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**TRANSITIONS FROM SCHOOL TO WORK:
LOCAL BLACK AND MIGRANT YOUTHS IN A SOUTH
AFRICAN MINING COMMUNITY**

BY

CHARITY SARAH CHENGA

Submitted in accordance with the requirements for the degree of

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ABSTRACT

The mining sector in South Africa has its history thoroughly embedded in the migration process and has been described as being the forerunner to the apartheid system. Yet fifteen years after the eradication of the apartheid system it is the mining sector where the old system still lingers in terms of the discriminatory practices in employment and social conditions. The migration system borne out of the discovery of the gold mines in the country still continues with migrant employment peaking at 59% the total mining labour force whilst the country reports a 40 percent unemployment rate with the youths recording the highest unemployment rates since the country gained independence in 1994.

This qualitative study utilising grounded theory explored the factors influencing the experiences and expectations of local black and migrant youths in the transition from school to work in a South African mining community.

The theoretical framework that emerged from data collected reflected complex aspects of the study brought about by the combination of the transitional period that South Africa is going through, the closed nature and migratory process of the South African mining communities. The theories drawn from data included theories of migration; historical structural approach, the neo-classical equilibrium perspective and the migration systems approach, forms of capital; taking account of the main influential contributors namely Bourdieu, Coleman and Putnam, and developmental theories; focussing on the Capabilities approach by Sen and Nussbaum, and Freire's education and empowerment theories.

The findings revealed that major factors impacting on the transition from school to work related to the gaps that existed between the micro, meso and macro levels of analysis which manifested mainly in the gaps between policy and practice, expectations and realities and the contradictions between globalisation and national interests.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
ANC	African National Council
BEE	Black Economic Empowerment
CCT	City of Cape Town
COSATU	Congress of South African Trade Union
CSVV	Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation
DME	Department of Minerals and Energy
DOE	Department of Education
ECOSOC	Economic and Social Council
GNP	Gross National Product
HBU	Historically Black University
HDSA	Historically Disadvantaged South Africans
HG	Higher Grade
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
HWU	Historically White University
ID	Identification Documents
IDASA	Institute of Democracy in South Africa
IDP	Integrated Development Policies
ILO	International Labour Organisation
MASC	Migration and Social Care
MPRDA	Mineral and Petroleum Resources Development Act
NASASA	National Stokvels Association of South Africa
NGO	Non Governmental Organisations
OBE	Outcomes Based Education

RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
RSA	Republic of South Africa
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SC	Senior Certificate
TEBA	The Employment Bureau of Africa
UCW	Understanding Children's Work
UNAIDS	Joint United Nations Program on HIV/AIDS

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INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER 1

1.0 STATEMENT OF THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

The mining sector in South Africa has its history thoroughly embedded in the migration process and the apartheid system. The apartheid system was eradicated in 1994 however the discriminatory practices that characterised the apartheid system continue to linger in the mining sector (Mineral and Petroleum Resources Development Act (MPRDA), 2004). The migration system borne out of the discovery of the gold mines in the country still continues. Migrant employment rates peaked at 59% of the total gold mining labour force since 1994 (Schoofs, 1999; Crush, 2008), whilst the country has grappled with a 40 per cent general unemployment rate, where the youth are the hardest hit (Bhorat, 2004).

Unemployment in South Africa in terms of formal employment (see section 1.4.1) is disproportionately high among the youth (defined as individuals aged between 15-34 years old-see section 1.3), who account for approaching 60% of the working-age population (Bird, 2005). They also form 70% of all unemployed people in South Africa. In terms of absolute numbers, of the estimated 8 million unemployed people in South Africa, just over 5.5 million are between the ages of 15-34. According to Bhorat (2004), it could therefore reasonably be argued that the problem of unemployment in South Africa is one of youth unemployment. The level of unemployment is much worse for the black African population. For example, 61% of young black Africans between the ages of 16 and 25 are unemployed.

No official statistics are available on the number of youths employed in the mining communities. Statistics on the number of migrant youths employed in South Africa is even more difficult to

obtain. This echoes the observations made by the International Labour Organisation (ILO), 2006, who found that generally poor data availability in most African countries make it difficult to provide empirical evidence about youth employment. This is reflected in the lack of information about the level of employment for both the local black and migrant youths in the mining communities. Walters (2003) suggests that The Employment Bureau of Africa (TEBA), a subsidiary of The Chamber of Mines, recruits roughly 80 per cent of migrant workers employed in the mining sector in South Africa. Based on official publications of the central banks of South Africa's neighbouring countries and official statistics from TEBA, it is estimated that approximately 75 per cent of all migrant workers are employed in the mining sector of South Africa. The rest of the estimated numbers of migrant workers are most probably employed in the agricultural, construction, wholesale and retail sectors of the South African economy. Table 1.1 provides TEBA's estimated number of migrant workers employed in the gold mining industry from 1990 to 2006, focusing on the major neighbouring supplying countries.

Table 1.1 Sources of Migrant Labour in the South African Gold Mines, 1990-2006

Year	South Africa	Botswana	Lesotho	Mozambique	Swaziland	% Foreign	Total
1990	199,810	14,609	99,707	44,590	17,757	47	376,473
1991	182,226	14,028	93,897	47,105	17,393	49	354,649
1992	166,261	12,781	93,519	50,651	16,273	51	339,485
1993	149,148	11,904	89,940	50,311	16,153	53	317,456
1994	142,839	11,099	89,237	56,197	15,892	55	315,264
1995	122,562	10,961	87,935	55,140	15,304	58	291,902
1996	122,104	10,477	81,357	55,741	14,371	58	284,050
1997	108,163	9,385	76,361	55,879	12,960	59	262,748
1998	97,620	7,752	60,450	51,913	10,336	57	228,071
1999	99,387	6,413	52,188	46,537	9,307	54	213,832
2000	99,575	6,494	58,224	57,034	9,360	57	230,687
2001	99,560	4,763	49,483	45,900	7,841	52	207,547
2002	116,554	4,227	54,157	51,355	8,698	50	234,991
2003	113,545	4,204	54,479	53,829	7,970	51	234,027
2004	121,369	3,924	48,962	48,918	7,598	47	230,771
2005	133,178	3,264	46,049	46,975	6,993	43	236,459
2006	164,989	2,992	46,082	46,707	7,124	38	267,894

Source: The Employment Bureau of Africa (TEBA), cited by Crush (2008)

The table illustrates that over the period of the study from 2004 to 2005 in terms of the fieldwork, the level of migrant employment in the gold mining industry from the traditional neighbouring supplying countries has been reducing. The figures focus on gold mining and do not take account of other minerals. Since gold mining is a major employer in the mining industry, the figures are good indicators of what is happening in the industry. It is important to note that figures from other labour supplying countries such as Zimbabwe and Malawi, which during the study period, became major immigrant suppliers to South Africa, are not included. At the same time, it is also interesting to note that despite the decrease in migrant employees in the mining industry, Borat (2004) suggests that youth unemployment is progressively worsening. He observes that in 1995 the 15 – 24 age group accounted for 30 per cent of unemployment, compared with 34 per cent in 2002. Another factor to be taken into account is the effect of the MPRDA (2004) on the employment levels of local members of the mining communities compared to the migrant population. In short, the MPRDA (2004) has set achievement targets for mining companies with respect to employing of local community members. In addition to the MPRDA (2004) the government utilised the 2002 Immigration Act to encourage companies to employ local workforce. The 2002 Immigration Act made it difficult for mining companies to hire foreign workers by requiring companies to apply for “corporate permits” which once the government grants the permits, allows them to import a specified number of foreign workers (Crush, 2008).

The figures indicated above are sufficient to prompt interest in understanding why a country with such high levels of youth unemployment, the mining industry continues to employ such a high percentage of migrants in a significant sector like the mining industry. The significance of this industry is not solely due to the fact that its total value of exports accounts for around 50 per cent of the total value of South African exports. The South African mining industry continues to be a key foundation industry for South Africa in terms of employment, which is reflected by around 1,273, 826 employees constituting 27% of South Africa’s total employment (Mohr-Swart, 2005). In

addition to the contradictions stemming from the figures, I was motivated to undertake the study of this topic in the research setting as a result of the observations that I made during a research project on the Stakeholders Perception Survey (2004) in which I participated in the South African mining communities.

The observations motivating me to undertake the study include firstly, the comparisons made by both local community members and migrants about the difference in approach to work between migrant and local black youths. The general views were that local youths were not interested in employment, and that explained why migrant youths appeared to have higher rates of employment than local youths. Secondly, local community members generally accused migrant youths of taking jobs that they perceived should have been given to local youths. Interestingly, this has been the perception of South African community members that is widely blamed for contributing to the widespread xenophobic attacks on black migrant populations in South Africa in 2008 (Jacobs, 2008). Thirdly, the indications amongst local community members were that very little had changed since the eradication of the apartheid regime in terms of discriminatory practices against local black community members and high levels of migrant employment in the mining industry. Fourthly, I also observed that in general, there appeared to be a significant number of local youths loitering with very little to do; at the same time, I noticed a large number of immigrant youths working for the mining companies and others undertaking informal business activities in the mining communities. Finally, given that the youth play a significant role in the future development of communities, it was important to obtain a better understanding of the issues associated with the transition from school to work in these communities (ILO, 2006). Whilst gender difference was not central to the thesis it however constitutes a significant factor in the transition from school to work in the mining communities. Section 7.1.5 of Chapter 7 highlights how gender difference has an impact on the transition from school to work focussing on the nature of male domination in the

South African mining industry due mainly to the historical, environmental and policy factors associated with industry.

1.1 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

Taking the above concerns into consideration, the aim of the study is to explore the factors that impact on the transition from school to work for the local black and migrant youths by taking account of their aspirations and the realities of the South African mining communities. Within the main aim there are several objectives that incorporate micro, meso and macro factors influencing the transition from school to work in the mining communities. These include: a) assessing how the environmental characteristics of the South African mining communities impact on the transition from school to work; b) discussing the role of education in the transition from school to work in the mining communities; c) examining the employment infrastructure of the South African mining communities and assessing how local and migrant youths cope with the conditions; d) evaluating the impact of the relationships in the mining communities on the transition from school to work for both the local black and migrant youths; and e) exploring how the youths in the mining communities cope with the challenges of globalisation.

In view of the exploratory nature of the study a qualitative research design using a grounded data collection method will be used to establish the experiences and contextualising the research. The justification for choosing this approach is that this methodology allows the research to fully explore the issues pertaining to the topic by providing a better understanding of the issues from the youths in the mining communities' perspectives. The grounded nature of the approach means that theoretical framework will be generated from data contributing to better understanding of youths in the transition from school to work.

1.2 PURPOSE AND RATIONALE OF THE STUDY

The purpose of the study is twofold: firstly, to understand the issues that the youth group experience in the transition from school to work, specifically in the South African mining communities. Secondly, to examine how the experiences of black local and migrant youths may differ in terms of level of success in the transition, strategies as well as motivations. The rationale is to gain a better understanding of the tools utilised by this group to cope with the socio-economic, political and environmental conditions in the mining communities in the transition from school to work. It is intended that the study will contribute firstly, to literature on mining communities in terms of its consideration of a new dimension to the approach to research on mining communities. Secondly, the study aims to assess the relevance of theories such as the capabilities approach, forms of capital and Freire's theory of education and empowerment on transition from school to work in explaining the youths' experiences in this challenging environment. Thirdly, by identifying relevant issues, the study may serve to provide the basis for more focused research into the factors impacting on the transition from school to work in this environment where the topic and groups being researched are under researched. Finally, the study may contribute to key areas pertaining to the gap between policy and practice in the transition from school to work.

The political, social, and economic history of the country and the mining communities initially influenced me to consider theoretical frameworks relating to micro factors focusing mainly on the psychological responses of the youths to the change in the political regime. I therefore considered theories such as Bandura's (1977) learning theories focussing on role modelling and Berry's (1997) acculturation stress. However, working within the principles of grounded theory the theoretical frameworks that emerged from the generated data focused less on the learning theories and acculturation stress theories but significantly highlighted development theories as well as the forms of capital theories. The combination of forms of capital theories taking account of Bourdieu (1986),

Coleman (1990) and Putnam (1995)'s approaches, Sen's (1999) and Nussbaum's (2000) capabilities approach and Freire's (1970 and 1986) work on education and empowerment with their contribution to explaining power relationships emerged as the most appropriate theoretical frameworks. These theories incorporated the three levels of analysis namely micro, meso and macro, the integration of which constituted a significant factor in the experiences of youths' transition from school to work from the data collection. However, despite not constituting the theoretical framework generated, the analysis of this study also takes account of the influences of aspects such as integration and role modelling to reflect some of the key issues generated from data.

The present chapter serves to set the scene for the study by providing some background information about youth employment, South African mining communities, as well as other factors that impact on the transition from school to work. In doing so, the aim is to draw from the discussion and identify a working definition of "transition from school to work". In order to achieve this, the structure of the chapter will initially explore the various definitions and approaches to "youth" and draw from this discussion a working definition of youth for the thesis. Secondly, the discussion will consider the general significance of youth, which will be followed by a discussion of South African youths, with particular focus on the socio-political and economic history of South Africa. Thirdly, youth employment in Africa will be considered as a way of obtaining a better understanding of the background and issues influencing migrant youths. Next, the significance of education to the transition from school to work will be explored. Following from that, the South African mining communities will be examined as a way of providing some indication of the physical, social and political environment. Finally, a summary detailing the structure of the thesis will conclude the chapter

1.3 EXPLORING DEFINITIONS OF YOUTH

This section examines the different approaches in defining “youth” and draws from this review the working definition of youth for this particular study. Understanding the different approaches to defining youth is important in this study as the way in which the term is defined will impact on data collection, analysis and, in turn, the research outcomes. In addition, since the study is concerned with the experiences of local and migrant youths in the mining communities, it is vital to understand the different approaches that guide the various groups’ definitions of “youth” to help make sense of the reported experiences and attitudes of youth in the mining communities. It is also essential to appreciate that in the same way that the research participants have different approaches to defining “youth”, different disciplines have different approaches to defining the term. In view of the multifaceted nature of the research setting and the research topic, review of the definition of “youth” will be structured in relation to the various disciplinary perspectives, including the economic, cultural and the social perspectives. To contextualise the approach to youth definition in this study, a review of literature on youth in the South African is explored. The conclusion draws on the various definitions from the review to identify the definition that informs this study.

Curtain (2002) suggests that the term youth has different meanings depending on the context. Official documents use the word to refer to both male and female young people. In other contexts, however, the word youth can refer to young males only. It can also suggest a dependent state, like the word ‘child’ or ‘children’ (Curtain, 2002). The ILO (2006) advocates the definitions of “youth” to be based in part on the end use of the measurement. When considering the age span in which one is expected to enter the labour market, then the statistical definition of 15 to 24 years of age may no longer be valid, given that today increasing numbers of young people postpone their entry onto the labour markets until well beyond the age of 25. On the other hand, where the measurement surpasses the need for an age span of youth to take account of broader characteristic-based

classification, then a more sociological viewpoint on what constitutes “youth” is necessary. Curtin (2002) further suggests that in relation to a transition stage from childhood to adulthood, the age at which this transition begins will vary greatly between societies and indeed, within the same society. From the perspective of a critical stage in the life cycle, the relevant age could range from as low as 10 years of age up to as high as mid to late 30s.

The ILO (2006) explains that the wider age span suggests that the process of obtaining a sustaining livelihood, if that is taken as the basic criterion for passage into the next life stage –adulthood – can take a long time, particularly in poor societies. The Youth Policy Act in India, for example, defines the group it addresses as youth as ranging from age 15 up to 35 (Brown et al, 2002). This wide age span is also reflected in South Africa in the country’s response to the needs of those disadvantaged in the apartheid years (Mokwena, 1999). The National Youth Policy (2000) of South Africa defines youth as any persons between the ages of 14 and 35 years. This is a very broad definition that embraces various categories of youth that have been exposed to different socio-political and historical experiences. The argument put forward is that a 35-year-old would have been of school-going age during the height of the political conflicts and therefore, would have experienced difficulties related to the conflict era. In contrast, a 14-year-old youth will be growing up in an environment when many of the new reforms and achievements of the struggles are being realised (The National Youth Policy, 1997) therefore have different needs. Jones and Wallace (1992: 4) stated that differences in definitions of youth across borders and cultures are the result of dialogue between young people, their families, peers and institutions of the wider society. Shamgar-Handelman (1994: 250) suggests that every society crystallises its own set of norms, rules and regulations, which dictate the category of its members defined as children. Most societies have their rites of passage associated with age.

Despite defining youth in accordance with South African legislation based on the unique circumstances of the South African political history, the mining communities are composed of various migrant groups who have different approaches to the definition of youth. Most of these migrants come from societies that combine both the traditional (agricultural-based economies) and modern economies; therefore, there is a strong cultural influence in the definitions of youth where the age range differs from that stated by legislation. Most cultural definitions of youth do not have specific age references and are linked to rites of passage.¹

These differences in approach to the definition of youth influence research methodology. In his discussion about the challenges of undertaking cross-national research in the European Union, Redmond (2003) found that various parts of the polity refer to the ages of 18, 25, and 30 years as the appropriate boundaries of youth. He further found that the problems created by these differences are more profound in quantitative comparative research than in qualitative research approaches. He argued that this could even render the research fruitless.

There has been little research undertaken into youth in the South African mining sector. The Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation (CSVR) RSA has undertaken a considerable amount of work on post-apartheid youth-related crime, violence and xenophobia (Dissel, 1997; Palmary, 2003). However, this work focuses on South African youth in post-apartheid non-mining environments.

In conclusion, the review has illustrated that the definition of “youth” remains contentious; it is a social construct portraying different segments of the population. As a way of informing the study, the South African legal definition of youth, people aged between 14 and 35, will be utilised.

¹ Rites of passage refer to rituals that mark a change in a person’s social or sexual status. Although there are many ceremonies associated with the rites of passage in terms of the approach to defining youth, the ceremonies are usually associated with the coming of age or other milestones within puberty.

