Institute for Social Development (ISD)
Faculty of Economic and Management Sciences

ASSESSING THE ROLE OF YOUTH CIVIC ENGAGEMENT IN PROMOTING SOCIAL CHANGE: A CRITICAL INVESTIGATION OF ILISO IN SITE C, KHAYELITSHA

A mini-thesis submitted to the Faculty of Economic and Management Sciences, Institute for Social Development, University of the Western Cape, in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirement for the Master's Degree in Development Studies.

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Abstract

Youth Civic Engagement is not a new phenomenon in South Africa. Throughout the history of country, spanning from the early resistance to colonialism in 1652 to the formation of the African National Congress in 1912 and its Youth League in 1944, the Soweto uprising in 1976, right up to the 1994 independence struggle, the youth has always played a pivotal role in social transformation. Unlike in the past where there was a common enemy in Apartheid, today the country faces a more complex set of socio-economic challenges. Despite being a middle income country, South Africa grapples with extreme poverty and income inequality, which impacts on educational opportunities and ultimately civic awareness and involvement. Approximately 42% of young people under the age of 30 are unemployed. The country currently has a youth population (14-35 years of age) which is about 41% of its entire population of almost 54 million. This youth population growth in itself implies that youth development should be a major priority area if growth and development are to be realised.

The research is based in Khayelitsha. The social-economic problems faced among Khayelitsha township youth are complex and multidimensional in nature. The research question is: how is youth civic engagement able to initiate and foster collective action among community members of Site C in Khayelitsha, in order to promote social change? ILISO Care Society, a Community Based Organisation based in Site C was used as a case study for the research. In line with the theory and conceptual framework of social capital, the study demonstrates how reciprocal relations, trust and strong bonds, act as seedbeds for collective action. The Integrated Model of Communication for Social Change is incorporated into the framework to narrow down the social capital theory to an operational level. It is also used to illustrate how novel methods of dialogical communication adopted by ILISO Care Society reinforce social learning and promote democratic practices among young people. Both the quantitative and qualitative approaches were used for the study, with much of the analysis being grounded in qualitative methods. Data collection was done by means of the following utilities: a survey questionnaire which was administered among 52 respondents, semi-structured interviews, focus group discussions and participant observation by the principle researcher.

The study revealed how the legacy of apartheid's segregation policies have had enduring effects particularly on the education system, in turn, negatively impacting on youth civic participation, as well as other interlinked spheres of society. Most importantly, the findings revealed that the ILISO youth civic engagement projects have contributed in increasing the level of confidence (*efficacy)* to solve community problems of not only the ILISO project members, but also the wider Site C community. This was evidenced in the research participants' own belief in their ability to produce change (*self-efficacy)* and the ILISO youth members' shared belief as a group, in their ability (*collective self-efficacy)* to bring about social transformation. This has led to Site C youth acting collectively *(collective action)* when faced with challenges, thereby promoting social change.

Declaration

I declare that "Assessing the Role of Youth Civic Engagement in Promoting Social Change: A Critical Investigation of ILISO in Site C, Khayelitsha" is my own work, that it has not been submitted for any degree or examination in any other university, and that all the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by complete references.

Gweze John Jere   May 2015

Signed ……………………

Supervisor: Dr Abdulrazak Karriem (University of the Western Cape, South Africa)

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Key words

Communication; civic engagement; development; efficacy; ILISO; Khayelitsha; social capital; social change; youth.

Acronyms and Abbreviations

ACCEDE   African Centre on Citizenship and Democracy

ANCYL   African National Congress Youth League ANCYL

BCC   Behavioural Change Communication

BEE   Black Economic Empowerment

BRICS   Brazil Russia India China and South Africa

CBO   Community Based Organisation

CFSC   Communication for Social Change

CSR   Corporate Social Responsibility

CSRP   Civic Shared Responsibility Programme

DAAD   German Academic Exchange Service

FBO   Faith Based Organisation

GDP   Gross Domestic Product

IMCSC   Integrated model of communication for social change

ISD   Institute for Social Development

IYDS   Integrated Youth Development Strategy

KDF   Khayelitsha Development Forum

NGO   Non-Governmental Organisation

NYDS   National Youth Development Strategy

NYSP   National Youth Strategic Plan

MODE   Mass Opportunity Development

OECD   Organisation for Economic Co-Operation and Development

PYD   Positive Youth Development

RDP   Reconstruction and Development Programme

SADC   Southern African Development Community

SANCO   South African National Civic Organisation

STATS SA   Statistics Office of South Africa

UCT   University of Cape Town

UNDP   United Nations Development Programme

UNECA   United Nations Economic Commission for Africa

UNFPA   United Nations Population Fund

UWC   University of the Western Cape

YCE   Youth Civic Engagement

YPAR   Youth Participatory Action Research

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Chapter 1: Introduction and Background of the Study

1.1 Introduction

From the beginning of resistance to colonialism after 1652, to the rise of the early African nationalism in the late 1860s, to modern nationalist movements as expressed in the formation of the ANC in 1912, right up to the post 1994 liberation project, the youth in South Africa has always played an important role. It was in the African National Congress Youth League (ANCYL) formed in 1944, that some of South Africa's most celebrated political pillars such as the late Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and Oliver Tambo honed their civic abilities by fighting a relentless struggle with an intrinsic belief that it was only by their own efforts that Africans would be freed. The seminal role exercised by the youth in spearheading the June 16th 1976 Soweto uprising is a landmark in South African history.

Today, in line with trends in other parts of the world, there is evidence of reduced youth civic participation in struggles for development in South Africa (Morrow, Panday and Richter, 2007). This realisation has led to a growing interest in numerous policy and programme initiatives that are directed at youth development. One of the key drivers here is that while the education system has enrolled the majority of school-age children, the content and quality of education does not meet the skills required by the economy (Budlender, 2006).

The Integrated Youth Development Strategy (2012-2016) notes that South Africa has a youth population (14-35 years of age) which is about 41% of its entire population of almost 54 million. This in itself presents a unique situation for youth development policy and it implies that youth development in South Africa is not just a priority of the youth sector but should be the country's priority if growth and development is to be realised. A number of initiatives and interventions by governments and Non-Governmental organisations (NGO's) have recognised the pivotal role of engaging the youth in contributing towards social change and development (Resnick and Casale, 2011). Given the current multi-dimensional socio-economic problems, there is a growing interest of how best today's youth can be engaged to mitigate current challenges. Faced with limited opportunities for further education and a high unemployment rate, more young people are turning to voluntary service to acquire the skills that can give them access to the labour market (Budlender, 2006; Patel, 2003; Mohamed, 2006). Civil society is also becoming more acutely aware that development and social change

should not mean total dependency on government, but that it is a partnership that can be realised through collective civic action.

Currently, there has been a huge debate in South Africa about the Employment Tax Incentive Act, commonly known as the Youth Wage Subsidy. One of the major opposition political parties the Democratic Alliance (DA) has been in favour of the subsidy contending that the move would go a long way in mitigating South Africa's 'triple challenge' of unemployment, poverty and inequality, especially among the youth (Malikane, 2015). Youth unemployment is a serious challenge is a country where 42% of the people under the age of 30 are unemployed and 87.5% of the employable population under 25 years are jobless, compared to the 40% average in the majority of emerging nations (World Bank, 2014). Supporters of the Youth Wage Subsidy hope that the law would promote employment for young people and create jobs in special economic zones once legislation providing for them has been ratified. In terms of the act, employers will receive a tax incentive to employ young workers for a maximum of two years under certain conditions. The Democratic Alliance and other supporters argue that this would ease the huge youth unemployment crisis. However, the move has also come under serious opposition from different sections of society and workers unions such as the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) arguing that it would create a two-tier labour market and result in the displacement of older workers. Some South African academics such as Professor of Economics Christopher Malikane have joined the fray in debunking the benefits of the Youth Wage Subsidy. The other side of the debate holds that there is no international evidence to suggest sustainable economic returns, citing several examples from the USA, Britain, Germany, Spain and Turkey among others. The economic sustainability of initiatives such the Youth Wage Subsidy is also not feasible (Malikane, 2015). The arguments raised highlight the fact that the multiplicity of social-economic problems faced in the country cannot be resolved by labour market interventions alone. The triple challenge faced in South Africa, particularly regarding youth unemployment requires a fundamental shift in young peoples' outlook towards promoting social change. Volunteering in the civic domain may provide a platform for young people to empower themselves to effect social change in their communities.

Twenty years after South Africa's democratic inception, intervention strategies towards social development, particularly sustainable youth empowerment remain a grim challenge. It is in this vein that the research attempts to investigate a subject that is at the root of

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sustainable youth empowerment. It is believed that equipping individuals and communities with the sense of self-belief in their own ability to create social change and steer their future is the first step towards sustainable individual and social transformation (Shell, Murphy, and Bruning, 1989; Putnam, 2000). This suggests that mind-set change is a primary prerequisite for sustainable social transformation. The paper attempts to investigate the ways in which that sense of confidence can be initiated and harnessed to bring about social transformation, particularly among the marginalised majority of the population, many of them young people. It is believed that the civic arena offers an opportune space for such positive youth development. The research will be analysed primarily through the lens of the social capital theory. Putnam (1993, p.35) distinguished between two major aspects of social capital, which are structural and cognitive social capital. Structural social capital refers to the relationships, networks and institutions that link people and groups together. Cognitive social capital refers to the psychosocial processes that describe the trust, attitudes, values and norms. The paper discusses this relationship. The empirical investigations analysed in chapter 5 focus on the development of the cognitive social capital within the context of the structural aspects of social capital. This is achieved through looking at the development of youth's collective self-efficacy through civic engagement in community based organisations, in this case a youth led organisation ILISO Care Society.
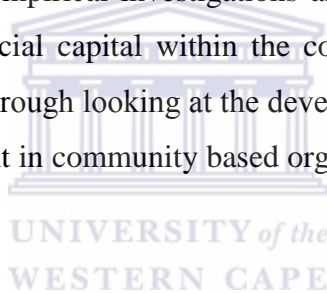
This research investigates youth civic participation through analysing ILISO, a community based youth organisation that was founded in 2007 in Site C Khayelitsha, which is Cape Town's largest and one of South Africa's fastest growing townships. The organisation aims to promote social transformation by empowering the youth in the community through mentoring and training them on life-skills and civic education programmes. It provides young people with opportunities to get involved in civic practice on a voluntary basis through supporting its four main projects that is, an urban agricultural project, mentoring in schools, civic training in the community and its care initiatives which include a safe home and soup kitchen. According to Cammarota and Romero (2009) youth are more likely to be civically active if they have had opportunities to associate and collaborate with peers and adults on development projects during adolescence.

The research seeks to find out how youth civic engagement can promote social change. This will be done through a case study of ILISO, which operates within the Site C community of Khayelitsha. The research also seeks to examine the critical role of education in civic

awareness and involvement (Freire, 1973). In order to understand the challenges of the task at hand, and the possible complimenting strategies, it is important to understand the specific context within which the research is conducted and its historical development thereof. Both quantitative and qualitative research methods of enquiry will be employed throughout the research.

1.2 Background to the Case Study Area: Khayelitsha

The historical development of Khayelitsha, which means 'our new home', is vital to the research. For many years, especially during the 1970s and 1980s, people moved to Cape Town from the more rural and poorer Eastern Cape in search of work. Khayelitsha was founded in 1984, by the apartheid government to accommodate people in Cape Town who had fled economic destitution in the rural areas of the Eastern Cape. It was designed as a dormitory city, in the apartheid "location" tradition, and has all the disadvantages of being far from the centre of town. At the same time it offered people land, permanence, and the possibility of setting up shelter in the Western Cape. It was initially planned to be much smaller, and has grown vastly beyond what was expected in the mid-1980s and is now a huge township.

The total population of Khayelitsha, according to the Census (2011), is 391,749. According to the Khayelitsha Development Forum this number is vastly under-counted. They use an estimate of 1.5 million people for the purposes of service delivery (Thompson and Conradie, 2010, p.1). In total there are 118,810 dwellings in Khayelitsha, of which 50,835 are built of brick or cement, and 40,276 are shacks, made of corrugated iron, wood and plastic. The rest comprise of different kinds of housing, such as tents, traditional huts and other structures. Unemployment is high. In total, 108,114 people in the age group which can be employed are in formal or informal employment, while 163,838 in that age group are not employed. This places the unemployment rate of this group at approximately 60 % against the provincial average of 21.6 % and the national average of 25.2 % (Stats SA, 2012).

The Eastern Cape, which houses 15% of the population, records the highest incidence of ultra-poverty (34%), followed by Limpopo (31%). The Limpopo province does, however, have slightly more overall poverty (i.e. ultra and moderate) than the Eastern Cape. The Western Cape Province, where about 11% of the population resides, has the lowest incidence of poverty (Yu and Nieftagodien, 2007, p.3). While the Western Cape has an urbanised

industrial centre and a productive agricultural sector where employment opportunities are available, the Eastern Cape is largely African, rural and female with an unskilled and unemployed population. This accounts for most of the migration from the Eastern Cape to the Western Cape Province, and particularly Cape Town.

Comprehensive poverty studies by Yu and Nieftagodien (2007) reveal that the poverty witnessed during the apartheid period and earlier post-apartheid is still prevalent today. A significant majority of the black population are still amongst the ultra-poor and the poor, while less than 1% of Whites and Indians are poor nationally. According to these studies the incidence of poverty amongst the black population in the Western Cape, the province of the case study at hand, is far less than it is for this race group at the national level. Approximately 7% are moderately poor and 21% ultra-poor. The incidence of poverty amongst the coloured population (the majority in this province with 42% coloured and 38% black) is again much smaller than that of the black population, but the actual number of coloureds living in moderate and ultra-poverty is greater than that of blacks. In the Eastern Cape, the overwhelming majority of the population is black. Unlike in the Western Cape scenario, the incidence of poverty in this province is higher amongst all racial groups, with 38% of blacks experiencing ultra-poverty and 28% moderate poverty.

Within Cape Town's Khayelitsha Site C area, services are also bad, and the majority of residents are dissatisfied with the public service provision. School standards are a problem, and many parents send their children to schools in other areas, where they get a slightly better education and where they also learn English (Thompson and Nleya, 2011, p.4). A number of locals run micro-level businesses as a livelihood, and there is a small formal market in one of the areas in Site C, though they market their goods in a community where money is scarce, and it is hard to grow a business. A recent study found that crime, risk and the lack of start-up capital constrain those who consider running a small business in Khayelitsha (Cichello, Almeleh, Mncube and Oosthuizen, 2011). Residents of Khayelitsha were asked to mention the three most important problems in their community in an ACCEDE (African Centre on Citizenship and Democracy, UWC) survey. Housing was seen as the most important problem (72%) while job creation and unemployment as the second most important problem (70%). In the third place, crime and safety was selected (41%) (Thompson, Nleya and Africa, 2011, p.4). Undoubtedly, Khayelitsha currently faces enormous socio-economic challenges.

It is important to bear in mind that Khayelitsha was established as a mono-functional residential settlement and consequently there is virtually no real economic base apart from the service sector. Khayelitsha is made up of both formal and informal settlements. The formal settlements are known as Bongweni, Ikwezi Park, Khulani Park, Khanya Park, Tembani, Washington Square, and Zolani Park. The formal settlements are located in the original location of Khayelitsha that was built by the government in order to encourage people to move to the area, whereas the informal settlement areas were built by the residents themselves as a way out of the overcrowding in their households; these include Site B, Site C, Green Point, Litha Park, Makaza and Harare. Later the government was forced to provide services to these areas. This research focuses on Site C, one of the older and more established informal settlements in Khayelitsha. As Dyantyi and Frater (1998) rightly point out, Site C located in the South East of Khayelitsha is one of the informal settlements with the most deplorable standards of living. Because Site C has been in existence from the beginning of the setting-up of the informal settlements of Khayelitsha, it has some history of protests against service delivery. Thompson and Condradie (2011, p.51) also highlight that Site C has a history of women and young people taking a lead in civic movements within the community. This makes Site C a suitable and interesting study area for research in civic participation and how intermediary organisations can promote civic engagement and social change.

1.3 ILISO Care Society: Case Study Organisation

ILISO was established in the Site C area in Khayelitsha with an overarching vision of poverty alleviation for community members. It is a youth driven Community Based Organisation. ILISO was launched in Khayelitsha, in 2007 as a 'safe home' after observing a high number of unemployed parents who could not afford to take their children to crèche for basic education. It then accommodated them and is providing free education. The organisation now runs a very busy soup kitchen which provides meals daily to over 300 needy residents within the Khayelitsha Site C community. ILISO also runs a feeding programme for five primary schools and five secondary schools in Khayelitsha, where it provides one full meal every day for learners. The organisation is working in conjunction with the South African Department of Social Development, who are providing the financial support while ILISO facilitates the rest of the programme. The mentors at ILISO provide guidance and counselling to learners within these schools and engage them in civic education programmes and other care

initiatives for residents within the Site C area. ILISO is involved in mentoring and training young people within the schools on life skills and providing opportunities for them to get involved in civic projects that it is engaged in especially within Site C. The youth of the community have been provided with an opportunity to get involved in the voluntary work of ILISO and through it, even its partner organisations that are involved with community development work. The organisation's other initiatives include a small-scale urban agriculture project, where the organisation owns a plot of land in which vegetables are grown and harvested for use in the feeding programme. Emphasis is not only placed on producing good harvests but also on training members about basic agricultural methods. ILISO also runs a soup kitchen in which the youth cook and provide meals for poor residents that cannot afford even a meal a day. A new project of about a year into implementation was also initiated in which school going children are supported with packed meals every day they attend, and also offered career guidance and counselling sessions and tutorials in Maths and the Sciences. There are also the Performing Arts and Youth Choir projects and a Soccer Team that is very active and are quite popular in the community. A team of 30 members of the choir recently performed in Germany at several events and this has been one of the highlights for the youth organisation. Below is a table summarising the projects run by ILISO

Table 1.1: Summary of ILISO Projects

Project	Description Summary
Soup Kitchen	Providing daily meals to over 300 Site C residents
MODE - School Feeding Programme	Providing daily meals to 5 primary and 5 secondary school pupils
Nursery School (Crèche)	Free schooling for nursery-aged children
Guidance, Counselling and Tutoring	Civic education, Volunteering, Life Skills training, Tutoring in Maths and Sciences
Performing Arts	Conducts choir and theatre performances
Soccer Team	Soccer team for Site C youth
Urban Agriculture	Vegetable garden supplementing food for meals and training basic agro-skills

The organisation fosters learning about its projects and other community related issues by actively engaging the local community in participatory discussions and information sharing forums through workshops, seminars and trainings. The regular weekly forums focus on a vast range of social issues aimed at increasing awareness and participation in alleviating the most pressing socio-economic problems affecting the township residents especially within the scope of its five key projects. Among other regular important issues outside the scope of its five key projects, are issues such as entrepreneurship and poverty alleviation, Education, Sanitation and Hygiene, HIV/AIDS and Christian Fellowship and other subjects. All these zone-in on the youth who represent almost all the members of the organisation. ILISO makes for an interesting case study in that it is located in the Site C area of Khayelitsha township which is representative of a typically underprivileged South African township. However, the methods by which ILISO is empowering its members and the young people within Khayelithsa is rather quite unique in that it emphasises social learning through its work. Unlike other similar youth organisation in the area, it also has a range of projects and does not focus on only one, thereby empowering young people with a broader range of skills in a bid towards holistic character building.

Much of the evidence on the role of intermediary organisations, particularly civil society organisations (CSO's) and Community Based Organisations (CBO's) in specific, in social transformation within Khayelitsha presents a rather complex picture. There are several engagement opportunities that exist and a number of ways of ensuring that community concerns are addressed. Street Committees function well in providing a forum for grievances on a day-to-day nature, as well as for more obstinate issues, such as unemployment, crime or sanitation and housing. The relationship between different intermediary civic organisations such as the Khayelitsha Development Forum (KDF), South African National Civic Organisation (SANCO), the CBO's, the ward councillors and local government is ostensibly functional, particularly in Site C.

Further research is required to study the extent to which these power dynamics affect policy decisions, projects and their sustainability. There is need to investigate the role and effectiveness particularly of the CBO's which are at the frontline of community grievances especially at the climax of most contentious issues. For the most impoverished residents of Khayelitsha, especially those in under-serviced shack areas, strategies for civic engagement, appear to range from grassroots involvement through Street Committees and CBO's to taking

to the streets and blockading of major roads. The latter option often seemingly the easiest way to elicit a response from government, despite often resulting in the destruction of the very same community they are hoping to upgrade.

1.4 Significance of the Study

This study is important because it can help to appropriate policy and project intervention measures to promote youth civic participation in communities such as in the Khayelitsha area of Site C. It can provide a type of model that can be built upon, to increase effective and efficient community engagement particularly in underprivileged township areas in South Africa. As alluded to earlier, this demographic is representative of the impoverished majority living under similar socio-economic conditions on an even broader scale nationwide. A study of this nature is important in a country like South Africa where the majority of its people, for various reasons, live under abject poverty, with little access to resources necessary to improve their circumstances. As the youth of the today are the future of tomorrow, the sustainability of policy interventions and programmes should undoubtedly consider young people at the nucleus of their planning monitoring and evaluation processes. The study at hand aims to contribute towards the body of knowledge on spaces such as the Community Based Organisations (CBO's) like ILISO where young people are offered opportunities for civic engagement. This provides them the much needed platform to exercise democratic practices such as collective action or political due processes like voting. It also prepares them for future adult roles while broadening their knowledge base regarding practicalities of social transformation processes that they hope to achieve for their communities and nation at large.

ILISO has been identified as one of the leading youth civic organisations in Khayelitsha's Site C area. However, there is relatively little or no empirical evidence of the role of ILISO in promoting collective action, hence, understanding the role of ILISO in promoting social change, through empirical research is a crucial element in terms of making evidence based decision-making processes.

1.5 Problem Statement, Research Questions, Aim and Objectives

1.5.1 Problem Statement

To interest young people in civic action has been a challenge during all historical periods. The last hundred years have seen enormous changes in political and social-economic institutions, in the expectations which parents, educators, and the general public have for

young people, and in the expectations of youth themselves. Most observers hold a face-value world view that today's young generation participates less in conventional politics (for example voting or joining political party organizations) and has a declining level of trust in public institutions (Flanagan, Martínez, Cumsille, and Ngomane, 2011). From the 1950s onward, with the formation of the ANC Youth League in South Africa, young people were acknowledged as critical players in bringing about social transformation and even the end of apartheid in South Africa, yet in the post-apartheid era the notion of young people's agency to contribute meaningfully to building the nation appears to have lessened. In South Africa only a very small number of youth participate in civic or any other youth organisation, club or sport with over 60% having reporting to have never taken part in any such activity (Department of Education, 2013).

Thus far, there are a number of lessons that have been learnt from research and experience on youth development programs across the globe. Firstly, youth are more likely to be civically active if they have had opportunities to associate and collaborate with peers and adults during adolescence (Cammarota and Romero, 2009). They advocate that young people's sense of social responsibility is a psychological construct that is related to young people having the opportunity to assume responsibility for others and taking civic action (e.g. voting, peer education in health or other voluntary roles); and that the lack of opportunities to practice civic skills which later in life spirals in depressing the motivation and ability for civic life.

A series of studies (Watts and Flanagan, 2007; Cichello and Paul, 2006; Easterly, Ritzen, and Woolcock, 2006; Figueroa, Kincaid, Rani and Lewis, 2002) mainly premised on the social capital theory paradigm proved how youth civic engagement could spur community development among poor communities and how community civic participation are the key features in the promotion of collective action and social change. These studies underline the impact of early-life civic engagement on fostering social capital and networks among the poor through deliberate strategies and programmes.

Given the social problems and vulnerabilities which affect communities in Khayelitsha, the applicable knowledge revealed by scholars gains a critical importance. This is not only because of the extreme needs of the community but because of the effectiveness of the integrated model of youth civic engagement for social change such as is being advanced by ILISO in Site C.

1.5.2 Research Question

How is youth civic engagement able to initiate and foster collective action among community members of Site C in the Khayelitsha Township, in order to promote social change?

1.5.3 Aim of the research

The research seeks to empirically establish how youth involvement in civic programmes and initiatives foster and increase collective action to promote social change.

1.6 Specific objectives of the study

1) To provide the research with a comprehensive theoretical framework that can clearly validate the link between youth civic engagement and social change (civic youth engagement and social-change model).
2) To empirically investigate the relationship between civic youth engagement and collective action to advance shared community interests.
3) To examine the critical role of education in civic awareness and involvement.
4) To examine opportunities for youth participation in civil society and development organisations.

1.7 Definition of Key Concepts
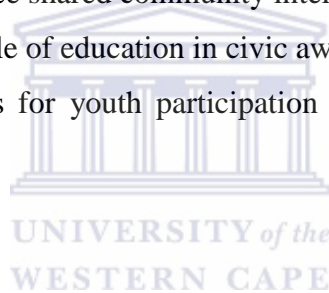
1.7.1 Youth

Though the meaning of the term 'youth' can be vague, for purposes of the research, youth has been defined as the group of people within the population that are between 14 − 35 years. According to the five year Integrated Youth Development Strategy of South Africa (2012, p.32), youth are clearly defined as a group of people aged 14 to 35 years.

1.7.2 Collective Action

Collective action refers to behaviours taken by a group to work together towards a common goal (Van Zomeren, Postmes and Spears, 2008). The underlying idea is for stakeholders to join initiatives with a view towards addressing common issues, believing that they are better resolved by joining forces than unilaterally (Cakal, Schwar and Heath, 2011, p.38).

1.7.3 Civic Engagement

Civic Engagement refers to the efforts made towards the bridging of communities through socially conscious thought and action. According to Fiorina and Skocpol (2004, p.16) civic engagement means working to make a difference in the social well-being of community members and developing a combination of their knowledge, skills, values and motivation to make that difference in their lives. This can therefore be achieved through both political and non-political means.

1.7.4 Self-Efficacy

Self-efficacy is an individual's belief in their power or ability to produce change. Albert Bandura (1977) was the first to comprehensively define the concept of self-efficacy. Self-efficacy refers to an individual's belief in his or her capacity to execute behaviours necessary to produce specific performance attainments (Bandura, 1977; 1990). Self-efficacy reflects confidence in the ability to exert control over one's own motivation, behaviour, and social environment.

1.7.5 Collective Self-Efficacy

Collective self-efficacy builds on the idea of self-efficacy, referring to a group or community's belief in the effectiveness of their collective action. It refers to a group's shared belief in its conjoint capabilities to attain their goals and accomplish desired tasks (Bandura, 1986). This is an important concept regarding the study at hand, because the assumption is that even if individual members are capable and their self-efficacy beliefs are high, low confidence in the group's capacity for collective action may still inhibit not only collective action but also community dialogue as well (Figueroa, Kincaid and Lewis, 2002). Beliefs of collective efficacy may therefore be a predictor of group performance.

Contrary to what would be considered intuitive logic, the above perspective on self-efficacy bridges the major perspective of class struggle by Karl Marx, who focuses on a more structural approach. Marxian (2002, p.9) theory unlike the above concept of self-efficacy, holds that an individual's position in society is determined by their role in the production process. It further and quite importantly postulates that an individual and group's political and ideological consciousness is a result of this position and as such their corresponding class in society. However, similarly, Marx's theory of political behaviour much like his theory of

capitalist economic behaviour ultimately is grounded in individualism (Marx and Engels, 2002). Marxian theory agrees that individual interests are merely perceived shared class interests.

1.7.6 Social Change

Social change refers to any significant transformation over time in the behavioural patterns, norms and values within a given community or society. Giddens (2006) asserts that social change refers to the modifications which take place in the regular ways of life and interrelations of people in a society. Davis (2005) argues that since society is made up of human beings, to change society is to change the man. In the context of the study, social change has largely been viewed as a change in the social behaviour and social interactions in the community. These have been regarded as the building blocks to the larger social, political and economic institutions that make up society. It is not the aim of the research to focus specifically on institutional social change.

1.8 Limitation of the study

Although a considerable portion of the population in the study area is able to communicate in English, the majority are Xhosa speaking and this poses the greatest challenge regarding translation during data collection and information processing. This required the tact of a skilled translator that was be able to capture the essence of the messages communicated to ensure that issues that may be weighty as expressed in the Xhosa language did not lose their significance after translation.

1.9 Chapter Outline

The research is divided into six separate but related chapters. Each chapter builds upon the previous one to develop a logical flow of ideas:

Chapter 1: The chapter includes the introduction to the study and provides a background on the case study organisation and area and also states the research problem. It also provides the main aim and objectives of the study.

Chapter 2: The literature review and theoretical framework is presented here. Key concepts and terms used in the research are discussed here providing a theoretical grounding for the

research. Research conducted by other scholars are reviewed and analysed to highlight the most relevant comparisons with the researched topic.

Chapter 3: Central to the discussions and presentations of the findings of the study are the demographic characteristics of the study area and the case study organisation. These are discussed here and the data is presented in tables, graphs and other appropriate methods of presentation.

Chapter 4: The research design and methodology, including the sampling methods and data collection techniques, used are outlined in this chapter. This includes the justification for adopting the preferred methodology, including the sampling method and sample size.

Chapter 5: This chapter presents the results and discussion. It presents a detailed outline of the findings of the research and establishes links and trends in relation to the theoretical and conceptual framework used in this research.

Chapter 6: This is the final chapter of the research. Based on the findings of the research, final conclusions are drawn. Possible policy recommendations and suggestions for ILISO to improve on as a community based organisation are also put forward for consideration.
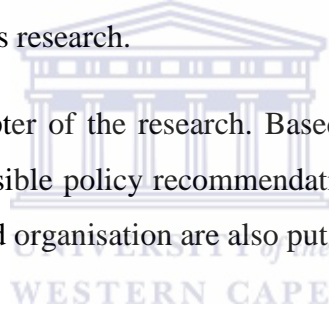
Chapter 2: Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

2.1 Literature Review

In this chapter theories and concepts in the field of youth civic engagement are critically reviewed and a theoretical framework provided. This is meant to help the reader to better understand where the research fits into the current existing body of literature.

The literature review underlines the links between the field of study and the research by presenting a detailed description of the main theoretical approaches applied to youth civic development, coupled with a comprehensive review of relevant empirical studies, with a particular emphasis on social change. Finally, concluding remarks will be made.

2.2 Youth Civic Development

2.2.1 Defining Youth

Though it may seem obvious at face value, the meaning of youth usually lacks clear definition and in some situations may be based on one's social circumstances rather than chronological age or cultural positioning. In a given culture, pre-adolescence may qualify as youth, while those in their 30's or 40's may also be included in this category. Youth as a cultural stage often marks the beginning of a stage of long-term, even lifelong, engagement in particular cultural practices. Other related categories such as adolescence, teenage, or young adult provide a better degree of specificity concerning age, but they too also vary in their application across contexts (Flanagan et. al., 2011, p.12).

