women as less likely to find rewarding alternatives because of their social circumstances and tend to link women to agriculture (Mangule, 2017). Hence, it has been argued that land reform should target women because of their dominance of the agricultural sector.

Figure 4.2.1: Gender of participants



As shown below in figure the ages of the participating youth ranged from 22 to 29 years of age and majority of the participants were aged 24. The age of the youth was very important for the study to understand who the most affected youths are. The age groups of the youth reflected the ages were there are likely to be recently completed graduates, who were still trying to find alternative employment opportunities.

Figure 4.2.2: Age groups of participants

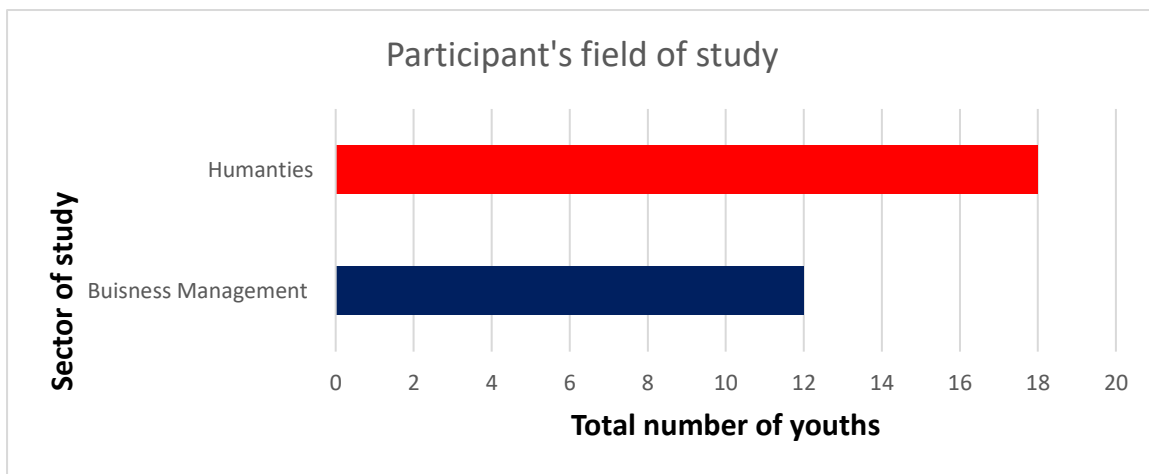


Indeed, 24 of the interviewees had graduated from university in the last five years, the other 6 had been employed before. The age range also corresponded to both the AU (2003) and Zimbabwean Constitution (2013) definition of youth, which defines youth as any individual aged between the ages of 15 and 35.

Interestingly, all the participants were single, which tended to question the issue of mobility for women because of family circumstances. Most of the participants were relatively independent, and no one among the women mentioned family circumstances as a constraint to their mobility. For example, Vanessa, was 28 years old, and still staying with parents in one of the affluent suburban areas. She graduated from the National University of Science and Technology with a BCom Human Resources Management in 2013. She said she had been to a number of places since her graduation and has not stayed in Bulawayo for more than three months. She has been to South Africa and Botswana for visits and had spent time in Gwanda and Victoria Falls. She said, 'my parents do not restrict my movements. I can take a job anywhere, even in South Africa....., I have relatives (interview, Bulawayo, 2016).

Figure 4.2.3 (below) reflects that the participants had qualifications in the Humanities or business fields. The majority of youth had qualifications in Arts or the broader Social Sciences. These included Vicky who had qualified with Bachelor of Arts degree in Linguistics and Peter with a Bachelor of Arts in Geography and Population Studies. This also reflected the finding provided by the ILO (2010) which stated that the majority of African youth graduates who were unemployed are those who had obtained qualifications in the fields of humanities and business.

Figure 4.2.3: Participants field of study



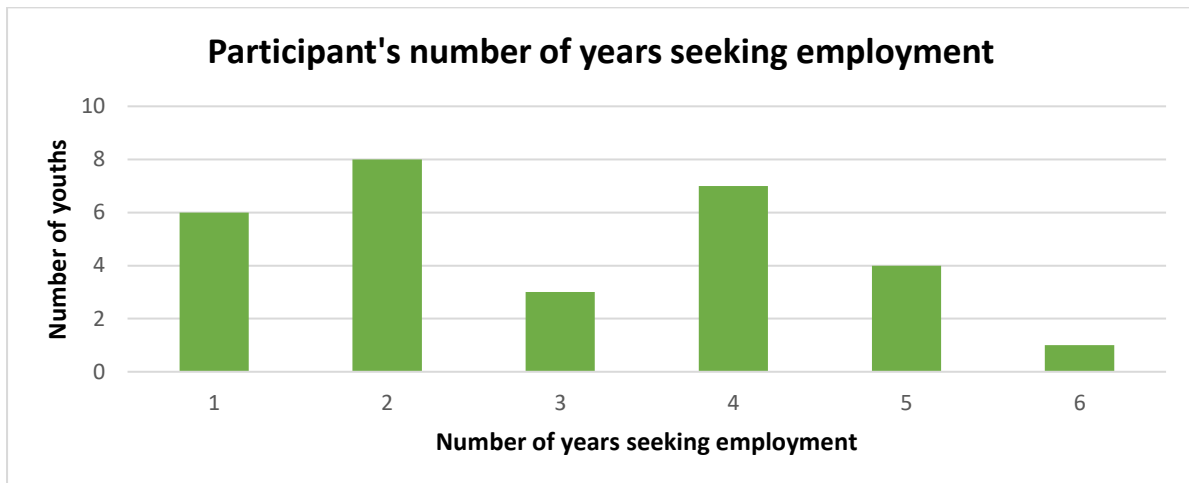
In the sample, there was no one with an agriculture related qualification, although there were five who held humanities degrees in Development Studies and Environmental Management, which are qualifications that can be closely aligned to agriculture. There was also another youth who had a Bachelor of Arts in Wildlife Management, and another one with a Bachelor of Arts in Development and Disaster Management. These are qualifications with great value in poor developing countries, and in Zimbabwe the wildlife and tourism industry is generally booming (Ministry of Environment Tourism and Hospitality, 2019).

It is interesting that these young graduates still believed that the education they had received was appropriate and was of good quality, and their failure to gain employment should not be attributed to the education they received. They pointed to other issues, which upon closer analysis, had substance. One of the young graduates reasoned:

Yes, I believe it is of good quality though it hasn't made much of a difference in Zimbabwe because there are no jobs for us. It is just the top positions in companies where you can find job openings, yet as a youth you will not have the required experience. It is also all about being connected with the right people as well (interview, Bulawayo, 2018).

The unemployment period of the youths is shown below in Figure 4.2.4. The youths' unemployment period averaged at 3 years, with 6 years being the longest period of unemployment and majority of the youth being unemployed for a period of 2 years.

Figure 4.2.4: Participants number of years seeking employment



Among these who had stayed long without a formal job (4 to 6 years), were people whose qualifications were not relevant to the job sector. For example, Kim Ncube, held a BA in Linguistics from Solusi University. While the economic environment in Zimbabwe was hostile, such a qualification was not helping issues as such graduates could not be placed under any job category in the industry. May be, they could find spaces in some government departments like the courts, or in some media houses, but even in these areas, there were specific qualifications, which were identifiable and available in Zimbabwe.

4.3 Perception of Youth on Unemployment and Youth Aspirations

Unemployment has been a major challenge in Zimbabwe, and since the mid-1990s formal employment opportunities have narrowed, and young graduates have found their aspirations for formal jobs frustrating. On the other hand, the government has implemented land reform policies, and there have been suggestions that the government should target youth and provide employment through agriculture. This section explores these issues in detail by focusing on the perceptions of youths on unemployment and their aspirations for employment, livelihoods and survival.

4.3.1 Youth perceptions on unemployment

The young graduates that participated in the study complained about the lack of employment opportunities and expressed a wish that the economic situation could improve. The youths had a specific understanding of employment. From the interactions we had, it was clear that they saw employment as work for which one is remunerated at the end of each month. Such employment should be secure, with binding contracts. In the words of one of youth, ‘money should be guaranteed and regular, and I should not worry about whether I will receive the money at the end of the month’ (interview, Bulawayo, 2018). This thinking is in line with the general thinking in society, where anything outside the formal sector is not considered as employment (Lubeker, 2008). From this viewpoint, employment should be characterised by job security and monetary returns on a regular basis.

The youth were also specific on what constitutes employment, and what does not constitute employment. In their view, working for oneself was not employment. They had a term that they used to refer to working for oneself activities - “*hustling*” – which meant to make ends meet. Hustling is characterised by unstructured schedules, varying rewards for work performed, no regularity in type or amount of work performed, limited planning. Hustling is considered by the youths to be unsustainable, and a stop gap of temporary activities to ensure one’s survival until one secures a “real” job. Hustling may occupy a legal and moral grey area and may involve circumventing some of the regulations which a formal business is expected to adhere to. The youths’ perception of employment as opposed to hustling seems to be informed by their “unemployed” status – that is to say their failure to secure the formal jobs which they desire - and their current life experiences. These current life experiences have pushed the youth to work for themselves in the informal sector in order to survive and make ends meet because they cannot obtain white collar jobs. A few of the statements below evidence the conceptions of employment by the youth:

Working for someone or under someone for money is employment. To me work is when you are working for someone or under someone in the formal sector, not informal things. When you are working someone needs to be accountable for you. Working for yourself is not employment, I am personally working for myself, but you can’t say I am employed, I am just hustling, because I need to make a plan to survive (interview, Bulawayo, 2018).

Employment is work; it is being employed by someone else. It is work that is formal. I don’t think working for myself in the formal or informal sector is something that can be regarded as employment. It is just hustling, honestly, because I am just trying to get food for the day (interview, Bulawayo, 2018).

Employment is working for an organisation or another person in the formal sector and your education must assist you with doing that job. If you are just working for yourself then you are just hustling, we cannot say you are employed (interview, Bulawayo, 2018).

The global definition of employment provided by the ILO (2019) states that employment is an activity engaged by persons of working age to produce goods or provide services for pay or profit for the time worked. The activities which the youth engage in, which they consider to be hustling, include anything for which the youths can earn a little of money, even if it is just enough to survive. This may involve buying and selling goods or providing ad hoc services to people in the neighborhood. While these activities may not provide satisfactory income for the youths, they might, strictly speaking, be encompassed by the ILO (2019) definition of employment, as the goods and services provided by the youths are not usually for self-consumption.

The youths' definition of employment seems consistent with the findings from Luebker's (2008) study where unemployed respondents from Luebker's (2008) interviews in the city of Harare denied activities to be "work", especially when the activities are carried out at home or agriculture related activities. For the youths the production of goods and services for pay or profit alone is not sufficient for an activity to be viewed as employment, particularly if the activity is in the informal sector or for oneself. Perhaps if the hustling activities allow the hustler to earn amounts comparable to those earned in the formal sector and become lucrative enough to allow the hustler to achieve his desired outcomes in terms of livelihood, then these activities might be elevated to be considered employment. But so long as these activities are seen as unsustainable and not rewarding financially, these activities may be considered by the youths to be insecure forms of livelihoods and activities of people that are desperate. One of the youths remembers, 'when we were growing up, these were the activities for the poor, people of no status' (interview, Bulawayo, 2018).