However, in order to encompass the approaches of all segments of the research participants, the *emic*² approach will also be utilised, and deviation from the legislative definition will be accounted for in the analysis.

1.3.1 Significance of Youth

Youth employment was a major focus of the Millennium Development Goals, as reaffirmed by the ministers and heads of delegations participating in the high level segment of the substantive 2006 session of the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC). This council committed to developing and implementing strategies that provide youth everywhere with real equal opportunity to find full and productive employment and decent work (ILO, 2006). Generally, it is accepted that the young are among the world's greatest assets. The ILO (2006) suggests that the youth bring energy, talent and creativity to economies, and create the foundation for future development. In the current era, where globalisation can impact on the speed of developing countries' ability to keep up with international development, youth energy and creativity is an asset that developing countries cannot afford to ignore. These are important attributes for countries in political and economic transition such as South Africa, facing the challenges of its history as well as globalisation.

The youth labour market has important implications for many economic, social and political outcomes. The situation of youth unemployment incurs costs to the economy, society, the individual and family, especially when young people abandon the job search (discouragement) or work under inadequate conditions (underemployment) (ILO, 2006). The ILO further suggests that this poor access to decent employment at an early age can often lead to the permanent compromising of future employment prospects. Ryan (2000) suggests that the inability to secure employment creates a sense of vulnerability, uselessness and idleness among young people that can last a lifetime. Without opportunities for young people to earn a living, intergenerational cycles of

² The *emic* approach (working within the conceptual framework of those being studied) as opposed to the *etic* approach (using an imposed frame of reference) to the study was preferred because it allows the respondents to give an account of their experience from their point of view (Fielding and Fielding, 1986).

poverty will persist, further affecting societies already made vulnerable by HIV/AIDS, food security and violence. The absence or weakness of labour income negatively affects the welfare of the youth in a broad sense.

The Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS), 2004 suggests that unemployed youths are at higher risk of contracting HIV/AIDS than those who are employed. It is likely that their vulnerabilities lead them into persistent poverty and further social exclusion. In social terms, unemployment can impact on social integration. Antoine *et al.* (2001) found that unemployed youths experienced delayed social integration in terms of access to first jobs, marriage as well as residential autonomy. The ILO (2005) suggested that lack of social contact combined with poverty faced by the unemployed, especially migrant youths in urban areas, can lead to negative social behaviour such as drug addiction, crime or prostitution.

In other extreme cases, especially in areas of conflict in developing countries such as Sierra Leone, the unemployed youths are susceptible to enlisting in armed conflict (Maton, 1994). In South Africa there is extensive literature on violent street gangs. Gang violence and robberies are not limited to the local unemployed youths. Organised crime has witnessed the complex development of local criminal syndicates and networks and the expansion of foreign criminal groups within the country (Shaw, 2002). This can also be interpreted as a reflection of the poverty and high unemployment levels in the surrounding countries as well as an illustration of the way organised crime can impact on migration activities in the receiving country. Youth employment therefore, is a crucial element of development as well as country growth and stability.

1.3.2 Significance of South African Youth

South African youth played an integral part in the struggle for freedom both externally as well as internally. These “young lions” fought in the African National Congress (ANC) liberation army and

formed the nexus of cadetship within the internal Mass Democratic Movement (Mokwena, 1999). To effectively dedicate their efforts to the liberation struggle, the young black South Africans sacrificed their educational needs and aspirations under the motif, "*Liberation first, then education*". Young people also had very few skills; in some instances they were highly militarised, and therefore, could not easily fit into or benefit from the new civil society they had fought so hard to create (Dissel, 1997). In view of this background, Mokwena (1999) suggests that local black youths must feel betrayed by the state. The youth have been let down post-independence in so far as they have not been allowed to share the benefits of the country's resources, as illustrated by the high percentage of unemployed South African youths.

South Africa is going through a transitional stage in all aspects of life that include political and socio-economic features. As a result, there are many competing groups and priorities for the limited resources. The transitional period has meant that the South African government and policy makers have had to grapple with contradictory issues relating to the redressing of the historically disadvantaged by the past regime, reconciliation, rehabilitation and globalisation (Bond, 2006). All these factors compete with priorities that focus on youth needs. At the same time, within the youth groups there are competing priorities; it is necessary for the government to make moves toward redressing the imbalance created for those youths disadvantaged in the previous regime and at the same time, to focus on the needs of the new generation. Although the new generation does not have the burden of the past disadvantages in terms of social, economic and political exclusion, it does feel the consequences of the past.

The dilemma for the government is that its youth policies must take these factors into account without disadvantaging one priority at the expense of another. Matters are further complicated by the necessity for these youths to compete in the global world. South African youth not only have to deal with factors relating to their past and issues associated with their country's transitional stage,

but they also have to compete effectively with migrants experienced in competing in the global world. Understanding how the youth experience the transition from school to work will also provide some indication of the effectiveness of the government's policies on youth employment and youth development in terms of responding to the South Africa's transition. In addition, studying South African mining communities provides evaluation of the extent to which the changes brought about by the new democratic government have been able to challenge an industry that has been the backbone of the country.

1.4 YOUTH EMPLOYMENT IN AFRICA

In this section, I will contextualise some of the issues relating to youth employment in the study, and provide background information on the migrant youths in the South African mining communities. The aim is to highlight a number of factors that influence youth employment in Africa to help shed light on the migrant youths' motivation and attributes, as well as attitudes towards employment. At the same time, the holistic insight into youth employment in Africa will help to identify the appropriate working definition of transition from school to work for this study. Youth unemployment and underemployment represent growing concerns worldwide. The ILO, 2002 estimated that youth constituted 41 per cent of the world's unemployed; 88 million people in absolute terms. In many developing countries, the youth invariably have much higher rates of joblessness and much lower earnings than older workers, and are mainly concentrated in low-skilled informal work or in hazardous forms of work inappropriate for their age and experience. The challenge of youth employment in Africa is especially large. In sub-Saharan Africa specifically, young people constitute 36 per cent of the working population. This percentage is expected to increase by 28 per cent in the next 15 years, which is equivalent to approximately 30 million people. The HIV pandemic that has devastated sub-Saharan Africa may exacerbate the percentage due to the progressive lowering of life-expectancy levels in the region.

1.4.1 Youth Employment Rates in Africa

At 21 per cent, youth unemployment in Africa is much higher than the world average of 14.4 per cent, and second only to the Middle East and North Africa's 25.6 per cent. Youth unemployment in Africa also has a geographical dimension; it is generally higher in urban areas than in rural ones (World Bank, 2006b). However, the lower youth unemployment figures in rural areas are likely to mask a significant amount of underemployment in low-productivity smallholding agriculture. Although youth unemployment is higher among females than males, there are exceptions to these findings in countries such as Zambia, Sao Tome and Principe. There is a dearth of literature on youth integration in the labour market and their search for decent and productive jobs (ILO, 2006). A literature review by the ILO found that basic labour market indicators are lacking, or are at best incomplete, due to lack of data availability and methodology problems. Worse, different sources lead to conflicting diagnoses concerning youth unemployment and trends (ILO, 2006).

An added complication to trend analysis of the labour market is the divergence in conceptualisation of employment between the industrial and the developing countries approaches. Generally, the traditional labour market concepts such as jobs, employment, unemployment, participation, wages and earnings are difficult to apply to Africa. These concepts need to be adapted to the realities of the African labour force (Guarcello *et al.*, 2005). Conceptual issues relating to the specifics of African economies and labour markets contribute to the difficulties in monitoring as well as analysing the labour market. The labour markets in Africa, particularly in Sub-Saharan Africa, differ from developed countries. It is widely acknowledged that there are four types of labour markets that are not necessarily recognised when monitoring employment in developed economies, namely, public and private, formal and informal.

The major characteristics distinguishing these types of labour market relate to the level of job security, nature of contracts, structure of wages and earnings (Adams, 1991; Schultz, 2004). Formal

wage labour is far less important than informal self-employment in some African countries. For example, Brilleau *et al.* (2005) found that in several West African Francophone capital cities, only 34.6 per cent of occupied workers were average wage earners; the remaining 65.4 per cent were employed workers who had created their own employment. Of the two forms of formal labour markets, the public sector is the most important employer for a large percentage of black youth in Africa. One of the major reasons for this relates to the ownership of these organisations. In most newly independent African countries and other independent African countries the public sector is the major employer as well as a stepping-stone to employment for most well qualified black youths.

In private companies the local blacks usually occupy low management positions as well as manual occupations (MRPDA, 2004). White community members who previously controlled the economy prior to independence usually dominate the local formal private labour market. This situation will only change when the government intervenes with employment policies that focus on inclusion policies that help to upgrade the black local population. Formal employment is generally a more secure option in terms of job security as well as wages. However, in some African countries such as Zimbabwe, where formal structures have become insecure and fragile, the informal sector has become progressively more lucrative and secure than the formal sector. In Zimbabwe the informal sector is more responsive than the formal sector to the unstable exchange and inflation rates. Consequently, the wages in the informal sector are usually higher and more secure than in the formal sector. The effect of instability in the economy is that the community becomes more dependent on its informal self-employment activities than formal employment. The resourcefulness of people migrating from poor areas is reflected more clearly in the country of migration than in the sending communities. An interesting finding by Casale and Posel (2002) that may help to explain some of the differences in the transition from school to work between the local and migrant youth is that, compared to other sub-Saharan countries, the percentage of South African workers employed

in the informal sector is relatively low. The suggestion from these findings is that migrants are likely to be more creative in their transition from school to work than local youths.

These factors are significant to this study because they may explain why the migrant youths in the mining communities appear to be more economically active and better able than their local counterparts to identify more economic opportunities in the mining communities. Gent (2005) found that the migrant youths' efforts to earn money, remain in work, and avoid being cheated and manipulated give some indication of the vulnerabilities of young migrant workers. They also communicate a strong sense that they are not passive victims of circumstances but actively seek better opportunities. In view of this, the high percentage of migrant youths in the informal sector does not necessarily mean that this sector is their natural choice. The high level of informal employment in most of these countries constitutes a quality concern. This type of employment is associated with low pay, is generally seasonal, and is frequently in settings where labour and safety regulations do not apply, leaving workers susceptible to workplace exploitation (Understanding Children's Work (UCW), 2005). Factors relating to labour market entry difficulties force this situation on the youths and unfortunately, is on the increase in the sub-Saharan region, where access to welfare benefits are non-existent in all the countries except South Africa.

South Africa is currently in a unique economic position in the Sub-Saharan region; it is newly independent and therefore, has more opportunities for the more creative unemployed youths from neighbouring countries. In addition, South Africa is the most developed country in the region. Due to its recent independence, the local population, especially the youth, lack the employment experience that migrant youths from neighbouring countries are able to demonstrate. These reasons, as well as other historical factors, impinge on the transition from school to work in the mining communities for both the local as well as the migrant youths. Taking these factors into account, it is important to examine the issues impacting on the transition from school to work for these key

groups in disadvantaged communities such as the South African mining communities. The study focuses on the local black and migrant youths because these two groups experience similar exclusion and discrimination within the South African mining environment.

1.4.2 Working Definition of “Transition from School to Work”

Drawing from the above discussion, the working definition for transition from school to work cannot be limited to formal wage employment. In order to contextualise the definition and take account of the unique nature of the African labour market, the transition to the informal sector must be taken into account as part of the process of the transition from school to work. In view of this, and as a way of incorporating the perspectives of all participants in the mining communities, the study will adopt an emic approach to defining the process of transition from school to work. The working definition therefore, will take account of the process of this transition from school to being economically active, whether in the informal or formal sector, as the transition from school to work.

1.5 SOUTH AFRICAN MINING COMMUNITIES

It is important to state at this stage that most of the issues raised about the transition from school to work not only apply to the youth in the mining communities, but also to other parts of South Africa. However, it is the unique nature of the mining communities in comparison to the rural and urban environment communities that is pertinent to this study. Apart from the physical nature of the mining environment and the dependence on one major industry, what distinguishes the mining communities from the other types of environment are the high numbers of migrant population with whom that the local youths have to compete for employment. The important position that both the youths and the mining industry hold in the South African economy makes the study of the youth in this environment imperative. The physical nature as well as the political and socio-economic structures of the mining communities contributes to the uniqueness of this environment.

1.5.1 Physical Environment of South African Mining Communities

The following is a light-hearted pub rhyme about a South African mining town that is helpful in setting the scene in terms of the unique nature of mining towns:

'Mining towns live fast, for a fast buck. They age prematurely, and die ungracefully, leaving scarred bodies.' (Tapela, 2002)

Mining is, by its nature, a temporary activity because of its dependence on available mineral deposits. It is also fast growing and associated with high earnings for the mining corporations. This has an impact on the local communities, whose rural backgrounds usually render them unable to respond to this across-the-board momentum. Consequently, the local population often experiences culture shock and does not respond effectively to the developmental changes, occupational skills requirements, and the rapid change from an agricultural-based society to a cash-dependent environment.

Historically, the South African mining industry resorted to migrant workers, which meant the overpowering of local communities by the mining companies. The effect of this situation is that the mine has had a tendency to emasculate social structures to the extent that most of the traditional hierarchies have turned into symbols of authority rather than functional authorities. The extreme measures taken by some of the community members to cope with and adapt to the changes are reflected in some of the behaviour, resulting in social dysfunction within the communities (Campbell et al, 2001; Packard, 1989). To a certain extent, for the local people the mining companies leave before they arrive. In terms of the youth, the insular, fast-growing and temporary nature of the mining activities leaves them more vulnerable to discrimination and exclusion, both during the boom as well as after mine closure, in comparison to other communities in South Africa.

1.5.2 Political History of Mining Communities

A discussion of the mining communities of South Africa is not complete without examination of the political history of the sector and the subsequent power relationships among the mining corporations, government, and communities. Schoofs (1999) suggests that in order to gain a better understanding of the political history of the sector, it is important to look at the historical background of migration in the mining industry. He argues that the scale of mining explains why the draconian system of migrant labour was imposed and, in turn, paved the way for apartheid. To maintain profitability, the mining industry required cheap labour and consequently, looked outside its borders. In addition, he argues that white labour, imported for their mining skills and experience shortly after gold was discovered in 1886, regarded blacks as a threat to their relatively high wages. To combat this threat, the white unions forced the industry and the government to adopt the “colour bar”, banning blacks from skilled jobs, and prevented black families and black workers from settling permanently in mining towns. These policies were the forerunner of the apartheid system. The impact of these policies on the social and economic conditions in mining communities has been identified as the major factors related to the influences of the transition from school to work amongst migrant and local youths in the mining communities.

1.6 OVERALL THESIS STRUCTURE

The overall structure of the remaining chapters will be as follows: Chapter two describes the research setting taking account of the key socio structures in the mining communities as a way of contextualising some of the issues raised in the study. Chapter three focuses on literature review issues pertaining to migration and theories that could be drawn upon in exploring the transition from school to work in this study. Chapter four discusses aspects of the methodological approach adopted in the study. Chapter five provides the first part of the findings report, focusing on the contributions made by youths. Chapter six presents findings on other stakeholders who influence

the transition from school to work of the youths in the mining communities such as teachers, community leaders and mine management. Chapter seven is the discussion chapter that provides theoretical analysis of the findings made from the study. Finally, Chapter eight concludes the thesis by providing an overview of the study and making recommendations on the basis of the study findings.

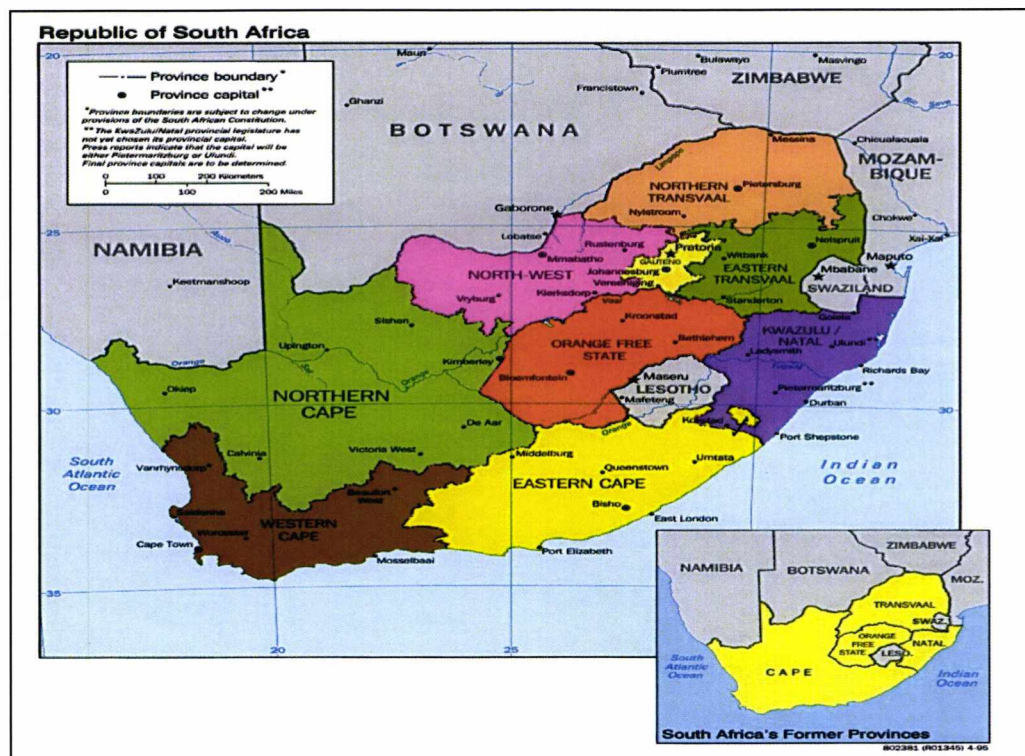
THE RESEARCH SETTING

CHAPTER 2

2.0 INTRODUCTION

The aim of this chapter is to introduce the nature of the South African environment and contextualise some of the major issues that impact on the study, approach to the methodology, understanding the findings, and analysis thereof. The discussion will focus on my experiences and observations of the research setting and South Africa. At the same time consider the important and most influential institutions in the mining communities, taking account of the role of the traditional authorities and the mining companies. As a way of contextualising the North West Province where the research setting is located Figure 2.1 shows its location in relation to other provinces in South Africa and key neighbouring countries.