Historical changes and demographic shifts such population booms may increase or decrease the number of adolescents in a given area. Economic circumstances that prevent young adults from assuming a new status as wage earners may lead to redefinitions of the category, as has been the case in some countries. In the former Soviet Union, the category of teenager was dropped into that of child in official discourse, and adolescents' dependent status was symbolically enforced in a variety of ways (Markowitz, 2000). Interpretation of biological chronology in social terms may also shift according to socio-political circumstances, such that pre-adolescent children accused of committing violent crimes may be classified as adults in the U.S legal system, by the same token, young people in their 20's have been labelled

children in discussions of child labour (Gailey, 1999). Montgomery (2000, p.48) argues that the distinction between children and youth in Britain is associated with several other divisions: "sympathetic versus unsympathetic public perception, attention within anthropology versus sociology, and emphasis on young people overseas versus 'at home'." It can however, be further argued that it is likely that the division between youth and adult is organised in similar manner. While understanding the social context of defining youth is important to having a broader appreciation of the concept, definition by age has been a more preferable working option for most research purposes.

In South Africa, although much has changed for young people since the introduction of democracy in 1994, the motivation for 35 years as the upper age limit of the youth is still unchanged. According to the five year Integrated Youth Development Strategy of South Africa (2012, p.32) youth are defined as a group of people aged 14 to 35 years. For purposes of this research which was conducted in the context of South Africa, this definition for youth was used.

2.2.2 Youth Civic Development: An Evolving Field

The field of civic development has come a long way, and has eventually firmly taken root in the scholarship and practice of youth development. From the onset, the civic domain has focused on youth as valuable assets who play an important role towards the common good of their communities. Over the years, there has been an increasing interest and awareness of the civic domain as a context for youth development. It has not only been a field that has evolved to be multidisciplinary in nature, but also one that has embraced the reciprocal relationship that exists between theory and practice. It is in this regard that two main bodies of work are especially noteworthy for their contributions: the areas are research on positive youth development (PYD) and community service or service learning. These have both paid particular attention to the contributions that young people make to their communities (Benson, Scales, Hamilton and Sesma, 2006; Furco and Root, 2010). These fields have contributed to our understanding of youth as assets to their communities and as agents of social change. They have pointed to the opportunities for civic engagement in the contexts where young people spend time. Research on civic education and extra-curricular and community-based organisations has complemented this scholarship.

Several lessons have been learned as a result of this growing body of work in the civic domain. As pointed out by Flanagan, Martínez, Cumsille, and Ngomane (2011), first, youth are more likely to be civically responsible adults if they have had opportunities to interact and work in collaboration with adults and peers on communal issues and to discuss current events with them. Interest in socio-economic and especially political issues tends to be generated by contestation and discussion and the perception that it makes a difference to take a stance. The second lesson learnt is that adolescent's sense of social incorporation and their identification with community institutions is a psychological factor, which is associated to youth assuming social responsibility for others in their communities. This can be expressed for instance through voluntary work, advocacy or awareness on social issues affecting the community or even voting.

Third, has been the divide that exists regarding civic opportunities on the basis of class and race. This is especially true in countries like South Africa that have only recently come out of a system of racial dividedness, with decades of cumulative disadvantage for the non-white population. The lack of opportunity that ran right from pre-school through to matric (final year of high school) does not provide fertile grounds for practice of civic skills and living in economically strained communities, depresses civic assimilation later in life (Schonert-Reichl and Lawlor, 2010). It is important to note that education does not simply guarantee civic participation. The picture in reality is more complex. A number of factors such as the type of schooling curriculum and mode of instruction as well as learners' perception of the instructors' quality all come into play. These factors too impact differently on the various dimensions of civic participation. According to a national survey conducted on 6000 South African high school students (USAID, 2000) a number of conclusive findings in this regard were drawn. Civic education (Civics) in South Africa had substantial effects on students' basic political knowledge. Students who received civics instruction on at least a weekly basis were more than likely to correctly identify the names of notable South African political leaders and have some basic knowledge of the South African constitutional structure than students who received civics instruction less often, or not at all.

In addition the effects of schooling on democratic attitudes, values, and orientation towards political participation were in general more modest, but that even these orientations could be changed through civics instruction under certain conditions related to the classroom and instructional environment. The survey revealed that when students perceived their teachers to

be highly knowledgeable, competent, likeable, and inspiring, they appeared to internalize attitudes and values supportive of democracy, such as an increased sense of the responsibilities of citizens in a democratic system and trust in political and social institutions, to a greater extent than students who received training from "poor" instructors or not at all (USAID, 2000). What matters for changes in democratic values, attitudes, and skills is not merely receiving the message itself, but also the environment and the methods in which the messages are imparted. It was also found that just like adults, pupils learn democratic values and skills in a similar way, by practicing and engaging in democratic participation in the proximal settings available. This implies that the results suggest that the best civic education transference will involve students as directly as possible in both simulated and perhaps real-world political activities as well.

The literature review indicates that the effectiveness of civic education is higher when students are offered opportunities to participate in the community's political processes and engagements, ranging from voluntary service to efforts to increase voter turnout. In addition, Finkel and Ernst (2005) point out that schools themselves should be viewed as an important microcosm in which students have direct experience of due process, orderly conflict resolution, and adherence to principles of human rights. Finally youth civic engagement is positively linked to their psychological well-fare and mental health (Flanagan et al., 2011, p.3). This is a huge challenge especially in the developing countries like South Africa that is characterised by high levels of poverty and inequality.

2.3 A Historical Perspective on Civic Development in Africa

The concept of service, volunteering and a communal sense of responsibility is part of the old African philosophy of *Ubuntu* (togetherness), which denotes caring and sharing, and has formed the core part of the social fabric of African societies for many centuries. As Patel and Wilson (2004:24) note "a tradition of self-help, individual and collective responsibility for the well-being of families and kinship groups predates the colonial era" and "youth community service can be traced to pre-colonial times when youth were organised into age sets that were mobilised for the defence of the community as well as the construction of infrastructure."

Colonialism introduced a completely different set of values and colonial governments did not invest significant resources in the development of African communities, except when the

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development of local people was necessary for the welfare of the colonial rulers. Under these circumstances, the spirit of cooperation and reciprocity for the greater good continued in indigenous communities. Years later, beginning mostly around the early to mid-1900's the struggle for independence in Africa and the struggle against apartheid in South Africa saw many examples of citizen and youth activism. In the post-colonial African, voluntary organisations continued to contribute significantly to development and nation building.

However, with the advent of independence and most nationalist governments across Africa, and with a number of them taking a socialist system of governance, were eager to change the conditions that had been created under colonialism. During post-independence period especially after the 1950s and 1960s, Osei-Hwedie and Bar (1999) point out that there were high government revenues resulting from rapid economic growth and the nationalisation of the foreign denominated private sector. Governments were able to invest in social development without requiring local voluntary contributions. These developments, coupled with a lack of diversified economies, entrenched expectations that government would provide in all respects, and this in turn impacted negatively on the spirit of volunteerism that had been a major feature of African societies even long before colonialism.

In the post-independence era, a number of African countries created national youth service programmes with the intention of involving young people in national development. Patel and Wilson (2004, p.26) allude to the fact that in some instances, however, these programmes became strongly militaristic in orientation and were used by the governments to entrench their political position. In a number of African countries such as South Africa, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Tanzania, Ghana, Nigeria and others, youth civic engagement often took the form of compulsory National Service centred on basic military training. In the 1970s, many African countries as well as other countries in other parts of the word experienced economic crises characterised by lack of growth, high rates of inflation, rising foreign and internal debts, high unemployment, shortages of basic goods, and crumbling infrastructure (Jeffrey and Justin, 1995; Osei-Hwedie and Bar-On, 1999).

In the midst of these hardships, most countries especially in Africa had no option but to agree to structural adjustment programmes (SAP's) introduced by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank. The conditionalities set by the IMF and World Bank imposed acute changes in governance structures in the 1980s and 1990s. Dollar and Svensson (2000)

point out that Zambia was the first African country to be hardest hit by the SAPs. Typical of many African countries at the time, Zambia subscribed to the major social-economic reforms without having a comprehensive institutional framework to accompany the public policy adjustments. The author argues that the greatest impact came from the privatisation of state owned enterprises and the leading revenue earner, the copper mines. The public sector was significantly downsized, especially social services where health administration workers were retrenched and retired. This had a negative impact on the provision of efficient and effective provision of health and other social services. The Zambian case was not unique as across the African continent in which most countries rely on the primary industry sectors. In Ghana mining and cocoa and in Tanzania the mining and forestry industries, respectively, saw their greatest losses in state revenues during the years following the structural adjustment programmes (Kwado, 2000).

This led to part of the motivation for a renewed drive to shift some of the burdens of development onto individuals and communities and, in the process, the voluntary sector was revitalised across the continent. A similar trend is seen today in Zimbabwe as citizens revert to traditional forms of mutual aid for food security in the face of that country's political and economic crisis. Many voluntary organisations in Southern Africa are community based, but there is also a significant layer of NGO's operating with donor support. Over the years both types of organisations have come to play a significant role in social development (Tapia, 2004).

2.4 The Evolution of Civic Service in South Africa

South Africa's transition from apartheid to democracy has brought about fundamental changes in the lives of citizens. Civic service is one aspect of South African society that has been affected by the new democratic dispensation. During apartheid, the term "national service" referred to an institution which required young white men, right after leaving school, to complete a short period of military service, which was followed by compulsory "camps" at several intervals over successive years to follow. The apartheid regime used the military strength to suppress black South Africans and to destabilise the southern African region (Perold, 2003; Perold, Carapinha and Mohamed, 2006). This in effect created a close association between the term "national service" and apartheid's repressive militaristic style of governance.

The apartheid military experience discredited the idea of national conscription. South Africans from all communities all over were cautious of a compulsory, centrally driven national service that mainly served political interests and not that of the larger majority of citizens. Patel (2003) interestingly notes that at the same time, the anti-apartheid struggle provided a context for citizen's civic engagement and activism, which personified a totally different conception of service. The mass democratic movement played a leading role in facilitating social change in South Africa, and brought about a wide range of organisations that provided services in the many communities suffering under apartheid, while at the same time contributing to the goal of liberation.

Among the early youth organisations was the Congress of South African Students (COSAS) which was formed in 1979 in the aftermath of the 1976 Uprising. It was a national high school education student organisation. COSAS was ideologically aligned to the banned ANC.COSAS' aim to co-ordinate student activities in different regions, and to unite and advance the demands of school students. COSAS banners could be seen at nearly every mass demonstration in the 1980s (SA History, 2015). Another prominent organisation was the Azanian Student Organisation (AZASO), also established in 1979 by students from five Black universities and one college of education. AZASO adopted ANC policies and the Freedom Charter. AZASO advocated a non-racial policy and worked with White anti-apartheid university student structures. These organisations together with the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS) worked together from 1982 to 1984, on a nation-wide campaign to garner demands for an Education Charter. The charter drew its inspiration from the clause in the Freedom Charter which stated that "The doors of learning and culture shall be opened" (ANC Freedom Charter, 1985, p.15). These movements drew on volunteers, mainly within but not limited to African, Indian and coloured communities, mobilising civic participation to promote the collective action for the common good.

In the 1990s, South Africa successfully entered into negotiations that ultimately resulted in democratic elections in 1994. During this process, anti-apartheid civil society organisations introduced new ideas of national service that were much more closely aligned with the democratic goals of the new order. The shift in terminology towards a new way of thinking about service introduced a people-centred approach that viewed service as one means of addressing conditions in black communities through transformation, the correction of past systems and social development.

Various social policies were introduced post-1994 which gave effect to service in the youth, education, health and social welfare sectors. Most significantly, civic service in contemporary South Africa is meant to occur in a context that demonstrates a high occurrence of volunteering. A national survey into the state of giving in South Africa found that just less than a fifth (17%) of the respondents that participated in the survey had volunteered their time in support of a specific cause or charity in the month before the interview (Everatt and Solanki, 2005). An earlier study by Russell and Swilling (2002) estimated the number of volunteers to be 11%. These figures indicate an increase of 6% in volunteerism. Furthermore, Everatt and Solanki (2005) found that a relationship exists between volunteering and poverty, in that "poor respondents (23%) were more likely to volunteer than the non-poor (17%)". These findings are also supported in the five countries studied in the SADC region, that is, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Malawi, Botswana and South Africa (Patel, Perold, Carapinha and Mohamed, 2007, p.30). These national surveys found that that service is growing in the region, including South Africa, and therefore is a valuable asset that should be supported and strengthened through enabling policies.

2.5 The Evolution of Civic Service in South Africa: Responding to Current Challenges

Despite its growth, there are still many challenges that the civic service in South Africa is attempting to respond to. Despite the gains made since the coming of democracy in 1994, the country continues to face serious challenges in respect to poverty, unemployment and unequal access to resources. UNECA (2013) reports that while South Africa is considered an upper middle-income country based on GDP per capita, there is still extreme income inequality and deep poverty is widespread. The National Treasury (2012) reported the high level of youth unemployment, stating that approximately 42% of young people under the age of 30 are unemployed compared with less than 17% of adults over 30. Furthermore, only 1 in 8 working-age adults under 25 have a job compared with 40% in most emerging economies. The widespread service delivery protests have also become an entrenched and worrying aspect of the governance landscape, representing citizens frustration with both the degree and pace of change especially from the historically disadvantaged due to lack of opportunity. These are much more rampant in the country's townships where the effects of poverty are more stinging with many observers having dubbed South Africa as the 'protest capital' of the world (Alexander, 2010, p.583). In 2012 there were reportedly over 500 protests in the townships of Gauteng Province between April and May alone. Local government data and

municipal intelligence recently revealed that South Africa had almost one protest every second day in 2014 with Gauteng and the Eastern Cape being provinces with the highest frequency of protests. Gauteng has some of the highest number of slums and Eastern Cape is still largely rural and ranks as the most ultra-impoverished province. Furthermore, by January 2013 the data shows that service delivery protests in 2012 accounted for 30 percent of protests recorded since 2004. Between 2008 and 2013 approximately 3000 protest took place (SA History, 2015).

While South Africa's education system has successfully enrolled the majority (97%) of school-age children (Department of Education, 2006), the quality of education is still not in line with the requirements of the economy. This is not only in high skills areas such as the natural science, but also in respect to school-leavers' basic competence in literacy and numeracy (Chisholm, 2004). The government has also included community service in senior secondary schools, which is intended to inculcate in grade 10 to 12 pupils "an understanding and appreciation of the values and rights that underpin the Constitution in order to practise responsible citizenship, and to enhance social justice and sustainable living" (Department of Education, 2003, p.16). Despite faster economic growth, many school-leaving youth face limited opportunities for employment due to a poor match between their skills, formal qualifications and the demands of the economy (Budlender, 2006). Combined with the high unemployment rate, this situation has led to estimates that approximately 30% of young school-leavers who have obtained a high school matriculation certificate are unlikely ever to find employment (Rossouw, 2010, p.3). Crime and domestic violence is also a major issue in many communities. The imperative for service therefore stems from persistent gaps between the privileged and underprivileged individuals and communities, and from the unmet needs in the face of service delivery challenges experienced at different levels of government.

Patel (2003, pp. 96-98) cites the South African government's pluralist approach facilitating support for public, private and civic society programmes as one feature of its social development approach to civic service. A pluralist approach to service delivery means that the state and non-state stakeholders, including the private sector, Non-Governmental NGO's and the communities at large, are encouraged to participate in the promotion of social development (Patel, 2005, p.205). Currently, South Africa's, numerous policy and programming efforts have been focused on youth development and, in particular, at opportunities for youth service and volunteering. This has largely been done in an effort to

also increase the chances by equipping young people with the necessary skills to join the labour market. However, there is little empirical evidence about how effectively and efficiently this approach works in practice. Further research is required in this respect (Budlender, 2006).

2.6 Development of Social Responsibility in Childhood and Adolescence

Social Responsibility is a concept that has been used across almost all the social sciences and more especially in social psychology. Social responsibility has generally been defined as being about matters that go beyond personal gains (Gallay, 2006). Social responsibility is a sense of duty or obligation to contribute to the greater good and is a personal value that manifests itself in our beliefs and the way we live with others (Berman, 1997; Gallay, 2006; Kohlberg and Candee, 1984). Responsibility implies feeling a sense of accountability for one's actions and decisions, reliable and dependable to others, and empowered to act on issues within one's control (Berman, 1997). It means being deliberate and intentional about the direction of the community, and to know what it is and how it develops. The following segments therefore articulate the contexts as well as the childhood and adolescent aspects that are central in cultivating the growth of social responsibility.

2.7 Breeding grounds for Social Responsibility: Families, Peers, Schools and Communities

Social responsibility sprouts in the close relationship and settings that structure the lives of young people. Flanagan et al. (2011) argue that some contexts serve as better seedbeds for inculcating social responsibility than others by encouraging individuals to take into account the implications of their actions. The main consideration of the implications here is not only the repercussions for oneself, but to a much larger extent for others. It is in these ways that Flanagan et al. (2011) argue that families, peers, schools and communities create opportunities to socialise social responsibility in children and adolescents.

Social Capital theory perhaps offers the strongest theoretical foundation for prioritising the role of contexts in the development of social responsibility. According to social capital theory reciprocal social relationships set the stage for individuals to collectively solve social problems, nurture and promote feelings of trust and increase awareness that our actions have implications for others (Putnam, 2000). It ought to be noted that Social capital is not always inclusive however. On the one hand Bonding social capital (which exists in very close social ties such as immediate family, close friends and neighbours) is more likely than Bridging

social capital (characterised by more casual relationship) to reinforce exclusive identities and homogenous groups (Putnam, 2000). Developmental behaviourists have for the most part agreed that bonding social capital is normative during early and middle childhood, when time is spent by young people mostly with family and limited opportunities for interaction with others. During adolescence as young people become more autonomous, bridging social capital increases with more diverse opportunities to interact with others. Although both forms of social capital are beneficial, bridging social capital is paramount in laying the foundation for social responsibility based on universalism rather than mere benevolence (Putnam, 2000).

Practice can help in enhancing the ability for young people to take particular perspectives on issues, furthering identity development and establishing self-efficacy in the civic realm. Outside of the primary parent and child bond, peers represent the first 'others' that they form relationships with. In friendships young people learn to compromise and balance self-interests with others as they learn what it means to care for others and preserve healthy relationships (Flanagan and Syversten, 2006). Unlike adult relationships, peer relations are more open, honest and egalitarian making it more comfortable and easier to develop conflict resolution skills and to advance moral development (Eisenberg, Spinrad and Sadovsky, 2006). Friendships are also an important means of developing social responsibility through service activities (Flanagan and Syversten, 2006). Friendships foster peer support and companionships as well as motivation as well as encouraging each other to take participate in community service and school programmes.

Schools can often also operate like micro polities in which young people can practice and experiment with democratic participation and offer training as to what it means to be an engaged community member. Schools with the right atmosphere of openness are ideal training grounds for learning and practicing essential civic skills such as defending and articulating political opinions and also understanding rights and responsibilities inherent in group membership. Schools and school-community based extracurricular activities also cultivate social responsibility by fostering the spirit of social relatedness, encouraging teamwork in which youth are expected to fulfil certain group commitments. These expectations are by both peers and adult leaders alike.

Quasi experimental studies have further shown that youth in service-learning programmes positively predicted youth's social responsibility and future civic commitments compared to non-practicing peers (Scales, Blyth, Berkas et al., 2000). Youniss, McLellan, and Yates

(1997) also detail the major transformation the young people can go through such as breaking stubborn stereotypes about others, offering service beyond one's own needs and developing other oriented aspects about one's identity. The studies point to involvement in service whether through service learning or active voluntary participation in community based organisations (CBO's).

It is however important to note that not all young people are offered equal opportunities to engage in practices that enable them to develop a sense of social responsibility. Verba (2003) points out that historical data show a persistent gap in civic participation based on socio-economic status. This is unfortunate, especially in countries such as South Africa, where a large portion of the population has been historically disadvantaged in terms of socio-economic opportunity, and this legacy continues to haunt current governance efforts. Others may argue however that the nature of civic participation that existed during the apartheid era was different from what prevails today given the challenges of the time. Apartheid was a clear and visible enemy of the marginalised majority and it thus was able to garner opposition that transcended class, privilege, and age. It was, therefore, not surprising that youth civic participation during that era was active despite the class disadvantage of the marginalised majority. Civic participation in today's largely democratic globalised world is much more complex. Although there is not much empirical evidence in South Africa, studies elsewhere point to some revealing evidence. In places like the USA, some studies have shown that intergenerational transmission of class advantage makes it difficult for children of less educated and civically engaged parents, and those living in poor communities to access adult role models. It is also difficult for them to access quality school programmes and community based voluntary organisations important for the promotion of social responsibility Verba (2003).

The duty therefore lies upon researchers, community leaders, and policy makers who are actively involved with the youth to explore ways in which to rectify the huge inequalities so that more voices can be heard and represented in the democratic process.

2.8 The Concept of Self-Efficacy

Bandura's social cognitive theory (1977) is steeped in the idea that individuals can change their attitudes based on systematic observations of their environment. In terms of their content, self-efficacy measures focus on *performance capabilities* rather than on *personal qualities*, such as one's physical or psychological characteristics. Shell, Murphy, and Bruning

(1989) measured self-efficacy in terms of perceived capability to perform various reading and writing undertakings, and they assessed outcome expectancies regarding the value of these activities in attaining various outcomes in employment, social pursuits, family life, education, and citizenship. Efficacy beliefs and outcome expectancies together predicted 32% of the variance in reading achievement, with perceived efficacy accounting for virtually all the variance. Only perceived self-efficacy was a significant predictor of writing achievement. These results do not only show the discriminant validity of self-efficacy measures, but they also support Bandura's argument that self-efficacy plays a more important role than outcome expectancies in motivation.

Both individual and collective actions are contextualised within a vast range of networks and social structures and are greatly influenced by efficacy. Efficacy depends on individuals' belief in their power to produce change i.e. *self-efficacy,* as well as on communities' belief in their collective action *i.e. collective self-efficacy,* such as forming community groups, CBO's and other such support groups with the goal of fostering social change (Bandura, 2001, p.34). C*ollective efficacy* can be defined as "a group's shared belief, that emerges from an aggregation of individual group members' perception of the group's capabilities to succeed at a given task" (Bandura, cited in Papa et al., 2000, p.36). This idea represents a key concept for this research. Mattessich (2009, p.50) articulates the concept of social capacity which can also be closely related to collective self-efficacy. He defines it as the extent to which different individuals can work together within a given space. The concept of efficacy is particularly important because responsibility with no agency rarely translates into action, thus contributing little to the common greater good (Youniss et al., 1997).

Having established the critical role of collective efficacy, it is inevitable that attention ought to be drawn to Paulo Freire's (1973) notion of critical consciousness. The idea has had far reaching consequences for youth development and activism. Critical consciousness explains how marginalised groups can learn to critically analyse their social, political and economic conditions and change them. The renowned educator not only used the concept to increase literacy among Brazilian peasants, but also used it to bring liberate themselves through collective action. He was able to use the technique to help those he worked with learn how to "read the world," spurring them to act on it in the interest of justice for all.

In the context of this study, it is believed that youth civic education and engagement in South Africa, especially for marginalised youth, particularly the poor majority, can help them understand themselves in a socio-political context as it did for disenfranchised Brazilians. In addition to greater political participation, marginalised youth could benefit from social analysis that helps them understand and resist unjust social conditions through constructive social action. The idea although appealing, begs the question whether there is indeed a relationship of critical reflection that leads to action or perhaps there are other factors that play a more cardinal role?

Most scholars would argue in favour Freire's (1973) concept critical reflection as a fundamental requirement for social action, considering that people do not participate in civic action without an understanding of why they are engaging in it (Westheimer and Kahne, 2004; Mahalik 2003; Blustein, 2006). In his book, 'Education for Critical Consciousness' Paulo Freire's (1973, p.44) states:

> …to every understanding, sooner or later an action corresponds. Once man perceives a challenge, understands it, and recognises the possibilities of response he acts. The nature of that action corresponds to the nature of his comprehension.

What is not quite clear, however, is whether critical consciousness is a *sufficient* prerequisite for action? By examining the opportunities and spaces for civic practice through CBO's such as ILISO as the case study organisation, it is hoped that some of these questions can be answered.

2.9 The Role of Youth Organising

A definition for Youth Organising that strings together various forms of community organising is "about activating people at local, neighbourhood level to claim power and make change for themselves" (Stoecker, 2009, p.21). According to the Funder's Collaborative on Youth Organising (2009, p.28) youth organising is "an innovative youth development and social justice strategy that trains young people in advocacy and mobilisation". It also assists them in employing these skills that can alter power relations and create meaningful institutional change in their communities. Community organising has traditionally been the domain of adults and the distinguishing factor from youth organising is that the latter involves young people.

A confluence of issues has led to the upsurge in youth organising. In South Africa a similar trend has followed suit over the past two decades in which the increasing levels of inequality have meant that working class citizens have struggled to maintain their quality of life (O'Keeffe and Clarke-Pearson, 2011; Budlender, 2006). This has spurred youth driven efforts in improving their welfare and to speak up for their rights. A further effort has been to include youth in civil society, including governance, citizenship and organisations (Integrated Youth Development Strategy, 2012). These developments have raised a lot of interest among NGO's and CBO's. This recognition by government's the world over has consolidated the position of youth as fully competent participants in society and so the onus is on the leadership to provide the platform for young people to be active contributors to the development of society. Their exclusion has been also on the other hand been recognised as a social injustice (Delgado and Staples, 2008, p.64).

Despite these realisations most government departments and non-governmental organisations still find it difficult and usually fail to incorporate the youth in their work (Fisher, 1994). The field or discipline of youth organising appears to be growing faster than the practice. Organising is also a field that is largely concerned with injustice and exclusion and therefore it has found resonance with young people. In fact youth organising is a multilevel intervention that Trickett (2009, p.28) identifies as:

> a multi-layered conception of the community context, a commitment to working in collaboration or partnership with groups and settings in the local community, and an appreciation of how interventions are situated in local culture and context.

In other words, Trickett argues that because youth organising ideally occurs in culturally relevant contexts and is directed at positive social change based on issues selected by the youth themselves, the process can have multi-level impacts on the community and on both adults and youth. Youth organising takes place in community based organisations which act as proximal settings for youth development. However, the outcomes of youth organising go beyond these organisations when interventions and initiatives are successful in changing programmes and policies.

Figure 2.1 below provides a framework for understanding the processes and impacts of youth organising at multiple levels of analysis. The vertical dimension draws on Brofenbrenner's (1977) ecological framework which conceptualises human development as occurring within

multi-layered contexts. In the horizontal dimension, Tseng and Seidman's (2007) framework for setting-level change is adopted by Christens and Kirshner (2011) in the model.

Figure 2. 1 Intergrative Framework for Youth Organising Processes and Outcomes
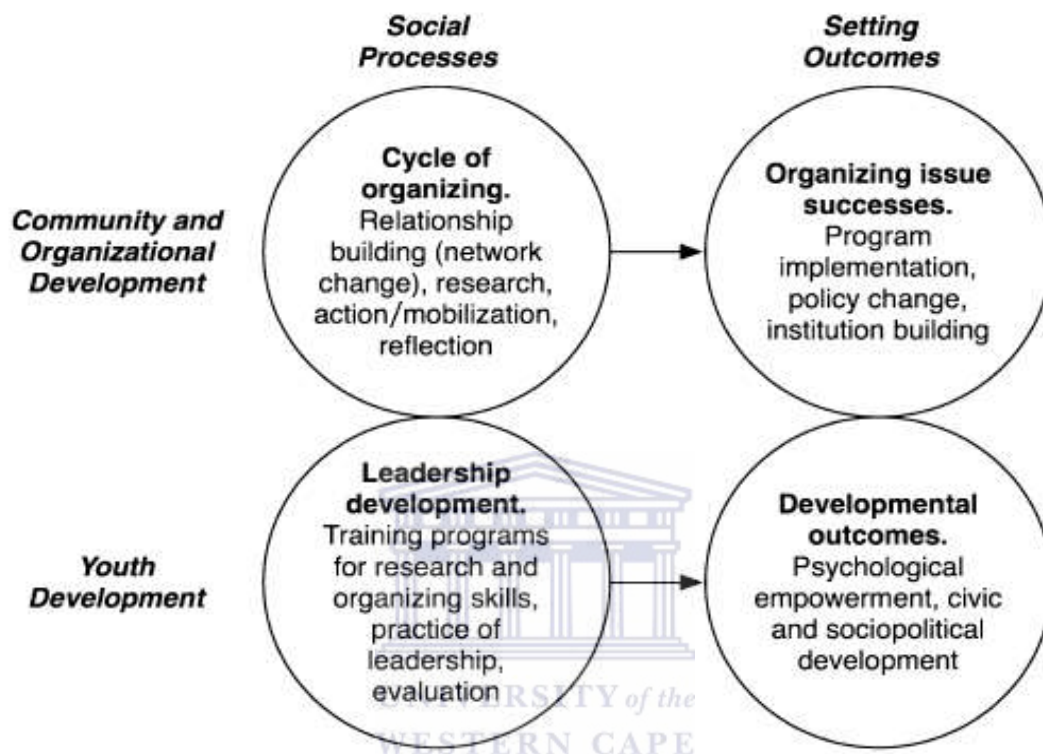
Source: Flanagan, Martínez, Cumsille, and Ngomane, 2011, p. 36

Although not represented in Figure 2.1 above, quite importantly, youth organising has been found to be a driver of broader social change. It exhibits the capabilities and potential contributions of young people to the larger public (Christens and Dolan, 2011). It can therefore be argued that to change the public's perception about youth would lead to greater inclusion of young people. This is a critical step forward towards the future of democracy.

2.9.1 Youth Civic Engagement: The Global Context

A review of several research findings globally reveals some of the most important trends and mechanisms to spur youth civic engagement and responsibility across families, peers, schools and communities. For purposes of this research, focus is placed mainly on the community and school (educational instruction) as agents of socialisation for civic involvement. Hart, Donnelly and Atkins (2007, p.17) state that schools often act like mini-polities where young

people experience democratic participation and learn what it means to be a community member. Youniss et al. (1997, p.20) further point out that schools are ideal training grounds for practicing important civic skills like articulating and defending political opinions and human rights. Empirical evidence suggests that many school and community based programmes also spur a sense of social relatedness and encourage teamwork and collective action.

Even in the most well developed democracies however, it is naive to assume that government always works, and that it works in the same way for the benefit of all citizens, or that citizens always work for the public good. It is with this realisation that the Constitution of India, the largest democracy in the world, specifically recognizes that language, cultural and religious groups can have deviating interests that need to be negotiated (Verma and Saraswathi, 2002).

At the opposing extreme, it is important to recognise that young people are sometimes the pawns of governments or radical politics leaders, and that their political involvement is often purchased by unscrupulous politicians (Verma and Saraswathi, 2002), or their frustrations exploited to mobilise violence (Arnett, 2002; Edelstein, 2001; Nsamenang, 2002; Verma and Saraswathi, 2002). Xenophobic, racist and other hate groups clearly fall in this category, away from those geared toward increasing ethnic cooperation. In addition, political involvement that is forced onto young people by adults is not likely to serve as good preparation for constructive adult civic participation. In examining the civic awareness of youth, it is important to focus on their current interests and challenges and not on what might have been interests in another era (Halstead, 1999). There are also acute differences not only in time but also in space; for example, freedom on the internet is potentially a more volatile political issue among youth in the west than in the developing world.   Similarly, environmental protection is of major concern to youth in locations as diverse as Southeast Asia, Russia, and Germany (Santa Maria, 2002; Stetsenko, 2002). The youth that may seem apathetic can suddenly become mobilised when they see their interests at stake. Despite the differences of interests that young people may have in a society, there are some commonalities.