Following this statement, employment is seen to confer a certain status and respect on an individual. Status emerged as a key issue as this excerpt shows:

In the past, university would guarantee you a good job, and society would respect you and treat you differently. It was that status that motivated us to do well and go to university, so that you get a good job. Parents would sacrifice for their children to go to university so that they get better jobs (interview, Bulawayo, 2018).

These perceptions of work are strongly embedded in society. In Zimbabwean society in general, there is no respect for a person who engages in activities which can be considered as hustling or engages in subsistence farming. These people were called ‘*omahlalela*’, a derogatory term used to define men who stay home. The youth therefore felt such a stigma and lack of respect, from their peers and their parents.

4.3.2 Youths aspirations on livelihoods

The majority of youths interviewed in this study had aspirations to get formal jobs in Zimbabwe or elsewhere. This is not surprising given the value given to formal employment in Zimbabwean society. Some of the participants of the study were already preparing to leave for South Africa and Botswana. They indicated that they got educated so that they can increase their chances to obtain good jobs. The majority of the interviewees had aspirations for white collar jobs. Ben Moyo, for example, had dreamed of an air-conditioned office, with a computer, where he would be doing figures at one of the accounting firms in the city. He laughed and asserted ‘I have always wanted to wear formal and put on a tie’ (interview, Bulawayo, 2018). Formal employment was considered by some of the interviewees to be a route to better remuneration and to a better life.

The discussion above corroborates the point noted by International Labour Organisation in its 2018 article, “*addressing the situation and aspirations of educated youth*”, that globally, young educated people attach great value to obtaining traditional forms of employment which include good wages, opportunities for career development and stable employment prospects. These findings also support the view by Nguyen (2014) that once youths have obtained a tertiary qualification, they aspire to reap from the financial and learning investments made towards obtaining a higher education qualification, through obtaining jobs which provide financial and job security benefits.

These findings also support Mago’s (2014) argument that educated youth aim to obtain good jobs in the formal sector. The findings also depict that youth aspire to obtain work which contains characteristics of providing a fair income, security in the workplace and social integration (ILO 2019). Some of the youth were very passionate about what they studied at university, and still hoped that they will one day get a job they studied for. They still make applications to big organisations in the country, while those with relatives in South Africa in Botswana had given them their CVs for circulation in the countries. The desire of the interviewees to obtain jobs related to their areas of study, their continued search for formal

employment, and their view that certain occupations are not befitting of university graduates support the idea that increased investments towards education raises the aspirations and dreams of the youths (Mangule, 2016).

Some of the interviewees wished they could be entrepreneurs instead. At least entrepreneurship confers the same status as employment. However, even these wanted to gain experience in the formal sector first, so that they can execute their businesses with success. These were mainly those youth with business-oriented qualifications, like Nelly, who had a marketing degree from the National University of Science and Technology. She said:

The formal sector offers soft skills and such skills are important later in life when one has to go and do business alone. You have to learn from someone, an entity or individual. Once you have the experience, you are set to start your own business (interview, Bulawayo, 2018).

A few of the graduates stated that they aspired to pursue their education further after they had obtained some work experience. This is evidenced by the following statements made by some of the participants:

My aspirations are to transform the tourism industry in Zimbabwe and eventually SADC through establishing my own travel agencies, hotels and lodges, but first I want to gain as much experience as possible through getting a job in the tourism sector, maybe 5-10 years working experience before I establish my own private companies that can compete with other tourism based companies (interview, Bulawayo, 2018).

I did not go to university for nothing, so therefore first I must get a job at any company where I can use my sociology degree, because my parents sacrificed a lot for me to go to school and also studying is not easy. So, I aspire to get a job first so I can start making money. I am thinking of leaving the country to look for a job. Then, I think maybe after 4, 5 years I will start my own social sciences research consulting company (interview, Bulawayo, 2018).

I have always been good at and passionate about English. I studied English and Communication because that is my passion. That's what I want to do. I studied this degree and I know it will lead me to my destiny and were I want to be, because I see myself as a communication consultant. So, I want to get a job which will allow me to be one for now then after 3 years or so, I will start my own company once I get ideas and skills of how to run a successful company. I would have obtained a Master's degree by then (interview, Bulawayo, 2018).

The findings also corroborate findings by Mago (2014) that educated youths are very vulnerable in the labour market because of the lack of coordination between higher education institutions and the real industry. This is evidenced by the number of young graduates holding qualifications that have no relevance to the contemporary industrial needs in Zimbabwe. Such education leads to a skills gap for graduates, because they only provide theoretical knowledge

to graduates. This is also reflected by the lack of confidence by youths to go into entrepreneurship after obtaining their qualifications, without experience from the industry. As it was shown, the youths saw experience in the industry as the foundation to successful entrepreneurship.

Interviewees also had plans to settle down and be independent and assist their parents that had made sacrifices to educate them. However, these plans were hindered by unemployment as reflected in the following excerpts:

My aspirations after graduating from university were to get a good job which will enable me to move out of my parents' home, where I can do my own things and pay my own bills and also take care of them. I am just really hoping to get a good job and take care of myself (interview, Bulawayo, 2018).

After graduating from university, I wanted a proper job where I could work for what I studied for and earn enough money which would allow me to get my own flat where I can pay rent and eventually buy a car. After a while I would like to start my own business where I will have lodges in Victoria Falls (interview, Bulawayo, 2018).

This is in line with the stages of life, where youth is a development phase, which is depicted by the ability of a young person to set up their own home and when the individual become more independent from their families (Morch, 2003). It also shows that employment marks the transition of young people from school to work while simultaneously shifting them from being a child and an adult (Von Hoof & Bradley, 2000).

To some interviewees, marriage was part of this stage of growth, and had hoped that they would get a job and settle. However, these aspirations were hindered by their failure to hold a formal job with security for them to support families. The interviewees had this to say:

My aspirations after graduating were to find a job and work and thereafter secure a permanent job, buy a car, find a life partner, pay lobola, wed and build a house (interview, Morris, Bulawayo, 2018).

My aspirations were to get a good job, get my own house, get married, have children and maybe have my own business one day (interview, Nelly, Bulawayo, 2018).

The above statements support the assertion put forward by Thorsen (2007). Thorsen's paper, states that unmarried females and males are considered boys and girls because marriage, accompanied by economic independence and wellbeing, is viewed as complete adulthood. Likewise, the AU (2003) states that youth is a life transition from childhood to adulthood which takes place through three main transitions. These are schooling, labour market and marriage. From this perspective, young graduates have completed one main transition which is schooling,

and they aspire to transition into the labour market and to marriage in order to complete their transition to adulthood.

4.3.3 Challenges faced by youth when seeking employment

The interviewees described negative job seeking experiences, which they blamed on a number of reasons including a weak economy; nepotism and corruption; marginalisation -particularly of graduates from the Matabeleland region - which has resulted in unequal employment opportunities, lack of work experience, gap between qualification and market needs, and lack of professionalism during the hiring process.

The results of this study are consistent with the notion that the lack of employment opportunities in Africa is driven by slow economic growth (Okojie, 2003). The results of this study are also consistent with The UN Office of the Secretary General's Envoy on Youth (2016) statements regarding the biggest obstacles educated youths face in both developed and developing countries when seeking employment. These are unequal employment opportunities, lack of business and social connections, lack of work experience, and qualification mismatch with the labour market. However, the lack of professionalism during the job application processes is a phenomenon not discussed in any of the literature reviewed for this study.

Lack of job opportunities

Most interviewees noted a lack of job opportunities for people with tertiary qualifications in the City of Bulawayo. The interviewees indicated that most job opportunities available in Bulawayo were for unskilled and semi-skilled individuals and were therefore not suitable for people with higher education qualifications. This finding reflects that the situation the youths find themselves is one of structural unemployment.

The youths stated that job opportunities suitable for individuals with tertiary qualifications were only available in the capital city of Zimbabwe (Harare), due to the massive de-industrialisation in Bulawayo, which resulted in the relocation of industrial companies to Harare. They mentioned that large companies like Hunyani relocated to the capital, while others collapsed. They noted that job opportunities were widely available in Harare, owing to the fact that mega local companies, multinational companies, government departments, intergovernmental organisations, have a huge presence in the capital city. The youths stated

that it was difficult to apply in Harare because they did not reside in the city. The youths complained:

There are no jobs here in Bulawayo. The job vacancies I always come across are for cashiers at supermarkets. I have been unemployed for 2 years and I have only come across 4 job vacancies suitable for my experience and what I have studied. The competition was so stiff when I applied because there are just no jobs, and everyone wants that one position. Jobs are actually in Harare because that's where everything is (interview, Bulawayo, 2018).

They are basically no jobs in Bulawayo, and with the very few jobs available it is literally impossible for you to get that job because so many people apply, creating stiff competition. I think Harare is better because I have three friends that I was in class with at Solusi University and they managed to get jobs in Harare. I am actually planning to go and stay in Harare for a short while and look for a job because it seems like that is where everything is happening job wise (interview, Bulawayo, 2018).

I have been looking for employment in Bulawayo for the past 6 years and I have failed to get any. It is actually so depressing, there are just no job opportunities here. There is honestly nothing for graduates in Zimbabwe, except for Harare which seems to have the capacity to provide some opportunities. Most people end up relocating to Harare to look for jobs, because with jobs in Harare they always want people who apply to be living there (interview, Bulawayo, 2018).

O'Higgins (2011) and Kahraman (2011) both mentioned that the main cause of youth unemployment in African states was due to the high volume of youth in the labour force combined with the low levels of job creation caused by their weak economies. From this view, this can be said to be accurate for the case of unemployed graduate youths in the city of Bulawayo. There are plenty of graduate youths in the labour force but low levels of job creation and opportunities because of the economic hardships caused by the massive de-industrialisation in the city. It is also key to note that unequal job opportunities amongst the youths is caused by geographical unemployment. This is because there are better employment prospects for graduate youths residing in the city of Harare than those living in Bulawayo.

The situation the youths find themselves in is one of cyclical unemployment in this regard, because there is a lack of aggregate demand for goods and services which is generated by an economic recession, and the labour market consisting of the labour force has increased whilst the demand of job vacancies accessible has decreased (O'Higgins, 2001; Kanaparo, Rayel & Imbun, 2014; Shang, 2015). Hustling is an activity the youths engage in in the absence of employment, rather than hustling being an alternative form of employment.

Nepotism

The youths in the study mentioned that they struggled to obtain jobs due to nepotism. They stated that due to the very few job opportunities available in Bulawayo, one had to have a social connection linked to a job vacancy in order to obtain a job. They emphasised the issue of social networks as a stepping stone to obtaining a job. They also thought that if they had the necessary social capital, they would be having jobs in the fields where they have the skills.

The youths noted that the job recruiting process is not open and fair, and that the few job vacancies available are never advertised, but only made available to those who had social connections with the persons in charge of recruiting. It would appear that the majority of youths that participated in the study lacked the right social capital to assist them in their search for jobs as highlighted in the following excerpts:

There are basically no jobs in Bulawayo, the very few job openings that are there, there is a lot of nepotism at play. It is all about being connected, knowing the big guys out there. If you do not know anyone, you can never have a job, even if you are a better candidate (interview, Bulawayo, 2018).

The thing is there are not a lot of jobs available so with the little that are there you will never see adverts, because it's all about being connected. You can only know about a job vacancy if you have a connection, you know, like a relative or a friend who can give you or help you get the job vacancy available (interview, Ben, Bulawayo, 2018).

These days getting a job is hard. For you to get a job in this economy you need a connection. If you don't have a connection, you will never get a job. I have people that I studied with in university and they only got jobs because of their relatives and family friends (interview, Bulawayo, 2018).