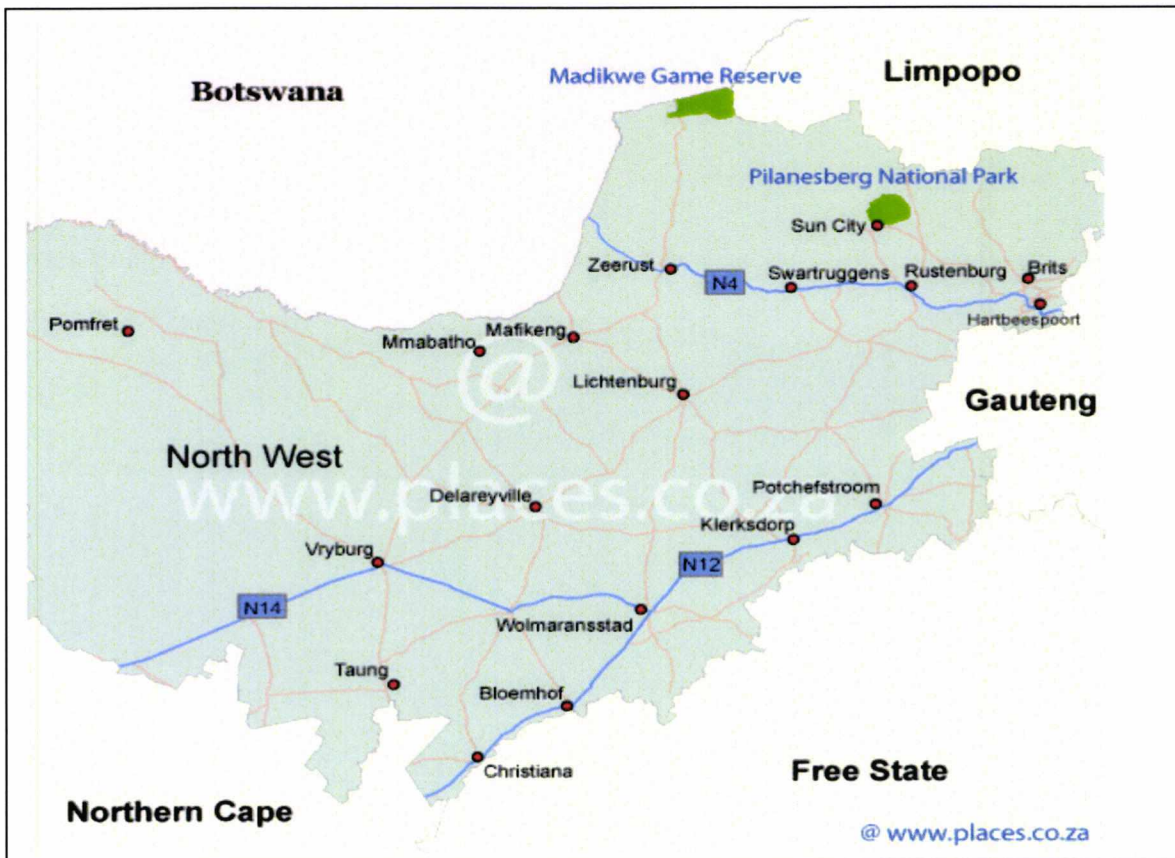
Fig 2. 1: Provincial boundaries of South Africa



2.1 PERSONAL EXPERIENCE AND OBSERVATIONS

Before discussing my experience and observations during my stay in South Africa, it is important to provide a brief background that describes, the location of the study, time spent there and other activities beyond the study. After giving a brief background, the discussion will focus on the experiences and observations made in the several community groups with which I was associated during my two-year stay in South Africa. These community groups include the university office environment, the student community and the mining communities. Fig 2.2 shows the relative locations of the mining communities (represented by Rustenburg and Brits) and the locations of Mafikeng campus and including the Potchefstroom campus where I was based.

Fig 2.2 Map of North West Province



My stay in South Africa was based mainly at the North-west University located in the city of Potchefstroom in the North-west of South Africa. This is the major university for the North West province where the mining communities are located. Historically, this has been a Christian university focused on promoting Christianity and, according to some students, the Afrikaner traditions as well. Although the university remains Christian, the forced merger with Val Triangle and Mafikeng Universities in 2004 has been threatening their continued focus on maintaining the Afrikaans traditions. However, despite this, the university continues to use Afrikaans as the medium of instruction for over 80 per cent of undergraduate courses. To a certain extent, it could be argued that Afrikaner traditions are being maintained through the use of language. An added aspect of this history is that the university is referred to as a former “white” university compared to Mafikeng University, which is referred to as a former “black” university.

The North-west University (Potchefstroom) is historically an Afrikaans university that has maintained its traditions; specifically, the Afrikaans language is used as the medium of instruction. According to both black and white students, this university is one of the most prestigious in the North West Province. The youth suggested that the reputation of this university is such that attending it guarantees employment. Consequently, most students in the North West aspire to attend this university. The second largest university in the North West Province is Mafikeng, a historically black university (HBU) with a reputation for regular stoppages resulting from student demonstrations mainly related to poor educational conditions and facilities. *Table 2.1* provides publication output comparison of the campuses at the North-west University, illustrating the vast difference between the output at the Potchefstroom and Mafikeng campuses. The significance of this is that Mafikeng is a HBU where most black students in the North West attend compared to the Potchefstroom campus. *Table 2.1* illustrates the research outputs in accredited journals by the different campuses.

Table 2.1 Research output at North West University campuses (2006)

Campus / Faculty	Research Output
<i>Potchefstroom Campus (Total)</i>	313.30
Faculty of Arts	49.30
Natural Sciences	54.55
Theology	55.67
Educational Sciences	12.83
Economic and Management Sciences	35.86
Law	24.32
Engineering	15.00
Health Sciences	65.91
<i>Vaal Triangle Campus (Total)</i>	25.17
<i>Mafikeng Campus (Total)</i>	13.03
Humanities and Sciences	4
Agriculture, Science and Technology	8.03
Commerce and Administration	1
<i>TOTAL FOR NORTH WEST UNIVERSITY</i>	351

Source: North West University website: www.nwu.ac.za/research/publicationoutput/output2006.html

The data above sheds light on the reasons for the popularity among students and employers of the Potchefstroom campus. In addition the discrepancy between the research outcomes of the HWU and the HBU could be explained using observations by Gibbs (1995) that researchers in developing countries find that some of the most frustrating problems they face are in the library, not the laboratory. The researchers have less access to the traditional channels of (paper) publications. Moreover, "*publish or perish*" has not become a norm. In South Africa, even where there is pressure to publish and undertake research, the unequal distribution of resources is such that it is mainly white researchers who have access to research funding. An added dilemma is that where blacks have access to funding, it is usually the blacks from the elite families who attend universities and therefore, may not represent the voice of the general black population. Frye (2004: 37) supports this by stating that:

'Change has come for the few black middle classes, but for many South African blacks the dream of democracy has turned into a meaningless apparition of self-determination.'

Consequently, this can make it difficult to introduce fresh ideas either in terms of research themes or research methodology.

It is also important to provide a brief background of the activities that I embarked on whilst in South Africa as a way of obtaining a global view of my experiences and observations of South Africa and the research setting. Prior to embarking on my research on the *'Transitions from school to work: local black and migrant youths in a South African mining community'*, I was involved in a major research project in the mining communities commissioned by a mining company, entitled *'The Stakeholders Perceptions Survey in the Mining Communities'* (Cronje *et al.*, 2005). The advantage of being part of this survey was that it gave me an opportunity to familiarise myself with the research setting prior to undertaking my own research. This, therefore, leads the discussion on to how I experienced working within the South African environment.

2.1.1 University Office Environment

My experiences and observations in the office environment were useful in gaining an understanding of what the black employees may experience in the work environment in the South African context. Although the youths in the mining communities were unlikely to work in an office environment, at the North-west University, the structures of the work environment for non-manual work were likely to be similar. However, my experience does not fully reflect that of a permanent black staff member because I was there to participate in a research project and promote collaborative work between the University of Kent and North West University. Consequently, I was not involved in office politics, where possible resentment may have arisen. This made a difference to the nature of my experience with this university group. The most significant factors that contributed to my experience in this environment related to language. Race and citizenship had some effect on my experience but the experiences were both positive and negative.

The language factor was significant in that Afrikaans was the main medium of communication. Although the department staff appeared enthusiastic to include me in seminars and other social activities such as birthday celebrations, they did not include me in the activities by communicating in English. I always found these occasions awkward and challenging because the language spoken was Afrikaans. Interestingly, even when I tried to avoid these events by remaining in my office, the others would look for me and encourage me to attend. Essentially, I associated this attitude with exclusion and disempowerment concepts such as Freire's (1996) false generosity and Luke's (1974) concept of invisible power. I felt that most discussions in English appeared to be "politically correct" for my benefit; this was more so when they discussed the positive aspects of dismantling the apartheid system. I suspect that most missed the old days and speaking Afrikaans was their only way of keeping in touch with the past. This experience was relevant for the study because it provided indications of exclusion practices experienced by black students.

I also sensed anxieties about the future for white youths. The general view was that the current generation of white youths do not appreciate how hard life is going to be for them. The view was that they do not realise that they will now have to work for everything. For some lecturers the white youths' unrealistic attitudes and behaviour was compounded by parental involvement in the university and student life. The feeling towards the black students was ambiguous and there appeared to be a lack of understanding of their concerns. For some, the view was that the education standards have deteriorated because the system is accommodating black students. The other view was that black students have the same lack of interest in education as the white students. Interestingly, none of the lecturers or administrative staff appeared to take account of the language disadvantage that most black students had to endure. For some subjects, black students attended classes in the evenings to gain access to an English medium of instruction. My observations were that there was a sense of having to tolerate the changes, which compounded their lack of sensitivity or understanding of issues affecting the black students. Where concern was shown, it was on a

paternalistic basis. As a result, there was little interest shown relating to what black students want; more focus was placed on what they need to survive on the courses.

2.1.2 University Student Community

Race and ethnicity play major roles in the socialisation and cohesion of the student community, as illustrated in the university grounds. I rarely encountered students of different races walking or socialising together. The most interesting aspect of the student community's racial divide is that it reflected the apartheid race structures as well as the economic inequalities (Packard, 1989). The racial divide that existed during the apartheid era was reflected in the student community in that divisions were evident not only in terms of black and white, but also in terms of coloureds (people with mixed race origins or Asians) (Terreblanche, 2003). Black students are limited to where they reside for several reasons including discriminative landlords who supplied the university with student accommodation, financial restrictions and a covert apartheid residential divide that continues in Potchefstroom.

The race divisions were compounded by segregated accommodation on the basis of race. Apart from financial factors that inhibited most black students from staying in the more expensive accommodation, the Potchefstroom landlords discriminated against black students staying in their accommodation. At the same time, parents of the white students were said to be unhappy about their children staying in the same halls of residents as the black students. There were occasions where white parents removed their children from accommodation housing black students. Generally, in Potchefstroom, race has an impact on access to accommodation. The discrimination is not overt because of legal implications; rather, it is subtle to the extent that when I attempted to change accommodation, white colleagues at the university warned me about the difficulties I would experience.

Ethnicity further divided the student community. The interesting aspect of this was that it did not necessarily reflect the racial divisions in the student community; furthermore, ethnicity issues were not only reflected within the black racial groups, but also amongst the white racial groups. International black students who were mainly from countries in the SADC region, West Africa and East Africa had limited social contact with local black students. Where social contact took place, it was based mainly on church-related contact. Black international students socialised principally with other international students, both black and white. I later realised that for most local black students, reluctance to mix with international black students was due to poverty rather than lack of interest. It appears that the international black students felt that South African students were constantly borrowing or needing something from them; consequently, they were wary of establishing relationships with them. At the same time, the international black students were unable to understand why this was the case since the local black students had better access to bursaries. My observations were that those students who socialised most with international students appeared to have an interest and enjoyed mixing with people from other African countries and were keen to visit those countries. Interestingly, most of the local black students who mixed with international black students were relatively negative about their fellow compatriots' attitudes to life.

On the other hand, white international students mainly from the Netherlands, Germany and USA not only socialised with other international students, but also tended to socialise with local black students. Although the Dutch and German languages strongly resemble Afrikaans, these students appeared to avoid socialising with the local white students. One female white international student reported that she found it difficult to socialise with the local white students because they had three main topics of discussion: Christianity, mixed-race marriages, and marriage. Another factor that appeared to restrict the socialisation between the local white students and international white students was that the local white students regularly intimated their negative views about black people to the international white students. As a result the international white student witnessed

discrimination against the black people directly and exacerbated their negative perceptions of the local white students. As an illustration one white international student reported that she had gone out with her black student friends for a night out and found herself in a dilemma where she was informed that she could enter a nightclub for R5 but her black friend had to pay R10. She reported that although her black friend was prepared to pay to keep the peace she could not go into the nightclub because of the obvious discrimination that was being practiced.

Despite all this, there were some local white students who found the race divisions difficult to live with. It appears that even if some of the local white students wished to socialise with the black students, the social structures in the student community made it difficult for them to cross the race lines. One white local student expressed a deep desire to befriend black people but did not know how. On the other hand, those who did manage to cross the divide appear to have been excluded by the other students. As a consequence, they usually talked to the black students when their white friends were not around. In retrospect, I find my own response to these dynamics somewhat interesting. I adapted to the environment very quickly by becoming fearful in situations where I found myself surrounded by white people unless I knew them. I also found myself greeting black people when I met them on the streets but not white. This behaviour was new to me because I do not behave in this way in the UK. If I required information, I found that I generally received better assistance from the white people. My view is that to a certain extent, this was an extension of their paternalistic behaviour towards black people.

The discussion so far has focused on the potential environment, which the youths will have to experience as part of their transition from school to work. The next discussion examines the environment from which the youths in this study come from.

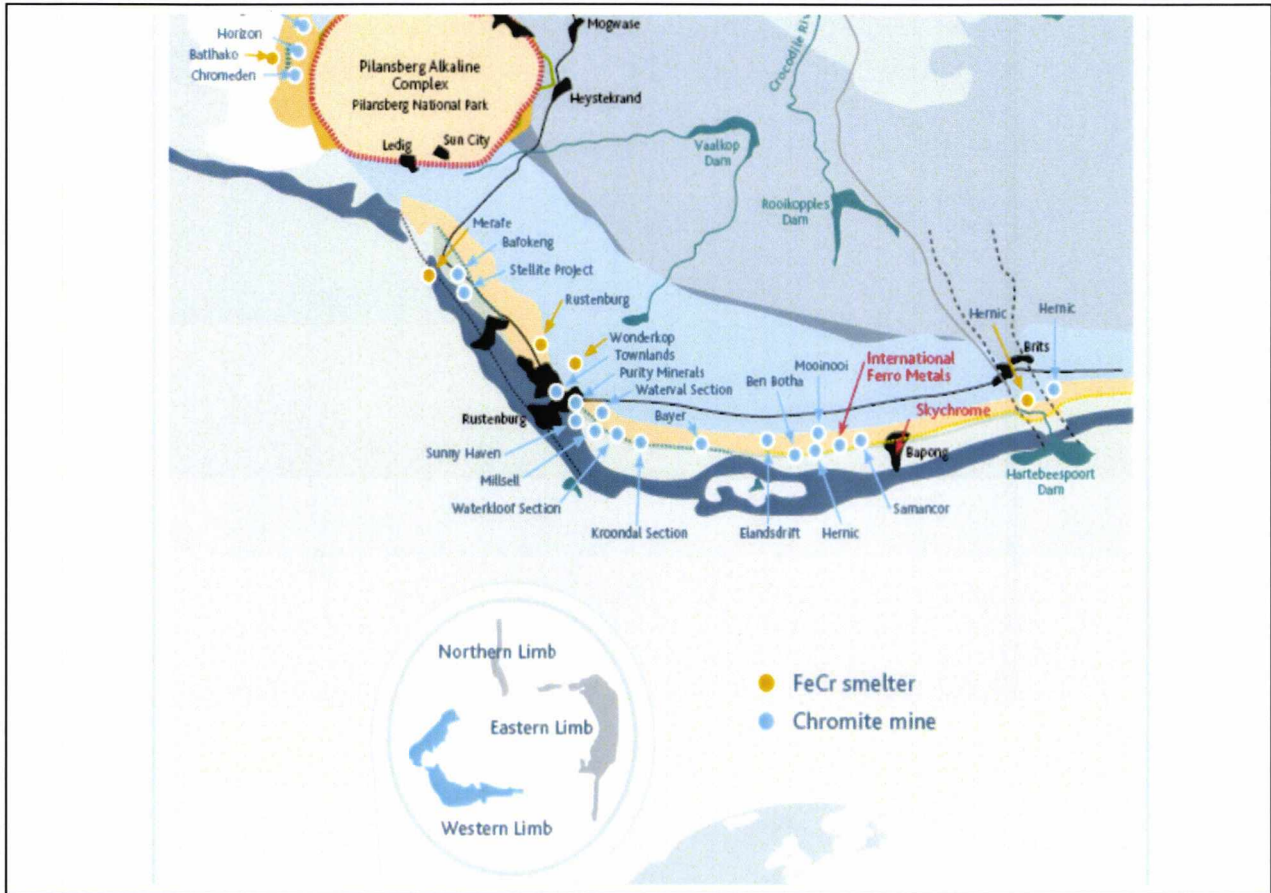
2.2 THE RESEARCH SETTING OF MINING COMMUNITIES

This section provides a description of the physical, social and economic conditions of the research setting. It also includes observations of the main stakeholders such as traditional authorities in the mining communities. Finally, in this section a brief description of research setting infrastructure is given and a summary of my experience and observation in the research setting is provided.

The research setting consisted of seven villages surrounding a number of mines with one dominant mine. The nearest major town, Rustenburg, situated approximately 45 miles from the research setting, is said to be the fastest growing town in Africa as a result of escalating platinum mining activities in the area. The mine communities were located 200 miles from the North-west University, where I was based. This was a significant point in terms of fieldwork planning.