In many parts of the world, reform takes the shape of service activities. Specific figures are not available for the case of India but of service among Indian youth, several organisations and government programmes engage them in humanitarian causes, such as literacy

campaigns, and contributing to local community development. Schools in India have a curriculum that encourages and incorporates service, such as a literacy programme called "Each One Teach One," which has produced enthusiastic participation from adolescents (Verma and Saraswathi, 2002). To add to that, religious groups in India, such like the Buddhists, Jains, and Christians, encourage young people's civic participation by engaging them in social welfare programmes. In the USA, youth civic participation surveys conducted over the past two decades have shown that over 50% of American youth claim to have performed service during the previous year, with about 25% to 30% claiming to have performed service on a regular basis (Niemi, Hepburn and Chapman, 2000). The picture is almost identical regarding the political youth engagement dimension in Canada (Pancer and Pratt, 1999) and the United Kingdom (Roker and Coleman, 1999).

Youth service is less common in continental Europe and other countries whose social welfare systems provide a full range of services and government assistance across all age. Regardless, even in these contexts space for civic service still exists. For example, in Italy many youth volunteer for service through religious institutions and churches. In countries without a history and tradition of volunteerism, such as Japan, civic participation is reported to be much lower, with only 6% of the Japanese youth reporting to have been once involved in service activity. Nonetheless, Japanese youth surprised the government by showing up in huge numbers to assist with the rebuilding after damages caused by the Kobe earthquake of 1995 (Rossi and Boccacin, 1999), which suggests that the energy of the youth can be mobilised in the interest of the common good.

Most scholars generally agree that there some universals as far as the primary agents of socialisation that are involved in developing a civic sense of responsibility. The family, school and peers are prominent agents of socialisation for civic development for young people (Youniss et al., 2002; Putnam, 2000; Mumba, 2007). Research studies, while controlling for extraneous variables have been strongly linked with both service to others and voting in young adulthood (Hart, Donnelly and Atkins 2007). Experimental studies comparing youth in service learning programmes and non-participating peers showed that participation positively predicted youth's social responsibility and future civic commitments. Research studies by Mumba, (2007); Jarrett, Sullivan and Watkins (2005); McFarland and Thomas (2006) and Steinberg, Hatcher and Bringle (2011) all point to the fact that structured youth programmes can foster the development of social capital. These studies indicate that

social capital could be important for initiating collective action in fostering positive social change in the community and society at large.

A number of empirical studies globally also continue to show that unequal socio-economic opportunities drastically affect youth civic engagement. This should be of keen interest to a country like South Africa with one of the highest levels of income inequality in the world with a Gini coefficient of 0.68 (Industrial Policy Action Plan, 2013). Research by Syvertsen et al. (2011, p.23) notes that intergenerational transmission of class advantage in the USA, makes it difficult for children from poor communities "to access the adult role models, quality school programmes, and community based organisations for the promotion of social responsibility." This means that it is important for researchers and policy makers in countries like South Africa need to consider ways to resolve these inequalities so that more voices are heard in the new democratic dispensation.

2.9.2 Youth Civic Engagement in South Africa

Youth yearn to be part of society and to be respected for their contributions, and in many cases the youth possess the desire to play an active role in improving their communities and countries. When young people participate in community and civic activities, they develop not only leadership and organisational skills, but also a heightened sense of social responsibility (Yates and Youniss, 1999). Tapscott (2011) investigated the effectiveness of social mobilisation in securing citizens basic rights to social and economic services in an African township in Cape Town called Langa. The study reveals that the formal channels established to facilitate citizen engagement with the state have not been very effective. This is also reflected in the increasing number of protests demanding better public service delivery (Nleya, 2010). In Khayelitsha, for example, the Khayelitsha Development Forum (KDF), South African National Civic Organisation (SANCO) and the Ward Development Committee offer established structures for the youth to promote their agenda but their engagement in these opportunities is still very low (Thompson and Nleya, 2011). The million dollar question still remains unanswered as to how best to harness the collective interests of the youth to bring about social transformation.

Most of the literature points to educational instruction at the adolescent stage as the most important determinant of civic engagement (Finkel and Ernst, 1998; Flanagan, 2011; Mumba, 1995; Perold, et al., 2007). The literature points to the fact that it is through education that

young people institutionally taught the requisite skills to be civically effective. Schools also act like mini-polities where offering semi-democratic spaces for civic practice, while encouraging teamwork and community responsibility. Furthermore, empirical evidence from the Kwa-Zulu Natal province in South Africa demonstrates that opportunities for practice in civic development programmes are key in the development of social responsibility of young people and even civic awareness later in life. The province has the highest number of youth in the country with 23% aged between 15 – 34 years. The Kwa-Zulu Natal case study investigated the impact of engaging young people in HIV/AIDS awareness programmes. The findings of the study suggest that youth are most likely to participate in social development projects when they have the appropriate knowledge, social spaces for critical thinking, a sense of ownership of the problem in question, a sense of confidence in their ability to contribute to solving it, and appropriate bridging relationships (Campbell et al., 2009, pp.25-30). While the importance of civic training is somewhat recognised in South Africa, community service in secondary schools is still in its infancy and no single model is indicated in the curriculum framework for grades 10 to 12. At the lower level where the life orientation component does exist, outcome statements for each grade, against which pupils are assessed are vague and the curriculum does not state what the inputs should be (Patel et al., 2007). According to the Community Higher Education Service (CHESP, 2003) there is also very little partnerships between schools and community organisations to offer opportunities for civic practice to learners. It is in this vein that ILISO has partnered with two schools on its civic training and mentoring project.

By 2004, 10 years after democratic rule the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC, 2005, p.29) report on youth revealed that only a very small number of young people engage regularly in civic activities. The report notes that the importance of engaging in community activities is critical to the development of skills and competencies as well as establishing increased social capital. It further points out that this makes it less likely that youth get out of line to engage in risky and self-destructive behaviour. Despite efforts by the South African government to engage young people in civic participation, the pace of progress has been worrying to a large extent as highlighted in a national study, in the Table 2.1 below.

Table 2.1: Self-reported civic participation of young South Africans

Self-reported civic participation of young South Africans (HSRC 2005)						
Civic Activity	Never	Few times a year	Once or twice a month	Once a week	A few times a week	Every day
Participates in a community society or club	75.3	10.6	6.9	2.8	2.5	1.8
Participates in a civic organisation or other community structure	80.1	10.6	4.0	2.1	1.6	1.5
Collects goods or money for church, charity or community organisation	63.9	20.8	7.7	3.7	2.9	1.0
Participates in community sports	65.8	14.1	8.4	3.9	4.8	3.1

Source: Human Sciences Research Council Youth Report, 2005, p.7

The most recent noteworthy national youth survey on the impact of youth civic engagement on the circumstances of young people, was the 2008 impact assessment of the Ground Breakers programme, which has reached over 10,000 young people across the country (Volunteer and Service Enquiry Southern Africa, 2008). The Ground Breakers programme was managed and spearheaded by Love Life which is a youth centred NGO. The Ground Breakers programme is a year-long intervention which requires its participants to actively engage in and lead HIV awareness orientated peer education and activities in their communities. Some of the key findings from the assessment reveal that nearly 50% of Ground Breaker graduates have achieved some level of post-matric qualification (as opposed to only 6% of their age-mate counterparts); 60% of Ground Breakers are employed (compared to only 36% of their counterparts) and two-thirds of Ground Breaker alumni involved in community organisations hold leadership positions. Such overwhelmingly positive outcomes have been used by the Ground Breakers programme points to the potential of well-run youth service programmes to aid in the educational attainment, self-esteem, social capital and employability of young people. This evidence from South Africa illustrating why programmes that engage young people in civic service should be encouraged and supported. Although some youth development NGO's (such as Love Life) have shown a positive impact on their members, there has been limited tracking of the general impacts of the youth development programmes. There has also not been a thorough examination of the extent to

which South African youth are engaging in civic initiatives, and how these can foster social transformation right from the community level (Theron et al., 2010, p.21).

Since 1996 South Africa has experimented with a series of legislative frameworks that culminated into the 2009-2014 National Youth Policy. This has had broadly and largely correctly identified strategic areas for interventions. Unfortunately, the consequent delivery of services and opportunities has been quite problematic. The Umsobomvu Youth Fund and National Youth Commission were set up with the initial aim to represent and support youth development but eventually collapsed in 2009 to form the National Youth Development Agency (NYDA), largely due to claims of poor performance (Robson, 2011, p.10).

In the drive to promote civic participation point 14.4.6 of the National Youth Policy (2009, p.29) calls for "strengthening social cohesion through developing the youth sector's capacity to design and implement effectively integrated youth development programmes, which foster social cohesion". The main organs recommended for implementation are the defunct Youth Development Forum (YDF) and the obsolete South African Youth Council. In Budlender (2006) critique of the budget associated with youth development they suggest that there are few budgets exclusively or primarily targeted for the youth. They submit that while budgets which probably have major relevance to young people (e.g. education) amount to 25% of the national cake, the actual amount allocated to youth development directly is difficult to track, and therefore the effectiveness of interventions thereof are hard to measure. While individual NGO's and CBO's and other spaces for youth civic engagement often measure the impact of life chances of young people that come through their programmes, it would be useful to begin to also focus on impacts beyond the individual and into the larger community.

2.10 Understanding the Theory of Social Capital

The concept of 'Social capital' is an age old concept but the term only became popularised in the late 1990s. The Organisation for Economic Co-Operation and Development (OECD) defines social capital as "networks together with shared norms, values and understanding that facilitate cooperation within or among groups" (OCED, 2001, p.4). Social capital becomes more possible during adolescence as young people become more autonomous and have increased opportunities to interact with more diverse others.

Social capital can be said to have mainly two dimensions, that is, the cognitive and structural dimensions, which should both be taken into account when making reference to the concept (Krishna, 2002, p.66). The cognitive dimension refers to trust, norms, attitudes and beliefs, while the structural dimension of social capital signifies networks, roles, rules and precedents.

The concept of social capital has gained special attention in the last quarter of the 20th century with the publications of Putnam (1993), Bourdieu (1986) and Coleman (1988), among others. Bourdieu, for instance, identifies social capital as "the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to membership in a group – which provides each of its members with the backing of the collectively owned capital" (Bourdieu, 1986, p.241). This definition differed to some extent from that of Putnam, who argued that networks and norms of reciprocity are sources of social trust (Putnam, 1993, p.170). In this case, social trust is taken as a cumulative effect or result of norms of reciprocity and networks in a society. Unlike Bourdieu he conceptualizes social capital as a group phenomenon rather than an individual one. Putnam's (1993) definition therefore appears to be more appropriate in the context of this study that focuses on strengthening networks in order to pull resources together for the collective good.

The main problem that critics of the concept have pointed out is that it is still not clear what it is especially in the absence of its operational structure. Some scholars have noted that it is mainly observed when the actors use it and its consequences are its proof (Portes, 1998; Durlauf, 1999). Some critics of the theory of social capital have argued that it lacks the three basic elements of a genuine theory of capital accumulation. Namely, these are extension in time, an intended sacrifice for a deferred benefit, and alienability, therefore failing to meet the requisite criteria (Fine, 2002; Bankston, 2002; Durlauf, 1999; Schuller, Baron and Field, 2000).

One of the main problems put forward with the analysis of social capital is that it is not well defined, with different authors ascribing different meanings to the concept. In part the ambiguity of the concept is in whether social capital is defined in terms of its effects or in terms of its characteristics (Darlauf, 1999, p.32). The trouble with a functional definition is that it makes analysis difficult because, as argued by Portes (1998), social capital becomes inevitably present whenever a good outcome is achieved. As a rhetorical tool, it then becomes

clear why it is so effective. By defining the presence of the concept in terms of manifestation of desirable outcomes, it is then not possible to assume that social capital is a pure virtue. Ben Fine (2002) makes perhaps the most comprehensive yet simple critique against social capital. The author outlines eight critical features of social capital that he makes a case against. Chiefly he highlights that social capital has a mass appeal as it is able to cut across the board as all-embracing to all of human kinds' social challenges. Fine (2002, p.798) notes that even Robert Putnam went as far as to suggest that Karl Marx (1848) was a social capitalist for urging workers of the world to unite. Fine (2002, p.798) goes on to ridicule the concept suggesting that "even the working man's curse, the pub is social capital, since it's much better compared to the couch-potato television watcher".

Quite importantly, the core of Fine's (2002) criticism of social capital lies in his submission that the theory is based on the unconscious faulty scholarship of its founding fathers namely, Pierre Bourdieu and James Coleman. The evolution of the theory has not been independent but more of a result of tapping into the high intellectual development of social theory at the turn of the millennium. Social capital evolved out of social exchange theory as postulated by scholars such as Emerson (1976), designed to address the relationship between micro and macro in the context of the relationship between individual and society. These origins are now hardly spoken about, as social capital has obliterated them to the curb in its ready acceptance and mass appeal. For Ben Fine (2002) social capital is an interdisciplinary approach that takes into account all other disciplines apart from economics which then makes it inherently weak. For the traditional economist however, capital is all other forms of traditional capital, physical, natural, financial and human except social capital.

The debates surrounding the essence of social capital continue to rage on today. Through these debates however, it is clear that social capital tends to be closely linked with civic engagement, in the form of voluntary association where trust and reciprocity are learned then generalized to the whole society (World Bank, 20003). As Coleman (1988, p.118) earlier remarked "unlike other forms of capital, social capital inheres in the structure of relations between persons and among persons." Fukuyama (2002, p.2) contended that the actualization of norms in human relationship can be described as an activation of the cognitive aspects of social capital. By extension, the structural aspects depict its manifestation.

In the context of this research, social capital is taken as "a propensity for mutually beneficial collective action," (Krishna, 2002) which is prompted by the norms, networks and trust that enable people to act collectively. This definition and the two dimensions of social capital (cognitive and structural) will serve as conceptual bases for the research work.

2.10.1 Social Capital cultivating social responsibility

According to Watts (2007) it is through associations, relations and connections at the neighbourhood, school and community level, that the youth are exposed to a multitude of opportunities in terms of further education, scholarships, employment, entrepreneurship, emotional support, personal and public health and other life-skills that help them make a smoother transition into adulthood. Ultimately, the result is more responsible citizens and members of the global community with a wider civic outlook and world view. It is important to view the application of social capital regarding youth civic engagement in the context of the main mechanisms that facilitate the promotion of social responsibility. A review of much of the literature seems to point to four main agents of socialisation: the families, the peers, the schools and the communities (Goran, 1997; Bronfenbrenner and Morris, 2006). These contexts provide an opportunity for strengthening pro-social behaviours, value socialisation and, most importantly, provide opportunities for practice that can spur identity development and build self-efficacy in the civic arena.

2.10.2 Development of Social Networks and Collective Action

The role of social networks in individual and group behaviour change cannot be overstated. Kincaid (1976) investigates the impact of a governmental development programme meant to mobilise human and material resources in a Korean village of Oryu Li. Kincaid explored the role of community organisations in the local development process and observed that some of the local structures use communication to promote development by acquiring critical information, with the new information being processed in order to understand and synthesise to create new information, leading to an action that is able to solve the problem (Kincaid, 1976, p.96).

In another study by an NGO Save the Children in Malawi, a qualitative assessment of a health project called *Agogo* (The Grandmother Programme) revealed that the active involvement of grandmother peers in the communication process had a positive effect on

child nutrition. The study underlined the important role of grandmothers as an extensive form of social networks for pregnant women and also new-borns (Aubel, 2006). It is these sorts of social networks that are responsible to a large degree for regulating norms and traditions that prevail with communities. The findings from the study also indicate that many behavioural change communication programmes are ultimately not effective in terms of individual behaviour change, because women can hardly modify their behaviours if these infringe community norms. It can therefore be argued that it is pivotal to establish genuine project buy-in by community members by actively involving them in community interventions. Those that establish norms and traditions such as the village elders are not to be ignored.

In Bangladesh, Kincaid (2000) analysed the relationship between social learning effects and social networks, relating to family planning and the use of contraception among rural Bangladeshi women. Having studied all the different women's networks in the community and defined the social network models, the logistical regression analysis to measure the social network variables in contraceptive behaviour produced some interesting results. Kincaid's findings are in line with other studies verifying that the behaviours of the women with strong connections and personal networks in their community are influenced by interpersonal communication. The study further revealed that approval and a positive attitude by family and community members towards family planning largely determine the attitudes of women towards adopting contraceptives (Kincaid, 2000, p.14).

Siegel (2009) introduced a model of interdependent decision making within social networks, in which individuals have heterogeneous motivations to participate, and networks are defined via a qualitative typology mirroring common real-life contexts. The author argues that stronger social network ties and affirmations by *elites* (community leaders) increases the propensity for individual decision making and ultimately collective action for social change (Siegel, 2009, p.124). The function of interpersonal communication and individual behaviour change was also explored by Frumence, Killewo, Kwesigabo, Nystrom, Eriksson and Emmelin (2010), who undertook a case study in three villages in the Kigera region of Tanzania, with the aim of investigating the link between social networks and HIV transmission. The findings indicated that prevention activities implemented by a community with a high or medium HIV prevalence rate, and the improvement of different forms of social networks, contributed to the reduction of the HIV transmission rate in the area.

The findings in the studies discussed above have been noted especially in the sociological participation literature to strongly support the argument that individuals' decisions depend strongly on their social contexts (Gould 1991; Hedstrom 1994; McAdam and Paulsen 1993; Ohlemacher 1996; Opp and Gern 1993; Snow, Zircher, and Ekland-Olson 1980). They also underline the importance of social networks and social norms in modifying people's attitudes towards certain practices and advancing collective action.

2.10.3 Moving from Individual to Collective Change

Communication strategies for development today are aimed not just at increasing individuals' levels of awareness on social issues, but chiefly to educate individuals so as to ignite collective action for social change. Singhal and Brown (1996) propose that communication for development strategies ought to educate people and increase their knowledge on certain topics in order to change their sense of community and not be too focused only on individual-level behaviour change. They suggest that further steps needs to be taken to orientate behavioural change communication (BCC) strategies towards "a more participatory approach which integrates the body of knowledge accumulated in the field of development communication'' (Singhal and Brown, 1996, pp.29-30). Obregon and Waisbord (2012) points out a distinction in development communication interventions stating that they can be divided into two different categories. The first type is a one-way linear form of communication, which is intended to disseminate information and produce individual behaviour change, and the second is a form of bottom-up and participatory communication which aims at inspiring social change within underdeveloped communities. Organisations such as ILISO, the case study organisation for this study is one that attempts to promote participatory methods in its projects' implementation. In addition to the on-going projects, the organisation conducts regular weekly facilitated meetings among project members on the work-plan progress and issues arising and also importantly on lessons being learnt. These facilitated meetings initiate a learning cycle that allows members to discuss, reflect and engage with each other over issues raised.

There has been a realisation that behavioural change communication strategies need not be limited to linear behaviour change models but instead ought to investigate the broader relationships that exist in communities. This means adopting a more people-centred approach. The education process whether formal or informal and interactions between people and their personal networks can initiate a critical process of information sharing increasing

community awareness and generating empowerment (Kiessel, 2013). Such an approach can facilitate not just individual change of attitudes but also foster collective forms of action. In short, behaviour change communication needs to be shaped around a paradigm of participatory development communication, which also places emphasis on the social dimension and personal relationships. This promotes dialogue in order to initiate collective action.

2.11 The Integrated Model of Communication for Social Change

The development of a community can occur in a number of ways. Figueroa at al. (2002) highlights four non-mutually exclusive processes by which the transformation of a community can occur: externally generated change, individual behavioural change, social influence and community dialogue, and collective action, which is the focus of this study. The guiding philosophical foundations of communication for social change can directly be traced to the work of Paulo Freire (1970), the Brazilian educator who conceived of communication as dialogue and participation for the purpose of creating cultural identity, trust, commitment, ownership and empowerment. Paulo Freire's (1973) concept of critical consciousness and reflection explains how social awareness education among marginalised groups can benefit them. According to Freire (1973) awareness about social injustices that are faced among underprivileged and excluded groups can spur collective action thus leading to social change. He emphasised that critical reflection and social analysis is the fundamental ingredient that leads to action. In his own words, Freire stated, "…to every understanding, sooner or later an action corresponds". Collective self-efficacy is intricately related to the concept of collective action. Through dialogical interactions and social learning, members of a community become more aware of the main causes of their problems. The knowledge gained determines an increase in community members' level of confidence and self-esteem, and a sense of belief in their ability to bring about change. Consequently, a community would develop the capacity to take forms of action to counter social challenges, for example, voter apathy especially among young people.

The proposed model builds on this principle and a broad literature on development communication developed by practitioners, communication activists and scholars (e.g. Beltrán, 1980; Calvelo, 1998; Simpson, 1986; Portales, 1986 Rogers and Kincaid; 1981). In order to measure the outcomes of Communication for Social Change (CFSC) programmes and to describe how "community dialogue and collective action can work together to produce

social change'' a popular model was designed and discussed in detail by Figueroa et al. (2002, p.5) in their working paper *Communication for social change: An integrated model for measuring the process and its outcomes*. For purposes of this research, this model has been to a specific case study to analyse development communication interventions by ILISO in Site C Khayelitsha. It is, therefore, necessary to describe some of the theories of communication that have been informed by the model and its main components.

The main assumption behind it is that participation and community engagement are the core elements of every communication process and can lead to collective action. The model describes a dynamic, iterative process that starts with a "catalyst/stimulus" that can be external or internal to the community. This catalyst leads to a *dialogue* within the community that when effective, leads to collective action and the resolution of a common problem. The model identifies six potential catalysts (Figueroa et al., 2002, p.7): Internal stimulus, Innovations, Policy, and Technology, Mass Media or A change agent such as a CBO or NGO. Through dialogue, the *catalyst* e.g. the CBO or NGO (in the context of this research ILISO), can facilitate communication and participation which empowers individuals and communities to initiate a critical process of analysis and understanding social situations to reach a consensus that can lead to social change. As illustrated in Figure 2.2 below, the process is initiated by a *catalyst,* which triggers discussion among participants. After the discussion is initiated, participants go through a series of different stages, from an initial phase of disagreement to a final *convergence* on a collective action strategy.

In the case of ILISO, a CBO of its nature provides information that initiates dialogue on social development issues. The CBO further provides the opportunity for practice to participants through its different voluntary project opportunities allowing the youth to engage in more meaningful dialogue from practical perspectives, a key element particularly in youth civic development (Youniss and Yates, 1997). For this research, participants are involved in more than just dialogue but are also offered a strong platform for participation with ILISO through its community development projects. It is for this reason that the term community *'engagement'* is preferred as opposed to community *'dialogue'* as used by Figueroa et al. (2002) in the CFSC model.

Through regular weekly workshops, seminars and training programmes the youth are able to reflect on pressing issues affecting them in the community, usually in the context of ILISO

projects. Upon reflection, debate and discussion about possible solutions, participants go through a series of different stages: from an initial phase of disagreement to a final *convergence* on a collective action strategy. In essence, the information produced by these discussion forums and information sharing acts as a catalyst of the process. This is consequently discussed among community members, whom after a process of attaining mutual understanding, decide collectively on how to tackle a certain social issue. This process is based mainly on community dialogue and collective action and is intended to promote participation and foster people's empowerment. In the case of ILISO this has been viewed as perhaps the single most important factor towards the continued sustainability of its projects. It has ensured project buy-in by the youth community members and as such they has empowered and enabled them to steer their projects in the best way they deem useful for the community of Site C. The inherent properties of this process suggest that over time most groups will converge toward a state of greater internal uniformity, also referred to as "local culture" (Kincaid, 1988, 1993). This process of community dialogue and collective action is intended to promote participation and foster people's empowerment to bring about social transformation. This process is detailed in Figure 2.2 below:
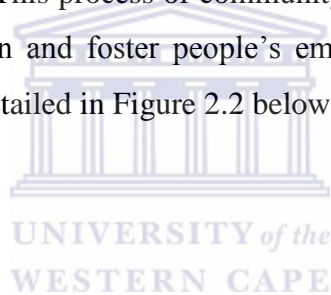
Figure 2.2: Integrated model of communication for social change
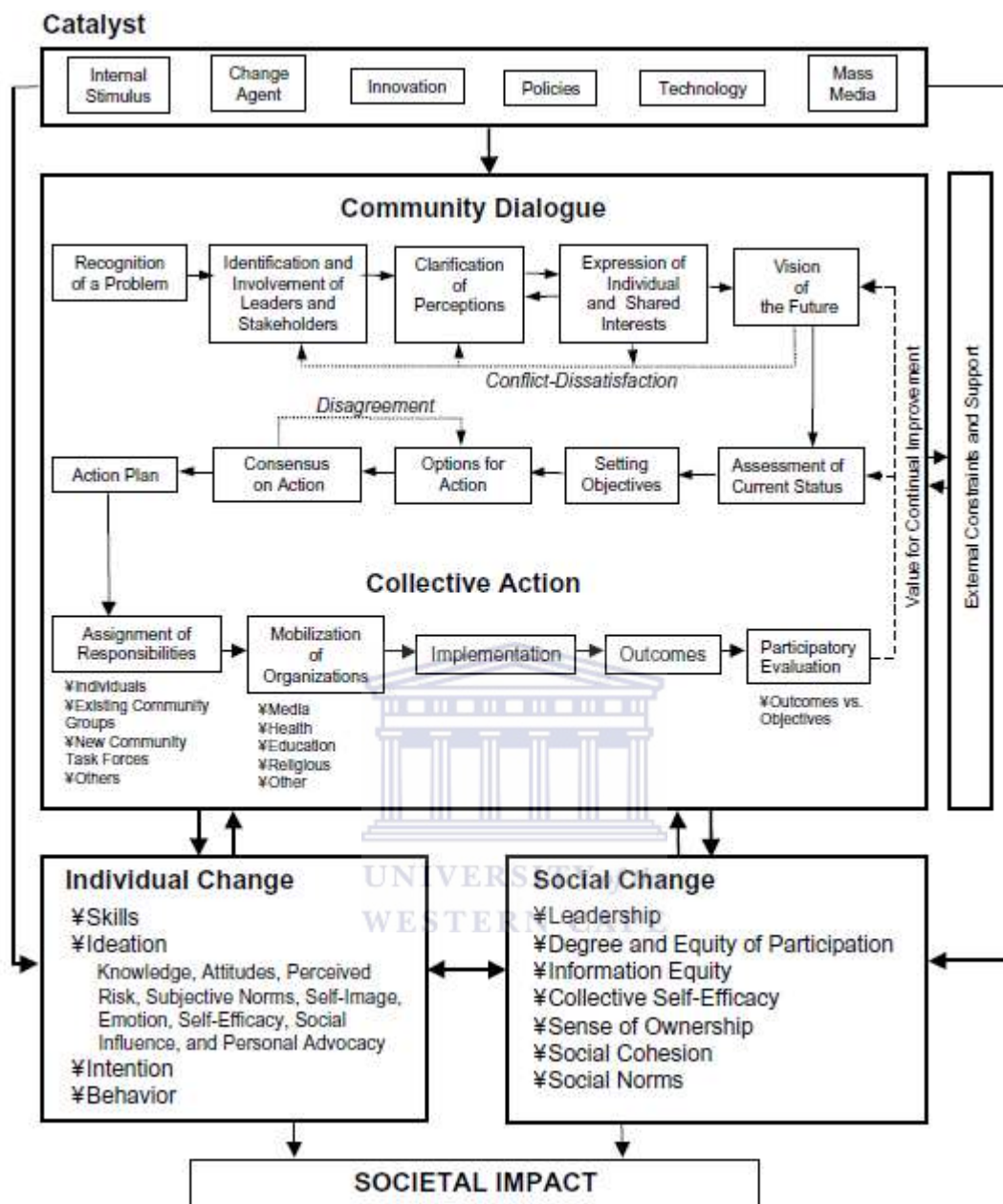
Source: Figueroa et al. 2002, p.7

2.12 Youth Civic Engagement: Missing Links and Emerging Themes

As much as the domain of youth civic engagement has come a long way over the past few decades, there remain a number of areas emerging interest or underdevelopment in the literature. To date, research has primarily been focused on descriptions of processes and associated developmental outcomes. The time is now ripe for studies of youth civic participation to focus on the settings that facilitate positive youth development. They should also employ rigorous experimental methods to compare youth engagement initiatives with each other. On the process side, promising signs include measuring and understanding

patterns and forms of participation and youth engagement (Christens and Speer, 2011) and analyses of social networks (Speer, 2008). Outcomes should also be measured at multiple levels of analysis. A persistent difficulty in research on community organizing has been to demonstrate causal links between youth civic engagement and community level outcomes.

2.13 Closing Remarks

Historically, the youth have been more likely than their elders to participate in movements for social change. This may be due to their willingness to take risks and an inherent idealism realising that they have more at stake in defining their future than adults do. The youth are therefore forced to explore endless possibilities and options that should be supported. Their ideals are tied to the polis in which they exist as members of local communities and the global village. Many youth organisers have described confrontations with authority figures in which the authorities have questioned the capabilities of young leaders, or sought to punish them for their organizing activities (Christens and Dolan, 2011). Research on youth participation, particularly on the positive impacts on youth development can bolster initiatives against such delegitimising attempts by those with more power who seek to maintain an authoritarian status quo in the settings that youth inhabit (Patton et al., 2003). More work is needed by researchers, including youth and their adult allies, to prepare the ground for youth organizers, through advocacy about positive youth development and community development in these settings.

Chapter 3: Background to the Case Study Area and Case Study Organization

3.1 Introduction

The chapter will provide some background about the case study area, namely the city of Cape Town and Khayelitsha, specifically Site C. In particular, a series of secondary data, including reports and policy documents, were reviewed to describe the socio-economic situation that has characterised the area for many years. In addition, how these have evolved since the creation of the township dwelling. A detailed description of the case study organisation, ILISO Care Society, is also provided, which includes the vision, mission, goals and objectives of the organisation as well as the organisational structure. The implementation of the different activities run by the organisation is discussed, with an emphasis on ILISO project participants as the main selected target groups of this study. Finally, concluding remarks are made to set the stage for the analyses in subsequent chapters.

3.2 South Africa: Background Information

3.2.1 Brief History

In 1948 the National Party was voted into power in South Africa, and implemented a policy of apartheid - the separate development of the races - which consistently favoured the white minority at the expense of the black majority. The African National Congress (ANC) led the opposition to apartheid and many top ANC leaders, such as Nelson Mandela and others, spent decades in South Africa's prisons and in exile. Internal protests and insurgency, as well as political and military pressure from international and regional nations such as Zambia, Tanzania and others led to the regime's eventual willingness to negotiate a peaceful transition to majority rule. The first multi-racial elections which took place in 1994 brought an end to apartheid and ushered in majority rule under an ANC government. South Africa since then has struggled to address apartheid-era inequalities in income, decent housing, education, and health care

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3.2.2 Geography: Provincial boundary

Table 3.1 shows the geographical size of provinces in square kilometres, and Table 3.2 shows the population by province below. The composition of the youth by province is also illustrated in Figure 3.1 below.