The above findings are consistent with the UN Office of the Secretary's Envoy on Youth (2016) report, which states that globally educated youths face obstacles when seeking employment due to a lack of social and business connections.

Marginalisation and perceptions of quality

A view on marginalisation also emerged during the study. Perceptions of marginalisation in Matabeleland are not new and have dominated regional politics since the 1980s (Ndlovu, 2018). It was not surprising therefore that some young graduates believed that they were not employed because qualifications from any university in Matabeleland were marginalised in the job market. The youths complained that they could not compete with candidates from the University of Zimbabwe in Harare. They believed that recruiters preferred graduates from the

University of Zimbabwe or from outside the country. These qualifications were perceived by employers as of “*higher quality*” or “*elite qualifications*”.

This may be true in the sense that the University of Zimbabwe has always been thought to be the country’s flagship university and has a high reputation internationally. Interestingly, the National University of Science and Technology also has an international reputation and offers qualifications that have a practical orientation (Ndlovu, 2018). This cannot be said of the other universities in the region, like Solusi, Lupane and Gwanda, which are relatively unknown. However, perceptions of marginalisation of qualifications were very strong among the youths. Betty, who holds a Marketing degree from the National University of Science and Technology recalled a painful experience where she was not selected because she had qualifications from a Bulawayo institution:

I twice failed get a job just because my degree is local. There was a time when my older sister informed me of a job opening in my line of study at her workplace. I applied for the job and I was short-listed for the job. They were looking for two marketing interns and four of us were short-listed for the job. Unfortunately, I did not get the job and then later I was told by my sister that the CEO stated that she preferred to hire the other two applicants because one had a qualification from the University of Cape Town and would bring more to the table because they had exposure and the other one was from the University of Zimbabwe, and it is university which produces quality graduates. So, I and this other gentleman did not get the job because we had local qualifications, simply because people think they are not high quality and we don’t have exposure, so we can’t bring in fresh ideas (interview, Betty, Bulawayo, 2018).

Some young graduates held the perception that local graduates have remained unemployed in part because employers tended to marginalise the qualifications from Bulawayo universities, and would openly show preference for employing youths who had received qualifications from the University of Zimbabwe or from any foreign higher education institution. One young graduate, Ben, stated that he had given up on applying for jobs because of nepotism and the marginalisation of qualifications. He said:

For me the challenges I have always in seeking employment is that I do not have a social connection because if you do not have a social connection you will never get a job. Companies want to employ people from the University of Zimbabwe or South African universities because they assume that these universities are better, and they produce better graduates and smarter people. I have even given up now on applying (interview, Ben, Bulawayo, 2018).

The above findings depict the lack of employment opportunities due to cultural/social factors whereby employers treat qualifications from the minority ethnic group province with contempt

and view qualifications from the capital city or outside the country as prestigious, of high quality and more reputable. This is consistent with the UN Office of the Secretary General's Envoy on Youth (2016) research based on *the biggest obstacles educated youths face in both developed and developing countries*, which lists unequal job opportunities as one of the reasons for youth unemployment.

Insufficient work experience

The youth graduates interviewed lacked experience even for the jobs they had qualifications, while available job vacancies required people with experience. This is because after graduating the graduates had never worked, and while some qualifications had an industrial attachment component, employers did not consider industrial attachment as experience on the job. The majority of jobs needed people with at least 2 years of experience in a similar capacity. The situation of these young graduates is evident from the excerpts from interviews below:

The main challenge I face when I am looking for a job amongst many others is that I do not have experience. The few job opportunities in Bulawayo are always looking for work experience between 2 – 3 years for a junior position and I do not have any work experience because I am a recent graduate, so it doesn't make sense. So, it makes me wonder if I will ever get a job because of that (interview, Bulawayo, 2018).

For me another challenge that I have been facing ever since I graduated from university is that is all these companies are always talking about 3- 5 years' experience as a minimum requirement. I honestly just apply just to make myself feel better because I know I will not get a job. There are so many educated unemployed people here, who even have work experience so I am sure those companies will get a lot of people with the experience anyways (interview, Bulawayo, 2018).

Applying for a job is so annoying because there are not a lot of jobs available and, with the few that are available, they always say they want work experience. I do not have any work experience. Especially in my field of accounting they always expect someone to have experience in handling the finances of an organisation. If you don't, it is a put off for them because financial management is so practical, but at the same time I don't know where I am supposed to get the experience since I am coming from university (interview, Bulawayo, 2018).

These findings are in line with Mago (2014)'s argument that educated youths are very vulnerable in the labour market. This is because the coordination between the educational institutions and industry creates a permanent skills gap. Therefore, with the few jobs available, employers prefer to hire adults because of the work experience and skills they process. This then creates difficulties for educated young people to penetrate the small job market.

Qualification- employment mismatch

Some of the interviewees agreed that they were struggling to find jobs because their skills were not appropriate to the job market. They recognised that there were jobs in the city in certain fields including medicine, law, engineering, administration, IT and economic management sciences. However, only 6 out of 30 interviewees had qualifications related to these fields, while some interviewees held qualifications in History, Linguistics, and Education Design. Those youths who were holding qualifications in Humanities agreed that they would be disadvantaged in the job market, even if jobs were available. Outside technical jobs in IT, engineering and mechanical works, they noted that there were jobs in hair dressing, sales and marketing, driving, flight attendance, and in hospitality as shown in these excerpts:

I have come to the realisation that it is difficult to get a job with a humanities qualification under these economic situations. Since I graduated, I do not remember coming across a job in my area of study in the newspapers (interview, Peter, Bulawayo, 2018).

One of the major problems I have come across whilst job hunting is that there no opportunities in the city for what I studied, I mean once in a while I come across internships but they are for jobs in the field of economic management or for people that have certificates and diplomas in things that are too technical like hair dressing and cosmetics, automotive electives and refrigeration and air conditioning, things like that ... (interview, Queen, Bulawayo, 2018).

The problem I have when looking for a job is that most of the few opportunities that are available are traditional jobs, which are jobs for people that studied law, medicine, engineering and accounting. For someone like me who studied Environmental Practice, these opportunities are scarce here in Zimbabwe (interview, Wendy, Bulawayo, 2018).

Some of the youth graduates said that they had applied for some of these jobs in desperation, but they were not considered as highlighted in the followed:

However, this has not stopped me from applying for the available jobs. I have resorted to applying for jobs that are available, particularly in administration. Unfortunately, I have failed to get any. I was going to be considered, maybe, if I had experience (interview,, Bulawayo, 2018).

I apply for positions that are available, even if they are not in my line. I have applied for jobs at Edgars and I also responded to a job advertisement requiring flight attendants. Maybe I can be lucky one day. I cannot sit and wait for jobs in my area to open. Very soon, I will be going to Harare, maybe I will be lucky there (interview, Bulawayo, 2018).

These interviews corroborate findings by the ILO (2010) that the African youths with qualifications in the fields of business and humanities have lower prospects of employment, and would resort to settling for survival jobs, because there is a higher demand in the medical, engineering and IT sectors.

This is caused by the failure of educational systems to align their curricular with the needs of the private sector (Ekane, 2010; UNECA, 2014). It can also be noted that the finding made by the UNECA (2014) which states that African state economies' have a higher supply of unskilled and semi-skilled job vacancies is relevant to the situation of young people in the City of Bulawayo, who have found their skills unsuited to the available low-skilled jobs.

Corruption and unprofessional conduct by officials charged with recruitment

Interviewees particularly complained about corruption in recruitment, and how some individuals in influential positions in terms of recruiting were conducting themselves unprofessionally. A number of interviewees had encountered situations where they were asked for bribes in order to be offered jobs for which they were qualified. From these interviews, it appears that in Zimbabwe, people responsible for recruitment have taken advantage of the scarcity of jobs to benefit from the recruitment process. Terrance is an example of a victim of bribe soliciting executives. He holds a Bachelor of Science Honours Degree in Journalism and Media Studies from the National University of Science and Technology. He applied for a Media Monitoring internship position at a certain NGO. However, the person responsible for accepting CVs requested a bribe of US\$20, which would guarantee that his CV would be considered by the Human Resource Manager. He said:

Out of desperation I gave him the 20 dollars he requested. However, I never received any communication from the organisation since that day. I do not even know if he even made sure my CV was looked at or he was saying that to every single person who was submitting a CV to make money (interview, Bulawayo, 2018).

Ben also fell victim to an official when he applied for an internship position at a local bank, where a Junior Human Resource Officer requested payment of US\$100, which would guarantee that he gets the job. Ben qualified for the position since he holds an Accounting Sciences qualification.

Female interviewees reported elements of sexual harassment by officials, who would sometimes request sexual favours in exchange for favourable treatment in the recruitment process. Interviewees noted that it is common for them to be asked for contact numbers and to be promised job offers if they agreed to the recruiters' sexual advances. Zara, who holds a BA English and Communication degree from Solusi University, said she applied for a job at a certain government organisation where the man in charge of recruitment requested contacts,

and promised that he would guarantee her the job. Out of fear, however, she did not give her contact numbers to the man, and she never got the job.

The discussion above shows the precarious situation of young graduates living in an ailing industrial city, in a country facing serious social and economic challenges. While job opportunities have shrunk significantly, the doors have been closed for them in the few available opportunities. They have been victims of regional politics, perceptions on education quality, inappropriate qualifications, nepotism and corruption. Women seem to have faced additional obstacles as male officials with influence in the recruitment process have tried to take advantage of the graduates' desperate situations by soliciting sexual favours. Mangle (2016) and Bhebhe (2016) outlined that in Africa female graduates are faced with additional obstacles when seeking employment compared to their male counterparts, because of obstacles which are cultural in nature, whereby it is believed that women should work in households only. While these cultural obstacles were not identified by the interviewees, another obstacle peculiar to women emerged which was unwanted sexual advances from male recruiters.

4.4 Alternative Strategies of Survival for Unemployed Youths

Most young graduates that participated in the study tried to negotiate the hard economic environment in the country, embarking on a number of activities to generate income. The main motive for embarking on these activities was survival; making money in the short to medium term while waiting to find permanent employment. It seems that the situation in Bulawayo has pushed youths to make a living in the informal sector. The informal sector has been a major refuge avenue for individuals and households which could not be accommodated by the formal sector.

The country's economy has become heavily informalised. The country has the largest informal sector in Africa, and second largest informal economy as a percentage of its total economy in the world and currently 95% of the working population in Zimbabwe earn a living from the informal sector (IMF, 2018). Young graduates have joined this growing sector after encountering frustrations in the formal sector. The situation of these youths is not different from the general trend, where unemployed youths are absorbed in thriving underground economies (Okojie, 2003). This section is a discussion of the strategies adopted by young graduates in the City of Bulawayo after encountering frustrations with formal sector employment.

Cross border trading

Cross-border trading has a long history as a strategy among Zimbabweans. It has been used by both men and women to overcome economic hardship in the country in the 1990s (Rusivingo, 2014). Some of the interviewees have joined this trend, buying wares from South Africa and Botswana to sell in Bulawayo. This is particularly made easy by the ease of travel between Bulawayo and the two countries and the availability of social networks. Young graduates travel to either Botswana or South Africa, where they buy wares like electronics (cellphones, laptops, and similar parts), fabrics and clothing items, motor vehicle parts and grocery items that are not available or are expensive in the country, for resale.