The main stakeholders in the area include the mining companies; government through the municipality and Councillors; traditional authorities; the various communities; and migrants. The area is semi-rural and the major economic activity is platinum mining. Although the major economic activity prior to the growth of mining in the area, farming has since been cut back and most farmers (especially the white commercial farmers) wish to sell their farms. However, this is proving difficult because the proximity to the mines has devalued the value of the farmland in the area. In addition to the farming activities, there is a small amount of tourism, an international golf course and a few relatively small shops that service the surrounding communities. *Fig 2.3* below is an illustration of the area where the platinum mines are located and where the mining communities in this study are based.

Fig 2.3 Map of the research setting



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SEF REF 501573

2.2.1 Traditional Authorities

Traditional authorities play an important role in the transition from school to work through their function as cultural custodians and owners of the land where mining operations take place. This section will initially provide a background and role of the traditional authorities in the South African setting. This will be followed by discussion of the nature of the research setting taking account of the socio-structures taking account of the structures that exist now and those that existed in the past. The South African traditional authority system dates back beyond the colonial days. However, over the years, the structures have changed with each changing regime, having an impact on their power and authority. Historically, the traditional authority structures were based on the inheritance system. However, the establishment of the Bantu Homelands by the apartheid regime introduced the appointment of traditional authorities in some areas by the government to oversee the

running of the homelands (Oomen, 2005). Bantu homelands were equivalent to independent states where individuals living there were citizens of the homelands rather than citizens of South Africa (Bantu Homelands Citizenship Act, 1970). This provides an indication of the importance of the traditional authorities to the apartheid regime and the extent of their power over the communities. Their main functions were the management of tribal land and administration of common law (cultural and family issues) (Oomen, 2005). As a result of this, traditional authorities became recognised as agents of the apartheid regime against the struggle, which greatly impacted on their post-apartheid role.

Van Kessel and Oomen (1997) suggest that during the apartheid era chiefs were maligned as puppets of Bantustan rule. In ANC related circles, it was widely assumed that chieftaincy would not survive in the post-apartheid era. After intense negotiations, culminating in the Framework Act for Traditional Leadership and Management, their diminished role was set out (Traditional Leadership and Governance Framework Act, 2003). In essence, this law disempowered the traditional authorities by taking away their independent rule of the chieftainships in exchange for grand names (Kings and Queens, Senior Traditional Leaders, and Headmen), better and more formal remuneration, and an advisory role (van Wyk, 2004). Although many traditional leaders were dissatisfied with this, that was the best position they could attain in the new democratic state. It was difficult to merge the functions of the new constitutional structures that included provincial and local government with the hereditary role of the local chief. A further issue is that since the traditional authority system is not commonplace in all areas of South Africa, the legislation relating to their administration has been delegated to provincial government level. The law is carefully phrased to say that traditional authorities, in negotiation with the provincial premier, take on an advisory role on issues relating to culture, land, health, and application of common law, the environment, safety, and tourism at both national and provincial level (van Wyk, 2004).

The experience of traditional authorities in the mining environment differs from other traditional authorities in that some of them have access to royalties from the proceeds of the sale of minerals. Although the amount is generally secret and is also the subject of many legal actions, the general amounts published are usually set at one per cent of the mining company's pre-taxable income. In the same way that there are no set rules about the level of the royalties, there are also no clearly defined rules about how this money is spent. Despite this, the expectation is that the proceeds from the royalties should be used for community development. Consequently, there are traditional authorities, such as the Bafokeng Chieftainship, that have earned a reputation for negotiating good royalty rates and have enviable development records in their communities (Manson and Mbenga, 2003).

2.2.2 Socio-structures in the research setting

Tswana people who speak Setswana are the indigenous people in the research setting. The aim of this section is to provide a brief background of the nature of the communities and mining industry in the research setting. To achieve this the discussion will identify the socio structures in three historical periods of the research setting. The three periods include pre apartheid, during apartheid and post apartheid. The main factors impacting on the socio structures of this setting include migration and settlement patterns and how they impact on the land use and tenure. The traditional authority in the research setting has a rich history that spans back over 200 years. The tribe originated from the Zululand and moved into the area where they were involved in conflicts firstly with the Matebele ka Mzilikazi in 1837 and then later the Boers who allocated themselves with the most fertile land. During the pre apartheid period the chief bought some farms in the area, which now constitute major sections of four of the seven villages within this study. The main socio structures were the chief and his supporters who helped to run the villages. For the most the main activities in the area was agriculture. These structures remained until the advent of apartheid and the discovery of mineral riches on the land belonging to the tribe.

The discovery of rich minerals on the land, the apartheid system and the expansion of commercial farming in the area had an impact on title to land for the black Africans including the traditional authorities in the area. This had an impact on the power of the chiefs as well as the socio and economic activities in the area. The commercial farming as well as the mining industry had an impact on the ethnic mix in the area as migration of different ethnic groups migrated into the area either forcibly or for employment. It is important to state at this stage that the mineral rich areas belonged mainly to the traditional authorities. In 1936 the apartheid government established the South African Development Trust (SADT) under The Development Trust and Land Act. In essence the SADT was set up to be the holder of the final title of African land. At the same time apartheid regime created the homeland state of Bophuthatswana and giving the traditional authorities power over the citizens. This distorted the perceptions that the traditional authorities had over the land as they perceived that they continued to have title over the land that they had purchased as well as the land that they had authority over through their control over the Bophuthatswana citizens. In reality the land that was purchased by the traditional authorities was registered in the name of the state. The socio structures in the area were further distorted by apartheid laws that prevented black Africans from being self sufficient in terms of farming because all the fertile land had been taken by the commercial farmers who were looking for labour amongst the local blacks.

At the same time the discovery of minerals also had an impact on the ability of black Africans to utilise available land to undertake farming. The discovery of platinum in the area saw foreign investments from multinational mining companies from Australia, United Kingdom, Canada and other Western countries whose governments participated in anti apartheid campaigns and imposed sanctions against the apartheid governments. Yet these organisations helped to sustain the discriminatory and poor environmental working conditions in their mining operations for the black population. This left the local black Africans dependent on employment from the surrounding farms and mining industry. Migration into the area increased through labour migration into the mining

industry and commercial farms from other African countries and parts of South Africa such as the Eastern Cape. Although most of these migrants stayed in single sex hostels this had an impact on the social and cultural stability on the tribal lands as the economic status of migrants challenged the cultural power of the traditional leaders. At the same time in the 1950s two villages were created to “dump” people forcibly removed from Albertinsvlei near Soweto and North Pretoria. This further increased the ethnic mix into the area creating challenges for the Traditional Authorities whose function was the custodian of customs for their tribe. This will be reflected in their attitudes towards the employment systems into the mining industry post apartheid. In essence the traditional authorities moved from being self-determined population in terms of their livelihood to being dependent on the apartheid system through the powerful commercial farmers and the mining industry.

The effects of the apartheid era on the socio structures of these communities were immense through destruction of livelihood and self-determination substituted by forceful dependency on commercial farms and mining industry that is synonymous with exploitation of the black African. Women lost their agricultural livelihood, which was replaced by male dominated mining industry. As a result women in this era moved from being self determined in terms of their agricultural production to became dependent and for most women this era is characterised by high rates of prostitution and single parenthood invoking other social problems (Schoofs, 1999). The men were emasculated by the loss of their livelihood and potential ownership of land. It could be argued that there was loss of identity through forced citizenship of the homelands. The poor working conditions imposed by the mining industry and commercial farmers further emasculated the men (Packard, 1989). The era was synonymous with poverty, diseases such as TB and other mine related illnesses that reduced the life expectancies of those working in the industry (Packard, 1989). The role of fatherhood was undermined by long periods away from home or inability to compete with migrant workers who further exacerbated the social problems experienced in these communities by creating second

families within these communities. The study reflects this through the high numbers of youths reporting no knowledge of the identity of their fathers and being brought up by mothers and with the support of other relatives. New power structures in the form of the mining entities with their economic power were established. All these factors have contributed to overwhelming and challenging the traditional authorities whose main source of power in the form of ownership of land had been unwittingly pulled away from them from under their feet through the SADT. These factors have had an impact on the subsequent socio structures post apartheid and in turn the transition from school to work.

Post apartheid the general duties of the traditional authorities have continued to be set out in the Bophuthatswana Traditional Authorities Act 23 of 1978, although the issue is under review by the North West Government. However, access to royalties from the mining companies post apartheid gave the traditional authorities an opportunity to develop their communities. However, during the life of the study the traditional authority and community members from the tribal villages in the study setting were involved in a court battle over the misappropriation of large sums of money from the mineral royalties. The chief was accused of mismanaging millions of Rands in royalties paid to him by the surrounding mining companies. The impoverished community members claimed that they did not benefit from the mine royalties. One mining company claimed that it had paid more than ZAR100 million (US\$16.7 million) between 2000 and 2003 (Taljard, 2003). However, community members claimed that there was nothing to show for this amount of money in the community.

Land allocation and accommodation post apartheid in the research setting play a significant role in the service provisions for community members. It has an effect on the level of development that can take place in the communities because of the relationship between the owners of the land and the institutions responsible for developing the area. Furthermore, the combination of the land allocation

amongst the significant stakeholders and the attitudes of the traditional authority towards migrants provide an important explanation for the overcrowded nature and high level of informal settlements in some areas of the mining communities. According to an official from the municipality, land allocation in the mining communities is divided as follows: mining company 80%; traditional authority 15%; farmers 3% and municipality 2%.

In terms of development through the municipality two factors need to be taken into account firstly, as a representative of the government, it appears that it does not own sufficient land to make meaningful infrastructural development in the area. The municipality official reported that the municipality has found that even if they build houses on land owned by other organizations they have no control because they can never own the title deeds and this historically has negated the effectiveness of some of their housing projects. The official reported that in one case they built houses on land belonging to another stakeholder, but once the housing project was complete the stakeholders refused to give title deeds to the people that the municipality had planned to house in the housing project. This has had an impact on their ability to satisfy the demand for housing and other infrastructural requirements for the increasing inflow of population into the area.

Secondly, the effective local government body for the region is based in the town of Brits. The current settlements under the municipality land were not planned with a long-term vision for local development. They remain dormitory settlements with no local economy, depending on pension payouts and employment in the surrounding mines, farms and industries, as well as further afield in the cities of Gauteng. They were minimally developed prior to 1994, however communal water standpipes and electricity have been provided in some villages. The main challenge for the municipality is to transform these settlements into proper towns or viable centers with community facilities and employment opportunities. As it is the settlements continue to be characterized by high rates of migration both internal and external migrants living in crowded informal settlements

against the background of minimal development and limited access to land, infrastructure or resources from which to undertake meaningful development.

Non-investment of royalties into the communities has left the communities under the control of the tribal authorities with minimal development lacking in communal water and electricity compared to the municipality settlements. However, the strict control of land allocation by the chief means that there are limited informal settlements on the tribal lands. The land is allocated to the members of the tribe, preferably married couples. Over time the tribal authorities have lost control over land allocation and as a result more and more people are gaining access to land through invasions. As a result migrant families are beginning to settle within the tribal lands but they are constantly under threat of being removed. The characteristic of the tribal land is that of poor infrastructure in terms of quality of roads and housing but more structured in terms of land allocation, reflecting a less crowded characteristic. However it is worth noting that the infrastructure around the traditional authority offices and accommodation for traditional authorities officials is relatively modern.

On the other hand, the mining company believes that they have already provided sufficient accommodation through the hostel accommodation for their employees and that the government should provide accommodation for the rest of the community. Consequently, informal settlements consisting of makeshift housing have proliferated in the outskirts of the villages and around the mine operations on land belonging to the mining companies. The poor living conditions in these areas are characterised as anti-social and are closely associated with poor health issues linked to high rates of HIV/AIDS, violence and prostitution (Hamann and Kapelus, 2004). These settlements are mainly associated with migrants although local community members have also started setting up home in the informal settlements. The call for more corporate social responsibility in the mining industry has resulted in the mining companies talking of taking some responsibility for improving accommodation and setting up developmental projects within the

communities (Hamann, 2004). At the time of undertaking the research, the development trust of the mining company had set up several development projects. The behaviour of the traditional authority in one of these projects provided significant indications of the relationship between the traditional authority and the migrant communities in the mining communities. The most successful project during the fieldwork period of this study was a garden project annexed to a beehive project that was set up but never implemented. However, the garden project was blocked from progressing by the traditional authorities because there were too many migrants involved in the projects. Interestingly, a senior official from the traditional authority who once lived in one of the neighbouring countries during the apartheid era was reported to be the main person behind blocking the project. Of concern to the project participants was not only the frustration of one of the few successful projects in the communities, but the name-calling that migrants endured from this official, who referred to migrants as “*aliens*.” This is despite the fact that most of the migrants involved in the project were internal migrants from other parts of South Africa. The traditional authority is reported to have cut off the electricity that powered the water supply and at the same time discouraged the mining company from getting involved in the project.

During the life of the study, the traditional authority took over the recruitment of the lower occupational positions (manual occupations) in the mining companies as a way of reducing migrant employment and increasing local community member employment. The above discussion sets the scene for the dynamics associated with the social relationships between the migrants and the local communities, and the impact on opportunities within these communities. At the same time it illustrates how land ownership plays a role in exercising power within these communities.

2.2.3 Infrastructure of the Mining Communities

The local and dominant language used by local black communities is Tswana, while the dominant language amongst the white communities is Afrikaans. A smaller proportion of both blacks and

whites can communicate comfortably in English. There are several other languages spoken in the area, which include South African languages from other provinces such as Xhosa and Zulu. In addition, there are the languages spoken by migrants. The medium of communication at the mining company is English for commercial purposes but Afrikaans in everyday interaction in the offices. In the mine underground most blacks work using a dialect called Fanagalo³. This language is a mixture of all the spoken languages in the communities. The aim of the language is to accommodate all the different indigenous languages, including the migrant languages, in the work environment.

As a way of illustrating the significance of mining the following provides employment details of one of the major mining multi national companies in the area. The mining company employs 27, 000 people. Of these 27, 000 people, 55% are migrant workers. A large proportion of the employees live in single-sex hostels. There are two hostel quarters in the area, each holding around 8, 000 workers, most of whom are migrant workers who come to South Africa unaccompanied. Therefore, out of 27, 000 workers, 16, 000 (40%) live in the mine hostels, whilst the remainder live in the communities (Lonmin, 2003).

The seven villages in this study are adjacent to three major multi national mining companies. It is difficult to estimate the population size for the area because of the proliferation of the informal settlement. All the villages, with the exception of one and the white farming communities, have similar socio-economic conditions, namely black, and poor with a high incidence of HIV/AIDS (30% against the national average of 21% (Le Roux, 2004:1)), unemployment and poor infrastructure in the form of poor or non-existent housing, roads, electricity, water and sanitary facilities (*Figures 1-4*). In contrast, the one exceptional village is predominantly white, where housing was initially built for managers and other white employees. This village is approximately five miles from the nearest black residential village. The physical socio-economic conditions in this

³ Fanagalo is one of a number of African pidgin languages that developed during the colonial period to promote ease of communication. Fanagalo was used extensively in gold and diamond mines because the South African mining industry employed on fixed contracts workers from across southern and central Africa: including Congo, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Botswana, Malawi, and Mozambique. With workers originating from a range of countries and having a vast range of different mother tongues, Fanagalo provided a simple way to communicate and is still used as training and operating medium. Adendorff (2002) Mine Fanagalo is based mostly on Zulu vocabulary (about 70%), with some words from English (about 25%), Afrikaans and Portuguese. It does not have the range of Zulu inflections, and it tends to follow English word order.

area are of a high standard, characterised by luxurious housing and high quality infrastructure (see *Figure 2.7*).

I had very limited social contact with the white community. There appeared to be resistance from members in this community to contact with black community members. To illustrate this, in one research project commissioned by the mining company to the North West University, the black research assistants from the University undertaking data collection from door to door in a white dominated mining residential area reported being chased by dogs belonging to the white householders. Although efforts were made to explain the purpose of their door-to-door data collection by the university officials, the white household owners did not call their dogs away; in fact some of the students suspected that the householders in some cases encouraged the dogs. Interestingly this story was first reported to me by one of the white University project coordinators who appeared shocked and disbelieving of this behaviour. Another observation is that the white community members in this village were not happy to be associated with negative social factors. They appeared to associate social problems with the black population. A case in point was a poster at a battered women's sanctuary, depicting a black woman carrying a child in tears to show that they supported battered women. Despite having a poster of a black woman outside the sanctuary, the owner reported that in the three years since they have been in operation all the clients, with the exception of one, had been white. The attitude that only the blacks have social problems was further revealed during an interview in another study in which I was involved. The group of white women being interviewed denied that there were social problems in the white community. However, they were very worried about the abuse of black women in the mining communities. It could be argued that the white community use the paternalistic attitude towards the black community as a way of avoiding, as well as denying, social problems within their own lives and communities. My interpretation of this is that by taking a paternalistic approach towards the black population ensures that the white population maintains their power over the blacks. Showing vulnerability to the blacks

by talking about social problems in their communities would lose them the power advantage that they have over the blacks. The photographs below demonstrate the vast difference between those who have and those who do not and the physical economic conditions in which the respondents live. The pictures also demonstrate the separate lives of the respondents compared to those who have benefited from the mine activities.

Figure 2.4 (Corrugated Accommodation)



Figure 2.4 illustrates a shack in an informal settlement; housing initially associated with migrants working for the mines. They built the corrugated accommodation so that when wives came to visit, they would have somewhere to stay. However, the residence and tenants of such accommodation now include local people with their families. Such housing constitutes around 70% of accommodation in the area.

Figure 2.5 (Mining Complex)



The image in *Figure 2.5* is of a mining complex. The mine complex is situated approximately 200 metres from the accommodation in *Figure 1* above. The nearest formal settlement is approximately one mile from this mining complex.

Figure 2.6 (Local Brick Accommodation)



Figure 2.6 is an example of the few houses built by local people. This kind of housing constitutes around 15 per cent of the houses. The remaining accommodation consists of makeshift corrugated housing. Both the brick houses or the corrugated accommodation have no running water, and pit latrines are used as toilets.