Table 3.1: RSA geographical size by province

Province	Land Area in Square Kilometres 2011	Land Area in Square Kilometres 2001
Western Cape	129 642	129 499
Eastern Cape	168 966	169 954
Northern Cape	372 899	362 599
Free State	129 825	129 824
KwaZulu Natal	94 361	92 305
North West	104 822	116 231
Gauteng	18 178	16 936
Mpumalanga	76 495	79 487
Limpopo	125 754	122 816
Total	**1 220 813**	**1 219 602**

Source: Statistics South Africa Mid-Year Demographics, 2014

Table 3.2: RSA population by province

Province	Population estimate	% of total population
Eastern Cape	6 786 900	**12,6**
Free State	2 786 800	**5,2**
Gauteng	12 914 800	**23,9**
KwaZulu-Natal	10 694 400	**19,8**
Limpopo	5 630 500	**10,4**
Mpumalanga	4 229 300	**7,8**
Northern Cape	1 166 700	**2,2**
North West	3 676 300	**6,8**
Western Cape	6 116 300	**11,3**
Total	**54 002 000**	**100**

Source: Statistics South Africa Mid-Year Demographics, 2014

Figure 3. 1 Location of Youth by Province
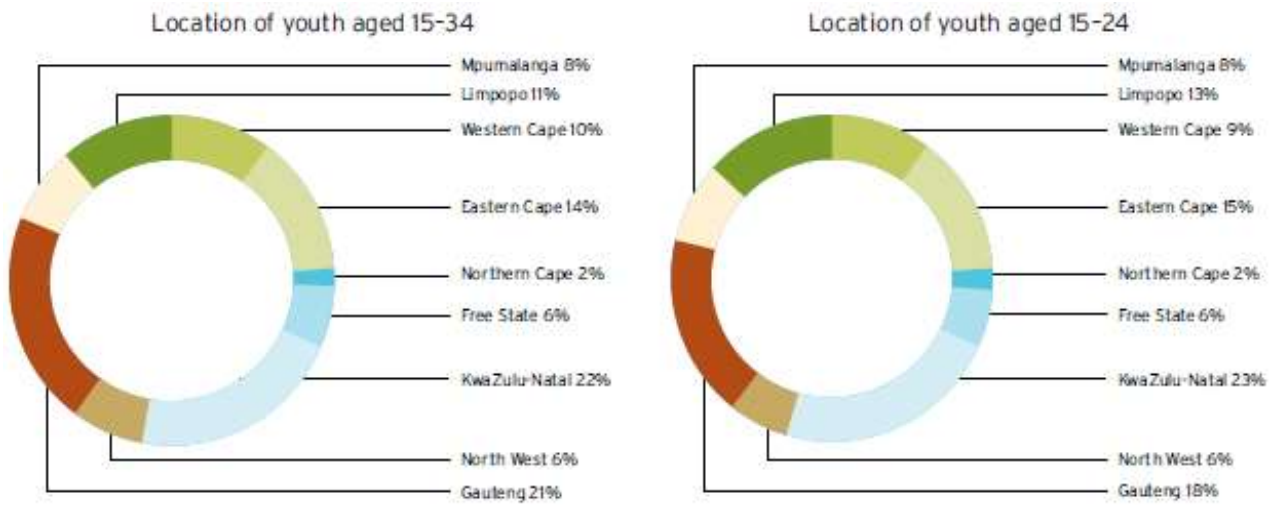
Source: Stats SA, 2010

3.3 Khayelitsha Township: Socio-economic Conditions

As discussed in quite some detail in the first chapter, the prevailing socio-economic conditions in Khayelitsha are for the most part deplorable. Official national population statistics place the total population of Khayelitsha at 391,749 (Census, 2011). According to the Khayelitsha Development Forum (KDF) however, this number is vastly under-counted. The forum therefore uses an estimate of 1.5 million people for the purposes of service delivery (Thompson and Conradie, 2010, p.1). One of the major issues that continue to haunt the township is that of insufficient and poor housing provision. Of the over 115,000 housing units, approximately 50,835 are built of brick or cement, and 40,276 are shacks, made of corrugated iron, wood and plastic. The rest comprise of different kinds of housing, such as tents, traditional huts and other forms of shelter. The level of unemployment is at a staggering 60% with 108,114 in the formal or informal employable age group holding jobs, while 163,838 in that age group being unemployed. The employment rate in Khayelitsha is 3 times as high as the provincial average (21.6 %) and more than twice that of the national average of 25.2 % (Stats SA, 2012). It should be noted that a significant proportion of the unemployment rate in Khayelitsha is recorded in and around the Site C area of the township (Census Report-Khayelitsha Suburb, 2011).

Despite the poor housing provision, in terms of infrastructure Khayelitsha boasts of a decent tarred road network which connects the various sections of the township and also connects it

to other parts of Cape Town. However, Khayelitsha's distant location from the Cape Town's hubs of economic activity, makes accessibility to and from the city centre (36km one way road trip) extremely difficult. There is a cheaper but less efficient well networked railway alternative which began operations in February 1988 (Mangwana, 1990).

According to the South African Police Statistics (2013) murders, armed robberies, theft and other violent crime in Khayelitsha are among the highest in Cape Town with an increase an increase in 'hate crimes' particularly Xenophobia, following the 2008 attacks on African immigrants in the area. Drug use is also a serious concern in Khayelitsha and the neighbouring of township of Mitchells Plain. Khayelitsha police stations have started community forums based on community policing initiatives. Their main aim is to educate people to speak up and not keep silent when they witness crime. Gonsalves (2015) notes that for the strategy to work effectively, a high degree of social cohesion and civic involvement will be required. The police intend to educate and raise awareness through workshops on the important role of residents in eradicating criminal elements.

Sanitation management in Site C is particularly problematic as storm water drainage and is prone to flooding, particularly during the wet winter months. Currently a number of dwellings in Site C are equipped with their own flush toilet and at least one water tap. About 72% of households have access to a flush toilet connected to the public sewer system, and 62% of households have access to piped water in their dwelling or inside their yard (Census Report-Khayelitsha Suburb, 2011). These taps are still used by some people who do not have decent houses and stay in shacks as alternative homes (Gonsalves, 2015, p.32). Garbage collection is very irregular in the area. The people of Site C have designated empty spaces between the houses to throw away their garbage when it is not collected. Children playing in these sites are vulnerable to illness or injury. These conditions have contributed to the poor health status of the area. The City of Cape Town Development Profile (2011, p.18) addresses one of the most important health indicators, child immunisation rate, drawing attention to Khayelitsha (predominantly black) rating at 70.4%. This is significantly below the City's average, 124.2% and 101.9% for Western and Klipfontein sub-districts (predominantly white and coloured), significantly above the City's average.

Considering that the employment rate would give a good indication on the quality of life, suffice to say that most residents are struggling to sustain a decent life. With the continuous influx of people in Khayelitsha and Site C in particular it is difficult to collect an accurate

estimation of the employment rate in the area especially specific zones. The formal sector within Khayelitsha itself is very small and as a result does not provide enough employment opportunities for residents. The lack of a formal employment sector and its distant location from central Cape Town has resulted in the mushrooming of the informal sector. Most entrepreneurs own spaza's (small shops) where they sell confectionaries, basic groceries, airtime and other such products. The popularity of the spaza's probably stems from the low capital input required to set-up the business. The informal sector is an important economic aspect for residents in the area. Competition markets mostly by shop owners has more especially in recent times been a serious source of fierce conflict particularly with the more united African migrants from countries like Ethiopia, Somalia and others.

The feminisation of economic activity is quite obvious in Site C. Women are the primary breadwinners in the existing subsistence economies. They work longer hours and devote a larger share of their earnings towards supporting their families more than the men do. Men often are preoccupied by the local pubs and other such frivolous activities, while others take to crime. It is estimated that women contribute nearly all their earnings to the family budget and providing the largest share of the family's basic needs (Thompson and Conradie, 2011, p.45). The economic conditions for most households are further exacerbated by the fact that women are predominantly in low paid and often less skilled jobs. The majority of residents' livelihoods in Site C are sustained through access to pension funds, disability grants and single parent maintenance grants. In most cases whenever there is a member of the family receiving such a grant, the entire household will in due course become dependent on that grant (Thompson and Conradie, 2011).

The consequences of the apartheid legislation on education had one of the most far reaching effects for black African citizens. School standards in Khayelitsha, as in most historically segregated settlements, are a serious problem, and many parents send their children to schools in other areas if they can, where they get a slightly better education and where they also learn English. The area has about forty-six schools. As a result of poor educational attainment, access to employment is also limited for most coming out of Khayelitsha. Women often work as domestic or industrial cleaners or child care-takers, where they compete with women from poorer Coloured areas. Brüne (2002) alludes to some of the ripple effects on the family being antisocial behaviour such as drug addiction and alcoholism by the youth at such a critical stage of their development. Kazdin (1987) shows that a number of psycho-social

problems in childhood and adolescence often precede problems in adulthood. These include, among others, poor marital and criminal behaviour, alcoholism, psychiatric disorders – all of which negatively affect civic responsibility.

3.3.1 Khayelitsha: A New Home is Born

In the early 1980s the Western Cape was faced with a serious housing crisis following the population boom that faced the province. The townships of Langa, Nyanga and Gugulethu were established for black Africans by the Minister of Co-operation and Development before 1980. These townships were made up of single quarters for black Africans and contracted migrant workers who were registered by the Western Cape Administration Board. The single quarters were designed to exclusively accommodate the male migrant labourers from the former Transkei and Ciskei. It was later that the contract workers invited their families to stay with them in their single quarters and in the process an influx of women and children resulted in the high population in the area (Surplus People Project Report, 1983). Those that have moved from the older townships of Langa, Nyanga and Gugulethu are in most cases third and fourth generation Capetonians inhabiting the formal housing areas.

The emergence of Khayelitsha settlements was aggravated further by the Group Areas Act No 36 of 1966, in which the Coloured Labour Preferential Policy and the freezing of the erection of new houses in the existing townships of Langa, Nyanga and Gugulethu, all of which created massive overcrowding. Strict population control measures were imposed on the existing townships and later Khayelitsha was established (Mangwana, 1990). It was during the early 1980s that the province of Western Cape was officially declared a Coloured Labour Preferential Zone. Strict control had been strongly enforced and for nearly twenty years development was halted in the old townships of Langa, Nyanga and Gugulethu.

A new township for formal housing had then been earmarked for parts of the old Drift Sands farming area close to the Cape Town International Airport. It was then that the township of Khayelitsha was established in 1983 and thereafter grew at a rapid rate. For the former apartheid Prime Minister, P.W Botha, the location of Khayelitsha was considered ideal for a settlement as it could be contained and placed under easy surveillance. It is locked in between the ocean to the south and the N2 highway to the north, with a Coloured township, Mitchell's Plain, to the west, and a military base to the east, as illustrated in Figure 3.2 below. Three

areas of Khayelitsha were opened up for settlement: a core house area with small brick houses, and two "site and service" areas, namely, Site B and Site C.

Figure 3.2: Map of Khayelitsha Township

Source: Census Report-Khayelitsha Suburb, 2011, p.1

The alarming poverty and deplorable socio-economic conditions discussed in the first chapter that prevails in Khayelitsha today, are a result of the deliberate political strategy of apartheid that denied residents access to decent living standards. Part of the development of people around Cape Town, especially Khayelitsha, was a result of the migrant labour system and group areas legislation commonly known as the Group Areas Act (South African Labour and Development Research Unit, 2007, p.11). Migrant workers left their homes mostly coming from the Eastern Cape with the aim of getting a job in the city of Cape Town and surrounding areas. The migration of black people from the former Bantustans of Ciskei and Transkei were due to the negative effects of capitalism along racial lines. This system favoured the whites and confined black people to poor areas with little opportunities for either employment or any form of sustainable livelihoods (Surplus Project Report, 1983).

It was within this context that Khayelitsha's Site C emerged as an informal settlement to serve as a place of dwelling for the families which migrated from the Eastern Cape province and those that the government did not provide for in terms of decent shelter. The prevailing conditions in Site C are very similar to other informal areas around Cape Town where poverty is rife and standards of living are significantly below the poverty line (City of Cape Town Regional Development Profile, 2011).

3.3.2 The Emergence of Site C

The Site C area of Khayelitsha serves as an interesting and important socio-political demographic, largely owing to the history of its emergence as a locality within the larger township. The social dynamics of this area make for a relevant sample, in the context of the study at hand. In order to assess these dynamics, it is important to delve slightly into the history of how Site C was established. The Site C community is largely representative of the poor majority of citizens across the country and therefore an important case to study.

In the month of February 1983 legal residents from overcrowded township houses in Langa, Nyanga and Gugulethu made a stand to provide their own housing accommodation by squatting on a vacant space of land between Nyanga and Gugulethu and adjacent to New Crossroads. Many of these new residents were illegally in Cape Town in accordance to the apartheid laws that prevailed at the time. The demolition of their shacks in which they were illegally squatting had commenced and the residents were forced to move to the new Khayelitsha Township (Lingelethu West City Council, 1992). In March 1983 Dr Piet Koornhof, the then Minister of Plural Relations, announced that a black township at Swartklip, which was located east of the coloured township of Mitchell's Plain was to be established. This was the beginning of a new housing development called Khayelitsha, and would house the 'lawfully setup' informal settlement residents in houses and 'unlawfully setup' informal settlement residents on the 'site and serviced' land. The original plan to move 'unlawfully setup' informal settlement residents living in and around the Crossroads area to Khayelitsha never arose and the area became an emblem of black poverty and resistance to resettlement. Residents of Crossroads refused to give in, and the controversial decision to demolish the old townships was dropped (Lingelethu West City Council, 1992).

By 1985 however, some people from Crossroads and other surrounding areas started to flock to Khayelitsha, partly motivated by attempts to flee the notorious violence of Crossroads. By

the end of May 1985 Site C was "packed" with over 30,000 people having moved there from Crossroads, and others having come from backyard shacks in the other townships (Seekings, Joubert and Graaff 1990, p.12). While some left Crossroads, others moved in and the area became even more overpopulated than ever before. In 1985 there were nationwide civil protests in an effort to make the country ungovernable and to enforce political transformation. While a partial state of emergency was extended to Cape Town, a special Tswana speaking police unit was moved into Crossroads and there was widespread speculation that their aim was to forcibly move people to Khayelitsha. This led to fierce clashes between the local residents who were affiliated to progressive organisations and the police. Sixteen people lost their lives and over 200 were severely wounded. This once again led to negotiations, and concessions were met to upgrade the Crossroads area, which was celebrated as a political triumph.

After 1985 sporadic incidents of violence continued to erupt in Crossroads as it became clear that not everyone would be accommodated in permanent housing in the area. Conflicts between residents with different interests and often represented by different civic organisations especially the UDF affiliated organisations, ANC fronts, capitalistic Crossroad headsmen and government forces, namely the "witdoeke". In this series of clashes which turned into somewhat of a mini civil war 60 people died and 65% of the shacks in the KTC camp (a section of Crossroads) were razed to the ground in the conflict, leaving 70,000 people homeless (Cole, 1986, p.39; Goldstone, 1993; Seekings, Graaff Joubert, 1990, p.13). Residents who lost their homes spent several months in emergency camps, while government urged them to move to Khayelitsha. Of particular interest to this study is that it would be safe to assume that that those that went on and moved to Site C took with them their civic and political orientation albeit militant in nature, while others continued to resist. It is interesting to note that the marginalised groups had at this time accumulated a heightened level of what Freire (1973) would have called critical consciousness as far as social justice is concerned. The prevailing social conditions were sufficient to foster a significant level of civic participation and collective action. This is a rather unusual case for most townships in which the founding members have not always cultivated such a level of social awareness and therefore the expected activism.

Some of the people from Crossroads who had settled in Site C moved on to Site B when that was opened in 1986, as stands there provided a toilet and a tap per house, but many stayed in

Site C as they had moved with others they knew. This is relevant in the context of the theoretical framework of the study, as it helps to get a sense of how residents of Site C valued the social capital honed amongst each other from earlier years.

The turmoil and dynamics of the Crossroads history impacted on the people of Khayelitsha and Site C in particular in various ways, which are also of interest to this study in terms of understanding the civic and political psychological history of these residents. It represents one of the most intense and traumatic points in the long history of the confrontation between black South Africans and the apartheid regime. This was a struggle in which land, labour and power were important interrelated features. During the struggle, people experienced many formidable restrictions, but they also experienced the victory of resistance and collective civic action which left them feeling more of victors than victims. Many still feel that that their struggle should lead to a better life and their aspirations are still closely aligned to this belief (Thompson and Conradie, 2010).

3.4 The Economy

It is nearly 20 years since democratic rule in South Africa and still the country faces many challenges. The hard earned rise to power by the Africa National Congress (ANC) party and the end of the apartheid era is often used as a landmark period by which economic and social progress is gauged. The South African economy continues to face serious challenges in trying to advance improvements as far as sustained economic growth performance and elimination of poverty and the reduction of inequality. It is true that there has been some significant economic growth performance since the later years of the 1990s and that the overall poverty levels have declined, but inequality in income distribution has since increased. The Economist (2013) states that South Africa stands at a Gini coefficient of about 0.68 making it one of the most unequal countries in the world. Given the large youth population bulge, a number of critics have argued that the government needs to find ways in which it can tap into this potential in its economic growth strategies. The latest industrial growth initiatives by South Africa do not say much about incorporating the youth in its accelerated growth strategies (Industry Industrial Policy Action Plan, 2013).

South Africa is ranked by the World Bank as an "upper-middle income" country boasting a GDP of about $355 billion and a GDP per Capita of $6,595 (World Bank: 2014). As the largest economy in Africa, the country continues to be full of promise and was in 2011

recently admitted as part of the BRICS nations (Brazil, Russia, China, India and now South Africa). While there has been stable economic growth over the past two decades, the National Treasury has been at pains to explain that real social development is more than just growth but also about creating a more equitable future and environment.

The overall unemployment rate remains high at around 25%, making this one of the most challenging hurdles for South Africa. This is a top priority for government and the country has since attempted to make a more inclusive economy by drawing on the energies of its people. The youth age category makes for the largest employable and productive group and it is critical for the country to focus strategies to engage them. This duality represents both a huge economic challenge and at the same time the largest potential from which to draw. It is this potential that the study endeavours to analyse on ways in which to tap into it even further, beyond economic growth but for social development. The youth unemployment rate is currently still staggeringly high and there still exists racial and gender inequalities as illustrated in Table 3.3 and Table 3.4 below. Such high levels jobless citizens are likely to result in hopelessness young people and apathy about the future and current systems of democratic governance. It is partly for this reason that civic training, especially among the marginalised poor such as the majority of Site residents, is important to re-instil confidence in democratic processes and the voice of the youth.

Table 3.3: Unemployment rates by race, age and population group

	Total	Black	Coloured	Indian	White
Age 15–19 (%)	64.1	68.1	64.6	38.1	36.1
Age 20–24 (%)	48.6	54.6	39.1	18.7	14.8
Age 25–29 (%)	33.3	37.1	27.9	10.2	10.6
Age 30–34 (%)	24.3	27.5	19.8	8.3	5.6
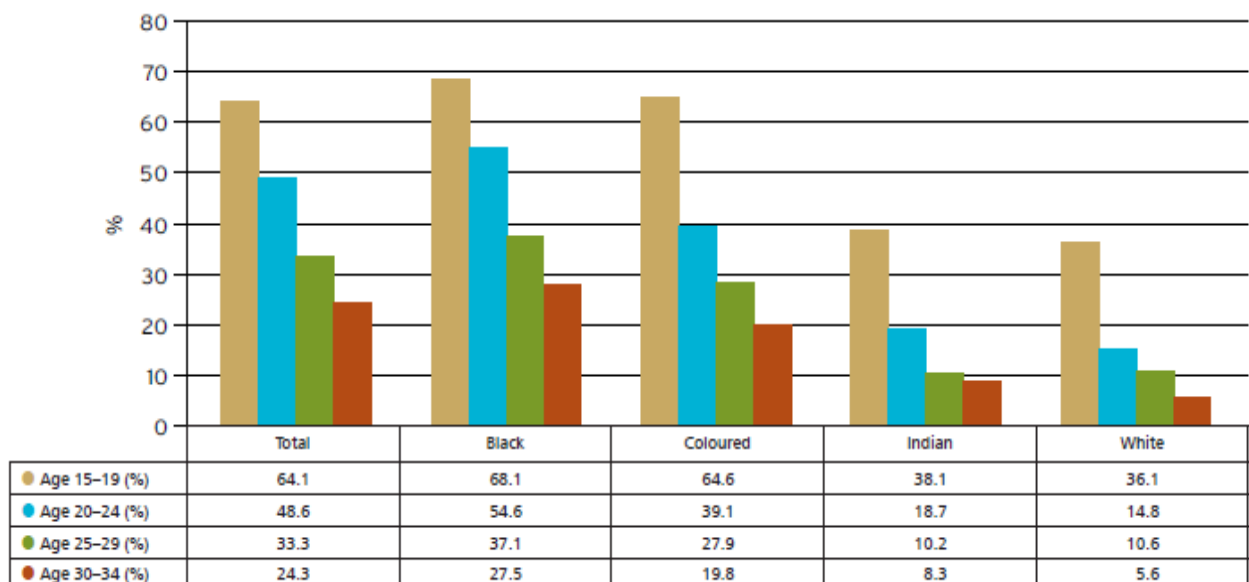
Source: Stats SA, 2013

Table 3.4: Unemployment rate by gender

	Ages 15–19	Ages 20–24	Ages 25–29	Ages 30–34
Total (%)	64.1	48.6	33.3	24.3
Male (%)	61.7	45.3	29.5	20.6
Female (%)	66.9	52.8	37.8	29.0
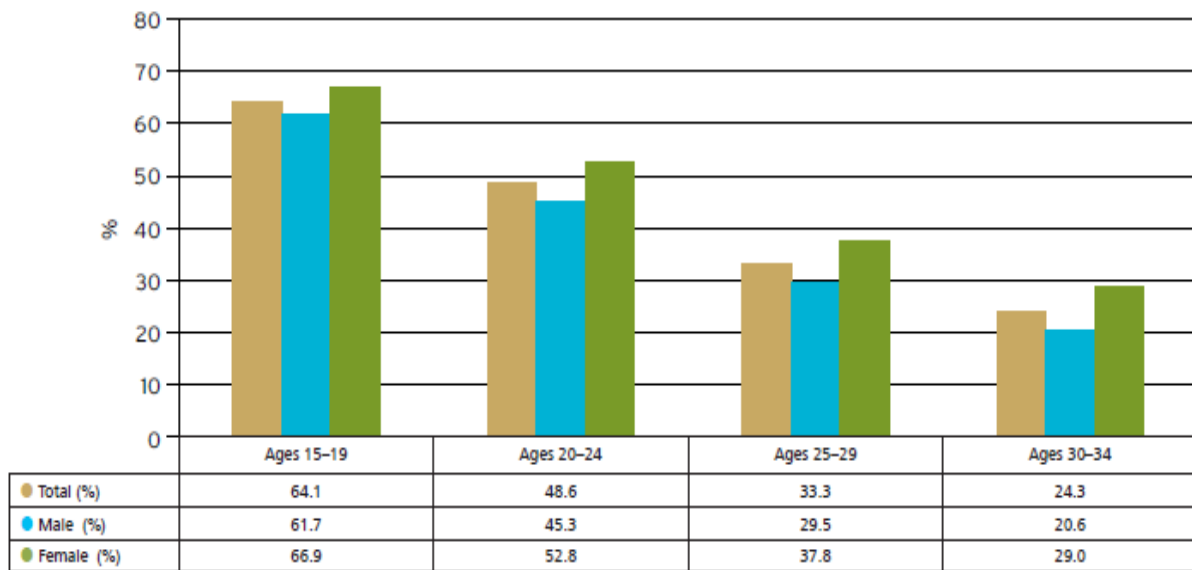
Source: Stats SA, 2013

3.5 State of the Youth

South Africa is certainly a youthful nation. According to the NYDS (2012) people between the ages of 14 years to 35 years represent 41.2% of the total population, a clear trend that the South African population is getting younger. Another point worth noting is the fact that a considerable proportion of the population (70%) is aged between 0 and 35 showing a characteristic youth bulge as illustrated in Figure 3.3 below. Since 2005 the age group of 14 – 35 year olds has steadily been growing at an average rate of 1.27% whilst the rest of the total population has been growing at a slower average of 1.12%. The youth population continued to grow at a faster rate than the general population, even though in general the overall South Africa population growth rate has declined over the past two decades.

Given such demographic circumstances, it is safe to suggest that resources shift from the dependent children and the elders to the youth, the group that comprises the bulk of the population and productive labour force. In terms of policy making and programming such a population profile would ideally provide an opportunity for increased resource investment in economic development and family welfare, essentially more on youth and less on younger and older age groups. While the large number of youth can put pressure on schools, labour markets, and services, it has been noted that the declining dependency ratios of the

demographic dividend allow for an increased investment in education and family welfare (Lundberg and Lam, 2007).

The New Growth Path policy (2010), points out that the main challenges obstructing youth's meaningful participation in the mainstream economy are, among others, joblessness, poverty, and inequality. The grim socio-economic state of affairs in South Africa affects largely the youth, especially young women, in the rural and township areas. It is imperative therefore that any employment or economic development strategy, plan or programme be deliberately biased towards these special categories of youth (Kingdon and Knight, 2008, p.62).

Figure 3.3: Total population of South Africa by gender and age group
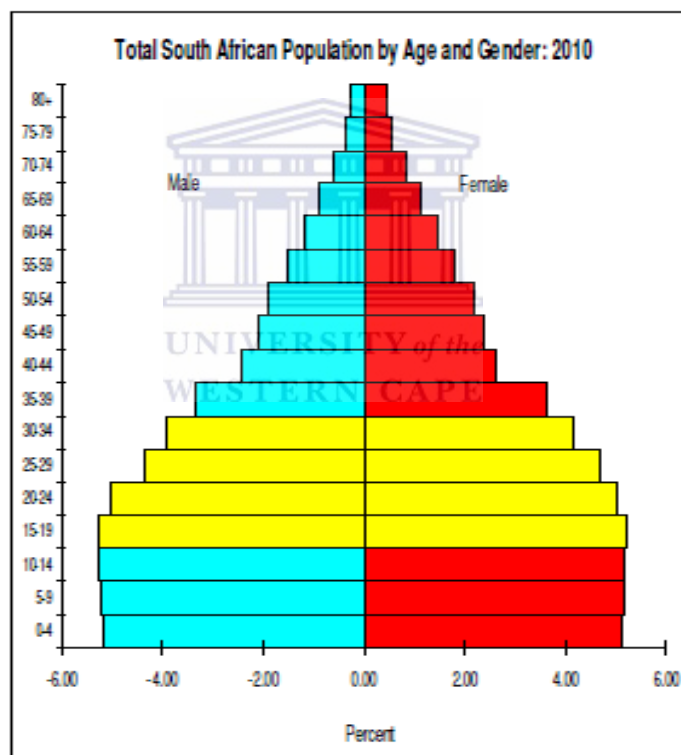
 Source: Youth Development Strategy 2012, p.14

Figure 3.4: Total population of South Africa by single age and gender
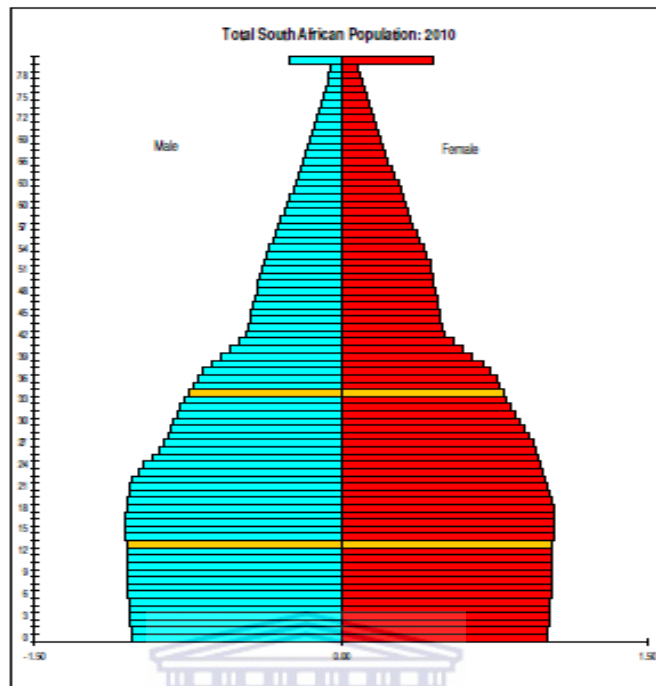
Source: Youth Development Strategy 2012, p.14

3.6 National Youth Development Strategy (NYDS)

In 2011 South Africa developed a plan for 2030 and published a vision for the nation, The Integrated Youth Development Strategy (IYDS). The strategy has been aligned to the long-term plans contained in the National Development Plan 2030 (Government Gazette, 2012). The National Youth Service Development Policy Framework 2002 prioritised the participation of youth in voluntarism as a mechanism to build patriotism and social cohesion. In the end, a nation with a common and shared future is the goal. The aim of the National Youth Policy 2090–2014 is to intentionally enhance the capacities of young people. The South African IYDS (2012) sets out five objectives for the country's youth:

- To promote a uniform approach of youth development by all organs of state, private sector and civil society organisation.

- To facilitate endeavours aimed at job creation and economic freedom of youth by all organisation of state, private sector and civil society organisation.

- To facilitate endeavours aimed at job creation and economic freedom of youth by all organs of state, the private sector and civil society organizations.

- To initiate strategic anchor projects to benefit youth from disadvantaged backgrounds (rural, disabled, and young women) and guide programming for other stakeholders including private and civic society sectors.

- To provide a monitoring and evaluation framework and system which will enable coordinated nationwide reporting of youth development programmes' implementation by all organs of state, the private sector and civil society organizations.

The South African IYDS (2012) outlines specific challenges facing the youth in South Africa. The government seeks to address these issues through a uniform strategy. The challenges can be summarised into 6 key areas as listed below, with points 2 and 4 holding specific interest to this study, as they have largely been viewed as precursors to the rest:

1. Poor economic participation
2. Low levels of education and skills development
3. Poor health and well being
4. Low levels of civic participation and social cohesion of youth
5. Inadequate participation and commitment to national youth service
6. Poor coordination and no recognition of youth work as a profession

Chapter 10 of the IYDS (2012, p.96) emphasises the need to encourage patriotic participation and meaningful inclusion of all youth in the social, economic and political development of the country. According to the national plan, this ought to be done in a way that empowers them to build *social capital and networks* towards safer and more cohesive communities. Chapter 10 of the IYDS further outlines some specific interventions towards addressing the "low levels of civic participation and social cohesion". It is important to note that what the government has clearly identified as a need for Social Cohesion is what has been viewed from the overarching theoretical framework of Social Capital as identified in this study. The specific 13 specific interventions the IYDS (2012, p.97) has proposed are as follows:

- Design and promote social entrepreneurship programmes for youth to participate in key decision-making processes of the country.
- Design specialized programmes to address the needs of specific groups including the disabled, young women, out-of-school youth, and youth in rural areas.
- Establish and run youth radio and TV stations in strategic points throughout the country which are dedicated specifically to youth content in order to empower.
- South African youth and assist in building a nation that is socially cohesive.
- Strengthen the reintegration of offenders into the society (who have served their sentences) and reduce recidivism.
- Provide more sporting and arts and culture facilities in communities and schools.
- Incorporate the teaching of National Symbols in schools and in the orientation of students in higher learning institutions.
- Conduct frequent seminars and workshops in communities about National Symbols and Heritage.
- Strengthen the civil society voice in the youth sector by building a cadre of leadership and funding critical programmes.
- Review the National Youth Service Policy Framework to ensure that it achieves the imperatives of Social Cohesion amongst all social and racial groupings.
- Design and fund leadership programmes and youth.
- Support, develop and mobilise funds youth formations in civil society.
- Design platforms that promote and build tolerance for and respect of diversity.
- Increase the number of young people participating NYS.