From the young graduates who participated in the study, 4 were involved in the sale of electronic gadgets, 6 were trading in motor vehicle parts, 5 said they buy bales of clothes, mainly from South Africa and sell the clothes in Bulawayo. Others were selling virtually everything including cosmetics, depending on the orders they have. Margret for example, buys cosmetics from South Africa for resale in Zimbabwe, she also sells clothes from South Africa, where she buys bales. She was planning another trip to South Africa to buy bales of jackets to sell during the winter season.

Similarly, Vesna, was selling bars of green soap and cooking oil that she had bought from Botswana, but she also had a cosmetic stall where she sold items brought from South Africa. She said, 'hustling means that you sell everything. You cannot choose..., you go with whatever items are on demand at the time'. At the time of the study, 4 of the male graduates were also involved in buying and selling fuel. They bought fuel from Botswana and sold it to motorists in Zimbabwe. Fuel from Botswana and South Africa is thought to be strong and motorists prefer such fuel to the blended fuel sold in the country. Peter said he has been selling fuel since 2017. He has an advantage because he has a car, which allows him to travel to and from Botswana with ease.

Street vending

Related to cross-border trading, interviewees would sell their wares on the street. They would either do it themselves or hire people to sell for them. They would sell an assortment of items including new and secondhand clothing from bales bought in Mozambique, books, building materials, consumer electronics, auto repairs, jewelry, stationery and crafts, which they had brought locally from South Africa or Botswana. Some would sell pirated movies, popular TV series, CDs and DVDs.

Ben, for example, was selling pirated films and TV series during the day and engaging in sports gambling in the evening to survive. He rents a small office space in the Bulawayo CBD, where he accesses uncapped WiFi to download television and TV series for customers from illegal downloading sites using a laptop. He does this despite graduating with an Accounting Sciences degree from the National University of Science and Technology. He has been unemployed for the past 2 years. He operates on orders and requests from clients. Clients would ask for certain movies or series, which he would download from the illegal downloading websites. He would copy the media onto DVDs or serve it to clients on a flash stick. He says that the demand for his services is high because most of the films and shows that are available in the USA are not available on local television channels and DSTV, and this has become a major source of livelihood for him.

I sell movies and series to earn money; this is a profit-making business. I do it with my friend and my brother. We have a small office in town. So, what we do is we download series and movies from different sites. Most of our clients come to our office and make requests for what they want. We also have some clients that we have built a long-term relationship with, so they usually just send us a message and make an order of what they want on WhatsApp, then they come and collect their movies and series a few hours or days later. In a month we make an average of \$2000 dollars, we make a lot of money because ZTV, DSTV do not show things people like watching so there is a high demand. Also, a lot of people are not knowledgeable about how to find these sites which can get you what you want. This is what I do during the day then afterwards I go and do sports gambling (interview, Bulawayo, 2018).

Commuting services

The study found that youths are not engaged in only one activity. As alluded to earlier, hustling means that one does anything that can give one a living. It emerged that some of the interviewees that were selling cross-border items, were also involved in the transportation business. With the increase in number of commuters daily in the city combined with the failure of the city buses and taxis to meet the demand, a small passenger pirate service has thrived in the city. Young graduates that can access vehicles have joined this thriving business, transporting people during the day and night. While none of the interviewees had vehicles of their own, they used their parents' vehicles in what is called *mushikashika*. *Mushikashika* is a term used in Bulawayo to refer to the negligent, unruly and illegal behavior by an unregistered taxi drivers who dangerously drive, pick and drop passengers anywhere and anyhow for an income.

An example of the above is 26-year-old Robin. Robin utilises his mother's Honda Fit car to execute commuting services for a living, he provides commuting services from Burnside, a suburban area where he resides. Burnside is located on the south eastern side of Bulawayo. He also provides commuting services to other suburban areas near Burnside, such as Hillside and Morningside and to the Central Business District. While conducting business sometimes he comes across people who will request for his transportation services to the airport and for weddings. Robin asserted the following:

If I am not going to be Botswana to buy motor vehicle parts, cell phones and laptops for resale, I mainly do mushishika business. I use my mom's Honda fit car for that because she has two cars and she doesn't really use it. Basically, I just drive around my neighborhood to get people who want to go to town, if I am struggling I then move to other places which are near like Hillside and Morningside. The thing is there are many mushikashika's, so we have our areas to avoid fighting and we know each other, so that's why I never leave Burnside, Hillside and Morningside area. On a good day when I am in town I can get a customer who will want an airport service for a cheaper price than the registered taxis or I can come across people who will want to hire my transport services or a wedding (interview , Robin, Bulawayo, 2018).

Illegal money exchange (Osphatheleni)

At the time of this study, there was a scarcity of cash and foreign currency in Zimbabwean banks. This created a lucrative black market where forex was exchanged. This mainly took place in the CBD, but transactions could occur anywhere, including in shops and homes. Young graduates joined this lucrative sector. Generally, the people involved in the black-market exchange are the same people involved in cross-border trading and street vending. It is easy for these to partake in these activities because they are always on the street, have a clientele and have a pseudo business that makes it difficult for officials to detect these illegal transactions. They also need foreign currency, particularly South African rands and Botswana pula, for their cross-border transactions.

Most of the interviewees who sold goods, be it cosmetics or fuel, were engaged in money changing activities. They would take rands or pulas in exchange for the Zimbabwean Bond notes and use the foreign currency to source materials from across the border. For example, Reward used the black money market to source pulas in order to import fuel for resale. He exchanged money on the street, where he was selling fuel, in the high density areas . He said people knew that he was involved in forex dealing because of his other business, 'so when they have pulas to convert to Dollars, they would phone or come to me'.

Similarly, Violet had become a popular figure among people who require foreign currency because of her ownership of a market stall on one of the streets in the city. She engages in foreign currency transactions from her stall and runs little risk of being arrested. She confessed to dealing in US dollars, rands and sometimes, pulas. She used the dollar to buy cosmetics from Zambia, and the rand to buy goods like clothing, bedding and bags from South Africa. She was involved in a number of foreign monetary transactions during our interaction and was very open about her activities. She joked, ‘even the police know that *ngiyaphathelisa* (I change money)’.

Ukuphathelisa is a term used in Bulawayo to refer to forex dealers. It derives from their popular phrase when they are looking for customers, ‘*siyaphathelisa*’, which means, ‘we change money’. These have come to be popularly known as ‘*osiphatheleni*’. These have become very popular and earn significant amounts because they determine the exchange rate. In the recent past, the money changers determined the prices of goods in the shops since these became highly dependent on the black-market exchange rate.

The other category of youths that was involved in the illegal money transaction activities was the private passenger transport operators. Their activities were conveniently placed for them to engage in these illegal activities, with the cover of their formal activities. The young pirate drivers that participated in the study operated from cross-border bus terminuses and transported mainly cross-border passengers from South Africa. These were an ideal clientele since they had the rand to exchange for the Zimbabwean dollar. While they regarded themselves as part-time forex dealers, they were however familiar of the going exchange rates, and were heavily involved in these exchanges. They were part of a social unit of pirate passenger transport drivers, and operated a referral system, where one driver would refer a client to another driver when he does not have enough money to conduct a transaction.

Among the youths there were also full-time forex dealers, who focused on changing money, mainly for ‘big’ men. The issue of the big men emerged during the study. These are mainly the people that provide the money to *osiphatheleni*, and may be political figures, company executives, and other influential people with access to significant amounts of cash or forex. Robert, 27 years old and a holder of a BCom Accounting Sciences, was a full-time *sphatheleni*, working from the Robert Tredgold area. He explained:

When I completed my degree in 2014, I spent a long time at home since I could not get a job anywhere, so I gave up looking for a job because I was getting frustrated and old, and I started hustling. I joined the illegal

foreign currency changing activities on the streets in town in 2016 when the cash shortages started in the country. So, I am a usipathelini and I make a living out of it. I sell foreign currency in cash So basically what I do is I buy money from the public at say \$80, then I sell it to someone else who needs it at say \$100, or sometimes my auntie who is in America can send me some US dollars for pocket money through World Remit and I will sell them. I have my spot in town where I stand, and people come to me looking for some foreign currency. On a good day I make about \$ 200 US dollars profit, but you know those who buy the notes from me are people who want to import goods to sell in shops or buy product. Sometimes I can make nothing or very little because the competition is stiff because there are too many of us in town (interview, Bulawayo, 2018).

Online forex trading

Another form of forex trading, different from the physical exchange of money on the streets, was online trading of foreign currency. Some young graduates were putting their education to productive use by using online platforms to earn income. Retail foreign exchange trading is a small segment of the larger foreign exchange market where individuals speculate on the exchange rate between different currencies. While a lot of foreign exchange is done for practical purposes, the vast majority of currency conversion is undertaken with the aim of earning a profit. Because there is no central location, you can trade forex 24 hours a day. This segment has developed with the advent of dedicated electronic trading platforms and the internet, which allows individuals to access the global currency markets.

This is executed by the youths through opening an account with an online trading company and executing research and learning how to trade through online tutorials or attending online trading classes which were available in the city centre. This is followed by an investment of some money which would be the opening of the trade. The traders then monitor their investments and keep abreast of the performance of their open positions, closing positions with various strategies designed to maximise profit. One of the young graduates who were participating in these activities stated that the online trading was very successful, and they would make a profit of between US\$80 and US\$200 in per week. Another participant said he teaches classes in town monthly to teach people how to conduct online trading to earn an income during the day and in the evening he would execute online trading for himself.

Gambling

Related to the above are gambling activities. Gambling takes place in the form of sport betting, which has become a popular activity because of access to DSTV channels that air major football leagues in the world. Young graduates bet by placing money and predicting results. All the male interviewees were involved in sport betting. All confessed to spending sums of money on bets, and that they have won different sums of money. They also confessed to losing money. For example, Chesta 27, who had graduated with an Environmental Sciences degree from Solusi University, saw gambling as similar to engaging in business. He reasoned:

As a 27 year old it is not appropriate to be still asking for money from your mother, so I bet. I bet to make money and to me it is business and I am working when I am here. I spend 45 dollars a day depending on what is there on that particular day. I manage to buy groceries at home for myself and my parents and siblings. I have won about 3 000 dollars in the past six months, which is the good thing about gambling. There are a lot of us with degrees who are betting in these betting halls. We have to gamble because we do not eat qualifications but food, so we need the money. So, gambling really comes handy (interview, Chesta, Bulawayo, 2018)

It would appear that sport betting has its origin in South Africa, and the participants have been introduced to betting by someone who had done it before. For example, Morris started betting after being introduced by his brother from South Africa. He remembered how it all started:

I had been unemployed for a year and I needed to start making money, I could not wait for a job which was not coming. So, I started betting on soccer matches at Soccer Shop to earn an income. My brother, who lives in South Africa, introduced me to gambling when he came to visit, so I tried it out. At times I win 200 dollars, which is a lot because I can buy groceries at home and help my parents with a few things. Also, it means I do not have to ask my parents or brother for money. I can do what I need to do alone. Sometimes I spend 50 dollars and fail to win, which is depressing. For now, I do not have a choice: I have to do soccer betting to make money, but at least I love watching soccer so that's what makes it better (interview, Morris, Bulawayo, 2018).

Young people bet in a number of betting halls in the city and outside in the residential areas, where branches have been introduced. These halls provide recreational places where people can watch various sports and monitor their bets. The participating youth said that betting has become a major survival strategy, because it guarantees cash in an environment where cash is in short supply from banks.