Figure 2.7 (Housing for Mine Management)



Figure 2.7 represents the housing for mine management. These houses are located away from the general population. Most local black people do not venture into such areas because it is unwelcoming. Black students undertaking a Quality of Life survey for the mine reported being chased away by dogs with the owners' knowledge. Few blacks at management level live in the area. Most do not mix with the blacks from the villages.

My relationship with this group was the most difficult to understand. It was the most challenging in some aspects, both in positive and negative terms. In the negative respect, some community members, especially the older males purporting to be community leaders, were either negative or relatively cold and mistrusting of my agendas. Some used either language or their position of power within the communities to interrupt the interviews. It is difficult to ascertain the reasons behind this behaviour. Interestingly, when I accompanied a white colleague to conduct the interviews, the older male community leaders were forthcoming. At one point, jokingly, one stated that it was nice to speak Afrikaans again. I sensed that I was regarded in the same way as the Zimbabwean migrants, whom they viewed as contributing to the deprivation in their communities.

In contrast, the women and youths were very keen to associate with me. Although this was a positive factor, I felt extremely uncomfortable. They liked my association with the UK, which set me apart from the other migrants with whom they mixed. At the same time, my coming from the UK appeared to give them higher expectations in terms of what they could gain from participating in the project in which I was involved within the communities. Most encouraged me to become involved in their projects while others wanted me to provide them with information and advice with regard to how they could escape the situation in which they found themselves. Although I facilitated contact with the appropriate officials wherever I could, I found that the officials lacked interest because the demise of the youths in the mining communities was not sufficiently high profile to warrant their full commitment. Therefore, despite the positive relationship with the youths, I was treated like a foreigner who had assets that they did not have.

Surprisingly, my association with migrants in the mining communities was minimal. It was mainly based on the research aspect of my visits and did not develop beyond the project, except in the case of two migrant families who acted as informants and arranged a large number of my interviews. To them, I was simply another migrant, like them, doing a job. Despite this, I felt relatively mistrusted

by other migrants. In spite of reassurances, my relationships with them did not develop beyond the interviews.

2.3 CONCLUSION

The research setting chapter has highlighted and contextualised the extent to which land, race and ethnicity continues to influence inequalities in the South African environment. The chapter reveals the dichotomy in the South African environment between the image of reconciliation that the South African government is desperate to portray and the realities of the power struggles that continue to emulate the racial and ethnic divides of the apartheid era. My observation was that there appeared to be very limited fluidity between the different races and ethnic groups. Consequently, relationships across racial and ethnic groups were generally superficial with a number of underlying issues expressed through the struggle for opportunities and resources. This had an impact on issues related to inequalities in the environment and, in turn, on the transition from school to work.

Against this background, the following chapter undertakes a literature review of the relevant issues relating to the transition from school to work in the South African mining communities, focusing upon the experiences of the local black and migrant youths.

LITERATURE REVIEW

CHAPTER 3

3.0 INTRODUCTION

Chapters 1 provided some justifications and background for undertaking this study, whilst Chapter 2 provided some contextual background to the study setting. This chapter undertakes a review of relevant literature to support and provide guidance in investigating the experiences of black local and migrant youths in their transition from school to work in South African mining communities. The scope of the literature review aims to demonstrate how the unique nature of the South African mining communities impacts on the factors influencing the transition from school to work. The aim of this chapter, through the literature review, is to provide a justification for the theoretical as well as the conceptual framework used in the study. From the outset, it is important to note that the subject is multi-disciplinary; consequently, the literature review adopts a multi-disciplinary approach with respect to the theoretical and conceptual examination. The theoretical and conceptual frameworks come from a range of disciplines that include political, sociological, economic, psychological and developmental theories. The review therefore, explores current evidence and highlights the gaps in literature related to the topic. The study may also help to illustrate the relevance of theoretical and conceptual frameworks originating from a Western perspective in analysing the context of developing countries. In addition, it evaluates the validity of theories and conceptual frameworks developed for developing economies.

In order to contextualise and assess the relevance of these theoretical approaches of these theories, they will be discussed within the three levels of analysis, namely; micro, meso and macro. By taking this approach, each theory and approach is contextualised at the three levels. In addition, three perspectives are utilised to identify the best theories for each level that will help to ensure a comprehensive approach to both the methodology and the analysis. The micro level analyses the

way the theories explain how attributes of individuals contribute to the transition from school to work for both the local black and migrant youths (Dopfer et al, 2004; Elson, 1999). Within this study, the micro level actors include community members and youths. The meso level analyses the theories' capacity to explain how local institutions, service providers, and mining companies impact on the transition from school to work. Examples of this include the job market, quality of schools, families and the mining environment itself. The macro level considers how the theories incorporate the impact of policies including education, migration, welfare and health-care policies in their explanation of the transition from school to work, taking account of the South African context. Here, the focus is on the "external" cultural, political and macroeconomic influences on the transition from school to work (Dopfer et al, 2004; Elson, 1999). The three levels are not mutually exclusive. Rather, they work together, to focus on a specific aspect of the problem being considered (Brown, 1997).

3.01 Structure of Chapter

The broad areas of review in this chapter include migration theoretical approaches; conceptual frameworks that include developmental theories and forms of capital. In terms of the structure of the chapter, the first section discusses three migration theoretical approaches and examines their relevance to the South African mining context. The three approaches to be considered include the historical-structural approaches, neo-classical economic equilibrium and the migration systems approach (Castles and Miller, 2003). The second section considers internal migration in the South African mining communities as a way of illustrating how the combination of state policies and migration has impacted on internal migration as well as integration into the mining communities. Reviewing literature on the migratory process into the South African mining communities is fundamental to this study as migration is a core factor in the development, employment and transition from school to work in the South African mining industry and communities (Packard, 1989; Campbell et al, 2001). The third section examines salient theories that emerged from data to

inform the theoretical framework for the study that also help to contextualise and offer some explanation to the factors impacting on the transition from school to work in this study. To achieve this, theories on forms of capital examining the contributions of Bourdieu (1990), Putnam (2000) and Coleman (1995) are examined. Also explored are development theories such as Freire's theories (1985) on oppression and education, and Sen's (1999) and Nussbaum's (2000) capabilities approach. Drawing from the literature review, a working definition of empowerment is identified as this aspect plays a role in the decision-making process of the transition from school to work. A summary of the chapter is provided both to conclude the chapter and to set the scene for Chapter 3.

3.1 MIGRATION PROCESS IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN MINING COMMUNITIES

Much has been written about the history of the South African mining industry and communities, including, for example, the work by Moodie et al (1994), Moodie, 2001, Bezuidenhout (1999) and Packard (1989). The South African mining industry, in cooperation with the South African state and the British and Portuguese colonial governments, created a regional labour market for mine labour in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The region included most of the countries that now comprise the Southern African Development Community (SADC). Therefore, the available labour was both a legacy of colonialism and the result of regional inequalities (Castles & Miller, 2003).

To a degree, the historical-structural approaches explain the international relationships and macro factors that resulted in the process of migration to the South African mining sector. This approach stresses the unequal distribution of economic and political power in the world economy. Migration is seen as a way of mobilising cheap labour for capital. It perpetuates uneven development, exploiting the resources of poor countries to make the rich even richer (Sassen, 1988).

Crush (1996) illustrates how the migration process in the South African mining industry perpetuated uneven development by exploiting the labour resources of its neighbouring countries through the bilateral labour agreements³ governing the movement of contract migrants to South Africa. The democratic government of 1994 inherited a series of bilateral labour agreements governing mine migration with two countries, namely Mozambique and Lesotho. For these countries, withdrawal or expulsion from the system of contract labour could be potentially disastrous because their economies are heavily dependent on the system. As part of their economic policies, these two countries have imposed compulsory deferred pay on migrant mineworkers. Legislation compels migrants to remit 60 per cent of their earnings to Mozambique and 30 per cent to Lesotho. The amounts involved are large, constituting a significant proportion of the foreign exchange earnings of Mozambique and Gross National Product (GNP) of Lesotho.

However, the weakness in this macro level approach is that it does not take account of the micro motivations for migrating to the mining sector. The approach is too focused on the needs of capital and therefore cannot explain why, for example, despite having a thriving mining industry; people from Botswana continue to migrate to the South African mining sector (Crush, 2008). Another weakness of the historical structural approach is its inadequacy in explaining modern migration trends, characterised by a high degree of forced migration, asylum seekers and refugees (Watters, 2008). Watters further argues that the approach does not engage with factors that could help to explain why, for example, a Kurdish family may have migrated to the UK rather than Germany or

³ Bilateral contracts were a product of the South African immigration system that has been described as having "two gates". Under the first gate, the Aliens Control Act, immigration and temporary residence were governed by statute. Under the second gate, which was concerned with the mining and farming industries, there were exemption clauses in the Act that allowed for bilateral treaties with neighbouring states (including mainly the countries that constitute SADC), which governed the entry of workers primarily in the mining and commercial-farming industries. In the past, these clauses have allowed particular employers exemption from immigration legislation and the right to employ non-South Africans under terms and conditions separate from those prescribed by the Act. These treaties also placed considerable power and autonomy in the hands of the employers. Not surprisingly, it has been the employers with considerable political influence - the mining industry and white commercial farmers - who took advantage of these exemptions and, indeed, for whom they were designed. Significant conditions within these treaties that made them lucrative and difficult for some countries to withdraw from include the remittances and deferred pay-provision, where compulsory deduction of a proportion and transfer of wages to the home country was imposed. In addition, foreign contract workers were exempt from paying tax in South Africa (Walters, 2003) although most of the neighbouring countries withdrew from the contracts as they achieved their independence, signifying an anti-apartheid measure.

France. At the same time explain why 58 people of Chinese origin died in a lorry as a result of taking a risk to migrate to the UK despite passing through Belgium and France (Hyland, 2000).

3.1.1 The Neo-classical Economic Equilibrium Perspectives

The neo-classical economic equilibrium perspectives, often known as “push-pull” migration theories, take account of the micro migratory movements. These approaches suggest that at the macro level migration is caused by the supply and demand of labour and the resulting wage differentiation based on a country’s economic condition. At the micro level individual actors migrate after making cost-benefit analyses; migration is a form of investment in human capital (Massey *et al.*, 1993).

Push factors are those that decisively influence a decision to move from one’s homeland. These influences may include poor economic or educational prospects, population density, environmental catastrophe or persecution by state or non-state. Pull factors may include perceptions of good economic opportunities, the presence of family or community members in the proposed country of migration, language, and a sense of the safety and security of the country of migration (Watters, 2008: 9).

Although useful in analysing various forms of migration, the push/pull approaches have a number of weaknesses in that they fail to explain factors associated with constraining decisions made by migrants. For example, these approaches fail to take account of forced migration in which migrants may have little or no choice about leaving their home country or country of destination (Watters, 2008). Macro and meso factors constitute external factors that impact on choices as well as final decisions made by migrants. In view of this, these migration models do not necessarily reflect the intentions or expectations of the migrants (Castles and Miller, 2003).

Overall, the neo-classical economic equilibrium perspectives assume that it is the poorest in the sending communities who migrate to greener pastures, as suggested by Borjas (1989: 461). However, this was not always the case because firstly, the cyclic nature of the South African mining industry migrant contract labour system meant that those people who had worked on contracts would have their contracts renewed. Secondly, the system of family members replacing injured, retired or deceased employees meant that there was some form of pre-selection of those who migrated. Finally, the demographic characteristics of the people who migrated to the mining sector were specific, namely, young, strong and male (Castles & Miller 2003; Sassen, 1988). In addition, the influence of social capital on migratory movements is not taken into account by Borjas' (1989) proposition. As an illustration that it is not necessarily the poor of the country who migrate, studies on the brain-drain phenomenon in African countries have been undertaken. The studies show that migrants from Africa tend to work in lowly paid manual occupations in European destinations, although a large number of them hold non-manual and professional occupations in their country of origin (Bloch, 2005).

Despite these weaknesses, the neo-classical economic equilibrium approaches provide a useful understanding of the decision processes influencing migration at the micro level. In view of this, the migration systems approach is explored below, taking account of the three levels of analysis - micro, meso and macro factors that influence the migration process. This approach is discussed in relation to post-apartheid migratory movements in South Africa.

3.1.2 Migration Systems Approach

The migration systems approach provides a potentially more comprehensive explanation of the post-apartheid migratory movements into South Africa. Castles and Miller (2003) define the migration systems approach as migratory movements that generally arise from the existence of prior links between sending and receiving countries based on colonial, political, trade, investment or

cultural ties. The migration systems approach implies that any migratory movement can be viewed as the result of the interaction of macro and micro structures linked together by a number of important mechanisms through the meso structures. Macro structures include the political economy of the world market, interstate relationships, and the laws, structures and practices established by the state of sending and receiving countries to control migration settlement. The micro factors focus on the migrants themselves and their decision-making processes. The micro structures in this migration approach relate to the informal social networks that can impact on the decision relating to country of destination, route taken on migration and coping mechanisms once in the country of destination. Boyd (1989: 639) suggests that informal networks bind migrants and non-migrants together in two ways: informal networks link migrants with non-migrants from the areas of origin. However, they also connect migrants with the receiving communities.

These networks can contribute either positively or negatively to the transition from school to work for migrant youths. Castles and Miller (2003) conceive the meso structures included in the notion of 'migration industry' to consist of a variety of actors. These actors may be 'recruitment organisations', lawyers, immigration agents, smugglers or other intermediaries created in response to the needs of migrants and other interested parties. Their roles have expanded over recent years in response to the restrictive and controlling nature of international migration policies and globalisation. These structures play an important role in the durability and the characteristics of migration by creating opportunities where the restrictive migration policies appear impossible (Watters, 2008).

3.1.2.1 Migration systems approach in the South African context

The 'migration industry', which involves corrupt immigration officials in post-apartheid South Africa, has had a significant impact on the shaping of the migration and integration patterns both in the country and in the mining communities, as illustrated by a South African investigative

documentary program (Special Assignment, 2005). This, in turn, has had an impact on the transition from school to work for both local and migrant youths, especially in relation to access to employment contracts, migration documentation and entitlements.

Klaaren and Ramji (2001) argue that since 1994, South Africa has deported over 1.7 million undocumented migrants to neighbouring states such as Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Lesotho. In 2006 alone, 2,600, 000 migrants were arrested and deported. Human rights groups have complained not only about the scale of the numbers being deported, but also about the abusive methods used to deport people, a practice that strongly resembles those used by the apartheid regime. The government's framing of the immigration policy since 1994 has been primarily more an issue of control and exclusion than management strategy (Crush, 2003).

In response to the new regime's policies, the pattern of documented migration into the country has changed not only in terms of the numbers, but also in terms of demography and motivation for undertaking migratory movement. Crush (2003) suggests that the most obvious indicator of post-1994 change is in the numbers of people entering South Africa legally on visitor's permits for purposes of visiting, tourism and/or business. The numbers rose from 3.7 million in 1996 to 5.5 million in 2005. Of the latter, 50% gave "holiday" as the purpose of entry. In contrast, there has been a fall in the number of people entering legally on temporary work permits since 1994. In 1996, 52, 704 such permits were issued and this had fallen to 15, 834 by 2000. According to Crush (2008), this is not a reflection of the drop in demand for foreign labour in South Africa, but the red tape that has made it more difficult for employers to recruit from abroad. Another entry door that has been declining is that of permanent residence. Those granted permanent residence to South Africa fell from 14, 000 per annum at the beginning of the 1990s to 3, 053 per annum by the end of the decade. McDonald (2002) argues that many people entering South Africa continue to see themselves as circular rather than as permanent immigrants; they come to South Africa for

employment or income-generating opportunities for a definitive period with very little interest in staying in the country permanently. To a certain extent, this echoes the response of mine workers in 1995 who demonstrated a 'sluggish' response to the offer of amnesty⁴ and permanent residence.

As a way of overcoming the restrictive temporary work permit entry doors, migrants have become creative in using the visitor's permit door to undertake their entrepreneurial activities. Cross-border migration by small- and medium-sized entrepreneurs has increased by using the visitor's permit entry door to enter and source goods to sell in their home countries while, at the same time, selling goods in South Africa (Tevera and Zinyama, 2002). Thus, the increase in the issue of visitor's permits to people from the region and the rest of the continent reflects a change in trading patterns and the growth in small- and medium-sized entrepreneurs involved in formal and informal cross-border trade. This pattern is also reflected in the mining communities, where it would appear that despite migrants entering to work as miners, they have become more creative in their survival techniques compared to the host population (Crush, 2003). The important aspect to note is that this change in the pattern of migration has impacted on the demography of the migrants entering from neighbouring countries as well as other African countries. The demographic composition now includes more women and youth (Crush, 2008). This change has also impacted on the migrant population in mining communities as well as the integration process. Instead of migrants focusing exclusively on mining work, migrants have now become entrepreneurs within the mining communities. The configuration of migrants in the mining communities is no longer just those from the labour-supplying countries whose main aim of migration was mine work. Now, it includes migrants from African countries as far as Somalia, Ethiopia and Nigeria and other migrants from the Asian continent undertaking small businesses within the communities. According to Tevera and Zinyama (2002), these migrants enter, bringing their wares to sell and buy commodities to take to

⁴ In 1995 the government offered amnesty and permanent residence to those miners who had been working in the mine since 1986 and had voted in the 1994 election (Steinberg, 2005). Out of an estimated 130, 000 mine workers eligible to take this offer, only 47, 364 applied for permanent residence. Factors such as lack of knowledge may have contributed to this low response rate. However, a survey by the South Africa Migration Project (SAMP) in Lesotho found that 93 per cent of the miners did not see a permanent move to South Africa as a desirable outcome. Of those who said they would move to South Africa, 68.3% said that they would keep their home in Lesotho.

their home countries. In terms of integration, the migrants tend to adopt an assimilation strategy by learning the language and living amongst local community members.

The discussion above illustrates how the integration of the macro and meso levels of activities impact on the migration decisions at the micro level. The review has, thus far, focused on the migration process from across the borders. However, the South African socio-political history has had an impact on internal migration that is significant in terms of the transition from school to work. In view of this, the following section considers issues related to internal migration in the South African context.