By taking a close look at government's five year implementation plan (2012-2016) (Zarenda, 2013), it is clear that the South African administration has realised the importance of Youth Civic Engagement. It has therefore set out to make this a priority area for development going forward. The main themes of the programme are echoed the main objectives of the study. Table 3.5 below provides a summary of the programme which began in 2012. The NYDS has set-up a five year implementation *Civic Shared Responsibility Programme (CSRP).*Within the programme, four main themes are highlighted:

- Promoting civic participation and social responsibility for social change.
- The need to foster social cohesion and collective action.

- The critical role of education in civic involvement.
- Creating opportunities for youth civic engagement through NGO's, CBO's and NYS.

Table 3.5: Civic responsibility programmes

Programme Name	Civic Shared Social Responsibility Programme				
Strategic Interventions	• Extend and deepen opportunities for the youth while developing their sense of social responsibility by engaging them in political and civic participation • Build youth leadership				
Objectives	• To promote social entrepreneurship within schools and among out-of-school youths • To accelerate youth participation in governance of the country • To create spaces for youth in communities to actively participate in sport, arts and culture, and other recreational programmes in order to interact with peers, build networks and receive relevant social cohesion messaging • To provide a support structure to steer youth who are in conflict with the law or at risk and guide them towards healthier and better choices				
National Youth Policy Area	Social Cohesion	Government priority area	• Build cohesive, caring and sustainable communities		
Location (National/Provincial)	Output	KPI	Target	Implementers	Funding sources
National (9 provinces)	Multi-level learning programmes focused on social entrepreneurship – including practical community projects for learners to engage with	Number of levels for which syllabus and materials are developed	4 levels	DBE	DBE
National (9 provinces)	Educator training on CCEP with specific reference to social entrepreneurship	Proportion of educators trained on CCEP	100% by 2014	DBE	DBE
National (9 provinces)	Assessment of learners on CCEP (Social	Proportion of learners assessed on CCEP	100% by 2014	DBE	DBE

	Entrepreneurship)				
National (9 provinces)	OSY participating in CCEP (Social Entrepreneurship)	Proportion of OSY participating in CCEP	100% by 2015	DBE DHE NYS DSD	DBE DHE NYS DSD
National (9 provinces)	Year-long campaign on youth volunteerism with Youth Day as a launching pad	Proportion of youth volunteers in the country	75% by 2015	DSD GCIS DAC DBE	DSD GCIS
National (9 provinces)	Fully functioning Youth Parliament	Proportion of engaged youth leaders and members Number of meetings and activities	100% by 2015	DSD DAC PMP (Presidency)	PMP DSD
National (9 provinces)	Fully functioning, effective local and national forums for youth participation	Proportion of youth involved	80% by 2015	DSD GCIS DAC	DSD GCIS DAC
National (9 provinces)	Fully functioning youth recreation centres in all communities	Proportion of youth involved	100% by 2015	DAC DSR DBE Municipalities	DAC DSR DBE Municipalities
National (9 provinces)	Scaling up of diversion and restorative justice programmes working with the youth in communities, schools and institutions of higher learning	Decrease in youth offenders Increase in reach of diversion and restorative justice programmes	75% by 2015 90% by 2018 100% by 2020	DCS DBE DHE Municipalities	DCS DBE DHE Municipalities

National (9 provinces)	Schools teaching of more conflict resolution mechanisms and tools	Decrease in youth demand for rehabilitation centres	100% by 2015	DBE	DBE
National (9 provinces)	Civil society organisations participation in CCEP	Proportion of civil society organisations involved in youth development/social entrepreneurship participating in CCEP	75% by 2015	DSD	DSD
Estimated cost (R,000)					
Year 1	Year 2	Year 3	Year 4	Year 5	Total (5years)
R10m	R10m	R15m	R15m	R20m	R70m

Source: IYDS 2012, p.104

3.7 ILISO Care Society

ILISO Care Society began came into existence in 2007. It began as a safe home and day care education centre for parents that could not afford nursery school for their children. The organisation has since evolved into a youth driven community development organisation. The organisation now runs a very busy soup kitchen. The feeding programme provides meals daily to over 300 needy residents within the Khayelitsha Site C community. ILISO is also working with five primary schools and five secondary schools in Khayelitsha, on feeding programmes providing one full meal every day for learners. The organisation is structured to run mainly six sets of projects: a feeding programme, urban agriculture project, day care centre and library, Performing Arts and Choir, a Soccer Team and a Life Skills training project. The work conducted by ILISO is supervised by a board of six members. At the time of the field research of the current study, ILISO had employed five full-time workers and three on part-time.

ILISO believes that networking is a cardinal part of its activities and is therefore in partnership with numerous organisations such as Khayelitsha Development Forum (KDF), South African National Civic Organisation (SANCO), Neighbourhood Ward and Street blocks as well as the government Department of Social Welfare. ILISO has also formed collaborations with academic institutions such as the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) through the Institute for Social Development (ISD) at the University of Western Cape. These partnerships have proved useful in aiding the operations of the organisation, creating more opportunities for civic engagement for the youth and also in raising the profile of the organisation.

3.7.1 Implementation Modality

The ILISO programme implementation modality is based on a two-fold approach. Firstly, the programme is largely driven through an integrated communication strategy. ILISO provides information that initiates dialogue on social development issues within the scope of its different projects. The dialogue is initiated through facilitated meetings, focus group discussions or training sessions with the youth members of the organisation. The facilitator, who is usually the same age and has a similar profile to the audience, leads the discussion, raises questions, and provides answers where possible. By collaborating with other

organisations, the facilitator is also able to assist the youth members by tapping into expert opinions and alternative ideas on the issues at hand. A facilitated meeting becomes a *learning cycle* that allows members to discuss, reflect and engage with each other over issues raised. Referring to the role of the facilitator during a focus group discussion, Ayanda who is one of the ILISO staff members remarks: *"The role is to engage people into talking ... about issues that relate to them...they need to be able to make people talk without being judgemental."*

Generally, after a meeting or training, a report is compiled by the facilitator to highlight issues of concern, these will then be addressed during a follow-up meeting with the same audience. The main objectives of facilitated meetings includes creating safe environments for open and meaningful communication, building the self-esteem of the youth through engaging them in discussions for problem solving for their community, providing access to information and correcting misconceptions and equipping people with the ability to make informed decisions for social change.

The learning cycle emphasises the fact that meetings and training should then lead the members to take action in order to overcome a particular social challenge. This form of action could be either individual (voting, practicing safe sex, not personal hygiene, developing entrepreneurial skills) or collective (lobbying for social projects, forming support groups, political campaigns, neighbourhood watch for security). This model does not only focus on providing information to promote improved individual behaviours, as done by many Behavioural Change Communication (BCC) programmes, but it also foresees collective action that can lead to social change.

The second phase of implementation is mainly grounded on a Multilevel Framework of youth organising processes as similarly espoused by Christens and Kirshner (2011). ILISO recognises that youth organising takes place through community-based organisations (CBO's), which act as settings for youth development. The organisation thereby identifies itself as such within Site-C Khayelitsha. ILISO goes beyond initiating and facilitating discussions about the social issues affecting the community within the scope of its projects. It offers opportunities for practice for the community youth on its projects, which is reinforced through facilitated discussions and trainings.

Through this approach, ILISO provides opportunities that allow the youth to engage in more meaningful dialogue from practical perspectives, a key element particularly in youth civic development (Youniss et al. 1997). For this research, participants are involved in more than just dialogue but are also offered a strong platform for participation with ILISO through its community development projects. It is for this reason that the term community *'engagement'* is preferred as opposed to community *'dialogue'* as used by Figueroa et al. (2002) in the CFSC model.

The main objectives of this integrative framework of youth organising processes include fostering youth-adult partnerships, participatory learning, leadership development, mobilisation and evaluation. By taking this type of integrative and collaborative approach, ILISO believes that it equips the youth to be better prepared to champion social transformation in the real world. It also aims to extend youth contributions beyond the organisational and community level to the larger public. By according youth the opportunity to make potential contributions to the larger public, you also alter the public's view of the youth, leading to greater civic inclusion. This in itself is a great contribution to the future of democracy.
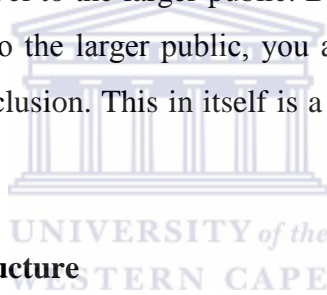
3.7.2 ILISO Organisational Structure

The organisation currently has a simple hierarchical structure by which the administration of projects is conducted, as illustrated in the organisational chart below:

Figure 3.5: ILISO organisational chart
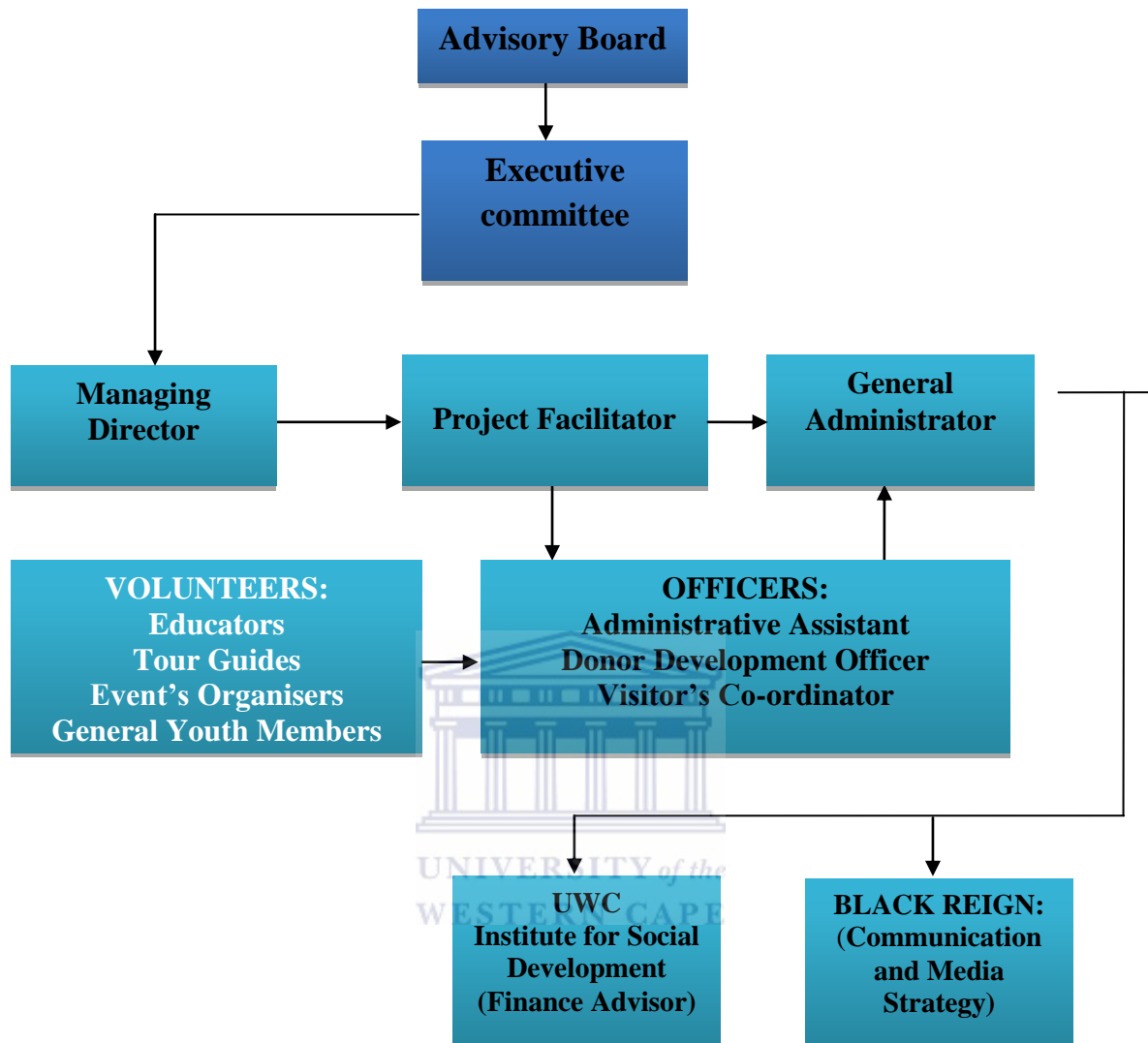
Source: ILISO 2014 Strategic Management Plan

Managing Director

The managing director is responsible for over-seeing the whole project and making sure that all projects are operating smoothly on a day to day basis. The managing director is also responsible for the overall monitoring and evaluation processes and staff appraisal system. It is her duty to liaise with the advisory board/executive committee. She also assists in ensuring that the organisation does not remain stagnant but that new innovations and ideas are constantly encouraged. The managing director is primarily responsible for strengthen the relationships with the existing donors keeping them up to date through the organisation's monitoring and evaluation methods. In addition part of the mandate of the managing director

is the establishment of new donor relations and building more networking partnerships which include corporate partners.

Projects Facilitator

The projects facilitator is largely responsible for liaising with the managing director about the operations of the various projects. The position is also meant to promote the image of ILISO with the general public especially that the organisation is heavily reliant on donor funds that come also from tourists to Cape Town that pay random visits to the organisation. It is therefore pertinent that the project facilitator ensures that the work of ILISO is known so as to solicit for support from donors. The support is not only in form of financial assistance but also in terms of other material support and youth skills development. The project facilitator is also the main lead person on ground spearheading the project implementation. The project facilitator is also involved in disciplinary issues and conflict resolution.

General Administrator

The general administrator is responsible for filling in of documents, setting-up of appointments, organising meetings and memos and taking care of all organisational administrative duties. The general administrator is also for purchasing of goods and equipment and the premises maintenance of the organisation.

Administrative Assistant

The administrative assistant works in close collaboration with the general administrator. The position is responsible for ground level administrative and organisational duties as well as acting as a liaison between the volunteers, the other officers and the general administrator.

Donor Development Officer

The donor development officer is primarily responsible for building a relationship with the current and future donors and ILISO friends and tourists. The officer is also tasked with updating the organisations newsletters and seeing to it that these reach potential and existing donors and corporate companies. One of the major duties of the donor development officer is the production of funding proposals as well as budget and report writing.

Educators

Through the ILISO educare centre the main duty of the educators is preparing children for primary school by giving them basic foundation on education through different activities e.g. art creativity, outdoor play, indoor play, storytelling that helps children to socialize , development of language skills and physical growth. They also prepare the daily programmes and children's work in advance such as posters and daily activity charts. The educators also ensure the safety and security of the children while at the centre. They are in close contact with parents, in efforts to building closer relationships with them. They are also in charge of tracking and reporting to reporting on the inventory.

Tour guides

The tour guides are in charge of receiving and ushering the tourists and visitors to the organisation. They are responsible for showing the visitors the activities and projects of ILISO, the lifestyle around the township and other places of interest in the area that they may have. They are also responsible for the security of the tourists. They also make it a point to bring awareness to community members about importance of tourists and visitors to the neighbourhood and how they can engage them in activities as ILISO does. The tour guides also make sure that the premises are always clean and neat prior to the visitations.

Event organisers
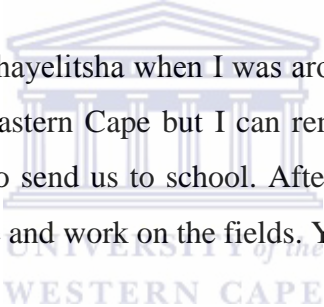
Some of the youth members are specifically tasked to act as event's organisers especially for the performing arts, that is, the choir, traditional dance and theatre plays. They are also responsible for advertising the work of ILISO to potential clientele and hired services as mentioned above.

General youth members

The organisation promotes a philosophy of respect, discipline, delegation and recognition of necessary authority. They are encouraged and expected to respect all fellow colleagues and management. The different youth are all active in the various projects of ILISO. This attitude is reinforced through regular chores and duties such environmental and personal hygiene. For instance the youth members are always required to keep the premises and even their different work uniforms clean. The youth are expected to uphold values of decency, integrity and self-respect as they are viewed as role models to other young people within the community.

3.8 Youth Perspectives on Khayelitsha Life

The vast majority of the research participants reported to originally be from different parts of the Eastern Cape. Some of them moved to Khayelitsha with their families when they were very young and have now lived in Khayelitsha for many years, while others were actually born in the township. Most of the participants still have family and relatives in Eastern Cape and have maintained these ties with regular visits back home. All the participants agree on their experiences and knowledge about the quality of life in the Eastern Cape homelands from which most migrated from or originate. Erratic and poor water supply, many years without electrification especially in the rural parts (only until four years ago), and the lack of employment opportunities are among the many hardships faced in the region. Most agree that life is a little better in Cape Town. During the first FGDs one of the respondents Mfundo, a Site C resident recalls how life was growing up in the Eastern Cape during his early childhood:

> I arrived here in Khayelitsha when I was around 13 years old so I don't know that much about Eastern Cape but I can remember my parents working very hard on the farm to send us to school. After school my siblings and I had to look after the cattle and work on the fields. Yjo! It was tough!

It is interesting to note the stark poverty contrasts between the Eastern and Western Cape provinces, even though they were once part of the same province. The Eastern Cape is hard hit by poverty while the Western Cape has the lowest incidence of poverty amongst all of South Africa's provinces. In the Western Cape less than 35% of households spend less than R5000 per year as opposed to almost 80% of households in the Eastern Cape as illustrated in Figure 5.1 below (Yu and Nieftagodien, 2007). Whereas Khayelithsa is one of the poorest townships in Cape Town, the prospect for settlement there is still enough motivation for migration from the largely impoverished Eastern Cape. Migration from the Eastern to the Western Cape can thus largely be seen as an attempt to escape poverty.

Figure 3.6: Cumulative distribution curve for South Africa: National; Eastern Cape; and Western Cape
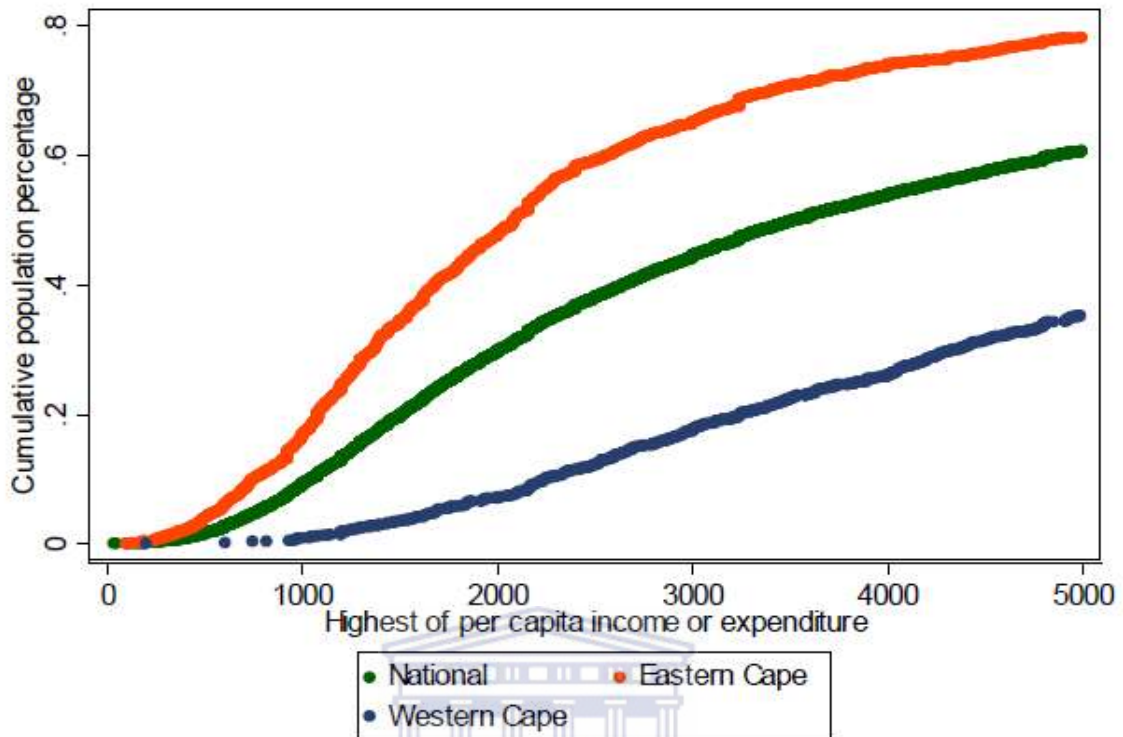
Source: Yu and Nieftagodien, 2007, p.3

During the first FGD, on whether life is much better now in Khayelitsha for those that still have a memory of life in Eastern Cape Mandisa responds:

> Yeah it's much better but no, actually it is not much better here in Khayelitsha just a little bit. It is much better in Cape Town in the good neighbourhoods. But at least here in Khayelitsha I can do some small business like selling some knickknacks and biscuits or like my friend I soon want to open a barbershop here in Site-C.

The German sociologist Ferdinand Tonnies (2001, p.18) espoused his ideas on the conditions that usually exist in urban city centres and the peripheral dwellings and poorer outskirts of main city centres. Khayelitsha can be viewed as an example of one such a peripheral township that Tonnies called the "Gemeinschaft" (communities far from the centre). It is also characterised by the fact that residents today are still more or less excluded from the larger civil society, what Tonnies (2001) would refer to as the "Gesellschaft". Tonnies made use of the two concepts to analyse the European modernization process, looking at the passage from

the Gemeinschaft to the Gesellschaft. The transition according to the German sociologist is based on a rationalisation process, involving a shift from relationships based upon family and guild to those based on "rationality and calculation" (Marshall, 1950, pp.87-88). The Gesellschaft (urban communities close to the city centre) is more characterised by the urban environment, which is more heterogeneous, individualistic and characterized by the fact that people are more anonymous to each other, the opposite of the case of Khayelitsha. To maintain this status-quo and sense of community orientation in the Gemeinschaft involves some sort of disconnection from the Gesellschaft.

The city centre of Cape Town and the surrounding urban communities is a good example of Tonnies's concept of the Gesellschaft in relation to its predominantly black Africa townships such as Khayelitsha, Langa, Gugulethu and others. The contrast between metropolitan Cape Town and Khayelitsha are huge and as all the respondents point out, the quality of life is also generally very different. Unlike the other areas in Cape Town that can be characterised as somewhat of a concrete jungle, out of a total of 118,810 shelters in Khayelitsha, 50,835 are built of brick or cement, and 40,276 are shacks, made of corrugated iron, wood and plastic (Thompson and Conradie, 2011, p.1). The rest comprise of different kinds of housing, such as tents, traditional huts and other structures. Consequently, the sanitation and health provision is also poor. Sanitation management and garbage collection in Site C is particularly problematic and the poor water drainage system and is prone to flooding, particularly during the rainy seasons. There have been some improvements over the years and currently a number of dwellings in Site C have got their own flush toilet and a tap outside the house next to the toilet (City of Cape Town Development Profile, 2011:18). After the establishment of Khayelitsha three residential areas main residential areas were opened up for settlement: a core house area with small brick houses, and two "site and service" areas, Site B and Site C.

The residents of Site C revealed through the FGDs that though the area is filled with shacks compared to other areas in the township, there is also low-income housing provided in Site C built by private developers. Recently, residents have been encouraged to purchase these homes through bonds obtained from financial institutions. The basic core houses are built of bricks and have two rooms, a bedroom, kitchen, bathroom and toilet included. Residents have to install their own baths, showers, ceiling, flooring and electrical units. The houses are usually very small relative to the size of most families. Because of population density, many

shacks have been built in the back yards in an attempt to cope with the household overcrowding (Census Report-Khayelitsha Suburb, 2011).

Backyard shacks are additional units on a plot of land that is rented out by the land owner as an important income to the main householder. A plot of land designed for a house big enough for one family has turned into a plot of land that holds on average six families instead of one (City of Cape Town, 2012). These structures are of course illegal according to the city council and built without compliance with planning and building code of regulations and have made servicing and maintenance very difficult for the entire community. Having such an excess amount of people on one plot of land has created unavoidable strains on the infrastructure and services provision capacity. The government has maintained not to legalise backyard dwellings seeing that it would be rather unethical to make that large a number of people simply move. A compromise is therefore needed between both parties before the situation gets out of hand. As alluded to earlier, the area consists of different sub-sections, of which the first three were the core house areas, now only known as Khayelitsha, and Site B and Site C. It must be mentioned that there are a few higher income areas, such as Mandela Park, Ilitha Park and Mandalay, where many residents own their houses and often have a housing subsidy, and then many more areas where the inhabitants are mostly unemployed and poor, such as Makaza, Harare, Kuyasa and Site C the case study area. It is important therefore to realise even within Khayelithsa class stratification exists and not everyone is living in abject poverty.

While the majority of residents in Khayelithsa live under deplorable conditions, only less than 30 minute-drive out of the township, towards the city-centre and conditions already seem visibly different. Oliver Wainwright, a columnist for The Guardian (2014) online news highlights this phenomenon in an article titled, "Cape Town Still a Paradise for Few after 20 Years" where he discusses apartheid's social engineering through spatial racial segregation. He remarks that

> …the seventh course is being served at a banquet of assembled journalists, here to celebrate Cape Town's title of World Design Capital 2014 on the terrace of a cliff-top villa. An infinity pool projects out towards the Atlantic horizon, as the setting sun casts a golden glow across the villa's seamless planes, their surfaces sparkling with Namibian diamond dust mixed into the

white concrete. Guests admire how the bath tub is carved from a solid block of marble, while security guards keep watch in front of a defensive ha-ha down below, ringed by an electric fence…

Through the FGDs one constantly recurrent theme was that participants kept lamenting that while apartheid ended a long time ago, the feeling of separation between people of different races was still very much in existence. Khaukhelo 16 year old and only child, whose mother was a domestic worker, has had exposure to different communities mostly white and coloured areas, where the mother had worked as a live-in maid. Her family originally comes from Site C. In the second FGD she shared her interesting experience as she made reference to Mitchell's plain, the predominantly coloured township that borders Khayelitsha on the western side:

You see its sad that we black people are still considered to be the most inferior. Three years ago when I was staying in Mitchell's plain with my mother, I really struggled to make friends. Everyone…at my school there, used to ask me when they meet me for the first time where I stay because in my area there were very few blacks. I used to come to Site C on the weekends because all my friends were from here. I felt like it was difficult to fit in there. I used to sometimes invite my friends over to visit me because we had a community park where we could play basketball and more activities unlike in Site C…when we lived in Bishop's Court (one of the richest neighbourhoods in Cape Town) everyone there was white and it more lonely there although the place we was very beautiful. I only had one white friend the son of our boss but one time he was told by his parents that he should not play with me…

Khaukhello's experiences are a reflection of decades of enforced segregation, not surprisingly, the feeling of division is still carved into the city's urban form, the physical legacy of a plan that was deliberately calculatedly and designed to separate residents along racial lines (Mangwana, 1990). The social engineering of apartheid boiled down to a very successful model of spatial engineering. Cape Town was planned with a white-only centre, surrounded by contained settlements for the black and coloured labour forces to the east, each edged in by highways and rail lines, rivers and valleys, and separated from the affluent white suburbs by protective buffer zones of wild bushes. Pieterse (2004, p.9) states that the purpose of relocating Africans to peripheral townships by the apartheid government was viewed by

the then administration as not only a way to cleanse white centres of indigenous culture and tradition, but also to mould the black labour force into an orderly, submissive underclass. This was done with security and control, rather than health and happiness, as the chief motivations. The model, as illustrated in figure below was used in cities across the country.