Artisanal mining

The loss of employment opportunities in Bulawayo affected young people in the Matabeleland region negatively. Young people lost hope in the formal systems and reacted by taking risky decisions. Three of the male interviewees said they have been involved in artisanal gold mining in the Esigodini area, about 43km from the City of Bulawayo. They said that they were attracted by prospects of higher income. The three graduates were not directly involved in gold panning, a process they agreed was very risky. They confessed to hiring other people, who would prospect for gold on their behalf, for pay. Such an arrangement worked for the latter group, since they would receive pay for their work regardless of whether they found gold or not.

On their part, the three had teamed up with colleagues from university to pool financial resources to pay for the labour, and processing of the gold. They would sell the gold illegally and share the proceeds. The whole enterprise is risky, and the returns are uncertain. Nevertheless, the interviewees still take the risk because such risks pay-off sometimes. In the words of one of the participants:

On a good day, you can hit a jackpot and the gamble pays off. However, sometimes the gamble fails to bear fruits and you make a huge loss. Since we started the business, we have made networks, which are generally helpful. Through these networks, we are able to hire gold panners and sell the gold (interview, Terrance, Bulawayo, 2018).

To guarantee returns, the group also buys gold from artisanal miners at a cheaper price, mainly before it is processed. This guarantees survival even when their own miners fail to find any gold. These activities have not made them rich, but they have allowed them to survive in a harsh economic environment.

Airbnb

The economic hardship and lack of job opportunities has also forced young graduates to be resourceful and come up with innovative ways of making money. One of these innovative ways was providing Airbnb services. Airbnb is an online marketplace that connects people who want to rent out their homes with people who are seeking accommodation within that location. Two female young graduates were offering these services. They were using some rooms from their parents' homes to provide Airbnb services. They complained however that the demand was very low during the course of year but hoped that it would improve during the Christmas and New Year season. This is because Bulawayo is not a tourist destination in the country. However, during Christmas and the New Year season there would be demand for

accommodation because many people would seek accommodation because there would be an increase of events such as weddings, bridal showers, New Year's concerts and family festive season gatherings.

Beauty industry

Some of the female participants stated that they provided services in the beauty industry. They stated that they made use of internet to provide them with tutorials on how to do artificial nails and makeup. They would provide these services for special occasions or at times they would travel to the client's home. A few participants stated that they specialised in providing hair care services this was through the plaiting of hair or buying of hair extensions from South Africa or online from overseas and reselling to a known client base and supplying to certain salons.

For example 26 year old Annie, rents out a very small space in a salon which is in the CBD, where she has become a nail technician and makeup artist providing walk in make-up, nail styling and shaping services. At times she provides these services for special occasions such as weddings and bridal showers. Annie also sells hair extensions which she buys from Johannesburg South Africa and displays around her small working space for resale. Annie was interviewed while she was providing nail services to a client, she asserted the following statement:

As you can see, I do nails for a living it is so hectic I am always busy but it is good because I make a lot of money. I always have clients, every day I go home at 10 pm and I have to be here by 7am. I also do makeup for people and sell weaves. Sometimes I get hired for weddings to do hair, nails and makeup. This is usually in December. I buy my weaves, make up and nail equipment in Johannesburg, I usually go at the end of the month just for a weekend because my clients will be waiting for me. Usually I will leave on a Friday afternoon with a bus to go to Johannesburg, my sister stays in Soweto so I stay at her house. So I just buy my things on Saturday and then leave on Sunday (Interview, Bulawayo, 2018).

Photography

Jeremy is the only participant who stated that he provided photography services as a survival tactic amongst conducting online trading and selling of fuel and jewelry. He stated that he operates from his parents' house, where he utilises the cottage as an office to provide photography services for special occasions such as weddings, graduation ceremonies, bridal showers, family gatherings, bachelor parties and general photos for people who wanted professional pictures:

I mainly provide photography services, my uncle who is in Dubai brought me a professional camera because taking pictures has always been a hobby since I was a child..... Since there are no jobs I decided to use our cottage at home as an office to start a business where I take photos to make money .I get hired to take photos for weddings, graduation ceremonies, bridal showers, family gatherings, bachelor parties and just generally for people who want photos. I advertise myself mainly on Facebook and Instagram, and that is how my client base grows (Interview, Jeremy, Bulawayo, 2018).

Buying and selling fish

Two participants namely Mary and Collide stated they were in the fish industry. Mary stated that she would hoard fish from the Binga Market and supply to butchers in the city. Binga is a district on the south eastern shore of Lake Kariba in the province of Matabeleland North, Zimbabwe. Another male named Collide stated that he would go fishing during the weekends with his friends at dams and rivers surrounding the city. During the week he would supply to customers he had established through social connections at government schools and various churches.

Automotive sales

Two of the male participants stated that their survival tactics amongst others which have been mentioned, were in the automotive industry. This involved the reselling of cars on behalf of people who wanted to sell their cars, for a commission. They stated that they would provide adverts on Facebook and Instagram stating that they provide reselling services for cars on behalf individuals and this is how they would develop their client base:

I sell peoples cars on their behalf, I do this with my friend from university, and we have a page on Facebook and Instagram. So, clients send us a message on Facebook or Instagram to tell us that they have a car they want to resell and for how much it will be sold for. We meet with the clients in town to take pictures so we can upload them on our pages and advertise as much as we can .Once we get a customer we communicate with our client for the sale of the car, when the sale of the car is successful we get our commission which is usually between 5 % and 10%, depending on the value of the car. So, the higher the value of the car the less percentage of commission charged, because a high value car will bring in a lot of money anyways (Interview, Bulawayo, 2018).

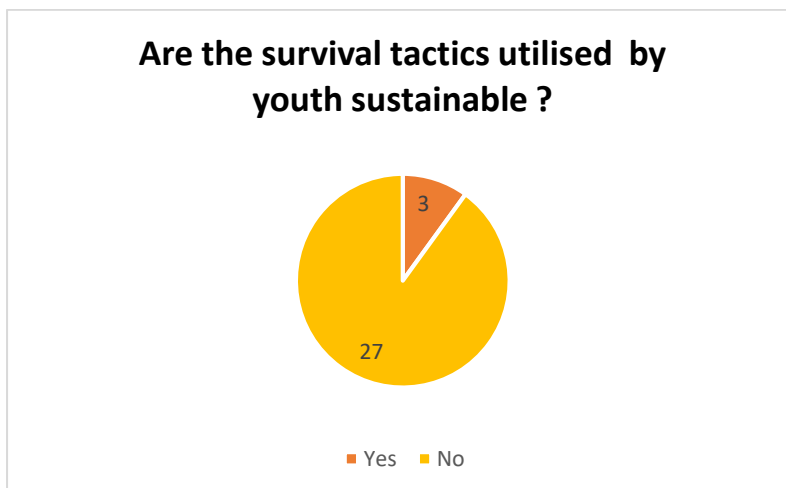
If I am not in my shop in town selling phones, laptops and TVs, I am selling cars for people.... mmmh but once in a while. It doesn't happen often; it is just another side hustle I do. I usually get the clients from people I know, like people from church, my friends and relatives. I post pictures of the car I will be selling on my Facebook account so I can get customers, while I also drive around town daily with my clients' cars so I can also get customers in town. I put posters on the client's car to show it is for sale, so when I am in town I can get clients easily, this method works well than the Facebook method (Interviews, Bulawayo, 2018).

From the above findings on what youth do to survive amongst high unemployment rates, it can be seen that they all engage in various activities in the informal sector. This because it the only sector where there is an opportunity to earn income due to the lack of formal jobs and thriving informal economy of Zimbabwe.

4.4.1 How sustainable are youths' survival strategies?

While the interviewees found alternative way of making a living in a harsh economic environment, they saw these as temporary strategies, and hoped that they would eventually obtain jobs in areas where they have skills. Majority of interviewees as depicted by Figure 4.5.1 (below) saw these alternatives as survivalist and not sustainable.

Figure 4.5.1 Sustainability of graduate survival tactics



Some of these strategies depended on the context in which in Zimbabwe changes, with every passing day. For example, dealing in foreign currency in the black market depended on the country's monetary system failing to recover.

There have been numerous threats to forex dealing in the recent past, including clean-up operations by the state like 'Operation Sphatheleni', where the police swept the street, and arrested money dealers on the black market. Participants also noted major threats to black market foreign currency activities including major monetary policy reforms, which may stifle the black market. One of the young graduates observed:

There is a new Finance Minister, and the government is introducing reforms. Some of these reforms may erode the black market. In fact, there have been noises in government corridors about introducing a new currency, which may lead to the official end of the US dollar (interview, Robert, Bulawayo, 2018).

The thriving market on foreign products has been occasioned by the high prices of goods in the formal system, and changes in the economy may lead to the collapse of this market, which may affect participants. One of the graduates noted, ‘these strategies are as good as they last.... tomorrow, things may be different’ (interview, Ben, Bulawayo, 2018).

It was also shown that the income from some of these activities was only for survival and assisted in buying basics like food and toiletries and pay for their transportation. While some graduates said the income has gone a long way in paying bills, they also noted that it was not enough for investment, and one could not support a family on it. Some of these strategies were a gamble, and the income was not constant. As alluded earlier to betting activities, sometimes people could invest money without returns, and participants confessed to going for months without any substantial earnings.

The young graduates noted that they were still living with parents, despite their participation in a range of activities. The activities have failed to guarantee any independence because the risk and lack of sustainability. They noted:

I do a lot of things to make an income, like I buy and resell clothes in buy in South Africa. I also occasionally bake cakes for people at church. I also hoard fish from Binga and supply to butchers. But it does not even show that I work so hard...I am 28 and I still live in my parents’ house the only things I can do are petty things, such as buying a few groceries and doing my hair, so unfortunately I cannot say the survival strategies are sustainable because I cannot afford to move outside my mother’s house (interview, Bulawayo, 2018).

No, these tactics are not sustainable because one minute I can have money which can buy food, buy electricity, pay for water and save a little, and then at times I make very little money or nothing at all. I live with my granny who is always subsidizing me at times when I do not have money, it is so frustrating because she is 79, I am 26 and I am the one who is supposed to be taking care of her and living in my own house not the other way round (interview, Bulawayo, 2018).

With the money from selling clothing for the workers on my parent’s farms and doing Airbnb with their house, the profits are so little because some of them go back to the business for capital and the rest I can just pay for small expenses such as the transport to go back to South Africa and hoard clothes and buying a few groceries at home and doing my hair. For the big expenses the income I make is too little for that I am blessed that my parents understand and still help me financially (interview, Wendy, Bulawayo, 2018).

Not all the interviewees participating in black market activities in Bulawayo were dissatisfied with what they were doing. Three of the graduates, particularly those who were involved in

money making activities, were happy in what they were doing. They were involved in artisanal mining, photography services, online forex trading, reselling of cars on behalf of clients, buying and reselling of electrical gadgets, cellphones and laptops and services in the beauty industry as seen from excerpts below:

For me personally what I do is very suitable, I can take care of myself. I even bought a car for my parents and on top of that I send them groceries every month. I am even paying lobola soon and I am going to move out of their house soon as well . I mean I think what I have entered into has a lot of money, which is selling of cash, online trading, gold panning, selling of cars, cellphones and laptops. Even though I am passionate about Geography, what I do is worthwhile. I don't think if I was employed, I would be making the amount of money I make now (interview, Bulawayo, 2018).