3.1.3 Internal Migration

A combination of changes in the political regime that eradicated the Pass Law⁵, and other apartheid exclusion policies impacting on citizenship laws and the subsequent relaxation of post-apartheid migration policies have had a substantial impact on integration (Valji, 2004). The impact has affected both internal as well as external migrants with the local community members in the mining communities. South Africa has eleven official languages, with as many ethnic groups. In this study it is important to be able to differentiate between external and internal migration. Apart from having cultural and language differences from the local communities, external and internal migrants share similar historical backgrounds in terms of citizenship status and experiences with restrictions imposed by the apartheid regime. However, internal migrants differ from external migrants in that they are now legally recognised as South African citizens and have access to welfare benefits.

⁵ Essentially, the Pass Law required that black people in South Africa carry passes when moving from one area to another. In order to move in that way, black people had to obtain authorisation from white employers or government departments. The apartheid government set up homelands where black people would stay but were only allowed to move from those areas through the pass system. This system impacted on the citizenship status of South African blacks, to the extent that the apartheid government did not recognise black South Africans as citizens of South Africa; rather as citizens of the allocated homelands. This was achieved through the establishment of the Bantu Authorities Act (1951), which created separate government structures known as the "homelands" where each black South African was assigned. The initial impact of this was that black South Africans lost their political rights in the South African parliament. The Black Homelands Citizen Act (1970) changed the status of the inhabitants of the "homelands" so that they were no longer citizens of South Africa. In essence, this meant that black South Africans living in the homelands needed passports to enter South Africa. Black South Africans became aliens in their own country. Of the twenty-six million South Africans living in the country in 1976, only the four million considered 'white' had full rights of citizenship. This ensured that whites became the demographic majority within white South Africa.

Despite these differences, it is still important to discuss issues associated with internal migrants because in some instances they are marginalised in the same way as external migrants.

When these restrictions were relaxed, the expectations were that internal migration into urban areas would increase, circular and oscillation migration would be replaced by gravity flow migration, and ties with the rural connections would be reduced (Posel, 2001b). Internal migration did increase but to unexpected levels. What was significant was that the composition changed to include more women and youth (Posel et al, 2003). This increase in internal migration has had an unprecedented impact on service provisions such as health, education and housing, culminating in vast numbers of uncontrollable informal settlements on the periphery of towns and mining communities. The setting up of these informal communities has been a source of conflict between the local landowners, municipalities, mining companies and the migrants into the mining communities (Huchzermeyer and Karam, 2007). As a result, the integration processes of both the internal and external migrants in the area have been negatively affected. Increased xenophobic tendencies at all levels (macro, meso and micro) have culminated in widespread violence (Jacobs, 2008).

Contrary to the push-pull migration approach, people are not necessarily migrating to the economically rich areas where there is employment. It appears that other factors impact on the decision to migrate and the destination of migration, such as better welfare infrastructure and health care provision (Todes, 2001; Cross *et al.*, 1998). Vaughan (2001) and James (2001) found that the HIV/AIDS epidemic has also had an impact on internal migration. The indication is that after their diagnosis of HIV/AIDS, most internal migrants in the long-term return home for care. Ellis and Muschkin (1996) argued that in the short-term the infected person migrates to urban areas where there is better healthcare, but towards the latter stages the person migrates back to the place of origin to get care and family support in the final months. No conclusive evidence is available to

show whether migratory patterns have changed from circulatory or oscillation to gravity⁶ flow. James (2001) further suggests that the place of origin provides a sense of security, identity, history and a place of retirement that is becoming difficult to secure in the place of migration. James (2001: 93) suggests that job insecurities may be one of the reasons for people's continued contact with their place of origin.

Thus far, the review has explored the migration process in the mining communities, illustrating how this has impacted on the structure of the mining communities in terms of integration and subsequently, the transition from school to work. The following section reviews theories that can be drawn upon as conceptual frameworks for analysing the transition from school to work in the mining communities.

3.2 THEORIES RELATED TO YOUTH TRANSITIONS FROM SCHOOL TO WORK

This review examines several theories that can be drawn upon to explain and analyse more specifically factors impacting on the transition from school to work of youths in the mining communities. Salient theories explored include forms of capital including social, economic and cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986; Coleman, 1990; and Putnam, 1995); development theories drawing on Paulo Freire's empowerment and education theories (1986); and Sen's capability theory (1999). In view of this, the structure of the section will firstly, consider the theories of forms of capital. This will be followed by examination of the relevance of these theories in the South African context in terms of the transition from school to work. Secondly, the review will explore Freire's empowerment and education theories. Following this will be a discussion of the relevance of his

⁶ Circulatory migration refers to a person who moves to town quite early in adult life, either with a family or to establish a family soon after arrival. At retirement, this person (possibly with family members) returns to the rural home or country of origin. Oscillation migration refers to labour migration where an adult moves in search of a job, returns to the rural home after this job has been completed, and then repeats the cycle. Individuals often undertake this form of migration without families. This approach best describes the migration model that black migrant mine workers were forced to use during the apartheid years. Gravity flow refers to the situation where people migrate permanently toward urban places (Bekker & Swart, 2003).

theories and how they have been incorporated into the South African context specifically in terms of the transition from school to work. Thirdly, a discussion of Sen's capabilities theory will be made, taking account of Nussbaum's (2000) contribution. This will be followed by an examination of the relevance and applicability of the theories to the transition from school to work in the South African context. The working definition of empowerment will be identified, drawing from the theoretical frameworks discussed in this chapter. A conclusion summarising the chapter will be made that will lead to Chapter 3.

3.2.1 Relevance of forms of capital for transition from school to work

The three forms of capital to be examined and discussed include economic capital, social capital and cultural capital. Several reasons explain why these forms of capital may contribute to informing the study. A major justification is that forms of capital provide some indication of sources of advantage and inequalities within a society, aspects, which are essential to the transition from school to work outcomes (Silva and Edwards, 2004). It is a way of thinking about how resources can be mobilised and distributed (and possibly more equitably distributed) within society. As such, it provides indications of how factors, both tangible and intangible, impact on the transition from school to work for both the local black and migrant youths. In addition, types of capital such as social capital have been advocated to contribute to a range of beneficial economic and social outcomes including high levels of growth in gross domestic product (GDP); more efficiently functioning labour markets; higher educational attainment; lower levels of crime; better health; and more effective institutions of government (Halpern, 1999, 2001).

3.2.1.1 Working Definitions of Capital

For the purpose of this study, the definitions considered are those put forward by three influential contributors namely; Bourdieu (1986), Coleman (1994) and Putnam (1993 and 2000). While all three conceive social capital in terms of networks and relationships as a resource, they each

perceive it in different ways. The approach taken by Bourdieu regards social capital as an asset used by elite groups – particularly those who had limited economic capital and/or cultural capital, such as the French nobility. For Coleman, social capital could also serve as a resource for the relatively disadvantaged. However, he shares with Bourdieu an emphasis on the asset as something belonging to the individual or families. Putnam further stretches the concept by regarding it as a resource that functions at a societal level (Field, 2003).

3.2.1.2 The Forms of Capital

Bourdieu's analysis (1986) of forms of capital are relevant to this study through his analysis of the impact of cultural capital on education to perpetuate inequality in society. Naidoo (2004) suggests that at the heart of Bourdieu's work on higher education is his desire to expose higher education as a powerful contributor to the maintenance and reproduction of social inequities. Watters (2008) suggests that Bourdieu's work may be described as essentially critical in orientation, and aims to expose the social relations perpetuating economic and social inequalities. Education in this study is perceived as playing a role in the transition from school to work. For this reason, understanding how education impacts on communities is important in ascertaining the way in which the youths in the mining communities experience it. Bourdieu (1986: 252) suggested:

'...economic capital is at the root of all other types of capital, and that it combines with other forms to create and reproduce inequalities.'

These 'transformations' are not automatic but require effort, with benefits often accruing only in the long term. Bourdieu (1986; 253) suggests

'Profits in one area are necessarily paid for by costs in another'.

For example, wealthy parents utilise their economic capital to purchase cultural capital/social capital in independent schools (Marginson, 2004). Bourdieu (1986) argues that with cultural capital, an economic exchange such as purchasing books sets in motion a series of uses, some symbolic, some fungible for other capital, that are exploited in concrete time.

In order comprehensively to evaluate this concept in relation to the study topic and the South African context, this discussion will use the three forms of cultural capital identified by Bourdieu as the framework for discussion. This will further be supported by incorporating the micro, meso and macro levels of analysis as a way of contextualising the discussion. These three forms of cultural capital include:

‘Embodied (in persons, in the form of long-lasting dispositions in the mind and body; objectified state (in the form of cultural goods such as art, taste, pictures, instruments and machines); institutionalised state (as university degrees and other professional qualifications).’ (Bourdieu (1986; 243-244)).

In terms of the levels of analysis, this discussion regards the embodied and objectified states at the micro level and the institutionalised state in terms of both the meso and macro state.

3.2.1.3 Embodied State

Bourdieu (1986) identifies the embodied state as directly linked to and incorporated within the individual, representing what they know and can do. It relates to how agents symbolically construct and subjectively experience the world (Wacquant, 2002). What individuals know from the outset relates to their origins, which is influenced by their status in society. Bourdieu suggests that people of different classes perceive the world around them differently because of the experiences they have from being nurtured into the world. Although an individual can learn embodied capital by investing time into self-improvement, it is a long process, which Bourdieu (1986) suggests takes time to learn, observe and interpret. The ability to participate in cultural capital is acquired in the concrete

time of inhabiting institutions such as family, schools and organisations. In terms of education and the transition from school to work, this can be a factor in inequalities because the key element is what the individual knows. Harker (1990: 34) identifies some of these elements of knowledge as “the body of knowledge of self-representation, language usage, values, etc.’ that are shared among groups. Di Maggio (1994: 39) summarises them as prestigious forms of knowledge or style. The process of embodiment occurs across time and depends on ongoing socialisation. It involves considerable investment by others and is heavily dependent on family.

The embodied state is insufficient without the objectified state in terms of acquiring cultural capital. As indicated above, the objectified state relates to ownership of cultural goods. Whilst these have a material character and thus can be owned simply by utilising economic capital, for them to be appropriated and consumed, as they were intended, that is, for their symbolic value to be realised, presupposes the embodied state of cultural capital.

These two states of analysis provide the initial stage of Bourdieu’s contribution towards understanding the gaps that exist between the aspirations of the youth groups in the mining communities and their realities. In terms of black youths in South Africa, the knowledge and experience of the world around them is a factor of the repression experienced by their parents during the apartheid years. Several factors linking the elements of knowledge within the South African and mining environment, and the transition from school to work and education include the language used as a medium of instruction at school and in the world of work, and the choice of subjects at school.

In terms of the language used as a medium of instruction, South Africa is grappling currently with conflicts between the language used as a medium of instruction at school and the languages used in the world of work (Webb, 2003). The conflict between socio-political agendas and the commercial

world are a factor to consider in the South African context when exploring Bourdieu's notion of embodied state. Whilst the socio-political agenda promotes the mother tongue as the medium of instruction in schools, the commercially dominant culture demands English and Afrikaans as a prerequisite for employment opportunities (Kamwangamalu, 2000; Desai, 2003). This aspect impacts heavily on the transition from school to work for both the local black and migrant youths in terms of the type of occupations open to them as well as opportunities for social mobility.

Migrant youths in the mining environment appear to have double disadvantages associated with embodied capital. Firstly, migrant youths have limited entitlements both within the mining communities and nationally, which impact on the transition from school to work. Being non-South African citizens, migrant youths are disenfranchised; therefore, their issues and needs are not represented either within the mining communities or within the South African environment. Furthermore, they experience inequalities with respect to access to public services such as health, social benefits and tertiary education grants because they are not entitled to them (Vonk and Olivier, 2004). Secondly, by being migrants in the mining environment, the migrant parents have limited embodied capital in the country of migration that they can impart to their children. Migrant family settlements in the South African mining communities are a recent phenomenon. For this reason, the parents are experiencing their own period of nurture in the environment into which they are settling. In addition, migrant parents may not wish to gain embodied capital of an environment such as the South African mining communities that are associated with migrant poverty and deprivation. Consequently, these parents may focus on nurturing their children in the embodied capital from their country of origin. This can result in substantial contradictions for migrant youths, who require sufficient embodied capital to integrate at school as well as with other youths in the communities. At the same time, they need to embrace the embodied capital from their country of origin.

It could be argued that the current transitional phase being experienced by South Africa may generate contradictions with the embodied capital imparted to local black youths by their South African parents, who were subjected to controlled substandard education (Davies, 1996) and employed in lower occupational positions. Such contradiction is possible because the youth, raised in a free South Africa, are able to absorb new knowledge and visions encouraged by the new South Africa and have media access to the wide variety of careers now open to all South Africans. Other factors possibly influencing the embodied capital of youths in the mining communities include the HIV/AIDS pandemic, which is significantly higher in the mining communities than in other areas of South Africa. The youths in the mining communities may not develop embodied capital from their parents because of the high child or grandparent-headed families resulting from parental death from HIV/AIDS (Case and Ardington, 2006). The increasing rate of migrants integrating into all aspects of South African societies and mining communities in addition to the influence of globalisation impacts on the ability of local black South African youths to develop embodied culture to the optimum level where it is integrated into the individual, a process that takes time to nurture (Bourdieu, 1986).

By analysing the relationship between the objectified and the embodied state it may be possible get a better insight into the gap between the aspirations and realities of youths in the mining communities. Although the transition to a democratic South Africa has brought about new opportunities and prosperity for some black South Africans, a substantial number remain in poverty (Swarns, 2002). This aspect of poor economic capital suppresses the gains that could be made from embodied state that individuals may develop. As a result, it may be argued that the combination of objectified capital and embodied capital is important in terms of positive outcomes in the transition from school to work. Objectified capital goods such as computers, books and telephones are useful for the transition from school to work in terms of the educational benefits that can be gained. However, without embodied capital, access to objectified capital may merely result in treating these

cultural goods as tools to impress rather than tools to facilitate educational progress. For example, access to a computer with an Internet facility can be hugely beneficial for academic development. At the same time, Internet access can also facilitate many hours of interaction in chat rooms and computer game-playing.

3.2.1.4 Institutionalised State

Academic qualifications can be used as rate of conversion between cultural and economic capital:

'Cultural capital in its institutionalised state provides academic credentials and qualifications which create a certificate in cultural competence. This confers on its holder a conventional, constant legally-guaranteed value with respect to power' (Bourdieu, 1986; 248).

Discussion of the institutionalised state will consider the issues in relation to the meso level of analysis by examining how educational institutions contribute to inequalities in society. A discussion at the macro level will consider the way in which macro level policies impact on the power relationships and democratisation of South African society. Bourdieu refers to uses of class classifications to illustrate the dominant culture in relation to the subordinate culture. Therefore, in terms of embodied and objectified capital, the dominant class are the owners of the means of production. With regard to the transition from school to work, it is their embodied and objectified capital that the youths strive to emulate to achieve positive outcomes in education and, in turn, the transition from school to work. He argues that members of the dominant culture have an advantage over those from other cultures in so far as they can use the education system either to ascend the social ladder or maintain their social status. Not all classes start with the same kind or level of cultural capital. Children socialised in the dominant culture will have a considerable advantage over children not socialised in this way because schools attempt to reproduce a general set of dominant cultural values and ideas. This has a negative impact on the motivations of both the parents and the children of the lower class or non-dominating culture in terms of advancing in education (Bourdieu et al, 1992).

Bourdieu et al (1992) examines the process of elimination resulting from this drop in motivation. The process of elimination comes in two forms, firstly, through an examination system designed to progressively fail or exclude pupils. Children from the non-dominant culture or a working class background are far more likely to fail in examinations because their cultural capital is seen to be less valid. Secondly, through self-elimination, working class children or children from the non-dominant culture quickly realise that they do not speak the same language as the educational system. It seems to offer them very little that is culturally useful. As a consequence, they "vote with their feet" by leaving the educational system as early as possible. Such children learn that their chances of educational success (as measured in terms of qualifications) are small, and they assess "realistically" the possible future avenues open to them (which normally means work rather than higher education).

The education system therefore, designates those endowed with cultural capital, which is generally inherited as a result of social origin, as 'academically talented.' In this way, higher education establishes a close correspondence between the social classification at entry and at exit without explicitly recognising, and in most cases denying, the link between social properties dependent on social origin (such as class) and academic selection and evaluation (Naidoo, 2004). Higher education is conceptualised as a sorting machine that selects students according to an implicit social classification, and reproduces the same students according to an explicit academic classification. This, in reality, is very similar to the implicit social classification (Bourdieu, 1996).

Such classification can lead to cultural reproduction whereby existing disadvantages and inequalities are passed down from generation to generation. Therefore, to a certain extent, school is the site of an often-unconscious form of social reproduction. At the same time, it ostensibly

provides an environment in which every pupil could achieve success purely on the basis of their ability (Watters, 2008).

In terms of the role of education in the transition from school to work, Bourdieu's notion of cultural capital and social capital overlap (Marginson, 2004). Certain educational credentials lead to membership of exclusive professional bodies and other networks to which non-educational institutions are not privy, again furthering inequalities. This transposes itself in the transition from school to work by providing access to networks that are instrumental in obtaining employment for those with educational credentials at the expense of those without. The relationship between cultural, economic and social capital therefore, is legitimised by the higher qualifications that invariably lead to higher earnings (economic capital) and upward mobility to new and separate social capital. Bourdieu (1984; 122) illustrated the interplay between connections and cultural capital with examples of members of professions such as lawyers and doctors who exploit their social capital. This exploitation is essentially a capital of connections, honourability, and respectability to win the confidence of high society clientele. By contrast, those who rely primarily on their educational qualifications are, he suggests, the most vulnerable in the event of 'credentials deflation'. This is not only due to their lack of connections, but also the consequence of their weak cultural capital, which reduces their knowledge about fluctuations in the market for credentials (Field, 2003). Bourdieu therefore, regards social capital as the exclusive property of elites designed to secure their relative positions. Unlike Putnam (1995), who argues that broader social capital is positive, Bourdieu argues that upward mobility in cultural capital inevitably leads to narrower and exclusive social capital. Higher social mobility arises from intensified competition impacting on the breadth of the social network. To a certain extent, social capital becomes nothing more than a conspiracy of the oppressed, rather than an expression of democratisation.