Figure 3.7: Urban planning under apartheid using zoning principles
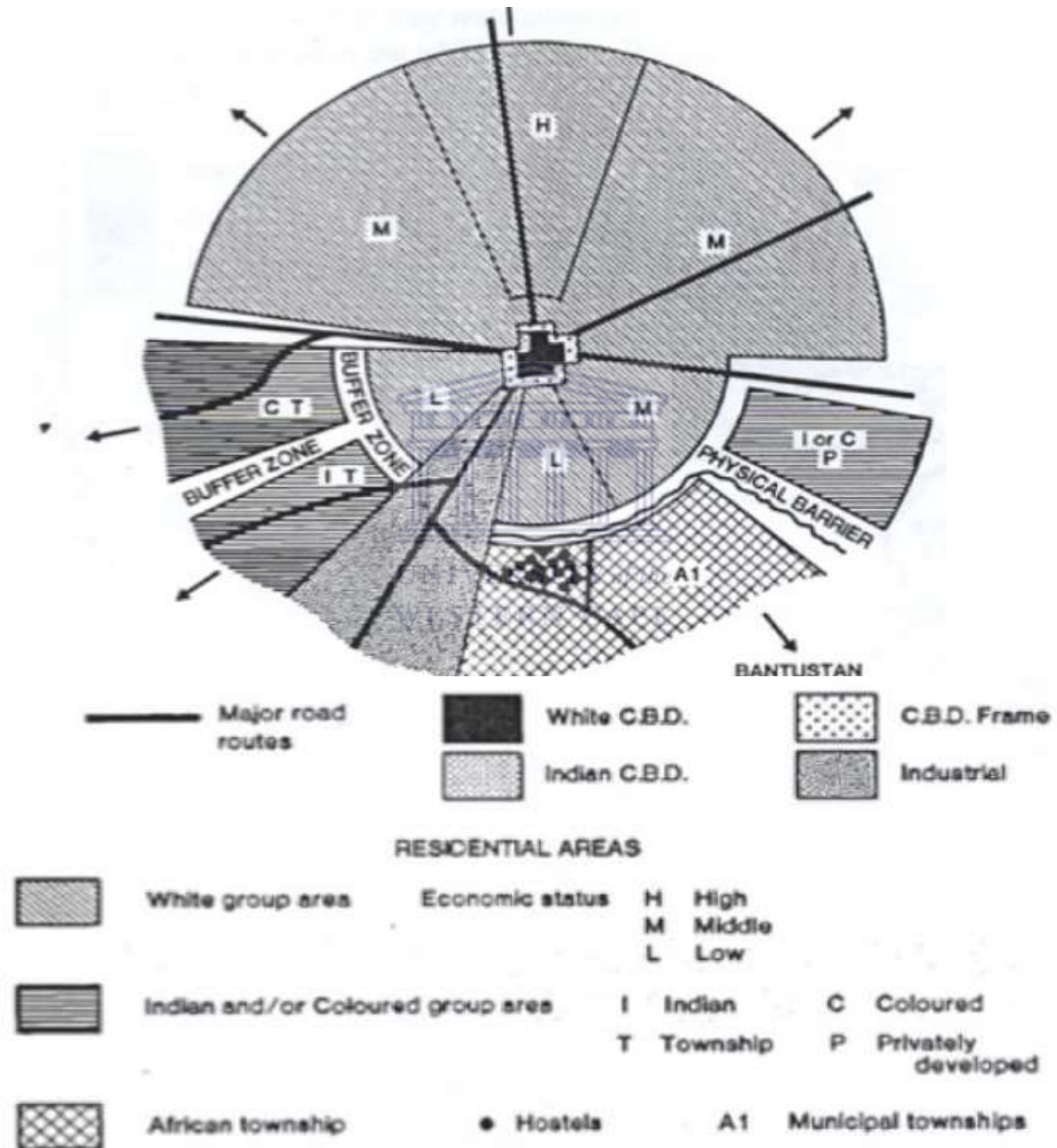
Source: Pieterse, 2004

The research participants were sure to point out in the FGDs that the residents of Khayelitsha are not totally isolated from urban city centre of Cape Town. The residents explain that the

cheapest way to the city is by train or alternatively by mini-bus taxi which can take you up to an hour or even more at peak hours. Given the distance and cost, 17 participants, with the exception of four, reported to rarely go into the city, except when they wanted to fraternise the city pubs once in a while. The two of the four participants that regularly go to the city have employment as shop keepers and the other two are university students. The university students Manyando and Dun prefer to spend time in the city where they have options to engage in many different recreational activities and educational projects. Manyando is pursuing economics at the University of Cape Town (UCT) and Dun is an undergraduate student in the Commerce department at the University of the Western Cape (UWC). Both coming from impoverished homes in Site C, it is a huge feat to have made it this far academically. UCT was strictly a white-only university and only opened its gates to all races after the fall of apartheid. UWC was also an institution that was meant to cater for the coloured community but was more defiant in fighting the system to allow come black learners (Christopher, 2001). One of the long-term consequences of apartheid rule is the systematic destruction of the education system particularly on the literacy and numeracy skills of black African citizens. By 1969 the per capita spending on black children was 10.8% of that spent on white children (Terreblanche, 2002, p.389; Van der Berg, 2001, pp.174-186). The low educational attainment among black youth would consequently negatively affect the rate of critical consciousness acquisition (Freire, 1973), and in turn their level of civic participation. In the first FGD, Manyando complains about the situation in the township, stating that at least in the city he can attend public lectures and talks like President Obama at UCT during his state visit to South Africa in 2013. Dun also bemoans the long distance from the city centre complaining that:

> Khayelitsha is too far from the City and if I want to get involved in certain sports like basketball I have to travel all the way to town. At least now at ILISO and there's a soccer team, which has a lot of support but it's difficult to play other teams outside of Khayelitsha because of the long distances to other townships and suburbs.
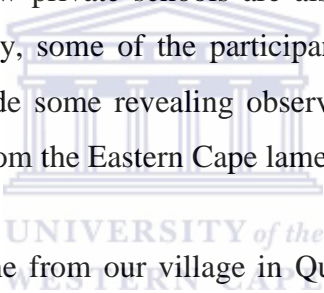
The safety situation with high crime rates in the township are a major concern for those that are fortunate enough to find employment, usually in industrial hubs far from Khayelitsha. The regular mode of transport for these workers is the train or mini-bus taxi's, which in most cases get them home from work after dark. A senior official from South African National

Civic Organisation (SANCO) working on a security project in the township emphasised that crime in Site C was a serious problem for school going children as well as workers because it places limits on work and study opportunities. Since the fall of Apartheid, the local boundaries have of course expanded to areas where mobility was controlled with formal stratification rules and pass-laws. These were meant to control the back urban influx, although these areas are still far from being integrated into the main urban centres (Mangwana, 1990). As much as the Khayelitsha township dwellers have the freedom of mobility and participation in civic engagements like any other citizen in the country, suffice to say they remain marginalised. As reported by the participants, they are marginalised to an 'area' outside the civil society. For the youth this comes at a huge opportunity cost as the community ought to serve as a primary seedbed for developing what Putnam (2000) terms 'bridging social capital'. Bridging social capital refers to potentially socially beneficial ties that are created between more casual relationships as opposed to family ties (bonding social capital). According to Putnam (2003) during adolescence as young people become more autonomous, bridging social capital increases with more diverse opportunities to interact with others. Although both forms of social capital (bridging and bonding) are beneficial, bridging social capital is paramount in laying the foundation for social responsibility based on universalism rather than mere benevolence (Putnam, 2000, p.2). While most argue that there are limited opportunities for civic engagement, and although according to scholars such as Thompson and Conradie (2010) this may not be entirely true (as will be discussed in the following segments) nevertheless, it is undoubtedly difficult to engage a community that is largely preoccupied with day-to-day bread and butter issues. The unemployment rate in Khayelitsha is at a staggering 60%, more than twice the national average of 25.2% and still well above the provincial average of 21.6% (Stats SA, 2012).

3.9 Education and Future Aspirations

Following South Africa's democratic political transition in 1994, the most important issue on the agenda was the socio-economic and political integration of all citizens particularly the previously marginalised. The African National Congress (ANC) government was faced with serious challenges of high poverty, social service and ensuring economic growth. For a country that for decades was ruled under a policy of separate developed development policies for different races, increasing social inclusion, bridging inequality gaps and facilitating social cohesion were top priority issues. It is said that education is the greatest equaliser of society.

To this end, following democracy, education was prioritised as an important area for reform. The South African School Act of 1996 made education compulsory for all South Africans from age seven (grade 1) to age 15 (grade 9). In the late 1990s the matric pass rate was as low as 40%, but has since improved reaching 73.9% in 2012 (Chisholm, 2005). The research findings chapter showed some interesting results in this regard. During all the FGDs, participants expressed concern on the poor standard of schools in Site C and othe informal sections of Khayelitsha such as Site B, Harare, Litha Park and Makaza. As discussed earlier in the literature, all these neighbourhoods including Green Point are the informal settlements that were built by the residents themselves as a way of out of the overcrowding in their households (Dyantyi, et al., 1998). Interestingly, in all the FGDs the participants were able to mention a number of schools in Khayelitsha and even neighbouring Mitchell's Plain area which they considered as good quality schools. According to the participants, there are only a few good schools in Khayelitsha and these are private schools which are not affordable for the majority of residents. The few private schools are also any of the informal settlement areas of Khayelitsha. Interestingly, some of the participants that recently moved from the Eastern Cape to Cape Town made some revealing observations as Zakhele, a 17 year old youth who also recently moved from the Eastern Cape laments:

> My parents sent me from our village in Qunu so that at least I can have a good school here in Cape Town. But I regret now because I don't see any difference here and my old school because both schools don't have computers, no books, sports stadium, our classes are full and teachers don't come sometimes. There is no point of me being here.

During the apartheid administration, there were various racially defined departments of education, each of them providing very differing qualities of education. Considering the pivotal role of education in inculcating and maintaining the apartheid ideology, it was imperative for the new government to ensure a heightened educational reform policy. There was indeed a marked shift in political ideology between the apartheid administration and the new government in this regard. However, many of South Africa's social institutions, particularly schools, continued to function as they did under apartheid (Soudien, 2004). Zakhele's sentiments regarding his unexpectedly poor township school which he likened to his previous one in Eastern Cape are therefore not surprising. Previously non-white schools continue at the core in terms of quality largely continue the way they did in the apartheid era

and Model C white schools continue in the same vein. Yamauchi (2011) gives an explanation for this state of affairs. He shows that previous spatial segregation policies have had enduring impacts on the inequality of opportunity to education. Black students mostly live very far from good schools (in affluent neighbourhoods), which make them geographically inaccessible, and the schools charge higher tuition fees making them financially unaffordable. Consequently, former Black schools have remained black, and former white schools have become more racially diverse, owing to an increased Black, Coloured and Indian middle class.

In this study, though not all participants had completed all 12 years of schooling, all of them had at some point been part of the schooling system at least beyond grade five of primary school. Out of the three Focus Groups conducted consisting of a total of 30 participants, only four attended good quality private schools and had no complaints about them. Out of the rest of the participants, 16 attended government schools of which seven stated they had a reasonable quality of school standards based on the infrastructure, facilities such as computers, extra-curricular activities and quality of teachers. Interestingly they resided in Washington Square, Zolani Park and Ikwezi, which are part of the originally built formal neighbourhoods within Khayelitsha. Three of these seven participants dropped out of school at the secondary level after their families having moved to Khayelitsha's Site relating to a fall in their household income. The other 8 out of the 16 that attended government schools reported to have received a standard of education that was even worse than the remaining participants who had attended community schools. According to the South Africa Info reporter (2013) the average ratio of learners to teachers is 30.4 to one, which includes educators paid for by school governing bodies. Without those extra posts, the ratio would be 32.3 to one. In general, public schools have much larger classes than independent schools (non-government schools i.e. Private, Christian and Community schools). Participants were aware that many of the community sourced funding from local and foreign donors though they were now beginning to charge high amounts of tuition fees.

There is an obvious and alarming concern about the quality of education that the marginalised poor majority are able to access both in Khayelitsha and the country at large. According to (Stats SA, 2014) extreme poverty currently stands at 20.2% and moderate poverty at 45.5%. Notably, nearly 21 years after the ushering of democratic rule, race is still the single most important determining factor between the haves and the have nots. And while the upper class

is no longer entirely white, largely owing to a growing black middle class, about 90% of South Africa's poor are black (Leibbrandt, et al., 2011). By poor people continuing to access inferior education, their prospects on the job market are hampered even further thereby creating a poverty trap. If those disadvantaged continue to be in such a position, the question then that begs to be answered is, how are the huge inequality disparities that exist ever going to be overcome? Some international literature on development economics provides some insightful perspectives on the need to equalise education systems. Galor and Moav (2004) present an economic model which shows how distribution of human capital in a society, affects the productivity of, and thus the returns to human capital. For example, five workers with 12 years of schooling, produce a higher level of output than one worker with 40 years of schooling.

In 2014, in California, a judge overruled a series of union contracts and laws, stating that these practices perpetuated the norm of placing the worst teachers in minority or poor schools. In a ground breaking study in the same state, Dr. Kane found that learners who were taught by a teacher in the bottom 5% competence measure lost 9.5 months of potential learning time compared to averagely competent teachers (Conerly, 2014). As noted by the participants in the FGDs, this study, the quality of teachers in most public township schools is poor. When education reform policy attempts are made in most parts the world to equalise teacher allocation, there is normally strong opposition from teacher unions (Conerly, 2014). Some countries have been successful however in drawing up well designed strategies that do not always involve huge expenditures to target different aspects of quality education provision. Developing countries such as Ghana, Zambia, China, the South East Asian Tigers and others have successfully devised a number of incentives to lure quality teachers to disadvantaged, poor and rural communities for example. An additional rural hardship allowance to the basic salary, extra leave days, further study opportunities and the provision of teachers housing compounds, are just some of the ways some countries have been able to achieve significant levels of teacher quality equalisation in schools (Yu, Souteyrand, Banda, et al., 2008).

Out of the total of 30 participants, are still in grade ten and one in grade eight, even though ordinarily by normal progress they are old enough to be senior university students. All of them have repeated grades, citing poor performance which compelled them to repeat classes. Sibusiso explains why he had to repeat several classes while in the Eastern Cape:

When I was home in Eastern Cape it was difficult for me to study. I had to look after all the animals on the farm so I used to miss most of the classes. But I don't mind because now I am only remaining with two years then I will be done with high school and I can go to college to study electrical.

Some of the cultural practices adopted by the youth, which were imported mainly from the Eastern Cape migrants to Khayelitsha have endured. These seem to have exacerbated the already existing inherent problem of improving the deplorable educational outcomes, and thereby future prospects for young people. A working paper *Working together to improve educational outcomes in Khayelitsha* presented by Bronagh Casey (2010) under the Department of Education, revealed that the township was one of the worst performing in Western Cape. Only six out of over 20 government high schools achieved more than a 60% pass rate at the grade 12 in the previous.

Almost half of the participants are still doing their secondary school (Grade 8 to 12), while a number of them should have completed their matric considering their age. Like Sibusiso, they had to repeat some grades for different reasons. Vuyelwa for instance had to repeat grade 10 due to pregnancy though she is now in her final year of matric. Spaull (2012, p.74) asserts that children in township schools do not usually have a smooth path through school, as there is a high level of repetition and dropout, with more than 50% of appropriately aged learners being either outside the schooling system or not going past primary grades. As mentioned earlier two of the study participants have made it to university with Manyando at University of Cape Town (UCT) and Dun at University of Western Cape (UWC). Both these institutions were previously segregated universities with UCT being an all-white university and UWC planned for the coloured community. Manyando realises that she is in an advantageous position to change her life and those around her after she attains her tertiary education:

I was lucky because I had a lot of support from the director here at LISO Mama Vicky who used to encourage me to work hard on my books so I can make it to university. I couldn't believe it when I got accepted at UCT, it was like a dream come true. I ran to the taxi rank where my mother sells some food to tell her that I got accepted. She was also very excited and told me that I was the only member of our family including my older uncles and aunties

that made it to university. The whole family was proud of me and every time at parties or family gatherings they tell friends and others that I am studying economics at UCT.

Dun, who is at UWC, realises that he has come a long from herding cattle in Eastern Cape to pursuing a Bachelor of Commerce degree, something he says at one point was unimaginable. He now volunteers at ILISO where he is involved in ensuring that the library is constantly well stocked as he believes through his experience that books changed his life. He assists with youth mentoring and also offers tutorials to pupils pursuing their matric. Dun explains that he is also fortunate because he has received a lot of support from ILISO during matric which encouraged him to focus on not only on his studies but also voluntary civic projects with ILISO and its other partners in other communities. He explained that this has broadened his understanding of the social issues that are important in South Africa. He still is still encouraged even more now by the organisation because a lot of the youth look up to him as a role model.

The youth have high aspirations and are aware that to achieve most of these goals, their best chances are through a higher education. One of the major impediments is the high fees for tertiary education. Most participants were not aware of government and other sponsorship options if you are admitted to university. Mandisa, one of the two participants already in university, was able to secure National Financial Aid Scheme (NFAS) government funding, and offers encouragement to other youths of the possibilities. Some participants that dropped out of secondary school have testified to the fact that they have found this information that is shared by Mandisa and other youth at ILISO very encouraging and are now intent on getting back into school. Some of the participants do not have a roadmap on how they intend to get the good jobs they aspire for, especially the ones that are not currently studying.

In terms of their future aspirations, most participants in the FGDs mention that one of the major difficulties faced on the job market is that even if one is qualified, you need good networks to link you up with opportunities. Watts (2007) discusses this social phenomenon in the context of social capital, arguing that associations at the school level are particularly important as this is when young people learn to develop many close and lifelong bonds outside of their family. Granovetter (1973) in similar vein conceptualised such weaker ties, as often playing a crucial for future career opportunities based on networks formed in earlier

years. Transforming the education system to achieve more than just the labour market demands, but also social and civic training, will require more than just increasing access to schooling. Particular attention has to be paid to the quality of education provided that is being provided.

3.10 Youth and Civic Participation

It was interesting to find out how the youth relate to the current civil society dispensation given that most of them were very young during the apartheid era, and largely rely on first-hand accounts through close relatives. As such the participants speak with a lot of passion on the subject, and identify their current circumstances as an unfortunate inheritance of past conditions. Youth participants narrate events as though they were first hand victims telling of how one could not just move freely and you needed a '*dumb pass*' (permit) to move into the city from the township. The participants accept that there has been major social change in South Africa since 1994 and that white supremacy was overturned by majority rule.

Manyando a final year student at University of Cape Town, laments that despite democratic rule many citizens are still living in poverty. She says that she is fortunate that her field of study has made her more aware of the high levels of poverty and inequality that still exist in post-apartheid South Africa. Manyando eloquently expresses her views on the subject:

> It is obviously an exciting time as a youth to live in our beautiful country. South Africa. As a young person the world is an Oyster for me and many others with endless opportunities. However, this only seems true when I am at school with fellow young campus-mates, but as soon as I come home to Khayelitsha, the reality seems different. The high levels of poverty become apparent, the inequalities between my city life and township life hit me. Most of my childhood township peers have not yet completed matric and may not fulfil their dreams and break the cycle of poverty. I am afraid that in turn, this maybe also be the reality for their children.

Manyando's sentiments reflect the socio-spatial legacy of apartheid. The location of Khayelitsha like many other black townships from the city centre and the rest of the broader limits opportunities for residents of these areas. Young people like Manyando from

Khayelitsha have been fortunate to move out of their world in the township to the larger society being at university, of which such institutions are nowhere near the townships. Such are the frustrations of the majority of the youth stranded in the townships.

The most obvious notion of participation that the majority of the study participants in all the FGDs, seem to conceptualise easily is political participation. Almost 63% of FGD participants felt that aside from voting, they are not afforded opportunities of getting politically involved in a meaningful way. They felt that most of the civic powerful civic organisations marginalise them either by being dominated by the older folk, or those with political ties. Again, 76% of FGDs participants felt apathy for existing political processes of lobbying for social change. Most felt that their opportunities for participation were more feasible through CBO's and NGO's or other personal efforts either through academic or entrepreneurship ventures, to be able to bring about positive community or personal development. Some of the participants (30%) indicated that more radical approaches such as street protests and demonstrations are more effective in addressing grievances. This group also felt that the youth are either marginalised on the basis of age, lack of resources and social networks or are just too engaged in other areas of life such as school or the search for employment making it difficult for youth to fully commit themselves to existing civic engagement opportunities in CBO's, NGO's or even the Street Committees. Verba (2003) points out that historical data show a persistent gap in civic participation based on socio-economic status. Youth from low socio-economic backgrounds lacked the social capital to enhance future prospects in the social, economic or political decision making arena.

Interestingly enough, the post-apartheid socio-political infrastructure of Khayelitsha has evolved to provide for a surprising degree of participation. As shown figure 5.3 below, residents of Khayelitsha have three established ways of getting engaged in the local governance of their community.

Figure 3.8: Civic and socio-political structures in Khayelitsha
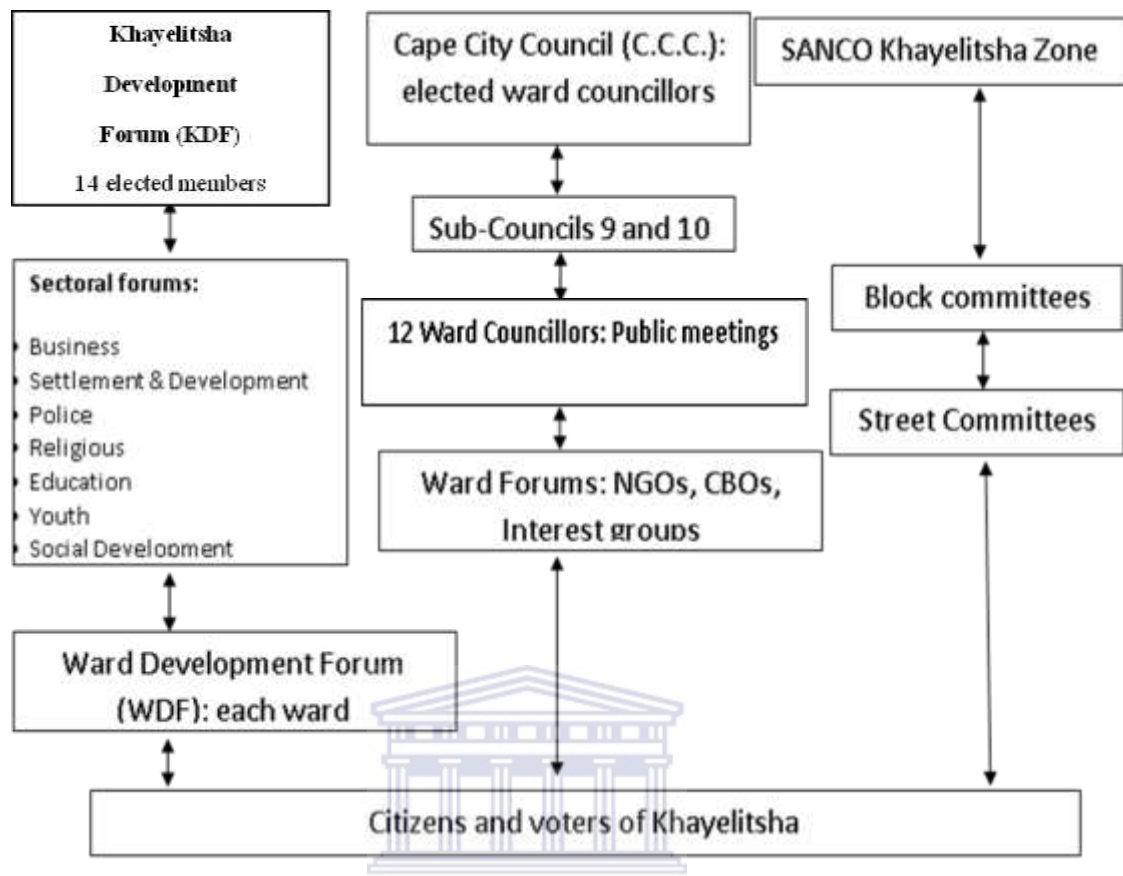
Khayelitsha area councillors appoint people who are considered knowledgeable on key forums on gender, health, education etc. and they are again responsible for ensuring broader participation when issues under their portfolio come up for discussion and decision-making. Thompson, Conradie and Tsolekile (unpublished work) note that the most interesting aspect of this arm of the Khayelitsha participation setup is that the councillors call public meetings whenever contentious issues arise, although they do not always result in a majority consensus.

The participants all feel proud to be South African and say they are happy to be part of the current generation. Despite a number of them feeling marginalised, most are positive and think they are active members of society. However, there is no consensus as to the extent or means by which to effect social transformation. The two university students perhaps owing to their socialisation both see themselves as active and capable agents of change. The members that have been actively involved with ILISO Care Society also see themselves as capable

agents of social change at least at the community level. As Kholeka, 21 year old Donor Development Officer at ILISO who has been an active member at the organisation for six years remarks:

> I am able to at least sensitise other youth in the community against the dangers of drugs and other bad things like that and we have even seen change in the community through some of our sensitisation programmes here at ILISO and we have seen the improvement in some of the schools we are working with.

These sentiments by Kholeka are a reflection of the impacts on self-efficacy on long serving active member of the organisation. From the total number of FGD participants about 69% of them did not know who their area councillors within the different constituencies were, compared to those that have spent time at ILISO, all of whom were aware of the area councillors, perhaps also because the Site C councillor herself residences right next door to the ILISO premises. She also usually frequents the organisation, engaging them on a number of activities such as mediation with community members and advocacy on community development projects. This may therefore not have been an appropriate dimension to test for civic knowledge of the FGD participants.

3.11 ILISO and Youth Civic Engagement

There is no doubt that ILISO Care Society has seen tremendous growth since its inception in 2007. Despite the seemingly minimal level of resource input there has been a high level of project buy-in and ownership by the community youth, which has made it somewhat of a model community based organisation. It started off as a safe home after the Executive Director fondly known as "Mama Vicky" observed a high number of unemployed parents who could not afford to take their children to crèche for basic education. Today, ILISO has grown into a multi-project CBO focusing mainly on youth development. The organisation now operates a large feeding programme which caters for over 300 people. The success of the feeding programme has caught the attention of government, providing ILISO funding to extend its programme to 10 schools within larger Khayelitsha beyond Site C. Sagawa, Connolly and Chao, (2008) propose that through well organised civic engagement, volunteers from CBO's, being exposed to parts of society that they might not otherwise have encountered can be excellent conduits to bring public service delivery to the community. The

organisation also has an urban agriculture project, an active performing arts and youth choir project, and a soccer team.

The FGD's revealed that it is not easy to fully commit to the work conducted at the organisation because it was purely voluntary. The shift in the dynamics of volunteering over the years, may be more to do with today's youth's perception and capacity to comprehend the complex political and socio-economic challenges that face them directly or indirectly. In this case Freire's (1973) idea of critical consciousness is important in making more especially the largely poor, marginalized and insufficiently educated populations comprehend the social dynamics that face them. This would allow more civic participation than the perceived apathy of today's youth. More than 50% of all the participants felt that government should support CBO's like ILISO at least to ensure that they keep some of the officers on regular allowances to motivate them to put in their best. If they cannot afford that then the government should deploy professional youth development workers to help with certain aspects of project management. This was due to the realisation that there is a lack of skilled youth to at least manage and train others on certain technical aspects of managing projects such as financial management and project planning. Vuyani, Projects Facilitator at ILISO, commented during the first session of the FGD's, "…here at ILISO we are still surviving because of the passion of people like Mama Vicky the director. Otherwise most of us are not well educated enough to manage the projects in a more professional way."

The debate as to whether governments should play a role in volunteering programmes is a highly contested one. One way of addressing the issue is by getting a better understanding of the socio-economic benefits of such programmes. Schimmele and Wu (2012) argue that calculating of the economic returns of volunteering is vital as it can inform governments and policy that volunteering work makes a significant contribution to the economy. Schimmele and Wu (2012) makes a case that voluntary organizations are key players in the economy in their own right by investing in people through training, boosting skills and improving the employability especially of young people. In the United States, volunteers produce services worth $113 billion to $161 billion annually (Association for Research on Non-profit Organizations and Voluntary Action, 2010). In 2009, 63.4 million Americans volunteered to help their communities, 8.1 billion hours of service was produced, which has an estimated dollar value of $169 billion. In United Kingdom, according to the Institute for Volunteering Research and Volunteering England (2003), 42% of people in England and Wales

volunteered through a group, club or organization at least once, equivalent to approximately 17.9 million people. This was actually equivalent of one million full-time workers. At the national average wage their contribution was worth around £22.5 billion (Schimmele and Wu, 2012).

In terms of the social impacts of volunteering, social capital theory points to at least four major areas that are positively impacted through volunteering. Namely, these are strengthening social connections, building strong, safe and cohesive communities, enhancing civic engagement, and delivering public goods and services. The participants in the FGD's stated that ILISO has been able to significantly contribute to Site C in this regard, at least as far as its capacity allows.

Having considered the socio-economic value of volunteering, it is safe to say that government needs to take a leading role in facilitating growth in this area. However, it the bureaucratic nature of government systems can often slow down and dampen the efficiency with which CBO's and NGO's are usually able to execute voluntary civic engagement projects. It is therefore recommendable that government plays the role of facilitating such projects, through pumping investments that are sure to see larger economic and social returns. In terms of implementation of voluntary civic engagement projects, the government key in playing the role of a watchdog over non-governmental partners through tight monitoring and evaluation systems. This too, is often only achieved if the government has well designed and effective decentralised structures that reach right into the local communities.

3.12 Closing Remarks

Given the youthfulness of South Africa's population, the need to absorb this group into the country's socio-economic and political dispensation remains cardinal. Herein lays a serious challenge as this is the category with the highest unemployment but at the same time greatest potential for development. Leibbrandt et al. (2010, p.10) assert that given that expenditure on education has increased considerably during the democratic era, the unemployed youth have higher educational qualifications than older citizens who are employed. Therefore, "the situation where better-educated young people remain poor suggests that the labour market has

not been playing a successful role in alleviating poverty and that the education system is not delivering the skills needed in the labour market".

Evidence suggests that the most direly affected socio-economic demographic group in South Africa is the youth especially young women in the rural and township areas. ILISO has achieved remarkable results with regard to civic engagement among the youth of Khayelitsha's Site C community. The organisation has given the youth a platform for practice in civic development work and has also increased access to and information sharing through participatory dialogue. It appears that though current efforts are receiving substantial financial support they remain largely fragmented, high level interventions and not really getting down to and resonating with the community level where real social change is initiated. After two decades of democratic rule, civic and entrepreneurial participation among youth remains poor (Vanhanen, 2013). Therefore more practical community level youth civic engagement strategies that will lead to social and structural change are necessary.

The following chapter provides details about the way in which data was gathered and analysed. It outlines the research design and methodology, including the sampling methods and data collection techniques. In addition, the following section will provides the justification for adopting the methodology used for the study, including the sampling method and sample size.

Chapter 4: Research Design and Methodology

4.1 Introduction

The chapter aims to discuss the scientific processes that employed throughout the research study. A series of data analysis techniques was put to use in order to ensure validity in the information that was extracted. The following section discusses the research design, methodologies, procedures and overall framework of the research

For this study, the researcher used the Case Study Design. Case study research is associated with the investigation of a particular place, community, setting or organization (Patton, 1990). Site C is one of the neighbourhoods within Khayelitsha with the most deplorable standards of living (Dyantyi and Frater, 1998). Interestingly, as pointed out earlier, it has been in existence since the beginning of the setting up of informal settlements in Khayelitsha, and has some history of protests against service delivery. Thompson and Condradie (2011, p.51) also highlight the fact that Site C also has a history of women and young people playing an important role in civic movements within the community. All these dimensions make Site C a suitable and interesting study area for research. For this reason the study has been more localised to site C in investigating civic participation and how intermediary organisations can play a role in fostering civic engagement an social change.

4.2 Research Design

Research design could be defined as the procedural implementation plan by the researcher in attempting to answer the research questions at hand. Babbie (2008) describes research design as the detailed plan which anticipates observation and analysis. The author further notes that it specifies "why" and "how" a researcher intends to conduct the study. The research aims to investigate and acquire a comprehensive understanding of youth civic engagement which involves social interactions, relationships, opportunities for practice in organisations, and how these can spur social change. The research therefore employed a research design that is associated with the investigation of a particular place, community, setting or organization the case study design (Patton, 1990). However, the case study is often criticized against the backdrop of being 'microscopic' and thus incapable of providing generalizing conclusions due to its lack of sufficient number of cases (Yin, 2009) but nevertheless remains useful all

the same. The case study is an empirical investigation that examines a contemporary phenomenon within a real life setting. Despite the aforementioned setbacks, the case study proved useful as it limits the scope of the research to one area, enabling the researcher to critically engage in a practical setting.

4.3 Research Methodology

In social science research, there are two main categories of research methodologies, that is, the quantitative and qualitative approaches (Mouton and Marais, 1998; Mouton 1996). The option of preference between methodologies primarily depends on the nature and objectives of the research and on the type of data available (Yin, 1984). Kaplan (1994) states that quantitative research methodology is primarily concerned with redefining concepts into the language of variables and will allow the researcher to draw trends and relationships between them. According to Patton (1990, p.3), in qualitative research, the researcher attempts to get in-depth and detailed information and knowledge of the issues or case under investigation. In reference to meaning, Voeten (2006, p.3) states that researchers in qualitative research are able to "see from the inside".

Both the quantitative and qualitative methods were used, for this study, although the focus was largely qualitative, owing to the nature of the question at hand which require an in-depth understanding of 'how' or the ways in which youth civic engagement can advance social change. The main techniques of collecting data in qualitative research are semi-structured interviews, focus group discussions, participatory observations and document analysis. Surveys are a common technique of quantitative data collection (Patton 1990). The use of these multiple data collection techniques and methods in a study is called triangulation, a system that increases reliability and validity when data from various sources is comparable and consistent. The research employed the triangulation approach through the use of a number of the aforementioned tools. That is, a survey, semi-structured interviews, focus group discussions and participant observation. A brief description of the tool used is given below.

4.4 Data Collection Methods

4.4.1 Quantitative methods of Data Collection

Babbie and Mouton (2001) describe the quantitative paradigm as one concerned with numbers of related themes. Quantitative paradigm is pillared around three dominant themes i.e. quantification, variable analysis and control for sources of error (Babbie and Mouton, 2008, p.49). Quantitative researchers collect data in the form of numbers and use statistical types of data analysis to arrive at meaningful conclusions(Blanche, Durrheim and Painter, 2006).