Yes, the beauty industry that I have entered into is sustainable. I pay our rent at home , pay my young brothers school fees, and occasionally give my parents money but it only started being suitable now I have been doing this for the past 4 years, so my customer base has grown. Like I have so many clients daily it is crazy. I work from morning till evening to do nails and plaiting of hair and makeup. Sometimes I do this for weddings. When I started it was not like this. I don't even think if I get a job in the government or politics sector it will pay me how much I am getting monthly now (interview, Bulawayo, 2018).

The survival tactics which mainly enable me to obtain a sustainable income are photography and online trading because this brings a lot of money for me. Selling of fuel and jewelry may not be that much. I am now fully independent at 24 and I take care of my mother and little sister (interview, Jeremey, Bulawayo, 2018).

The above shows that young people in Bulawayo have found alternatives to survive, but that these alternatives do not provide a substitute for formal employment, which guarantees security. Some of the strategies are seen as only temporary and therefore act as a stop-gap measure. It also shows that some graduates have found strategies, which they are happy with, and provide them with the necessary financial security. Some of these graduates have gone into activities, which suit their ambition and provide an environment for entrepreneurship, strategies like gold buying, photography, automobile sales and hairdressing can be seen as entrepreneurial opportunities that young people have used to enrich themselves.

These findings highlight that youth's perceptions on survival strategies, unemployment and livelihoods may be influenced by the outcomes of their chosen alternative strategies. Those who have managed to gain independence from their families and participate in activities which provide a sustainable source of income may consider themselves to be entrepreneurs who are not unemployed. On the other hand, those involved in alternative survival strategies which are

not sustainable, and which do not provide consistent income, may consider themselves to be hustling. It appears that the ability to be financially independent with the capacity to pay bride price and transition to marriage plays a large part in the youths' perception of their transition to adulthood, as well as their perceptions on unemployment and livelihoods.

4.4.2 Agriculture as a strategy for youth employment

In section 4.2.1, it was shown that the aspirations of the majority of youth were to get a job, which was secure and had a stable income, or to have their own businesses. They had all gone to university to get educated, so that they could get better jobs, which would give them the desired respect, income and career progressions. It was also shown that the young graduates saw formal employment as the vehicle to independence. It is interesting that none of the young graduates aspired to be farmers, and none ever mentioned agriculture or land as a need in their struggle to reconstruct their livelihoods. It is also worth noting, as already mentioned earlier, that the young graduates that participated in the study had qualifications that were far removed from agriculture.

The young graduates that participated in the study never considered farming as an alternative livelihood. The few young graduates that had qualifications closely related to agriculture indicated that they initially had an interest in the field, but subsequently lost that interest. They had been discouraged because of the logistics that were time consuming, and the challenges with the land reform process and changes in climatic conditions.

These young people completed their studies after the land reform process was completed, and it was difficult to gain access to resettlement land. More importantly, they did not want to retreat to their rural communities and engage in subsistence production. They had hoped that they would be considered after the completion of land audits, but this did not happen. It should be noted that young graduates also desire immediate earnings, whereas agricultural pursuits may take time before generating a return for participants. This section looks at reasons why youths did not consider agriculture as alternative livelihoods.

Lack of interest

Almost all of the interviewees stated that they did not consider agriculture as a form of employment because they did not have an interest in agriculture. They viewed agriculture as a form of earning an income for their parents and grandparents that did not require intellectual capabilities. They considered it a non-contemporary activity to earn money. They were only interested and passionate in income generating activities which associated them with being

“*smart*” and making “*quick*” money as opposed to the nonintellectual and tedious process of agriculture.

Some interviewees stated that they did not have an interest because their education enabled them to have interests outside farming and agriculture. Farming in this sense is considered to be the most basic of interests, suitable for even the most uneducated of people. Education, therefore, frees one from being confined to having interests only in agriculture. The interviewees stated that their parents did not aspire for them to enter into agriculture because they viewed it as an outdated and straining sector for them to enter into. There are some examples from the following participants

I have not considered entering into agriculture as a form of employment. I grew up knowing a bit about farming, but as I grew up and went to university things changed, I just lost interest in agriculture. My parents can assist me to enter into agriculture as a form of employment but the problem is that I am not interested. That is why I sell clothes to the workers on my parents’ farms instead because that is bit better for me and easy too (interview, Bulawayo, 2018).

I have never considered agriculture as a form of employment. My father is actually in the sector; he is into cattle rearing and crop farming outside Bulawayo, butmmmh..... I am not interested because to get your returns it is time consuming. It also requires a lot of physical activity even if you are not the one doing the actual farming. Personally, that is not for me, so I have decided to pursue forex trading, selling of cash and selling of cars on behalf of people because at least it is not too much energy draining like agriculture. Another thing is my father would not want me to even enter into agriculture because he sent me to school with that money from his farm, so I can be a better version of him so that’s why I do not even consider agriculture (interview, Bulawayo, 2018).

In line with general thinking in society, agriculture was seen as an occupation for people who have retired from active employment. Thus, interviewees said they would consider doing agriculture after they had retired from active employment. Interestingly, some young graduates said they would not consider agriculture as a form employment but they engaged in fishing to earn an income . They did not see agriculture in the same light as fish farming since fish farming had an opportunity to provide fast money. It also did not involve hard labour.

These young graduates associated agriculture with livestock and crop production, activities which take long to generate cash. One of the female graduates explained why she cannot consider agriculture as an occupation:

No, no. I have not considered entering into agriculture as a form of employment. I have decided to venture into other things. I am currently in the fish industry and it is going well. I get fish from Binga District. I have also been selling some clothes which I buy in South Africa. Doing agriculture would not be good for my

self-esteem because I am not interested in it and it is something my grandparents do and my parents not for me. I would only resort to agriculture if worst came to the worst, like the very worst, I don't even know what would need to happen for me to do agriculture (interview, Bulawayo, 2018).

Similarly, Tamara had never considered agriculture as an alternative because she has no passion for farming. She would, however, consider going into farming at a certain age in life, and she would consider other sectors like fishing and mining. She said:

I have not taken an interest to be employed in the agriculture sector because it is something I am not passionate about. I would consider it as a source of employment when I reach retirement age, I think. But for now I would not mind entering into other sectors like mining or fishing. I will do agriculture much later like when I am a granny and living on a farm (interview, Tamara, Bulawayo, 2018).

Thus, agriculture was seen as a low status occupation that cannot be done by young people with education. As can be seen from the statement by Violet, for a graduate to be involved in agricultural activities for a living was degrading and was the last thing graduates would consider.

In his article, “*The generational problem in agriculture*” (White 2012), White argued that the current generation of youth have no interest in agriculture. Their perception of agriculture and farming is of downgraded activity. This was corroborated by Bhebhe (2016), who argued that youths view farming as an unglamorous sector for the less educated and older generations for subsistence and a poverty trap. This was apparent from the interviews with the young graduates.

Lack of knowledge, skills and resources

Lack of appropriate skills and knowledge for modern agricultural practice may have contributed to the interviewees' lack of participation in the agricultural sector. The study showed that 19 of the 30 young graduates had never been involved in any form of farming. Only 11 had done subsistence farming in the rural areas during early years of their lives. Only 3 of the 11 came from families that could be considered as farming families in rural areas, with agriculture done only for subsistence. Even for these, farming was performed by hired labour, while children only assisted with menial tasks. Two of these were female, and had no knowledge of livestock keeping, while the one male had never minded animals due to school commitments. This made them shun agriculture. As Hannah argued:

It is difficult for me to even think of agriculture as a form of employment since I do not know anything about agriculture. I know nothing about cattle rearing, poultry, or how to grow crops. So, there is no point in thinking about something you have little or no skills and would struggle to manage. That is why I prefer to

buy clothes from South Africa and resell them here because I have the skills to do this successfully. I know which clothes are fashionable and trendy (interview, Bulawayo, 2018).

All youth, however, understood the demand of agriculture and felt that they fell short on the necessary resources for a successful career in agriculture. Reward explained:

It is difficult to think of agriculture as a career. The problem with agriculture is that it requires too many resources like land, inputs, equipment, special foods for your animals. I do not even have money to get those resources or knowledge to use them. It's different from online trading where all I need is the internet to make money (interview, Bulawayo, 2018).

Similarly, Tristan raised the issue of lack of resources and the necessary acumen and felt that agriculture should be left to those with the right skills. He said:

I am not qualified to do agriculture because I do not have the land for it, and also, I do not know how to do anything linked to agriculture. That is something my parents have the ability and knowledge for because they are in the chicken business. I have no idea how to feed and take care of chickens. So that is why I have never considered agriculture. I just do simple things like cross boarder trading and also reselling of cars on behalf of people (interview, Bulawayo, 2018).

Land is an essential resource in agriculture, and it is important that the young people identified it as a major drawback. The young graduates did not have homes of their own, let alone having land where they can practice agriculture.

Time consuming logistical processes and many eligibility requirements

Given that interviewees did not have the necessary resources for them to embark on a successful agricultural practice, they noted that to acquire the necessary resources would require securing of financing. Two of the male youth reported having interest in doing some agricultural activities like poultry and piggery, but were discouraged by the processes involved that were time consuming. They mentioned the time it takes to acquire a government loan. They also complained about the logistics, particularly in obtaining the documentation required for one to be involved in government agricultural programmes:

There are some government programmes and empowerment loans for youths to simulate the engagement of youth in the agricultural sector and I had a strong interest in them at first, but eventually I gave up because the processes to get the money were too long and I could not wait and do nothing. I had to make a plan and look for other ways to make money. It was also annoying because they would want so many documents only for you to hear nothing from them (interview, Bulawayo, 2018).

I had developed an interest in agriculture programmes such as the youth agriculture empowerment loans from the government, where they give youths loans to invest in command agriculture. But the process seemed to require so much paperwork and after getting everything they wanted they took too long to approve. I waited a whole year and they were still not done. I would go to their offices almost every day to follow up with no success...they would always tell me that my papers are still being processed and sometimes they would say they did not know the status of my application. So, I gave up and started doing cross border business and gold panning (Interview, Bulawayo, 2018).

The findings reveal that bureaucracy and the lack of ease of doing business also play a role in youths' reluctance to go into agriculture. While the government has put together programmes meant to draw youths into agriculture, young graduates were frustrated by the inefficiency in the system.

Nepotism

The young graduates are a part of a broader society and their responses reflect societal perceptions and views on government department and the whole state system. The dominant narrative on state systems in Zimbabwe is that the government is corrupt, and all that goes wrong in government is often attributed to corruption. Agriculture involves a number of institutions which provide various services to the farmers. These include the land reform and resettlement component, the component that provide agricultural loans, and others that implement programmes and deliver inputs. These have long been seen as corrupt, and benefitting only those connected to the ruling party, Zanu (PF), and its elites. It is not surprising therefore that young graduates also fell back on this common narrative in explaining their failure to use agriculture as alternative employment.

Some of the young graduates said they did not want to associate themselves with a sector which has been captured by political parties and politicians. There was a perception that, 'agricultural resources that are supposed to benefit the citizens only benefit the few' (interview, Bulawayo, 2018). Nepotism was seen as playing a major role in determining who gets the resources and who gets into youth programmes.

There were complaints that everything was clouded in secrecy, processes were unclear, and programmes and assistance available for young people were not openly communicated to the public. Certain people had the privilege of knowledge and a monopoly over inputs, and those with political connections within the supply chain were benefiting. This had discouraged the few graduates who had interest in the sector:

There is no point in going into agriculture since the programmes are available for a few people . If you do not know anyone somewhere in the hierarchy, it is difficult to access these resources. So, there is no point trying your luck in agriculture. The loans available are not published, you only know of them if you have a connection with the person in charge of the applications (Interview, Bulawayo, 2018).