3.2.1.5 Bourdieu and the South African Context

Bhorat et al, (2001) suggest that education affects the propensity of blacks to participate in the labour force, their probability of being employed and their earnings, with returns to secondary education being particularly high. Work by Moll (2000), Mwabu and Schultz (1996), Fallon and Lucas (1998) broadly confirm the importance of education for blacks, the largest but also poorest racial group in South Africa. To a limited extent, this concurs with Bourdieu's concept of education and its relationship with social mobility. Silva and Edwards (2004) provide a critique of Bourdieu's cultural capital's relevance to the South African context in their observation of Bourdieu's lack of clarity about its relationship with ethnic and gender divisions and whether it is a household or an individual resource. They question how the notion of cultural capital operates when the bases of stratification are broadened from social class to include gender and ethnicity. Historically in South Africa, the basis of social stratification was based on race and ethnicity, a basis that continues in South Africa's current transitional period (Kewwell, 2004). This is more apparent in closed environments such as the mining communities, where demarcations between race and ethnicity are more apparent both socially as well as economically.

Bloch (2005) showed that educational qualifications and cultural capital are not necessarily the basis for social mobility in the country of destination for migrants into South Africa and the UK. The research found that many migrants from Zimbabwe, although professionals in their country of origin, worked in lowly paid manual occupations in their country of destination. Factors such as immigration documents, eligibility and ethnicity determined social stratification and social mobility. Interestingly, in their study conducted in the USA, Lareau and Hovart (1999) found that being white was a cultural resource unconsciously drawn on by parents. To a certain extent, this suggests that the issue of race and ethnicity plays a role in explaining advantages in education, economic and occupational outcomes. In turn, this can help to explain the rationale behind several key pieces of

South African legislation such as the MPRDA (2004) being good indications that race-based social stratification stemming from the apartheid era still continues.

In her studies of two South African universities, Naidoo (2004) found that differing admission policies could contribute to the reproduction of fundamental racial divisions. She found that the university whose admission policies were based on the ethos of purely academic criteria and detached from social categories such as race, class or gender functioned to exclude moral and political pressures to address the issues of disadvantage. She concluded that the university admitting mainly white students from dominant positions in society on the basis of purely academic criteria, while largely excluding black African students, appeared to stimulate fundamental racial divisions. The admission strategies of the other university drew on discourses embodying the notion of 'redress' and 'rights' from the political field to construct new categories of admission. These discourses were also used to argue that admission policies should compensate those who had been denied university access through apartheid policies. The university developed a non-selective and open-admissions policy termed 'People Admission Policy', through which all students who met the statutory conditions for entry to higher education were accepted. Naidoo (2004) suggests that this university could be viewed as challenging the racial divisions. However, her findings were unclear about the extent to which the universities contributed to placing students in more privileged positions in society at the point of graduation.

She argues that the first university could have been able to place strategically an elite minority of black African students to access more privileged positions in society. With respect to the second university, whilst increasing the number of black African students to it, Naidoo (2004) argues that it is debatable whether these students were placed in more privileged positions in the social structure of the South African society. She used King's argument (1993) that alternative education strategies may inadvertently entrench the hierarchy between the privileged and the disadvantaged students by

conferring on students a qualification that is not recognised as sufficiently academic by other universities or employers. In this sense, Naidoo (2004) claims that the alternative admissions strategies developed by the second university, which were constructed by the direct appropriation of political principles, may not have resulted in a redistribution of academic capital to black students. Such strategies failed also to lead to the development of an alternative type of capital capable of eroding the dominant principles of academic capital to function in a relatively autonomous field. The South African context challenges Bourdieu's dominant principles in that the political dominance of the non-white South Africans does not necessarily transfer to an economically privileged position. Some limitations identified include firstly, exclusive focus on the dominant principles structuring society which excludes an analysis of social forces strong enough to challenge dominant forces but too weak to entirely displace such forces. Bourdieu's principles of domination focus mainly on conflicts within a nation, the basis of his argument being the dominant within the nation.

It is necessary to consider globalisation and global dominance as influencing social mobility and privilege. South Africa operates in the global village; as such, it cannot fully unilaterally confer alternative academic qualifications without considering how this would disadvantage its population, while at the same time, giving advantage to migrants who have recognisable and acceptable qualifications as its way of redressing disadvantages. Moleke (2005) illustrates this dilemma in the South African context by acknowledging that while those with longer years of schooling have better prospects in the labour market, of significance are the qualifications acquired during schooling. Qualification differences translate into different types of skills acquired – a major indicator of employability. She argues that in the South African context, even among those with similar years of schooling, there are differences in economic prospects as a result of differences in acquired skills. In the case of those individuals whose qualifications do not reflect the acquisition of specific professional skills, especially those who hold general bachelor's degrees, their qualifications serve

only as a signal of their potential to employers. In many cases, they take longer to realise employment and when they do, their entry-level jobs do not necessarily require the years of schooling that they possess.

These differences are increasingly accounting for the continuing racial disparities in the labour market, particularly in the context of the growing demand for skilled labour. She argues that Africans tend to study in fields with poorer economic and labour market outcomes such as humanities, and arts-related fields. In many cases, this is not because they choose to but because many black Africans are constrained by the requirements of various departments in higher education institutions, lack of finance and poor academic backgrounds. Such constraints make it difficult for them to cope and successfully complete their studies. Some are constrained by a lack of career guidance and access to reliable labour market information to assist them in making informed decisions before entering higher education.

Kohler (2008) suggests that the South African schooling system is reportedly failing to produce sufficient matriculates with the skills, particularly in mathematics and science, needed to facilitate achievements in economic growth. For example, in 2006, of the 528, 525 candidates sitting for the senior certificate (SC) examination, only 46, 945 (8.88%) sat higher-grade (HG) mathematics, and only 25, 217 of those (4.77% of the total SC candidates) passed mathematics at a higher grade. Only slightly better results were reported for physical science, with 29, 781 SC candidates, or 5.63% of the total, passing science at the higher grade in 2006. This impacts heavily on government policies of Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) and is a potential constraint on economic growth.

Kewwell (2004) confirms this poor access to key subjects by suggesting that even in some of the best schools in South Africa, maths and sciences are not offered, leaving blacks ill-prepared to compete for admission to further education. On the other hand, whites send their children to private

schools, where they receive the best resources. Most notably, 40 per cent of the wage differential between whites and blacks in South Africa can be associated with the varying returns from education. This lack of preparation in maths and sciences may explain the high drop-out rate and reinforce Bourdieu's concept of elimination. Subotzky (2003) reports that in response to the government's promotion of maths and sciences amongst the black population, there has been an increase in the number of blacks enrolling in higher education. Enrolment rates of black South Africans increased to 60% in 2002 from 29% in 1988 compared to whites, whose enrolment rates declined from 58% to 28% during the same period. Although the study showed continued bias towards the humanities, what was also of concern was that many students dropped out of higher education, while others took longer to obtain their qualifications. It is estimated that in 2000-2001, only 14 per cent of those enrolled actually completed their course of study. Of those who did not complete their studies, only 70 per cent returned, while 15 per cent dropped out.

Some of the progress in the field of forms of capital has reflected theoretical refinement. For example, experts in the field are now converging on a definition of social capital focused on social networks and the associated norms of reciprocity and trust. All sides have concluded that like other forms of capital, social capital can be put to both good and bad purposes (Field, 2003). While early work in the field of social sciences focused primarily on government performance, macro-economic growth rates, processes of innovation and knowledge exchange (e.g. Maskell, 2000), school performance and patterns of job search and labour recruitment (Field, 2003: 51-3), only recently has the focus turned to the role of social capital in processes of skills acquisition and improvement among the adult workforce (Green *et al.*, 2003). All these aspects of social capital contribute to conceptualising the relationship between the transitions from school to work, which is potentially quite complex in the context of the South African mining communities. Social capital can be used to gain access to skills and knowledge in a variety of ways. For example, people may use their connections in a very straightforward way to find out how to do new things such as master a work

process, meet regulatory requirements, or tap into a new market. The process can also be more indirect; in a complex and fast-changing training market, reputations are passed from individual to individual, informing people's choice of provider, and influencing the trust they place in their trainer (Field, 2005).

3.2.2 Social capital

Putnam is usually associated with the analysis of social capital at the micro level. Putnam's definition (1993) provides features of social organisation, such as networks of individuals and households and the associated norms and values that create externalities for the community as a whole. Initially envisaging these externalities as positive in nature, over time he has conceded that they can also be negative. For example, members of mafias or other forms of gangs create social capital that only benefit members; not non-members or the community at large (Grootaert and van Bastelaer, 2002). By expanding the unit of observation and introducing a vertical component to social capital, Coleman (1990) opened the door to a broader or meso interpretation of social capital. His definition of social capital was:

'.. a variety of different entities [which] all consist of some aspect of social structure and which facilitate certain actions of actors whether personal or corporate actors within the structure.'
(Coleman, 1990; 598)

This implicitly considers relations among groups rather than just the individual. According to Grootaert *et al.* (2002), this definition expands the concept to include vertical as well as horizontal associations and behaviour within and among other entities, such as firms. Vertical associations are characterised by hierarchical relationships and an unequal power distribution among members. Social capital provided Coleman with a resolution to the issue of why humans choose to cooperate, even when their immediate interests seem best served by competition (Field, 2003).

Like Bourdieu, Coleman's interest in social capital emerged from attempts to explain the relationship between social inequality and academic achievement (Field, 2003). Coleman (1961) found that peer groups were more likely to influence adolescents than more responsible adults such as parents. Later, Coleman *et al.* (1966) found that family and community background characteristics tended to outweigh factors related to the nature of the school. This is his point of departure from Bourdieu, who places emphasis on inequalities stemming from the relationship with the school system. Coleman's development of social capital indicators for children's educational attainment included personal, family and community dimensions (Watters, 2008). Measures of personal and family resources include the following: socio-economic status, ethnicity, number of siblings, number of residential moves, whether or not the mother worked before children started school, the mother's expectation of children's level of educational attainment, the level of communication between children and parents about personal matters, and whether or not both parents were present in households (Elliot, 2001:26).

Halpern (2005) revealed a positive relationship between parents' educational achievement and engagement with their children's education and the latter's educational outcomes. The studies further revealed that both 'structure' in the form of the number of adults and siblings in a household and 'process' in the form of the level of interaction within the network were positively associated with educational outcomes. This supports Coleman's postulation that educational achievements are closely linked to the triadic relationship of parents, school and children. In terms of how these relationships can impact on both external and internal migrants, Halpern (2005) found that family relocation mobility has a negative impact on educational achievements. The findings were that the wider networks beyond the triadic relationship of school, child and parent were an important factor in educational achievements (Halpern, 2005). Halpern further alluded to the impact of integration between different ethnic groups in his observation of the considerable evidence that social and residential heterogeneity is associated with lower levels of social capital not only between groups,

but also within them. He also stated that the higher the level of ethnic mixing within an area, the lower the level of social trust, associational activity and informal sociability (Halpern, 2005: 250).

In positing a clear causal link between social capital and resources, Coleman (1988a, 103) went beyond earlier conceptions, which tended to be circular in nature; the powerful remained powerful by virtue of their contact with other powerful people. Coleman argued that social relations constituted useful capital resources for actors through processes such as “establishing obligations, expectations and trustworthiness, creating channels for information and setting norms backed by efficient sanctions (Baronet *et al.*, 2000).

In contrast, the focus of Putnam’s definition was on social capital sources rather than consequences. In other words, he focused on what social capital is, rather than what it does. This contrasts with Bourdieu’s approach, which focused on the impact of forms of capital on individuals. Social capital is generally perceived to be a private and public good because, through its creation as a by-product of social relations, it benefits both the creator and bystander (Putnam, 2000). It is a classic public good because of its non-exclusivity - its benefits cannot be restricted and hence are available to all members of a community indiscriminately (Woolcock, 2001).

Putnam’s approach to social capital placed considerable emphasis on the advantages of social networks. The advantages that can accrue from social capital are not only based on having the networks, but also on the quality of these networks as well as the ability to use the networks to one’s advantage. While Coleman (1994) supported Putnam’s view that social capital should be treated as a public rather than an individual good, he also noted what he described as the limited ‘fungibility’ of social capital. This referred to the ways in which social capital may be a positive resource in some contexts but harmful in others. Portes and Landolt (1996) strengthened this view by stating that like any other resource, social capital should be defined independently of the use to

which it is put. Thus, social capital has both positive and negative outcomes. As a consequence, it follows that social capital can be unfairly positive for some and negative for others.

Consequently, challenging Putnam's postulation that increased social capital is necessarily advantageous, Woolcock (2001) provided a way of contextualising social capital by propounding three types of social capital. To a limited degree, this can offer an explanation as to why some social capital constitutes either a positive or negative social resource. The three main types of social capital include bonding social capital, bridging social capital and linking social capital. Bonding social capital is characterised by strong bonds (or "social glue"), for example, among family members or among members of an ethnic group. This represents the construction of social networks with those of like mind. They occur mainly within social networks (intra-group ties). The bonding networks come together around numerous social domains but occur more within the close networks of family and friends. Each network is characterised by its own distinctive forms of internal trust.

At the most general level, the strength of social bonds may shape general attitudes towards innovation and change, as well as determine the capacity of particular groups to survive external shocks or adapt to sudden changes in the external environment. Strong community bonds might reinforce norms of low achievement, for instance, and over-reliance on informal mechanisms of information exchange may reduce the demand for more formal and systematic forms of training and education (Field and Spence, 2000).

Although offering weaker ties than bonding social capital, bridging social capital offers possibilities for enhancing the resources gained in the transition from school to work. Bridging social capital is characterised by weaker, less dense but more cross cutting ties ("social oil"), for example, business associates, acquaintances, friends from different ethnic groups, and friends of friends (Woolcock, 2001). The distinction between bonding and bridging capital or between strong and weak ties is

crucial. The impacts of social capital, for good or ill, depend on the form it takes in different circumstances. Individuals also have need for different types of social capital at different points in their lives. Putnam suggested that bonding social capital is good for getting on, and bridging social capital is crucial for “getting ahead” (Putnam, 2000). This analysis of bridging social capital echoes to a certain extent, Bourdieu’s view of social capital as a tool for achieving social mobility. In terms of the transition from school to work for both the local black and migrant youths in the mining communities, this distinction is crucial because it enables the youths to network with people from different groups outside the confines of the mining communities. The knowledge gained from diverse networks places them in a better position to compete at a national as well as an international level because they are able to access different ideas. This can facilitate more creative approaches to the transition from school to work.

Linking social capital is characterised by connections between those with differing levels of power or social status, for instance, links between the political elite and the general public or individuals from different social classes. The capacity of the community to leverage resources, ideas, and information from formal institutions outside and beyond the community is a key function of linking social capital.

3.2.2.1 The South African Context

Historically, South Africa has been renowned for its strong civil society sector, the scale of which was clearly demonstrated in 2002 through the first comprehensive and representative study undertaken in the country: ‘The Size and Scope of the Non-profit Sector in South Africa’ (Swilling and Russell, 2002). This study formed part of the John Hopkins University Comparative Study, in which South Africa was ranked 6th out of 28 countries – ahead of the UK, Germany, Argentina and Italy, in terms of volunteers as a percentage of non-profit workforce (Russell, 2008). The culture underpinning this powerful movement has its roots in traditional African philosophy and customs

based on the values of 'Ubuntu', the interpretation of which is "I am because you exist". Therefore, taking this into account, it could be argued that within the South African context, social capital is believed to be a good thing. The 'ubuntu' tradition is seen as an expression of caring for and sharing with one other (Maluccio *et al.*, 1999). Within the current South African context, where a service delivery vacuum exists as a result of the Government's non-response to critical issues such as HIV and Aids (Koelble *et al.*, 2008), the idea that social capital is decreasing, as suggested by Putman, has to be questioned. Russell (2008) suggested that thousands of community-based organisations, fuelled mainly by volunteers, have mushroomed in response to the desperate needs of families of those dying of AIDS-related illnesses and of the destitute orphans that are left behind.

In line with the above observations, and as an indication of its recognition of the significance of the 'ubuntu' spirit in the South African environment, the South African government has encouraged the setting-up of Section 21 companies as part of community skills development, poverty alleviation and employment. Section 21 companies are non-profit organisations that constitute (a certain percentage) of current economic activities in the communities. These companies have been utilised to facilitate community participation in development projects in the South African mining communities by mining companies. Although a welcomed strategy, the use of Section 21 companies has generated dissatisfaction amongst some community members, especially in relation to the extent of decision-making powers allocated to community members. The dispute between mining community members and two major companies, namely Anglo Platinum and Impala Platinum, illustrate the challenges relating to using such companies as the vehicle for development and negotiation between the mine and the communities. Clashes have been reported between the police, mining security, and local community factions that have threatened land invasions and sabotage of prospecting rigs if their demands for more equity and greater decision-making powers over mines on their land are not met (Hofstatter, 2008). Furthermore, community members argued that the section 21 companies were registered without their knowledge, and the terms of the

relocation agreements were kept secret from the community. It appears that the community was not consulted and did not agree to those terms. Although the dispute related to land relocation, community members also disputed the representativeness of the Section 21 companies as well as the financial management within the companies (Hofstatter, 2008). To a certain extent, this provides an indication of the power issues in need of consideration when contemplating social capital as a tool for development.