4.4.1.1 Survey Questionnaires

Babbie and Mouton (2008) state that a survey is a systematic method of collecting data from a population of interest. It is normally quantitative in nature collecting information from a sample of the population in such a way that it is representative of the population within a certain margin of error. A self-administered questionnaire was circulated to a sample size of 52 respondents who are members of the five ILISO project teams: the education, civic and life-skills, urban agriculture, youth choir and care initiatives projects. The questionnaires were distributed equally among the different project teams. There were 10 questionnaires circulated among the five different project teams with one group receiving an extra 2 questionnaires (12 in total for that particular group) that was set aside for contingency purposes. A quota sampling method was used to ensure the representation of a particular group within the population. Kumar (2005) notes that a quota sampling is less expansive and guarantees the inclusion of the type of people needed by the researcher. The questionnaire was in a closed ended format to allow for ease of data coding and quantitative analysis. It was also utilised because it requires less personnel and time, thereby reducing costs (Babbie and Mouton, 2001, p.259). The questionnaire intended to measure the level of *collective self-efficacy* (independent variable) in the given community mainly at two levels that is, within the project teams/group members and within the larger community under investigation. It is important to note as alluded to earlier that social change stands as the dependent variable in the study.

Collective self-efficacy refers to a group's *shared* belief in its *coordinated* capabilities to attain their goals and accomplish desired tasks. It involves the belief or perception that an *effective collective* action is possible to address social issues. It differs from individual self-efficacy though, grounded in its principles (Figueroa et al., 2002, p.30). The aim of the quantitative analysis is to highlight what the perceived capacity is amongst the respondents of working collectively, primarily on two levels, firstly within their own support group and secondly, within their resident community.

4.4.2 Qualitative Methods of Data Collection

Qualitative research is more inclined to the interpretive paradigm in social science research which inherently takes the insider perspective in social action (Babbie and Mouton, 2008:53). In direct contrast to the quantitative paradigm, qualitative approach is underpinned by the ultimate goal of "describing and understanding rather than explanation and prediction of human behaviour" (Babbie and Mouton, 2008:53).

4.4.2.1 Semi-Structured Interviews

The main instrument used for data collection was interviews. Interviews provide a better and more detailed understanding to better capture the complexities, knowledge, attitudes, and their effects on the environment (Holl et al., 1999). As pointed out by Henning (2004), interviews are "communicative events" which reveal "what" and "how" participants think or feel about a specific matter. A total of 10 semi-structured interviews were conducted with project managers, team leaders and members of ILISO's projects as well as other key informants from cooperating development partners. Patton (1990) notes that purposive sampling helps to select a few information-rich cases that can assist the researcher in investigating the questions under study. In this regard, the purposive sampling method was chosen. Youth with whom ILISO conducts civic programmes were interviewed. Among the key informant representatives was the Khayelitsha Development Forum (KDF) and SANCO Khayelitsha zone which are the two largest and most important civic and socio-political structures in Khayelista (Thomson and Conradie, 2011). Site-C Ward Development Forum in which the study community is located as well as the area government counsellor who was also interviewed among the key informants, as elaborated in the subsequent sections on sampling methods.

4.4.2.2 Focus Group Discussions (FGDs)

According to Kumar (2005), focus groups are effective in eliciting data on the cultural norms of a group and in generating broad overviews of issues of concern to the cultural groups or subgroups represented. For purposes of the research, three focus group discussions consisting of ten members per group were conducted. The focus groups included the ILISO management team as well as members and beneficiaries representative of all the different projects of the organisation. The major aim of focus group discussions in this research was to complement the semi-structured interviews in order to enhance reliability and accuracy of information drawn from the interviews. Purposive sampling was used to select participants with efforts made to ensure representativeness in terms of age, race, class, gender and disability. In the context of youth civic engagement, as ideas and personal experiences are related to each other and between participants in FGDs; a greater wealth of information that may have been excluded, or not fully explored in interviews can be drawn on the subject (Bohner, Bless, Schwarz, et al, 1988)

4.4.2.3 Participant Observation:

Participant observation was also a significant part of the data collection methods. Participant observation forms a critical part of ethnographic approaches to research. According to Patton (1990), participant observation gives a unique vantage point for the researcher into multifarious situations and issues that would otherwise not be revealed in an interview. Furthermore, since one of the issues being researched is the possible opportunities for youth participation in civil society and development organisations, participatory observation through the ILISO community based organisation hosting the researcher proved most useful. The researcher spent three months as a volunteer at ILISO, a period within which a number of useful observations were drawn. The observations were to serve as a means of verification and matching the data collected during the interviews and real life observations of practice.

4.5 Sampling Methods

There are two broad categories of sampling techniques that can be used for research purposes in general are non-probability sampling and probability sampling. Probability sampling is a method in which a smaller randomly selected sample of the population can be used to estimate the distribution of an attitude or opinion in an entire given population. This is done

within a reasonable measure of confidence and a given margin of error based on standardised quantitative statistical rules (Schillewaert et al., 1998). This does not mean that the non-probability sampling methods are not representative of the sample, but rather that nonprobability samples cannot depend upon the rationale of probability theory. With non-probability sampling, it may be difficult to know how well the sample has been represented and it is for this reason that some scholars would favour probability sampling (Schillewaert et al., 1998; Morse, 1991). However, in social sciences there are often circumstances where it is not feasible or theoretically logical to employ probability sampling. In research studies such as this, investigating the complex nature of social change, it is often more informative to go beyond just representativeness of a population, and into the actual mechanics of the society. In this case, the mechanisms by which youth civic participation can promote positive social change especially among the marginalised poor. It is for this reason that the study utilised a combination of both probability (survey questionnaires) and nonprobability sampling methods (semi-structured interviews, FGDs, and Participant Observation) as detailed below.

4.5.1 Quantitative Sampling

A survey was conducted as the primary means by which to collect the quantitative data required for the probability sampling analysis. The purpose of the questionnaire was intended to assist in measuring the level of collective self-efficacy (which is the independent variable) in Khayelitsha Site C. Kumar (2005) highlights that quota sampling is a technique with a narrower range and guarantees a more accurate target of the people needed for the researcher. Quota sampling was preferred mainly because the research was intended to focus on a specific type of person. That is, the research was mainly interested in people who were at the least, at any given period, affiliated members of any of the ILISO projects.

Determination of Sample Size

This was done through a self-administered questionnaire that was circulated to a sample size of 52 respondents who are members of the various ILISO projects mentioned above. The criteria for determining the sample size above, was not based on a specific formula but rather was based on established statistical criterion that have widely come to be accepted as basic 'rules of thumb' especially for social research of this nature. These criterion determining

sample size are grounded in the earlier studies of Krejcie and Morgan (1970) and Cochran (1977).

Davies, Williams and Yanchar (2010) note that it is common practice, as was the case in this study, where the researcher was obliged to decide on the size of the sample based on certain fundamental parameters. The researcher in this study took these into consideration, namely the population and its variability, aim of the research, analysis techniques and sample sizes in similar research as reviewed in earlier sections in the paper. As mentioned in the first chapter, official national population statistics peg the total population of Khayelitsha at 391,749 (Census, 2011). According to the Khayelitsha Development Forum however, they estimate this figure to be hugely under-counted. The forum therefore uses an estimation of 1.5 million people for the purposes of service delivery (Thompson and Conradie, 2011, p.1).

A sample size between 30 and 500 at a 5% confidence level is generally sufficient for many researchers (Morse, 1991; Altunssik et al., 2004, p.125). However, a more accurate and comprehensive measure on the sample size must reflect the quality of the sample in this wide population interval and its variability (Morse, 1991). The latter criterion was compromised in this study due to practical considerations such as required financial and technical resources, as well as the standard accepted requirements for an academic piece of this nature.

4.5.2 Qualitative Sampling

Three instruments methods were used as the primary instruments for collecting detailed qualitative data for analysis. These were semi-structured interviews, focus group discussions and participant observation. Qualitative researches are more inclined to the interpretive paradigm in social science research which inherently takes the insider perspective in social action (Babbie and Mouton, 2008, p.53). In direct contrast to the quantitative paradigm, qualitative approach is underpinned by the ultimate goal of "describing and understanding rather than explanation and prediction of human behaviour" (Babbie and Mouton, 2008, p.53). It was for this reason that the study heavily relied on the qualitative data gathered.

In total ten semi-structured interviews were conducted with project managers, team leaders and members of ILISO's projects as well as other key informants from community development stakeholders, namely Khayelisha Development Forum (KDF) and South African National Civic Organisation (SANCO). Six of the interviews were with ILISO, one

with the Site C area councillor, Two with SANCO and one with KDF. The purposive sampling method used by selecting youth with whom ILISO conducts civic programmes as detailed in the research methodology. As with the semi-structured interviews, purposive sampling was utilised in identifying participants so as to ensure demographic representativeness particularly in terms of age, race, class, gender and disability. Three focus group discussions, of ten members per group were conducted. The focus groups comprised of the ILISO management team, members and beneficiaries representative of all the different projects of the organisation. The principle researcher also spent three months as a volunteer at ILISO as part of the data collection exercise as a participant observer.

4.6 Operationalisation of Change / Convergence Paradigm

The Integrated Model of Communication for Social Change illustrated in Chapter 2 (see Figure 2.2) presents social change as the main result of community dialogue and collective action. Figueroa et al. (2002) identified a series of seven indicators of social change outcomes, possible to measurable by means of qualitative or quantitative tools. These indicators are:

(1) Leadership, (2) Degree and equity of participation, (3) Information equity (4) *Collective self-efficacy*, (5) Sense of ownership, (6) Social cohesion; and (7) Social norms.

These indicators can be used by researchers, agents of change and community developers to assess how the application of the integrated model of communication for social change contributes to fostering different dimensions of social change. For the purposes the study, a questionnaire was designed to measure, exclusively, the level of *collective self-efficacy*. This was used as the main outcome of the process of dialogue and social learning between peer-to-peer youth at ILISO as part of its civic engagement strategy. The choice of a selective quantitative analysis of collective self-efficacy as an independent variable, it was hoped, could assist in understanding how the development communication platforms (youth seminars, workshops and trainings and practice) implemented at ILISO, initiate and foster collective action and, therefore help in answering the research question of the study.

The study set out to investigate whether engaging Site C youth at ILISO could improve the communities' collective self-efficacy, thereby making them better equipped to effect social change.

4.7 Data Analysis

As the core of the data was largely of great depth and qualitative in nature, the information acquired from the fieldwork is to be arranged according to themes based on research questions for easy analysis. Thorough content analysis was conducted on the questions which guided the interviews and groups discussions, and thereafter information arranged in themes, categories and later subcategories. This process of data coding and thematic analysis was done using IBM's SPSS version-22 software. The software allows for easy data examination and organises data in tabular, graphic and diagrammatic presentation.

According to (Stake 1995) qualitative data can be analysed using direct interpretation or categorisation. The data analysis software was particularly useful in analysing the quantitative data collected through the survey. Moreover, Sundewall notes that, "Direct interpretation is an instant reading of particular observation, a spontaneous reaction to data collected" (Sundewall, 2009, p.33). Categorisation on the other hand involves grouping up what is coming from the data to reach a conclusion covering all (Sundewall, 2009). In this case, especially in relation to participant observation, immediate insights and striking observation were noted and dissected as the process of data collection continued.

This was followed by extracting the major themes emerging from the data and formulating broad categories. The third step involved creating sub categories within these broad categories. The process involved removing some of the data that appeared irrelevant and looking closely for other sub categories into which some data could be more adequately captured. The final phase of analysis was the processing of the data and making sense of emerging patterns and relationships.

4.8 Challenges Encountered During Research

Firstly, the fact that non-probabilistic sampling methods were used, simply means that the findings cannot necessarily be generalised to all youth civic engagements in Cape Town or South Africa as a whole. Strictly speaking, the findings are case-bound, to Khayelitsha's Site C region. A major challenge faced during the study that most participants despite understanding the role of the researcher, still expect to receive some sort of redress to their problems through the study. They consistently ask about whether their concerns about community development will be put forward to the relevant authorities so that they can be

dealt with, usually with a relatively short to medium-term expectation. This was a major challenge as a researcher, especially having developed strong relationships and bonds especially having served for several months as a volunteer at ILISO. As a black African researcher, it was also challenging to maintain non-bias during the study because nearly all the research participants, organisation and community members all share a similar racial, cultural and socio-political background. This was a rather precarious position as a researcher to disengage oneself and be more empathetic rather than sympathetic during the investigations given the context social context. Although a considerable portion of the population in the study area is able to communicate in English, the majority are Xhosa speaking and this posed the greatest challenge regarding translation during data collection and information processing. This required the tact of a skilled translator that was able to capture the essence of the massages communicated to ensure that issues that may be weighty as expressed in the Xhosa language do not lose their significance after translation. Despite the challenges faced, an awareness of self, reflexivity and all other limitations mentioned above made on the part of the researcher and the context of the study, gave much optimism to the prospect of a well-balanced and informative study.

4.9 Concluding Remarks

Given that the bulk of the analysis involved an in-depth qualitative approach, the researcher primarily adopted an inductive approach to data analysis. A general inductive approach for analysis of qualitative evaluation was considered preferable for three important reasons:

(1) Ability to condense raw textual data into a brief summary form.

(2) The ease of establishing clear links between the evaluation or research objectives and the summary findings derived from the raw data.

(3) Ability to develop a framework of the underlying structure of social phenomena that is evident in the raw data.

As highlighted by Sundewall (2009, p.33), the general inductive approach provides an easily used and systematic set of procedures for analysing qualitative data that can produce reliable and valid findings. Although the general inductive approach is not as strong as some other alternative analytic strategies for theory or model development purposes, it does provide a simple, straightforward approach for deriving findings in the context of focused evaluation questions (Stake 1995). The researcher found that using a general inductive approach was not complicated in terms of deriving findings and qualitative analysis in terms of the study.

4.10 Ethical statement

The study adhered to the recommended standards, ethics and general guidelines for social science research. It was safe and caused no harm to all the parties involved throughout the process of the research. It was conducted on a voluntary basis and no coercion or intimidation of any kind was applied to participants. The researcher was fully aware that some participants involved were young people. Therefore, in such cases, the researcher took responsibility to seek consent from parents and in some cases legal guardians and to comply with international guidelines regarding research with minors. The researcher also received consent of the participants before disclosing or revealing any confidential information. Participants were duly informed about the nature and the purpose as well as the duration of the study. Participants were informed about their rights to withdraw from the research at any time they deem necessary. Throughout the period of data collection and information gathering all the participants and parties involved were also informed about the purpose of the study and anonymity and confidentiality were maintained as a priority. The researcher obtained ethical clearance from the University of the Western Cape, Senate Higher Degrees Committee before conducting the study.
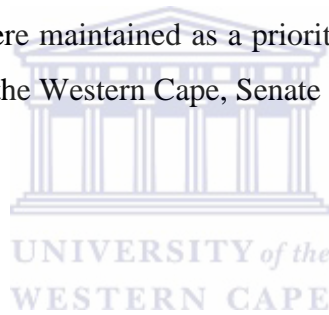
Chapter 5: Results – Presentation and Discussion

5.1 Introduction

The main purpose of this research was to find out how youth involvement in civic programmes and initiatives could foster and increase collective action to promote social change. The theoretical and conceptual framework presented earlier in this study, made use of the *Integrated Model of Communication for Social Change* (Figueroa's et al., 2002) (see Figure 2.2) to describe how the process of community dialogue, initiated by a catalyst (i.e. agent of change) could enable collective action and ultimately lead to social change. The results of the study are analysed, presented and discussed in this chapter.

The approach taken in the study made use of both qualitative and quantitative data. Different methods of data collection were used by the researcher, including questionnaires, semi-structured interviews, focus group discussions and participant observation. The following sections provide (i) quantitative analysis and (ii) qualitative analysis; after which finally drawing concluding remarks.

5.2 Quantitative Analysis

In all, 52 questionnaires were distributed to ILISO Care Society youth members residing in the Site C Khayelitsha township. The questionnaires were answered in a single sitting at the ILISO premises. Firstly, questionnaires were translated from English to Xhosa and distributed with the help of the research assistant, a member of ILISO, who facilitated the process of collecting data and provided the respondents with all the necessary information about the research.

The process was supervised by the principle researcher. The questionnaire (see Annexure 1) comprised of 16 questions on a standard Likert-type scale format, with the requirement to choose only one of five different answers (Strongly Agree, Agree, Unsure, Disagree, Strongly Disagree). This was mainly done in order to increase the response options in terms of the degree of confidence in the response. The nature of the subject had to allow for more flexibility and therefore a greater degree of accuracy in answering the questions at hand. It

was chiefly for this reason that a five option Likert-type scale was adopted in preference of the alternative three option scale which is simpler and reduces the margin of error.

5.3 Measuring social change: Collective self-efficacy

As discussed in Chapter 4, Figueroa et al. (2002, p.38) provided a series of seven indicators for outcomes of social change and the associated methodological tools to measure them. These are the direct results of the application of the integrated model of communication for social change and include (1) leadership, (2) degree and equity of participation, (3) information equity, (4) collective self-efficacy, (5) sense of ownership, (6) social cohesion and (7) social norms.

This study is principally focused on collective action for social change, as a direct outcome of dialogue and social learning. It was therefore deliberately decided to measure Figueroa et al.'s (2002) point 4 – *collective self-efficacy* as the single outcome able to reveal the tendency among the respondents to act as a united group. When community dialogue and collective action are applied in the way prescribed by the integrated model of communication for social change, the level of self-efficacy among project members should ordinarily increase.

The questionnaire sought to measure three different levels of self-efficacy: (a) the perceived efficacy of taking action as a group (i.e. youth project members and volunteers actively working within the ILISO projects); (b) the perceived efficacy of taking action as a community; and (c) the influence of ILISO project engagement of the youth on team members and the community. All the respondents had a minimum of at least 3 months exposure to ILISO projects and most even played an active role in them. In addition, they also had taken part in ILISO workshops, seminars and trainings which form a central part of the organisations work strategy.

Respondents had the option to choose from five different answers on a Likert-type scale. Because answers on the questionnaire were not presented on an ordinal scale, they subsequently had to be re-coded by using an ordinal scale from "1'' to "5'' in order to easily be analysed. Positive answers were then coded with a value of "1'' on the scale, negative with a value of "5'', while those that did not fall within these categories were coded as "3''. According to this coding system, "1'' represents a high level of efficacy, "3'' a neutral level

of efficacy and "5'' a low level of efficacy. In general, to facilitate data analysis, each response category on the Likert-type scale was successively assigned an *integer value*.

The questionnaire was divided into 3 sections, each addressing one of three themes. Section A, the perceived efficacy of taking action as a group; Section B, the perceived efficacy of taking action as a community; and Section C, the influence of ILISO project engagement of the youth on team members and the community. The responses were grouped separately and a reliability test was run to measure the Cronbach's alpha coefficient (α) of each of the 3 sections. Tavakol and Dennick (2011, p.54) explained that Cronbach's alpha (α) is "a coefficient used to measure the internal consistency of a scale and thereby asses the reliability of a particular test''.

As reported below (Table 5.1), the "N of items" indicates the number of questions that were grouped together. The Cronbach's alpha value (α) for the set of questions in section A was 0.711, which proves the pattern of analysis to be coherent and reliable.
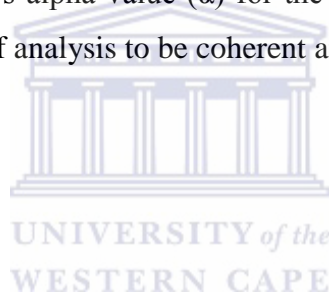
Table 5. 1: Cronbach's alpha value (α) for Section A

Case Processing Summary

		N	%
Cases	Valid	50	96.2
	Excluded[a]	2	3.8
	Total	52	100.0

a. Listwise deletion based on all variables in the procedure.

Reliability Statistics

Cronbach's Alpha	No of Items
.711	5

Questions from Section B were also grouped together as they all aimed at measuring the perceptions among the sample of the collective self-efficacy within their community. A second reliability test was run on this second set of answers and the Cronbach's alpha value (α) was 0.659. Analysis revealed that question 7 of this section framed by negative probing, was contrary to the pattern in the rest of the questions. This most likely distorted the scale in use. Thus, it substantially decreased the level of the Cronbach's alpha coefficient. As a result of this, the question was dropped in order to improve the internal consistency of the overall set of questions. On dropping the question, the Cronbach's alpha value (α) was increased to 0.719 which is within a more acceptable range.

Table 5.2: Cronbach's alpha value (α) for Section B

Case Processing Summary

		N	%
Cases	Valid	51	98.1
	Excluded[a]	1	1.9
	Total	52	100.0

a. Listwise deletion based on all variables in the procedure.

Reliability Statistics

Cronbach's Alpha	N of Items
.659	7

Reliability Statistics

Cronbach's Alpha	N of Items
.719	6

Lastly, questions in Section C were analysed together in order to understand whether ILISO's community development projects – in this specific case, its 6 main projects mentioned earlier and their contribution to increasing participants' level of collective self-efficacy. This was done by helping community members to identify relevant issues affecting their communities and by triggering collective forms of action. As illustrated in Table 5.3 below, the Cronbach's alpha value (α) for Section C was 0.853 which is well within the acceptable range.

Table 5.3: Cronbach's alpha value (α) for Section C

Case Processing Summary

		N	%
Cases	Valid	52	100.0
	Excluded[a]	0	.0
	Total	52	100.0

a. Listwise deletion based on all variables in the procedure.

Reliability Statistics

Cronbach's Alpha	No of Items
.853	4

A *t*-test was run to verify the *mean* (**μ**) of each of the four questions in Section C. The results, as reported below (see Table 5.5) show that for all the four questions the value of (**μ**) is significantly high. It can be noted that the answers from the respondents tend to be close to a positive value of "1'' which indicates a high level of efficacy. This last set of questions aimed at measuring how ILISO youth projects positively influenced the level of efficacy amongst the respondents and the community. The participants generally agreed with the following statements:

- ILISO projects have helped members discuss social problems and initiate dialogue on community development issues.
- ILISO projects have improved or increased the relationship between community members.
- Being involved with ILISO has helped the youth members identify new civic issues that they were not aware of before.
- ILISO has improved or increased youth civic participation in development within the community.

Table 5.4: Measuring questions relating to perceived group efficacy

Whenever our leaders ask us to work on projects together, almost everyone is willing to join and to do their share of the work

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	**Strongly Agree**	19	**41.3**	41.3	**41.3**
	Agree	24	**52.2**	52.2	**93.5**
	Unsure	3	6.5	6.5	100.0
	Total	46	100.0	100.0	

Our members have the skill, knowledge and ability to implement the action plan needed to address the issue at hand

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	**Strongly Agree**	13	**28.3**	29.5	**29.5**
	Agree	21	**45.7**	47.7	**77.3**
	Unsure	6	13.0	13.6	90.9
	Disagree	3	6.5	6.8	97.7
	Strongly Disagree	1	2.2	2.3	100.0
	Total	44	95.7	100.0	
Missing	99	2	4.3		
Total		46	100.0		
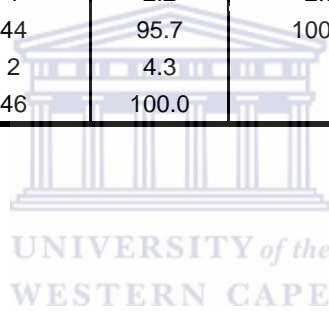
Table 5.5: A *t* -test run with questions in Section C

One-Sample Test

	Test Value = 0					
					95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
	T	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Lower	Upper
The ILISO project/s have helped members discuss social problems and initiate dialogue on community development issues.	12.781	51	.000	**1.673**	1.41	1.94
The ILISO projects have improved or increased the relationships between community members.	10.950	51	.000	**1.769**	1.44	2.09
Being involved with ILISO has helped me identify new civic issues I was not aware about.	12.021	51	.000	**1.904**	1.59	2.22
ILISO has improved youth civic participation in development within the community.	13.041	51	.000	**1.904**	1.61	2.20

A further analysis was conducted to summarise the distribution of values in the sample for each of the 3 sections in the questionnaire to gain an idea of the level of *confidence (Agreement)* perceived by the respondents. In particular, the analysis of the last set of questions, that is, Section C, which aimed at establishing a relationship between ILISO project participation and level of self-efficacy, revealed a high percentage of perceived efficacy in all four questions (see Table 5.5). The concluding observation was that respondents believe that their high level of *confidence,* or *efficacy,* was positively influenced by ILISO's youth civic engagement projects.

Table 5.6: Measurement of perceived collective self-efficacy for Section 6

The ILISO project/s have helped members discuss social problems and initiate dialogue on community development issues

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	**Strongly Agree**	27	**51.9**	51.9	**51.9**
	Agree	20	**38.5**	38.5	**90.4**
	Unsure	2	3.8	3.8	94.2
	Disagree	1	1.9	1.9	96.2
	Strongly Disagree	2	3.8	3.8	100.0
	Total	52	100.0	100.0	

		Frequency		Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	**Strongly Agree**	28	**53.8**	53.8	**53.8**
	Agree	18	**34.6**	34.6	**88.5**
	Disagree	2	3.8	3.8	92.3
	Strongly Disagree	4	7.7	7.7	100.0
	Total	52	100.0	100.0	

Being involved with ILISO has helped me identify new civic issues I was not aware about

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	**Strongly Agree**	22	**42.3**	42.3	**42.3**
	Agree	23	**44.2**	44.2	**86.5**
	Unsure	1	1.9	1.9	88.5
	Disagree	2	3.8	3.8	92.3
	Strongly Disagree	4	7.7	7.7	100.0
	Total	52	100.0	100.0	

ILISO has improved youth civic participation in development within the community

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	**Strongly Agree**	20	**38.5**	38.5	**38.5**
	Agree	25	**48.1**	48.1	**86.5**
	Unsure	2	3.8	3.8	90.4
	Disagree	2	3.8	3.8	94.2
	Strongly Disagree	3	5.8	5.8	100.0
	Total	52	100.0	100.0	
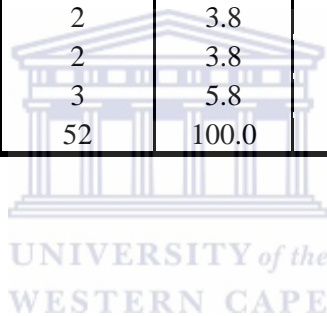
5.4 Conclusions

Having carefully conducted an analysis of the quantitative data and interpretation of item analysis a number of important notes were revealed. The respondents presented a high level of self-efficacy and strongly believed that, as a group, they would be able to effectively tackle different issues and achieve collective goals. The first two sections, A and B of the questionnaire aimed at measuring, respectively, the level of efficacy perceived amongst project group members and the level of efficacy *(confidence)* in working constructively with other community members. The Cronbach's alpha coefficient (α) for the questions in the Section A of the questionnaire was 0.711 which was within an acceptable range of test reliability.

Section B however produced a Cronbach's alpha coefficient (α) of 0.659 which is not fully acceptable. After further scrutiny, it was discovered that there was a systematic inconsistency in the framing of the last question of section B (Question 7), which was based on negative probing unlike the rest of the questions in the entire questionnaire. This most likely distorted

the Likert-type scale used for the section. After excluding the problematic question, alpha coefficient (α) increased to 0.719 indicating an acceptable and reliable coefficient of internal consistency. This means that respondents placed enough confidence in the skills and knowledge of the group members and that the community is cohesive and able to mobilise resources and implement the action planned for social change.

The last set of questions in Section C was intended to establish a relationship between ILISO projects, methodology, training programmes and the perceived level of efficacy and the community. In this case, the test of reliability produced a Cronbach's alpha coefficient of 0.853. A further elaboration on the available data was conducted on section C. A *t*-test was run on all the questions in this section and scored a **(μ)**, close to a value of "1", meaning that respondents generally agreed that through youth engagement, ILISO youth were better equipped to discuss the pressing matters affecting them in the community, to initiate dialogue, to take action as a group, and to identify new community development issues. The analysis of quantitative data demonstrates that the majority of the respondents presented a high level of *self-efficacy* and *confidence* in the ability of project group and community members to take action and find effective solutions to issues affecting them especially those within the main project focus of the organisation. Furthermore, the data analysis clearly shows that ILISO discussion forums and trainings have an impact on the increase of the level of collective self-efficacy amongst the sample group analysed.

Based on smaller samples such as ILISO, quantitative analysis can be very useful in drawing inferences to a larger population such as Khayelitsha and Site C as the case in this study. However, to get a deeper understanding of the mechanisms that drive social phenomena, qualitative analysis can certainly be an invaluable approach (Geertz, 1973). A qualitative analysis was therefore conducted in order to get an understanding of the complex elements that are involved in social transformation through youth civic participation.

5.5 Qualitative Analysis

In this section of the study, a qualitative method of research was applied, which assisted in assessing participants' opinions, experience and perception on the population census. A purposeful sampling method was used and a total of 10 semi-structured interviews were conducted with ILISO project managers, team leaders and members of the projects as well as

other key informants from cooperating development partners. The interviews were captured with a voice recorder also translated into English in instances where the local dialect (Xhosa) was used.

The semi-structured interviews were coupled with Focus Group Discussions (FGD) with ILISO project members. The context in which the qualitative information was acquired was also reinforced through a three month observation period by the researcher as a volunteer at the organisation.

Discussions and analysis on the qualitative findings were based on the responses received, that were organised into themes drawn from the data collected as presented below. For purposes of confidentiality, all respondents have been assigned pseudo names.

5.5.1 Perceived Group Efficacy

The management team at ILISO all hold the view that there is a lack of professional competence among its project officers. None of the project officers has ever received any professional training in their respective roles. Vuyani, the Projects Facilitator commends the leadership of the organisation for having kept it going in spite of the challenges faced:

> Sometimes youth don't stay they keep coming and going because many times we don't have the funds to keep the projects running continuously. But the leaders here at ILISO they never give up they keep pushing until maybe some tourists come to visit us then we can restart let say the soup kitchen just like that. The leadership here I can say they love what they do you and we always support each other. Like last year we went to Germany for a trip for our choir, and one of our choir members the passport came late so they didn't buy her a plane ticket with us…all of us we took our allowances and contributed on top of money from a tourist to help her to buy her ticket to travel with us to Germany.
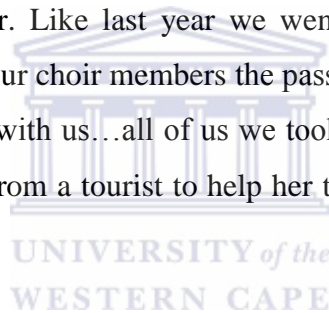
The project management team members are also aware that there are no well-established monitoring and evaluation methods in place and so it is difficult to manage the projects' life cycles. The management team seems to be well aware of their own shortcomings and note that the efficiency of the projects at the organisation is compromised due to the lack of skills, competence and qualifications. However, they mentioned that the hands-on experience that they have gained working on the projects has been very valuable, and as a result the projects are still operational. They feel that they only require a slight nudge in terms of professional training especially on the administrative side of managing the projects.

Finally, in terms of the group efficacy, the empirical data from the survey supports the findings obtained from the ILISO management through the interviews. The survey findings offered interesting insights as these represented an external view on the perceptions of the ILISO members on their competence, rather than the project members' self-evaluations as detailed above. The survey results included ordinary ILISO youth volunteers who are not part

of the management team. On their assessment of whether ILISO management has the knowledge, skills and competence to implement and manage their projects, 77.3% of the ILISO youth volunteers were in agreement. In terms of their willingness to comply with authority, that is, ILISO management, 93.5% of the youth volunteers were in agreement, with 29.5%, almost a third, being in strong agreement.