I have never considered going into agriculture because you can only succeed if you have relatives or friends in the system who are aware of all the government programmes. It is just like looking for a job in any other sector really. So, agriculture is really a waste of time..., I do not know anyone in the sector, which makes difficult for me to enter the sector. I would rather do something where I can earn money easily without depending on connections, like forex trading , gambling and being an usipathelini - that is easier and less stressing (interview, Bulawayo, 2018).

In conclusion, a combination of factors has made agriculture a remote livelihood strategy for young graduates in Bulawayo. While it was always going to take some conviction for young people to consider livelihoods in agriculture, certain barriers have made it worse. Young graduates have focused their attentions on strategies that can be considered less degrading and offering quick money, where there are limited barriers to entry. Although agriculture remains a possibility, it has played second fiddle to alternatives that offer possibilities for quick money.

4.5 Chapter Summary

This chapter began by looking at the profiles of the 30 graduate youths who took part in the study before discussing the aspirations of young graduates. It particularly highlighted how young people aspire for formal jobs with status and can confer dignity and sustainability. The chapter also highlighted the challenges of young graduates in their quest for formal jobs. They have often struggled to get jobs, which are in line with their education and qualification. More importantly, there were gaps between their qualifications and the job market. To add to their problems, the youth people felt that their qualifications were marginalised, making it difficult for them to compete with others from Harare or those with South African qualifications. In the context of a job squeeze and perceived marginalisation, young graduates had used their agency to survive. They were surviving from the underground economy, which although not that sustainable, offered instant cash and some form of dignity. However, agriculture could not offer any solution to the youth problem, since the sector was not seen as an occupation, and was despised.

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

5.1 Introduction

This dissertation explores the youth unemployment question in Zimbabwe. It has analysed the circumstances of 30 graduate youths in the City of Bulawayo, and the alternative survival strategies available to them in a context where formal employment opportunities have dried-up. From the analysis, the dissertation has drawn a set of detailed conclusions on choices available to young graduates in a city that former President, Robert Mugabe, once described as a ‘Ghost City’ because of the state of industrial decay and deindustrialisation. In this regard, the dissertation examines the aspirations of young graduates for employment after graduation, and their participation in the informal economy when their initial aspirations are not achieved. The dissertation also examines whether agriculture has been a viable alternative for graduates who have failed to secure “white collar” jobs in the formal sector.

This conclusion aims to pull these themes together and to discuss their implications for our understanding of young graduates in Zimbabwe’s ailing economic landscape and political space and to discuss some broader policy questions. These themes are further broken down into four thematic areas that are discussed in the following section.

5.2 Discussions

This study began with the analysis of the profile of the young people in Bulawayo. The premise was that in order to understand the challenges of young people and the alternatives they have adopted overtime it is necessary to understand the young graduates themselves. In the case of the Bulawayo youths, they were educated, holding university qualifications which conferred them with specific knowledge and skills.

The findings were that, contrary to some popular narratives about agriculture being a solution to youth unemployment, various factors in Bulawayo meant that youths have avoided the

agricultural sector in their quest for employment. The study revealed a wide array of alternative opportunities which young graduates have explored rather than exploring agricultural opportunities, and the reasons thereof. The perception which young graduates have of agriculture, the lack of skills in and knowledge about agriculture, the lack of resources and the convoluted process involved in government agriculture programmes have contributed to the youth shunning the sector. On the other hand, the opportunities available in the informal sector, the ease of participating therein, and the promise of income, at least in the short term, have made participation in the formal sector the primary alternative for unemployed graduates.

5.2.1 Young graduates fundamentally aspire for formal jobs

The study revealed that youth desired to obtain white collar jobs within their field of study which offer them a fair income, job security and personal development. This would subsequently enable them to achieve their desires, which were to set up their own households and assets, become independent from their families and have the ability to take care of their families and get married. The young graduates also aspired to become entrepreneurs within their sectors of study or to pursue their education further, but only after obtaining a formal work and working for a period of 3 -5 years.

The detection proved the ILO's (2018) article on "*Addressing the aspirations of the youth*" findings, which revealed that the aspiration for stable employment appears as strong in the developing countries as in the developed countries. Globally graduate youth in general attach greater value to obtaining formal employment with characteristics associated with more traditional forms of employment, such as, job security, good wages, opportunities for career development and social benefits. The survey also revealed that almost two-thirds of youth list their top three employment options as being the government, public enterprises and large enterprise – all of which are associated with more stable employment prospects. In essence, quality formal employment remains a major concern for youth across all regions.

It is also interesting to note that the findings of this study revealed that the graduates aspire to further their education and become entrepreneurs after working for a period of 3-5 years, correlated with the UNDP's Youth Aspirations Research Report (2012). Which revealed that 54.40% of the graduate youth participants from across the world had plans for further education and becoming entrepreneurs within their upcoming three years while gaining work experience.

5.2.2 Young graduates have found alternatives in the informal sector

Youth deploy survival tactics within the informal sector because of the lack of white-collar jobs available in the country which has pushed them to engage informal economic activities. The economic activities utilised by the youth in the informal sector in order to survive are cross border trading, money changing, gold panning, street vending, gambling, online forex trading, selling of pirated film and TV series, Airbnb services, creation and selling of various products and the provision of services in the food, automotive, beauty, fish and photography sectors. Youth engaged in more than one of the above-mentioned activities for survival.

The finding revealed the statement made by the World Bank's (2017) research report; *Youth and unemployment in Africa: The potential, the problem, the promise* that a large portion of people aged 15–24, including graduates, in Sub-Saharan Africa are involved in self-employment in the informal sector. Furthermore the ILO (2010) stated that majority of the African youth who were educated at tertiary level and unemployed, were those who had obtained qualifications in the humanities and business fields, because they would always find themselves with lower prospects of employment and become underemployed because they settle for a surviving jobs in order to sustain a living despite their higher education qualifications. This was surely the case for this research as the participants involved in the study were mostly humanities graduates.

5.2.3 Alternatives were not sustainable and were seen as temporary

The social exclusion of youth from employment has posed a threat to their livelihoods and their ability to become independent, forcing them to engage into economic activities in the informal sector for survival (Luebker, 2008). Along these lines this study revealed that 90% of the participants' survival tactics could meet one's immediate needs and this was also never guaranteed.

The lack of stability associated with their survival strategies hindered their ability to become independent from their families because they were unable to produce enough income to fully satisfy their needs and future plans and investments. Only 10% of the youths deploy their survival tactics which are sustainable and these were graduates involved in money changing, gold panelling, photography services, online trading, reselling of cars on behalf of clients,

buying and reselling of electrical gadgets, and services in the beauty industry. This reveals that it is rare for graduate youths to engage in activities in the informal sector which are sustainable in Zimbabwe.

5.2.4 Young graduates did not see agriculture as an employment source

Youth generally do not consider agriculture as an employment source, because higher education has stimulated their aspirations to obtain good formal employment. As a consequence the young graduates view farming as an unglamorous sector associated with poverty and for the less educated and older generations (Proctor & Lucchesi, 2012; Smith, 2012; Van der Ploeg, 2008). This is seen by the survival tactics chosen by youth which impersonate a white-collar jobs, because the tactics do not contain any manual labour characteristics. Thus, agriculture is excluded from their survival tactics.

While youth mainly do not see agriculture as an employment source because of the lack of interest. They also do consider the sector because of the lack the skills and knowledge to operate in the sector, nepotism around the agricultural youth programmes, the numerous eligibility documents required and the time consuming logistical processes to enter the sector. This finding corresponded with the (FAO) 2015 article on "*Youth and agriculture key challenges and concrete solutions*" which discovered that despite the negative image around agriculture by young people, a few young people who showed an interest in agriculture had been lured away because of the lack of access to information, training, required documentation and credit, and the procedures to enter the sector through government programmes were too time consuming.

5.3 Conclusion

Education undoubtedly influences the aspirations of people. For the unemployed graduate youths, they essentially aspire to obtain formal employment with income and job security. As a consequence, the youth have generally rejected agriculture as a source of earning an income because they connect it with manual labour and an old-fashioned economic activity for the uneducated and older generations. A few who may have shown an interest have been lured away from the sector because of nepotism and the logistical challenges around participating in agriculture programmes and obtaining a government loan to enter the sector.

Youth have chosen to conduct economic activities in the informal sector, though these economic activities generally do not provide youth with substantial economic returns. The

youths have chosen to still utilise these activities and have refrained from agriculture despite the fact that it is the main driving force for Zimbabwe's economy. This is because the survival tactics they utilise impersonate stereotypical characteristics of white-collar jobs which are formal clothing, working at a desk and no physical labour. Thus enabling the youths to maintain the "*dignity*" of a graduate and uphold their status as an "*educated youth*".

5.4 Policy Implications

This research raises questions about the ideal policies for tackling the problem of youth unemployment in Bulawayo. This research can inform discussions about the effectiveness of the policies currently implemented, what should be done differently, and whether anything can be learned from the experiences of young graduates. In general, youth unemployment can be due to stagnating economies, underground economies, poor education quality, qualification mismatch with the labour market, lack of work experience, lack of equal opportunities and lack of social and business connections. Any policy considerations, whether broad or specific, must address the causes of youth unemployment in the country.

Of the causes mentioned above, the ones most prominent in Bulawayo and Zimbabwe's situation seem to be the shrinking economy and the rise of the underground economy. The UN (2016) report that identifies investments in tertiary education as a way of helping to solve the problem of youth unemployment is not incorrect. However, this research shows that a policy of investment in education cannot work in isolation. Investment in quality tertiary education is a supply side solution to the labour market, designed to ensure that a country produces labour with the necessary skills to perform the jobs demanded by the labour market.

This is usually the case in developing countries where development of the economy creates a demand for skills which can only be met through improving the quality of education. From the number of tertiary institutions and quality of education they provide, it appears that Zimbabwe has invested significantly in the quality of tertiary education and is producing many graduates with good quality education. The problem Zimbabwe faces is therefore a demand side problem, rather than a supply side problem. There are no jobs in the formal economy for graduates to apply the skills and knowledge they have acquired in tertiary institutions. The policy implication is therefore that Zimbabwe needs to create jobs. Job creation usually arises from economic growth and increased economic activity in a country.

The strategies and policies for stimulating economic growth are many and varied and are the subject of numerous studies and research. If the intention is to reduce youth unemployment, and unemployment in general, then policy and strategy for economic growth must be a priority for a country in Zimbabwe's situation. Stimulating economic growth is likely to reduce the prominence of the underground economy. However, there may be other policy decisions which can be made to combat the growth of the underground economy.

As noted in this research, one of the problems faced is that given the lack of jobs in the formal market, graduates often find the skills learned in tertiary institutions to be redundant. Policy can be steered towards addressing the mismatch between the skills the graduates are attaining in tertiary institutions and the skills they need to succeed in the current environment. It may be fruitful to have policies which encourage graduates to learn more practical and vocational skills, together with entrepreneurial skills and also the provision of more agricultural programmes in institutions.

One avenue often suggested to tackle youth unemployment in countries like Zimbabwe is for the youths to become involved in agriculture. The abundance of agricultural land and the suitability of the climate for agriculture make the sector attractive from a policy perspective when considering ways in which the problem of youth unemployment can be tackled. Despite this, agriculture in Zimbabwe has not been successful in alleviating youth unemployment. Reasons for agriculture's ineffectiveness in addressing the problem of youth unemployment include the following:

- The youth lack an interest in pursuing careers in agriculture due to ignorance and misguided perceptions about the sector
- The youth lack the necessary skills, knowledge and resources to pursue careers in agriculture
- Youth agriculture programmes implemented by the government have been often been riddled with corruption and inefficiencies

For agriculture to become a viable vehicle for tackling youth unemployment, various changes need to be implemented, addressing the causes mentioned above. Any policies suggested with the view of using agriculture to tackle the problem of youth unemployment must be guided by an understanding of why few youths currently consider agriculture to be a viable survival strategy and source of livelihood.

5.4.1 Some specific policy issues

Capacitating educational institutions for careers in the agricultural sector

Zimbabwe's economy thrives in the agricultural sector therefore the government of Zimbabwe must offer more agricultural programmes in government universities. This will solve the current problem whereby there is a mismatch between qualifications produced by universities and the demands of the labour market. At present the degree programmes offered at government universities do not match with the current needs of the economy and labour market opportunities creating high unemployment rates for youth in the country. Closing this gap can be achieved through various policies such as introducing agricultural programmes into curriculums at lower education levels. Secondary and tertiary institutions can ensure that they have agricultural curricula suitable to capacitate youths with the necessary skills to make a living in the sector. Additionally, regulators in the agriculture can organise for agricultural companies to showcase their businesses at high schools and university career events.

Digital marketing and communication methods for the agricultural sector

To solve the lack of interest and knowledge of youth pertaining to agriculture. The government of Zimbabwe, NGOs and private must communicate their agricultural programmes through digital communication methods which are easier for the youth to access and are more appealing. This would entail the use of social media as a marketing and communication tool, rather than the use of traditional print methods such as newspapers and printed adverts at their offices. Organisations must utilise social media platforms to communicate with youth for example Twitter, Instagram and Facebook. This is because are most likely to gain information easily and have stimulated interest towards the sector. This is because social media is utilised very frequently by young people globally and has become a popular method of communication for them (Internet and Technology Survey, 2018). Young people are now digitally transformed therefore organisations need to tailor their communication and application methods pertaining to agricultural programmes to meet their digitally transformed nature.

NGOs and IGOs can develop digital application methods to ensure the logistical processes for youth to enter into the sector are less time consuming. This will ensure that youths will not resort to other quicker methods of making money which are currently steering them away from the sector. This can be done through making use of internet applications such as desktop and mobile applications to ease logistical processes. Use of internet will be quick, cost-effective, appealing and accessible for the youth. The use of internet and social media will also

simultaneously remove the barriers of entering the sector caused by nepotism and inefficiency because it will enable more transparency of agricultural programmes.

Agriculture must be appealing and rewarding for youth

The government can provide ease of access to funding for youth who take interest in agriculture through having less strict credit checks and other document requirements. This can encourage youth participation in the sector. Ease of access to obtain loans, together with hassle free documentation processes and increased the awareness of opportunities in agriculture will draw the youths towards the sector.

Knowledge about the projected and potential revenue and profit returns for engaging in agriculture will lead to the country having a well-informed youth. This insight could change the perceptions of youth around agriculture and allow them to see that it is a sector with great opportunities for earning a sustainable income. In this regard, the government and various organisations in the sector must invest towards facilitating workshop and training sessions frequently at educational institutions and must host such events around the country. So that they can provide coaching and informative sessions on agriculture as a viable source of employment and a great income generating sector. Through providing youth with knowledge about the broad forms of commercial agriculture, such as commercial plantations, commercial grain farming, horticulture and agro processing. Youths must also be provided with the projected and potential revenue and profit returns for engaging in segment of sector.

Agriculture in its own right is a sector which can be as lucrative, intellectually stimulating and fulfilling as any other sector. Policies can be implemented to ensure that youths view it as such if they are made aware of the opportunities and rewards available in the sector in full detail.

5.5 Limitations of the research

This research project only focused on executing primary research on the survival strategies of unemployed graduate youths in the City of Bulawayo Zimbabwe. The reality is that cities in the country of Zimbabwe and around the world are diverse. Therefore, the information which was gathered from this research should not be generalised for all unemployed urban graduate youths in the country and globally. The study only examined graduate youths who had qualifications in the Humanities and Business fields therefore the viewpoints and experiences of the participants could be different from youths who have qualifications in other fields. Lastly

the study utilised a small sample size. Therefore, the results of the study could be skewed because they only reflect the opinions of those who took part in the study.

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ANNEXURE A: INFORMED CONSENT FORM



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Research conducted

by:

Miss T.S Mhazo 12162656

Cell: 0723910840

Email: u12162656@tuks.co.za

Dear Participant

INFORMED CONSENT BY RESEARCH PARTICIPANT TO PARTICIPATE IN THE RESEARCH PROCESS

Thank you for your involvement in the proposed study. It is ethical practice to get informed consent from a research respondent prior to the commencement of a research initiative. Informed consent entails the following:

- 1. Title of the study:** Young graduates and unemployment: exploring the survival strategies among young urban graduates in the city of Bulawayo, Zimbabwe.

2. Purpose of the study: The current study is being undertaken in partial fulfilment of a Master's Degree in Development Studies at the University of Pretoria. It seeks to explore the methods graduate youths utilise to survive in the midst of high unemployment.

3. Procedures: The researcher will conduct a semi structured interview which will consist of 18 questions and it should not take more than 60 minutes of the respondent's time. This process will be recorded by means of an audio recorder to obtain more accurate and detailed responses.

4. Risks and mitigating methods: The researcher understands that some of the questions which shall be asked in the interview may evoke emotional responses. Therefore, a debriefing session will be conducted after the interviews have been conducted. The debriefing session will be conducted in the following manner:

- A short semi structured verbal interview will be conducted with the respondent after the study has been concluded. To remind the respondent the context of the study and to provide details on the main results of the study. This will provide closure for the respondent and the respondent will be given the opportunity to withdraw from the study after the results have been revealed.

5. Benefits: There are no tangible benefits or inducements available to the respondents of the proposed study.

6. Respondent's rights: The respondent is free to withdraw from the study at any stage of the study. As participation is voluntary, no negative consequences will be imposed on the respondent and all data received from the respondent will be assumed void.

7. Confidentiality: The information collected will be used for research purposes only and completed interviews will not be provided to anyone. All the information will be regarded as personal and confidential. Confidentiality pertains to the manner in which the participants' information is used and the protection of his/her identity. No names will be mentioned in the interpretation of the data and where applicable, pseudonyms will be used.

8.Storage of research data: The data will be stored for archiving purposes, for a minimum of 15 years at the University of Pretoria’s Department of Anthropology and Archaeology and will not be used for future research purposes.

9.Ethical clearance: This research proposal has also been approved by the Post Graduate Committee and the Research Ethics Committee of the Faculty of Humanities of the University of Pretoria (Letters of approval attached for your perusal).

10. Questions and concerns: Should any concerns or questions arise, the researcher and or her supervisor could be contacted at the following phone numbers or e-mail addresses. Tafadzwa Mhazo (researcher) +27 72 391 0840 [u12162656@tuks.co.za] and Dr Vusilizwe Thebe (supervisor) +27 12 4204661 [vusi.thebe@up.ac.za]

If you have any questions about the study, please contact me or my supervisor.

Please indicate that you have read and understood the information provided above. You are providing your consent to voluntary participate in the interview by signing this consent form.

DECLARATION

I, understand my rights as a research participant and give consent to participate in the study voluntarily and have received a copy of this consent letter.

Date Place Participant signature

Date Place Researcher signature

ANNEXURE B: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE



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Youth graduate unemployment: A case study of the survival strategies of the unemployed youth graduates in the city of Bulawayo, Zimbabwe.

Interview Schedule by Tafadzwa Simphorosa

Opening

Good day, my name is Tafadzwa Mhazo and as a young graduate who is still seeking employment in the formal sector, I thought it will be very ideal to interview you. Owing to the fact that I am currently pursuing a study on young graduates and unemployment with specific focus on exploring the survival strategies among the young urban graduates in the city of Bulawayo, Zimbabwe.

This research is solely for academic purposes and the information gathered from this research will only be made available to myself and my supervisor. Much literature has been written about youth unemployment focusing on its causes and impact, but little has been written about the survival tactics of educated youths in the midst of unavailable formal jobs for them to meet their qualifications. Thus, my study aims to fill this gap by adding onto the scarce literature about the survival tactics of educated unemployed youths.

Along these lines I aim to mainly unpack the survival strategies adopted by the growing population of the unemployed youth graduates in Zimbabwean cities. I specifically seek to discover the conceptions of youth about employment and to understand their aspirations after graduating from university. This study aims to unfold what urban young university graduates do after completing their studies and if these strategies create sustainable livelihoods and also seeks to understand if the education they have received from the local universities equips them for the jobs available in the country. Lastly it pursues to comprehend the Bulawayo youth's perceptions about agriculture and if they consider it as a source of employment.

So with this being said, I will ask you questions about your educational background, some surviving tactics you have had to deploy in the midst of unemployment and your perceptions on agriculture.

This interview is going to take between 30 minutes and one hour to complete depending on the nature of your responses because it is a semi structured interview, which consists of set of pre-determined open questions with the opportunity for you and (with the opportunity for us to explore particular themes and responses further.

Please note that this interview will be recorded for data capturing purposes of the study only the recordings will be deleted after the data has been transcribed. Thank you for giving me consent to conduct this interview and to write the information which you shall provide for me. I will ensure that privacy and confidentiality is maintained so I shall make the use of pseudonyms to ensure that none of the assertions will be traced back to you, so feel free to answer questions openly.

Body/content

General youth demographic information

- How long have you been living in Bulawayo?
- How old are you?
- When did you obtain your tertiary qualification?
- What did you study?
- Which institution did you study at?

Employment

- What are your aspirations and career goals now that you have received your qualification?
- How long have you been seeking formal employment on Bulawayo?
- May you share with me the experiences and challenges you have faced with seeking formal employment after obtaining your tertiary qualification.
- Do believe that the education you have received from your university is of good quality and has an impact on your ability to obtain a job (if yes why and if not why?)
- Do you think the programme you pursued has a sufficient labour market supply (if so why, if not why?)
- What is do you regard as employment? Does it always have to be in the formal sector.

Agriculture

- Do you consider agriculture as a source of employment?
- There are many agricultural programmes in the country which the country has launched as a means of maintaining livelihoods, have you taken part or interest in these programmes as a source of employment and why?

The Survival Strategies

- Given the high unemployment rates in the country what have you been doing after graduating in order to make a living and to survive?
- Have they been able to provide for your basic needs?
- How have they impacted your self-esteem?

Closing

Thank you very much for taking part in this interview I appreciate the time that you took in this interview. Is there anything else that you think would be helpful for me to know for this project or anything you would like to add?

I should have all the information that I need, would it be alright if I call you back if I have any more questions?

Thank you once again, I appreciate your patience and taking part in this interview do have a lovely day further.

PLAGIARISM DECLARATION

1. I know that plagiarism is wrong. Plagiarism is to use another's work and pretend that it is one's own.

2. I have used the convention for citation and referencing. Each contribution to, and quotation in, this essay/report/project/..... from the work(s) of other people has been attributed, and has been cited and referenced.

3. This essay/report/project/..... is my own work.

4. I have not allowed, and will not allow, anyone to copy my work with the intention of passing it off as his or her own work.

Signature _____