5.5.2 Perceived Community Efficacy

The interviews with the South African National Civic Organisation (SANCO) and Khayelitsha Development Forum (KDF) officials were particularly revealing as they insisted that there is now an open system that provides an opportunity for the youth to get civically involved with developmental programmes in their community. On the other side of the fence, most of the FGD participants claim that the adult folk enjoy a monopoly over development projects as they feel that the youth are not ready to spearhead development processes. There is probably some truth to both views in that most of the community youth have not been trained nor had opportunity for practice in civic involvement. There is generally a lack of awareness in terms of development projects and their processes and an unrealistic expectation of outcomes (UNICEF, 2013). Most participants are also of the view that those with political clout are always in the forefront of civic development projects especially when they are well funded. Therefore, even though there are avenues for community civic engagement, there is a significant level of apathy and distrust towards civic participation especially among the youth. In the context of the new South Africa, the focus group participants regret that through the creation of one form of inclusion, there has been the creation of another form of exclusion, of young people. Such situations highlight the contradictory nature of participation in the new democratic South Africa.

To this end, most of the participants in all the FGDs emphasised that they believe in the ability of the community to solve its own problems, especially if provided the necessary support by government, and to encourage more youth to join community based civic organisations like ILISO. This is perhaps also important to avoid young people taking to the street in protest each time there is a problem with the government regarding community challenges. Table 5.6 above indicates that 88.5% of the survey participants believe that ILISO has helped to improve relationships within the community. In addition, the survey results show that more than 50% of the survey participants believe that ILISO has helped to initiate

dialogue on community development issues. This has encouraged a form of social learning in which community participants are made more aware of the nature of the challenges that face them and the various amicable and more efficient channels of dispute resolution. It has also made members of ILISO and its partners more aware of the most pressing issues in the community. A report by the South African Institute of Race Relations (Ngoepe, 2015) shows that people born after 1990 in South Africa 'born frees) are likely to get more involved in protests due to the high unemployment rate which was estimated at over 67% (for men 5 – 24 years old and) compare to 75% (for women in the same age group). Furthermore, only 74,000 informal businesses are owned by people aged 15 – 24 years old. The report also notes that economic alienation could affect voter participation which is already low at 31%. It is therefore important to find ways to begin to engage the youth in more civically productive ways.

Nearly all the participants in the FGDs believe that through a systematic improvement in Site C youth relations, ILISO has been key in promoting social transformation in Site C within the scope of its projects and even beyond. Figueroa et al. (2002, p.7) provide a model that helps to understand this process more elaborately. The model describes a dynamic, iterative process that starts with a "catalyst/stimulus" that can be external or internal to the community. This catalyst leads to a dialogue within the community that when effective, leads to collective action and the resolution of a common problem.

5.5.3 Perceived Influence of ILISO on Collective Efficacy

The Khayelitsha Site C ward councillor just like Mama Vicky also commended the leadership that the youth at ILISO saying that it has inspired some of the community members. The councillor also knows a number of the youth members at ILISO personally. She is aware of the challenges that they face (e.g. poverty) and how they have avoided crime and gangsterism to engage in socially productive activities at ILISO. Most of the youth at the organisation organised themselves and presented issues to her that affect the community and wanted their views to reach the Cape Town City Council. The councillor stated that she has engaged ILISO youth in a number of community development projects so as to encourage more of a sense of ownership for development work and social citizenship as she remarks:

Having witnessed some of the work the youth within Khayelitsha are doing for example at ILISO, a lot of young people have been encouraged. Many young people and even those that are past the age of 40 years or so feel that they are able to bring changes to the community. I was shocked to see some of the youngsters I knew not so long ago now involved at ILISO. Many of them are active in the soccer team and Mandla for instance has even started a coaching course. Some tourists from overseas who visited the organisation were very impressed by his passion and talent for the sport that they decided to fund his coaching course and he is now a completely different person very focused on his work. All his siblings and some friends are now volunteers at the organisation so you can see how inspiring the guys at the organisation have been to their peer. Most of the youth just need some direction and opportunity to do something productive and they will run with it as a team! There have been a number of initiatives that the community youth have put up without us as the government having to step in. The neighbourhood crime watch, the clean-up campaigns, the extra lesson tutoring programmes in some schools are just some of them. With organisations such as ILISO which expose youngsters to community development and sensitise them, we have seen that the community feels more self-empowered than a couple years ago. Today the youth and the community is more able to even engage us as municipal officials and lobby for issues without always taking to the street to protest.

The interviews revealed that the ILISO projects have helped the youth discuss social problems and initiate dialogue on community development issues. Among the major issues addressed are unemployment problems, malnutrition of children, drugs and most importantly, people's understanding of their civic role in the community and in society at large. Some members of the organisation note that there is a tendency among young people of finger pointing and playing the 'blame game' rather than actively taking up responsibility for one's welfare and community. Mama Vicky emphasises that this perspective echoes the guiding philosophy and vision of ILISO towards moral and character development. It is for this reason that the organisation has a subsidiary Christian Youth Group called 'Lisakhanya' which means 'Still Shining'.

ILISO members are pleased with the relationships that the organisation has been able to forge not only in Site C but in Khayelitsha as a whole. Through a registered organisation called 'Umbono' which means 'Idea' a collaboration of 30 CBO's chaired by ILISO was formed. The different organisations focus on different aspects of community development. The collaboration serves as a networking and learning opportunity for ILISO youth, and also ensures that projects are not replicated. ILISO chairing the collaboration has helped the youth to hone their leadership skills gotten them more civically involved beyond the Site C and Khayelitsha community. As pointed out by Flanagan et al. (2011), youth are more likely to be civically responsible adults if they have had opportunities to interact and work in collaboration with adults and peers on communal issues and to discuss current events with them. It should be noted adolescent's sense being socially incorporated in society in a meaningful way is a psychological factor, which grows with youth assuming social responsibility for others in their communities.

5.6 Conclusion

The analysis of qualitative data provides encouraging findings for the current study. Thematic patterns were isolated to facilitate content analysis. From the discussion with the interviewees, it was apparent that youth participation in community development projects is able to evoke or inspire both individual and group awareness that can lead to some form of "action" or change. In some cases the result is an individual response such as one deciding to persevere in education through the formal schooling system or make a conscious decision not to join a gang. In other cases it is youth organising and mobilisation to lobby for a common cause, as was the case with the Khayelitsha Site C security neighbourhood watch.

The purpose of this research was to further explore how development communication can lead to collective action. One of the strong areas about the approach of ILISO in engaging the youth in community development and general civic awareness is its emphasis on training. The organisation fosters project appraisal and most important participatory learning about its projects and other community related issues by actively engaging staff, volunteers and the local community. It does this through participatory discussions and information sharing through workshops, seminars and mostly in-house (ILISO members) and out-sourced (consultants) facilitated training. The discussion forums have been noted to help audiences to

become more aware of the issues affecting their community and also to identify new community needs. This process, initiated by dialogue, can be defined as a form of social learning (Freire, 1973).

As mentioned earlier, the regular weekly forums that focus on a vast range of social issues have clearly helped to increase awareness and participation in tackling some of the social challenges faced in the community. They have helped with project appraisal through a bottom up management approach that is people-centred. The forums have also served as a good reinforcement of inculcating the values of ILISO on the youth to ensure continuity of the organisations vision through the youth's own personal development.

Chapter 6: Conclusions and Recommendations

6.1 Introduction

Historically, the youth have always been more likely than their elders to participate in movements for social change. This attitude may be prompted by their inherent idealism and willingness to take risks. With an entire future ahead of them, young people also feel as though they have more at stake and more to lose as opposed to those already in old age. Because of their precarious position on the brink of adulthood, the youth are pressured to explore a world of future possibilities. This prompts them to challenge questions about where the world is headed. These are often questions that are intrinsically tied to the socio-political and economic spheres of society as they concern the polis and the relationships that bind citizens of local communities together. It is with this perspective that the social capital theory was deemed fit as the main theoretical framework through which to analyse the study.

This concluding chapter consolidates several issues that have emerged from the study. The research sought to provide a comprehensive theoretical framework that can clearly validate the link between youth civic engagement and social change. It also attempted to empirically investigate the relationship between civic youth engagement and collective action to advance shared interests, especially for marginalised groups, particularly the poor. Furthermore, the study was also interested in establishing the critical role that education is assumed to play in as far as youth civic participation is concerned. Finally, was to examine how opportunities for youth participation in civil society and in particular community based development organisations that contribute towards social change. The chapter also offers recommendations based on the finding of the study and provides further areas for research on the subject.

6.2 Concluding Remarks

As noted in the qualitative findings, the political choices of the youth are shaped by the variety of alternatives they imagine are possible and that the range of options will vary at different historical periods. Because the adolescent and young adult years are a time when political identities and views crystallize, the historical era when a generation of youth comes of age is likely to be formative of that generation's political views and behaviours going into

adulthood. In the context of this study, South Africa is a good example of the significance of the historical era in which the youth of the past has come of age.

The political dispensation that had banished the parents' and grandparents' of today's youth activists is no longer in existence. For the post-democracy generation of Black South Africans there are more choices for individuals but also less urgency and clarity about political activism and civic participation. ILISO as a CBO has been able to increase the levels of confidence of Site C youth to bring about social change in their community, at least within the constraints of its resources. In light of this, policy support in the direction grassroot or local level community organisations to engagie young people in civically productive activities is a given.

Based on the research findings it is clear relationship development plays a central role in youth organising. The process of youth organising for a common purpose involves developing strategies that can mobilise for community change, and this cannot be achieved without harnessing the constituency relationships right from community level. This kind of social power with the immense potential for transformation is built through a network of trusting relationships as has been discussed throughout the thesis via the social capital theoretical framework (Christens, 2010). Relationship development processes in youth organising tend to differ from those in adult organising. As discussed in the literature review, one-to-one meetings, which are often used in adult organising, are rarely part of youth organizing processes. Rather, the youth use peer-administered surveys, entertaining icebreakers, group conversations, games, activities, and even unstructured social time to build relationships and unravel issues in young people's lives. It is this realisation that initiated ILISO as a youth organisation to establish its Choir and Performing Arts group and its' Soccer Team which have since become very popular and attracted other youth in the community. These have drawn in the attention of several youth from within the Khayelitsha's Site C community. In the process, many have become involved in other youth development projects. Their sense of civic responsibility has gone beyond sport and entertainment, addressing pressing issues in the community to bring about positive social change.

With this, deliberate efforts have been made by ILISO to form and harness relationships among the youth in order to build commonalities and understandings of common social issues, thereby developing a network of trust and concern. This is consolidated by its regular

workshops, seminars and training which are usually facilitated by peers. Youth leadership development is also a primary objective of ILISO by taking this approach. This view has been supported by others, identifying youth organising as a context that facilitates and cuts across working relationships throughout generations, in both formal and informal mentoring (Christens and Zeldin, 2011; Kirshner, 2008; Share and Stacks, 2007).

The focus of this study is not biased towards a single or particular discipline, but rather draws on the fundamental aspects involved in organising young people for a common good. That is, the issues surrounding the formation of social relations and the mobilisation of young people within them to promote positive social transformation. Youth organising more often takes placed through community based organisations which act as settings for youth development. Youth civic engagement is therefore an important part of organising youth for social transformation. When this is done successfully, youth participation initiatives can have impacts that are larger than these CBO's. They can extend towards influencing policies, implementing new programmes and projects and building powerful political establishments and coalitions regionally, nationally and worldwide.

Participants in the study added that education is a critical factor to their professional aspirations and to enable them play an active role in positive civic participation. It also equips young people to be able to understand their environment and to challenge the status quo in a more effective manner within the confines of the law and good order. ILISO youth, even those that have not been able to go further in schooling firmly believe that the ability for a society to prosper and to sustain itself is founded in the appropriate education and empowerment of its youth. To this end, they continue to participate in initiatives that support education and empower youth to seek development opportunities and allow them to engage with, and contribute towards, their local communities.

Adolescents' experiences of their public, social, political and economic life which are represented through the government and private economic sectors of society are largely indirect. Some maybe on salaried work and not all are eligible to vote. The study contends that their interactions and ability to govern, shape and direct these systems is due to their experiences in mediating institutions. Mediating institutions such as schools, ethnic and residential communities, cultural and faith-based groups, and of particular interest CBO's such as ILISO, are pivotal in equipping young people to play a meaningful role in the socio-

economic development of society. For a several reasons a local CBO (ILISO) was preferred as a mediating institution to investigate how youths' potential can be cultivated for positive social change. Local CBO's tend to capture or act cultural values within the community they operate. They are also down to the grassroots people and for this reason are easily accessible to the community. Through CBO's it is easier to form and strengthen networks and relationships among community members. This makes it more effective and efficient to deal with the most pressing priority social issues affecting residents. As evidenced in the research results CBO's such as ILISO can be settings where people gather and challenge their government to take actions to protect citizens or lobby over social issues. It should be clearly pointed out that the study is not arguing, as others have (Berger, Neuhaus, and Novak, 1996), that so-called mediating structures such as CBO's are a substitute for public services and programs, but rather that they are spaces where citizens' actions both shape and are shaped by the socio-political order. For example, schools and community-based institutions function as 'mini polities' where younger generations can explore and experiment on what it means to be a member of a political community and can practice the rights and obligations associated with membership in that community (Flanagan, Stoppa, Syvertsen and Stout, 2010). Making available such spaces for civic practice has the potential to promote what Marshall (1950) termed as political and civil citizenship. Karriem and Benjamin (2015, pp.6-7) in their studies on the Brazilian Landless Movement (MST) found organisational participation in the movement to have empowered the marginalised and poverty stricken landless communities. It was found that promoting certain practices, common in most Civil Society Organisations (CSO's) can result in a form of citizenship they termed as 'insurgent citizenship', in which these communities confront systematic patterns of marginalisation and take action to change them. The research by Karriem and Benjamin (2015) identifies, but is not limited to three main practices, namely, promoting participation in the organisational structure, reframing problems and possible courses of action and building solidarity. As discussed in this study, these practices present in the MST resonate soundly with the work conducted by ILISO.

Apart from the role they play in supporting as well stabilising polities, CBO's also provide the 'free spaces' where youth can challenge the status quo, participate in governance, and also gain democratic skills. In the process, they also can build the foundations for social change. CBO's can serve as free spaces where, collectively, young people, often under the tutelage of more experienced counterparts imagine alternatives to the way things are and by acting together, develop the confidence (self-efficacy) and skills to realize that vision. ILISO

has been able create these spaces by offering the youth in Site C an opportunity for civic practice.

As earlier alluded to, ILISO has taken a two-thronged approach in its work with the youth. It has done so firstly, through providing opportunities for practice, by engaging young people in its voluntary social projects, and secondly, by making use of innovative and integrative development communication strategies which reinforce social learning, encourage civic participation, creativity, and hone leadership skills. More than just provide relief to the needy Site C community, ILISO's seven main projects outlined in Section 1.3 have had an even greater psychosocial impact its members and the community. As confirmed by both the quantitative and qualitative results, ILISO has been successful in increasing individual, organisational and the Site C community's level of confidence to bring about the desired social changes they wish to see.

The concept of *development communication* has evolved throughout the years, moving from a top-down linear process aimed at shifting individuals' attitudes and behaviours to a bottom-up and participatory process, seeking consensus and ownership at the grassroots. For this reason, the role of communication as applied to the field of development cannot be limited to the sheer transfer of knowledge from the sender to the receiver, but rather it has to be conceived as a two-way process. The community development experience of the ILISO leadership understands has over the year taught them these lessons. It is for this reason that they believe communication should be able to assist audiences of poor and disadvantaged communities and have therefore made reflective workshops, seminars and training a regular part of their weekly work plans. Poor and disadvantaged most need to critically understand the causes of their problems and identify solutions that can be achieved with a collective effort. Therefore, passive and linear forms of communication are now out-dated and ineffective, needing to be replaced by more integrated forms of communication, methods that are able to conscientise and educate communities on problem solving.

This model of communication has been explained throughout the thesis using Figueroa's (2002) *Integrated Model of Communication for Social Change.* The main assumption behind it is that participation and community engagement are the core elements of every communication process and can lead to collective action. This model is inspired by the concept of *dialogical action* developed by the Brazilian educator Paulo Freire (1972) and by

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a people-centred body of theories that define communication as a two-way participatory process, based on dialogue. In essence, as in the case with ILISO, these information sharing discussion forums (weekly seminars, workshops and trainings) act as a catalyst of the process. Here, young people are given the platform to reflection, debate and discussion about possible solutions to pressing issues in the community and beyond. Participants go through a series of different stages: from an initial phase of disagreement to a final *convergence* on a collective action strategy. This is consequently discussed among community members who, after a process of attaining mutual understanding, decide collectively on how to tackle a particular social issue. Through this two-way youth development model of providing platforms for integrative communication strategies and opportunities for civic engagement ILISO recorded some notable achievements.

6.3 Conclusive Finding of the Research

The study revealed how the legacy of apartheid's segregation policies have had enduring effects particularly on the education system, which in-turn has also had negative impacts on youth civic participation, as well as other interlinked spheres of society. Most importantly, the findings revealed that the ILISO youth civic engagement projects have contributed in increasing the level of confidence (*efficacy)* to solve community problems of not only the ILISO project members, but also the wider Site C community. This was evidenced in the research participants' belief in their own ability to produce change for themselves (*self-efficacy)* and also the ILISO youth members' shared belief as a group, in their ability (*collective self-efficacy)* to bring about social transformation. This has led to Site C youth acting collectively *(collective action)* in the face of community challenges, thereby promoting social change.

6.4 Recommendations

6.4.1 Policy – Level Recommendations

- Education remains perhaps the single most important factor in unravelling the potential of South Africa's youth. Schools are an important mediating institution for youth civic engagement as breeding grounds for social transformation. The national school curriculum should therefore provide learners with the relevant knowledge and

skills to adequately prepare and usher them into adulthood and the real world of work and politics.

- The Department of Education and civil society organisations could *collaborate* in providing young people with adequate and relevant information about the options, channels and constraints they would most likely face in their quest for brighter future aspirations in life.

- The state should ensure that it continues with programmes to accelerate its efforts to reverse the apartheid-era education provision inequalities. This legacy continues to haunt previously disadvantaged groups leaving them severely civically unknowledgeable and incapable of promoting social change in their communities and the nation at large. The Department of Education should ensure that schools especially in these communities strengthen career guidance counselling and life-skills training. The interest by learners and positive spin-offs of this are tremendous as evidenced by the ILISO case study with its efforts in this direction.

- Government and relevant partners especially the private sector and CBO's such as ILISO should develop a national strategic plan on youth employment and practical skills training and development. For those that cannot immediately be recruited into work, they can at least be employment ready with practical industry relevant skills.

- Government should create stronger relations with civil society organisations involved in youth development programmes and see to it that that they are profiled and supported. They should be made accessible to all youth without discrimination or marginalisation.

- Government should strengthen the National Youth Strategic Plan (NYSP) and ensure that it emphasises development of civic skills and national solidarity. It should also find ways of making it attractive to young people from across all sections of society.

- The state, especially through local government, should promote the participation of youth in democratic processes. It is the prerogative to unsure that undemocratic tendencies such as voter apathy which are experienced in many townships as

evidenced in the study are curbed. This should be done to develop young peoples' confidence (self-efficacy) in their ability to create social change in their society.

- Local government should also prioritise investment in the arts, sports and recreation to broaden opportunities for the youth. These are not only career opportunities but also opportunities to capture their attention and get them civically engaged in development. It should take advantage of all opportunities with the private sector, civil society, which includes CBO's and FBO's to engage youth in civically productive projects.

- Government should institutionalise programmes specifically dealing with moral, character, and spiritual development. This should be done to revamp the spirit of responsibility and social cohesion. These are seedbeds of corporation and collective action for social change.

6.4.2 Organisational – Level Recommendations

- As much as ILISO has formed some valuable networks within the Khayelitsha community, there is need for it to expand. The organisation should make more efforts to link-up with other civil society organisations particularly around Cape Town. This will expand learning opportunities and exposure for most of the Site C community youth. By so doing ILISO can learn from others by allowing itself to be part of broader networks.

- ILISO should also take advantage of the private sector partnerships that exist. Within Site C and the larger Khayelitsha community, there are a few multinational corporations such as retail conglomerates and banks that it can lobby for funding. Partnerships in programmes such as Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) strategies can with such companies can be formed as a way of them giving back to the poor community in which considerable profits are made. In addition to direct financing of its projects there are other CSR initiatives that can be drawn up. For example, educational competitions such as spelling bees, sports tournaments or musical

festivals and competitions can be entered into and branded with the sponsoring companies.

- One of the biggest hindrances to the efficient management and expansion of ILISO projects, is the skills gap at almost all levels. Some of the current partners of the organisation such as the ISD in the School of Government at UWC have professionals and academics in the fields of management, administration and community development. ILISO could propose capacity building training programmes conducted by these partners who are well placed and vested in the knowledge and skills the organisation currently lacks.

- Since June 2014, the South African Department of Social Welfare mandated ILISO to run a school feeding programme due to its reach in the community. By successfully managing the feeding programme, the organisation now has the opportunity to lobby and rope the government on its other projects in the future.

- The organisation should focus its effort on changing one or two key community level issues, rather than attempting to do too many things or spreading meagre resources thinly. Currently some projects are docile because of this and others are not well defined tackling too many community challenges with poor outcomes.

- Be intentional about getting the right people involved rather than just everyone and anyone.

- Make efforts to engage underrepresented youth such marginalised the handicapped youth.

- Another important related aspect is to seek out adults who are good at supporting local youth while allowing them to exercise independent responsibility and leadership.

- Community issues are highly emotive by their very nature as they directly touch on the livelihood of people. ILISO should pay attention to the emotions generated by its

work, continuously harnessing the energy of young people not only through the IMCSC but also through intensive BCC programming.

6.5 Future Directions for Research

In the context of the developing world, especially Africa, locating the cutting-edge in youth engagement and collective action research is fairly manageable. There is still a considerable amount of space for research in this area. One of the more silent areas is that of Youth Participatory Action Research (YPAR) as an engine for social action campaigns. There is usually a phase in social change campaigns when youth participants gather data about a topic, such as surveying fellow students or community members about some experience or conducting content analyses of newspaper stories (Kirshner and Geil, 2010).

In some cases, this research element may arise because of a direct collaboration with a university, as in the case of ILISO with Institute for Social Development at the University of the Western Cape. Such research is used both to help organizers better understand the issue at hand and as evidence to share with policymakers or other stakeholders. It obviously requires complex cognitive tasks, including developing survey items and analysing qualitative data. This also quips the youth involved with valuable research skills. The kinds of learning opportunities that arise when participatory research is linked with social action campaigns merit further attention from researchers. These novel approaches in research may offer innovative approaches to schooling.

Following our framework demonstrating social processes leading to collective action for social change, more research is needed on the ways that youth can organising initiatives function as developmental settings, particularly for disadvantaged or marginalized youth. In the context of South Africa these would not only be the poor usually previously racially disadvantaged groups but also the handicapped and HIV stigma victims among others. In more recent times there's been an upsurge of these sentiments against foreign nationals particularity from other African countries. In 2008 it reached a climax and tens of foreign nationals were killed and more recently in 2015 there has been a resurgence of the violent attacks. These qualify for marginalised groups that have youth populations living amongst locals in communities many of them within the townships where these violent attacks by fellow youth occur.

6.6 Closing Remarks

While enduring common cultural beliefs and routine practices tend to reinforce the status quo, younger generations are never eager to carbon copy the prevailing social dispensation. Even though young people have not always received the deserved recognition, they are always at the forefront of social change movements in most societies. If for no other reason, they continuously replace their elders as part of societies' membership coming in with a fresh view. In order to effect change it is important for youth to mobilise and organise towards a common purpose. The study utilised the Social Capital Theory which comprehensively espouses how reciprocal relationships cultivate can cultivate trust and form strong bonds. This sets the stage for collective action towards common goals for social transformation among community members. The study further incorporated the Figueroa et al. (2002) Integrated Model of Communication for Social Change to allow for the operationalisation of the social change process.

ILISO as a case study has proved how CBO's can provide opportunities for practice in order to nurture youth organising in a democratic society. This practice is reinforced through offering young people platforms for discussion and debate. In closing, this study has proved how in today's complex society, Youth Civic Engagement (YCE) can be used to foster promote positive social change.

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APPENDICES

Annexure 1: Survey Questionnaire for Quantitative Analysis

Objective of Study:

The purpose of the study is to investigate how youth civic engagement can promote positive social change. Please respond to the following survey items by checking the appropriate response next to each question/item where applicable. The information given is strictly confidential.

Demographic Information

1. Please indicate your gender.
     (1) Male [   ]   (2) Female   [   ]

2. Please indicate your age.
     (1) 15-25   [   ]
     (2) 26-30   [   ]
     (3) 31-35   [   ]

3. Please indicate your educational background.
     (1) Metric Certificate   [   ]
     (2) Junior Secondary   [   ]
     (3) Vocational   [   ]
     (4) Collage   [   ]
     (5) University   [   ]
     (6)   Non Formal   [   ]
     (7)   No Formal School   [   ]

4. Please indicate your marital status
     (1) Married   [   ]
     (2) Single   [   ]
     (3) Divorced   [   ]

5. Please indicate your project membership or affiliation
     (1) Urban Agriculture   [   ]
     (2) Education   [   ]
     (3) Civic training Mentoring [   ]
     (4) Care Initiatives   [   ]

Section A: Perceived efficacy to take action as a group (i.e. Project Members)

1. Project members are always able to discuss problems that affect everyone.

    (1) Strongly Agree   [   ]
    (2) Agree   [   ]
    (3) Unsure   [   ]
    (4) Disagree   [   ]
    (5) Strongly Disagree   [   ]

2. I believe our project group is able to deal with the issues we address.

    (1) Strongly Agree   [   ]
    (2) Agree   [   ]
    (3) Unsure   [   ]
    (4) Disagree   [   ]
    (5) Strongly Disagree   [   ]

3. Whenever our leaders ask us to work on projects together, almost everyone is willing to join in and do their share of the work.

    (1) Strongly Agree   [   ]
    (2) Agree   [   ]
    (3) Unsure   [   ]
    (4) Disagree   [   ]
    (5) Strongly Disagree   [   ]

4. Our members have the skills, knowledge and ability to implement the action/plan needed to address the issue at hand.

    (1) Strongly Agree   [   ]
    (2) Agree   [   ]
    (3) Unsure   [   ]
    (4) Disagree   [   ]
    (5) Strongly Disagree   [   ]

5. Our members usually have trouble dealing with conflict.

    (1) Strongly Agree   [   ]
    (2) Agree   [   ]
    (3) Unsure   [   ]
    (4) Disagree   [   ]
    (5) Strongly Disagree   [   ]

Section B: Perceived collective self-efficacy in the community

1. People in this community are always able to discuss problems that affect everyone.

    (1) Strongly Agree   [   ]
    (2) Agree   [   ]
    (3) Unsure   [   ]
    (4) Disagree   [   ]
    (5) Strongly Disagree   [   ]

2. I believe our community members are generally capable of using their civic knowledge to address and deal with social issues affecting them.

    (1) Strongly Agree   [   ]
    (2) Agree   [   ]
    (3) Unsure   [   ]
    (4) Disagree   [   ]
    (5) Strongly Disagree   [   ]

3. I am confident that we as community members can develop and carry out different development initiatives in a cooperative manner even when difficulties arise.

    (1) Strongly Agree   [   ]
    (2) Agree   [   ]
    (3) Unsure   [   ]
    (4) Disagree   [   ]
    (5) Strongly Disagree   [   ]

4. Our community can mobilize resources to change situations that affect the members.

    (1) Strongly Agree   [   ]
    (2) Agree   [   ]
    (3) Unsure   [   ]
    (4) Disagree   [   ]
    (5) Strongly Disagree   [   ]

5. Our community as a group can influence the development initiatives that affect them because we are a cohesive and competent community.

    (1) Strongly Agree   [   ]
    (2) Agree   [   ]
    (3) Unsure   [   ]
    (4) Disagree   [   ]
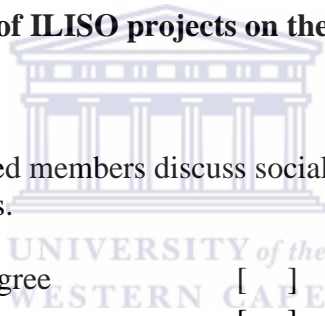   (5) Strongly Disagree   [   ]

6. We can deal effectively with even the most critical events because we are able to draw upon the social networks that exist within our community.

        (1) Strongly Agree   [   ]
        (2) Agree   [   ]
        (3) Unsure   [   ]
        (4) Disagree   [   ]
        (5) Strongly Disagree   [   ]

7. Whenever a community problem arises, I have very little confidence that we will be able to solve it.

        (1) Strongly Agree   [   ]
        (2) Agree   [   ]
        (3) Unsure   [   ]
        (4) Disagree   [   ]
        (5) Strongly Disagree   [   ]

Section C: Perceived influence of ILISO projects on the efficacy of project team members and the community

1. The ILISO project/s have helped members discuss social problems and initiate dialogue on community development issues.

        (1) Strongly Agree   [   ]
        (2) Agree   [   ]
        (3) Unsure   [   ]
        (4) Disagree   [   ]
        (5) Strongly Disagree   [   ]

2. The ILISO project/s have improved or increased the relationships between community members.

        (1) Strongly Agree   [   ]
        (2) Agree   [   ]
        (3) Unsure   [   ]
        (4) Disagree   [   ]
        (5) Strongly Disagree   [   ]

3. Being involved with ILISO has helped me identify new civic issues I was not aware about.

        (1) Strongly Agree   [   ]
        (2) Agree   [   ]
        (3) Unsure   [   ]
        (4) Disagree   [   ]
        (5) Strongly Disagree   [   ]

4. ILISO has improved or increased youth civic participation in development within the community.

            (1) Strongly Agree   [   ]

            (2) Agree   [   ]

            (3) Unsure   [   ]

            (4) Disagree   [   ]

            (5) Strongly Disagree   [   ]

Annexure 2: Key Informant and Focus Group Discussion Guidelines

SECTION A: General views on youth development and YCE

1. Kindly give your views on youth development based on your background and your experience living in Khayelitsha.

2. Do you think education helps in community-development.

SECTION B: Perceived Group Efficacy

1. How competent do you feel are the ILISO project personnel in terms of their skills and knowledge in order to be able to implement plans of action?

2. Do you feel there is strong and effective leadership in the organisation that is able to motivate and inspire teamwork?

SECTION C: Perceived Community Efficacy

1. Whenever a situation arises is the community able to come together and solve it?

2. Are the community members able to deal with conflict in a peaceful manner?

3. How confident are you that the community is able to use its civic knowledge (e.g. lobby through area MP, vote etc) to solve problems?

4. Is the community able to draw on networks and mobilise resources to deal with issues that affect its member?

SECTION D: Perceived influence of ILISO on collective efficacy

1. Have the ILISO project/s have helped members discuss social problems and initiate dialogue on community development issues?

2. Has ILISO helped to improve or increase relationships among community members in Site C?

3. To what extent has ILISO helped increase civic participation among community members?