The dismantling of the apartheid regime opened up the South African economy to new opportunities as well as competition from the global world that included migrants from neighbouring countries, those from further afield as well as internal migrants. These changes have brought about issues of separation between social capital and economics upon which neither Putnam nor Coleman appear to have focused. Issues of social networks and trust may have brought about social cohesion in the past, resulting in the mushrooming of community voluntary groups and projects in the guise of community development and collaboration. However, by failing to effectively take account of the impact of economic capital on the outcomes of social capital, Putnam and Coleman have overlooked a significant issue affecting elements such as trustworthiness and reciprocity (Defilippis, 2001). By opening up to the global world, South Africa has also opened its gates to competition not only from fellow black South Africans, but also from other Africans and members of the global village. This aspect presents challenges to the viability of Coleman's (1988) three elements of social relations that constitute useful capital resources for actors, such as establishing obligations, expectations and trustworthiness, creating channels for information and setting norms backed by efficient sanctions (Baron *et al.*, 2000). The current phase of South Africa's socio-political and economic transition could impact on the benefits from social capital resources that may be achieved in the transition from school to work.

Firstly, this impact may be felt in terms of the resources gained from establishing obligations, which depend on the expectations and trustworthiness of the environment. These elements are crucial to South Africa as well as the mining communities, especially during the country's current transitional phase; more specifically, if the policies to redress the past inequalities are to be successful. Bayat (2005) suggests that in a racially diverse country like South Africa, the challenge from a macro-perspective is how to create universally generalised trust; that is to say a common set of relationships between the different race groups of South Africa. How can whites be encouraged to increase their generalised trust of blacks or vice versa if the racial communities are still geographically separate as a result of the effects of the Group Area Act (1950)? How can generalised trust be created among dispersed, heterogeneous groups? This question is particularly pertinent when those groups seldom interact except in limited economic transactions, and when generalised trust is continually being eroded by media portrayal of blacks as criminals and whites as a self-centred group perpetually aggrieved by their loss of privileges. DeFilippis (2001) questions whether these communities want to connect. He suggests that in the case of the wealthy, it is not connections that partially produce and reproduce their wealth, but exactly the opposite: isolation. Connections or "bridges" do not, of themselves, make the people in any place rich or poor. The important question is *who* controls the terms of any relationships or connections (or lack of connections)? "Bridging capital" is really needed only if the community's residents are poor and therefore, the underdog in a set of power relations. What is needed is change to those very power relations, not to connections.

The effects of stereotyping play a major role in the level of generalised trust in South Africa. The extent of this is exemplified by an observation made by the former South African president, President Thabo Mbeki, who complained that the stereotyping of blacks by white South Africans has continued to hamper progress in South Africa. He suggested that whites in South Africa continue to perceive blacks in South Africa as:

'...lazy, liars, foul-smelling, diseased, corrupt, violent, amoral, sexually depraved, animalistic, savage and rapists.' (Cohen, 2004: 2)

This has been denied vehemently by most whites, who according to Du Plessis (2001) suggests that blacks also stereotype whites as oppressors, giving instructions and dishing out discipline.

At the same time, stereotyping is not only confined to racial stereotyping, but also to ethnic stereotyping, leading unfortunately to recent xenophobic events that have resulted in 22 deaths (Jacobs, 2008). Jacobs (2008) suggests that the South African media coverage of foreigners from a wide range of sources (from television news, documentaries, broadsheets to tabloids) are all overwhelmingly negative, relying on stereotypes about foreigners as “criminals”, “illegals” and “job stealers”.

Such stereotyping could be viewed as having an impact on trust and, in turn, on the transition from school to work for black South Africans, particularly for the blacks in the mining communities. The discussions on stereotyping and trust highlight the dilemma with which the South African government has to grapple, especially as policy implementation for the most part is undertaken at the meso level, where the majority of the supporters of the former regime continue to be concentrated. This, in turn, impacts on the transition from school to work because most employers are white and continuation of such stereotyping of blacks impacts on the type of occupations offered to black youths. This is reflected in the spirit behind the setting-up of the MPRDA (2004) and the targets set in most of the transformation policies.

The dilemma faced by the post-apartheid South African government as a result of lack of trust amongst the different racial groups relates to the implementation of transformation macro policies established to redress past inequalities employing meso level actors (Cross *et al.*, 2002; Pieterse,

2004). Interestingly, it was at the meso level that the implementation of the exploitative and repressive policies were implemented and undertaken during apartheid. It remains at this level that implementation of changes and transformation is to take place. Paradoxically, for the most part, the meso level actors remain the same white industrialists expected to take the lead in making the changes. Furthermore, these are the same people accused by the former president of negatively stereotyping blacks. The effects of all these aspects of trust impact heavily on the transition from school to work of both the local and the migrant youths from the point of view of employers and the youths themselves.

Secondly, Coleman suggests that the capacity for information to flow through the structure in order to provide the basis for action impacts on the resources gained from social capital. In the South African mining context, issues pertaining to capacity for information to flow are experienced both in terms of intangible and tangible structures taking account of the nature of the mining communities. To illustrate the intangible factors relating to information flow in the mining communities, the discussion will use the planning and implementation of the MPRDA (2004) as an example of how incapacity in information flow can result in negative social capital outcomes. Firstly, by not having discourse with community members at the micro level and mining companies and other meso actors prior to setting up the act, the government may have contributed to poor implementation of the developmental projects. The effects of this lack of discourse, especially in a deprived environment such as the South African mining communities, have been characterised by poor matching of development projects that are sustainable to the needs of the communities. At the same time, mining companies have complained that through the Act, the government expect mining companies to take responsibility for community development; an activity, which they feel is outside their remit. The general argument propounded by mining companies is:

"We are miners and community development is not our core business; we have not got the infrastructure nor the capacity to undertake effective community development projects." Mine Production Manager (2004)

To a certain extent, most mining companies would rather the government raise the money through taxation and undertake the community development projects from the money that they receive from the mining companies.

On the other hand, developmental projects that are being proposed are, to a degree, imposed on the mining communities. Apart from being an undemocratic and a paternalistic way of implementing development in the mining communities that continues to reflect the practices of the apartheid regime, the lack of discussion with the concerned communities can affect the effective implementation of the projects. This is because capacity within the communities is usually unknown. Krishna (2002) found that social capital matters for development, communal harmony, and democratic participation. However, it matters even more when it is activated and made productive through the intervention of capable agents. To a certain extent, this can reflect the policy gap that is characteristic of South African development policies, whereby apparently appropriate and substantive policies are enacted but poor implementation negates the value of the policies (Brynard, 2007). Policy aspirations and implementation are undermined because of poor information flow about the capacity at all levels of operation (Cross *et al.*, 2002). The poor uptake of developmental projects inevitably impacts heavily on the outcomes of the transition from school to work for both the migrant and local youths.

Defilippis (2001) suggests that for social capital to make sense as a concept in a market economy, networks, formal or informal, must operate in the competitive realm of market relations. High poverty levels and limited employment opportunities impact on the level of trust in the mining communities, influencing the flow of information. This can result in information gathering and reduced reciprocity impacting the level of information flow used as a strategy for reducing

competition for access to the limited resources. Defilippis (2001) argues that if the social capital is a network that helps community members to find employment (or gain access to the right school), it clearly would be in the interest of those realising and appropriating the social capital (the job or school) to keep the network as closed as possible. He suggested that this is what the ethnic enclave economies (the successful market transaction in the Jewish community referred to by both Coleman (1988) and Putnam (1995)) have demonstrated. To have any value as a term, social capital must retain a connection with economic capital, and it must therefore, be premised on the ability of certain people to realise it at the expense of others. Two aspects can develop from this controlled information flow in terms of the transition from school to work for the youths. Firstly, equal opportunities to participate in employment selection procedures become blurred. Secondly, information about employment opportunities can become fragmented, with those gaining employment sometimes being those with access to the information rather than those with qualifications or skills.

In terms of tangible factors impacting on the capacity for information flow in the mining communities, the poor infrastructure and poverty in these communities are significant. These factors play an important role in undermining access to information, which contributes negatively to outcomes of the transition from school to work. Poverty impacts on access to media such as newspapers and the Internet, which facilitate access to a wide variety of employment opportunities.

Thirdly, Coleman suggests the presence of norms accompanied by effective sanctions. Two examples to illustrate how the presence of norms has required, over a number of years, the institution of effective sanctions to situations where social capital has operated on the basis of trust. Firstly, traditional authorities in the mining communities have been entrusted with the negotiating and utilising of the royalties from the mining companies (Hamann, 2004). However, since the democratic elections, several traditional authorities have been taken to court by their communities

to account for the royalties received (Taljard, 2003). The second example relates to the enormous growth of the stokvels, which led to the formation of the National Stokvels Association of South Africa (NASASA) in 1994. The earliest manifestations of stokvels were utilised to facilitate social interaction, saving and access to lump sums of cash. Later, when the urbanised communities were faced with the trauma of death in a distant place from the traditional lands, the burial societies were developed to facilitate the full ritual of death, mourning and burial according to custom (Verhoef, 2002). These clubs continue to play a significant role in the lives of black community members to the extent that there are estimated to be 800, 000 active stokvels in South Africa with a total membership of approximately 10 million people (Philip, 2003). The stokvels industry is now estimated to be worth R1 billion per year (Khanyile, 2007). Of interest in both of these examples is the fact that effective sanctions have been sought due not to increased social networks, but to the increased economic capital emanating from the organisations.

In addition to considering Coleman's postulation with respect to how social relations constitute useful capital resources from the South African context, it is important to consider the impact of the different types of social capital on the transition from school to work in South Africa. Discussion of this will draw on the three main types of social capital identified by Woolcock (2001), which include bonding social capital, bridging social capital and linking social capital.

In terms of the transition from school to work for both migrants and local black youths, the outcomes of bonding social capital are double-edged. On the one hand, having a large bonding social capital is useful because of access to family support, especially in terms of school fees and grandparent involvement (Gomo, 2005). In a study of adolescent girls in South Africa, Fuller and Liang (1999) reported that father absence served to decrease girls' risk of leaving school. Lloyd and Blanc (1996) analysed the effects of female headship on children's schooling in seven sub-Saharan African countries. Female-headed households tended to be poorer than other households.



However, children in female-headed households were consistently more likely to be enrolled in school and to have completed grade four than were children in households headed by men. Lloyd and Blanc, 1996: 288 suggest:

'Female household heads are more likely to invest resources, including time, money and emotional support, in facilitating the education of children living in their household'

The different effects of family structure in Africa and other regions may also be linked to the nuclear family's embeddedness in larger kinship networks. For example, Lloyd and Blanc (1996) noted that extended family networks in sub-Saharan Africa enable children with academic promise to move to households of patron family members, who help them gain access to higher quality schools.

However, the reciprocation aspect of bonding social capital can impact on choices relating to when to enter the world of work and how the income from work is utilised. The work of Pendleton *et al.* (2006) on migrant remittances illustrates that migrants remit a high percentage of their income to families in the country of origin. Bloch (2005) found that Zimbabweans both in the UK and South Africa often remit up to 50% of the income they earn in occupations below their level of qualification.

In terms of the transition from school to work for both the local black and migrant youths in the mining communities, the distinction between bridging and bonding social capital is crucial because it enables the youths to network with people from different groups outside the confines of the mining communities. The knowledge gained from diverse networks places them in a better position to compete at a national as well as at an international level because they are able to access different ideas that can facilitate more creative approaches to the transition from school to work. Drawing on the research of Campbell *et al.* (2002), it is possible to illustrate how the same social capital can be

perceived as either positive or negative. In their study of social capital as a useful tool in influencing the spread of HIV infection in the mining communities, Campbell *et al.* (2002) found contradictory outcomes in terms of members of communities belonging to a range of social groups. They found that there were positive social capital outcomes in terms of reducing the high-risk sexual behaviour from people belonging to social clubs such as the church, sports clubs and other personal development skills groups. However, belonging to money-saving clubs such as the stokvel clubs had negative social capital outcomes as a result of increased economic capital. High-risk sexual behaviour was observed with increased alcohol consumption for both men and women.

This observation contradicts the general perceptions of stokvels clubs in South Africa, where they are perceived to have positive outcomes for disadvantaged black communities. By facilitating money-saving schemes, they contribute positively to the transition from school to work outcomes in terms of helping to raise money for school fees, uniforms and books. It could be argued that by being a bonding type of social capital, the above stokvels club may have lacked fresh ideas with respect to investing their savings that could have been generated from bridging social capital. Some stokvel clubs in South Africa are involved in a wide variety of social and economic improvements that include a broad range of other activities such as buying groceries, furniture or presents; joint ventures either to buy major items such as buses, cars or taxis and investment syndicates or to help members invest in fixed deposits, unit trusts or to start their own businesses (Khanyile, 2007).

Using the stokvels example above, it could be argued that if the social capital had been based on bridging social capital, the economic capital gained could have been utilised for more developmental activities as opposed to increasing alcohol consumption.

Migrants in the mining communities may find that they have limited capacity to fully utilise linking social capital. By virtue of being non-South African citizens, the migrants are disenfranchised. As a

consequence, they do not benefit from representation on issues pertaining to the transition from school to work. An interesting aspect is the possible disenfranchisement of internal migrants living in temporary informal settlements. The South African Constitution and Election Commission provides that a person may apply to register only for the voting district in which they are ordinarily resident. Where they are “ordinarily resident” is defined as the home or place where they live or to which they regularly return after any temporary period of absence (Institute of Democracy in South Africa (IDASA), 2008).

The regulation is ambiguous and, to a certain extent, lays open to exploitation of internal migrants living in the informal settlements by politicians. For example, if the politicians feel insecure in relation to their chances of winning elections with local community members living in the formal settlements, they can affect registration of those in the informal settlements to vote in their area. The disadvantage to the internal migrants is that their enfranchisement serves the agenda of the politician and not theirs.

“Because once they win the election the politicians are not seen again” Community member.

Although Woolcock (2001) suggests that there are advantages to be gained from access to linking social capital, some of these advantages could be eroded for the youths in the mining communities because of the nature of those communities. The strong xenophobic tendency in South Africa affects South Africans (Jacobs, 2008), especially those living in closed communities such as the mining communities. Here, xenophobia has the potential to impact on the outcomes of the transition from school to work. The youths miss out on opportunities to gain understanding and support from people and communities outside their level of knowledge. This is detrimental for both the local black youths in the mining communities as well as the potential development in the areas because

these communities are not utilising the fresh and creative energy of the youths as identified by ILO (2006).

On the other hand, it can be argued that despite being disenfranchised and experiencing xenophobia in the South African environment, migrant youths have linking social capital resources that they gain throughout their migration journey in addition to connections with their country of origin. At the same time, it is possible to claim that in some ways migrants from the traditional mine-sending communities may lack linking social capital. This is the consequence of following the same root as their forefathers, causing them not to be receptive to new links that can inform them about alternative migration and employment opportunities. This inevitably leaves the youths from these communities with predictable and unimaginative transition from school to work outcomes.

3.3 EDUCATION AND EMPOWERMENT (OPPRESSION)

In considering education and empowerment, this review draws from Freire's *The Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (Freire, 1970 and 1986). This work is relevant to the present study because it focuses on issues pertaining to education and empowerment, which are pertinent factors in the transition from school to work in an environment with a unique history such as the South African mining communities. The transition from school to work for the youth in this study, on the basis of Freire's concept of empowerment, is about more than securing employment. The process involves issues of empowerment, the continuation of the struggle to free the youths to transform their environment to one of their choosing rather than one that perpetuates the legacy of the apartheid system. This legacy generates a false notion of freedom for the youths, borne out of emulation of their former oppressor. The effective decision-making referred to in Freire's concept of empowerment relates to the transition of youths from being victims of their environment to being in control of their destiny despite their environment. Therefore, instead of perceiving education as a tool used only for the

benefit of the oppressors, Freire perceives education as the vehicle that can be utilised by the oppressed to liberate themselves. This is a major distinction between his approach to education and that of Bourdieu, who perceives education as a tool utilised by the elite. Therefore, in order for the youth in the mining communities to have aspirations based on self-awareness, they need education to help them move away from the aspirations of the oppressors that they have internalised as part of the oppressive process.

The discussion will firstly consider Freire's perspectives of education and empowerment. Secondly, a critique of some of these concepts will be highlighted. Thirdly, a discussion of Freire from the South African perspective will be considered taking account of how this may influence the transition from school to work in the South African setting.

3.3.1 The Relationship between the Oppressed and the Oppressor

Freire's work on the *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* focuses on the relationship between the oppressed and the oppressor, highlighting liberation not as a gift or a self-achievement, but as a mutual process. He argues that for the oppressed to be liberated the oppressors also need to be liberated. The basis of his theory of education follows the same line of argument, where not only the student learns and the teacher teaches, but also the teacher learns and the student teaches (Freire, 1998). Freire argues that through correct education that empowers both the teacher and the student, it is possible to develop a new awareness of self which will free the poor to be more than passive objects responding to uncontrollable change.

He describes the oppressed as being dehumanised by the oppressors to the extent that at times they are not aware that they are being oppressed. Even when they do recognise that they are being oppressed, the oppressed want, at any cost, to resemble the oppressors. Consequently, instead of striving for liberation, the oppressed tend to become the oppressors. Freire states:

'...during the initial stage of their struggle, the oppressed, instead of striving for liberation, tend to become oppressors, or "sub-oppressors."...the oppressed find in the oppressor their model of "manhood".' (Freire, 1996: 27-28)

In some cases, the former oppressors unwittingly continue to oppress the oppressed, even when they have joined the oppressed in the struggle for liberation. This is inadvertently illustrated by a continued paternalistic attitude towards the oppressed. As a result, rather than trusting the oppressed to take the lead in their struggle for liberation, the former oppressors take over. Freire suggests that it is not difficult for the former oppressors to find themselves in this position because the oppressed tend to open the way for them to do so since:

'They call themselves ignorant and say the "professor" is the one who has the knowledge and to whom they should listen.' (Freire, 1996: 45)

In view of this Freire suggests that the oppressed must always be aware of the danger of slipping into the oppressor's patterns of behaviour, and suggests that there has to be a self-awareness struggle within the oppressed. In order to overcome the possibility of adopting the behaviour of the oppressor, there is a pre-requisite mindset that the oppressed must possess. Freire suggests that liberation or freedom requires more than the oppressed identifying that they are oppressed and then undertaking the struggle for liberation. In order for the oppressed to be successful in their struggle, they need conscientisation, which requires them to become critical. To achieve this, they need to participate in liberation dialogue, which presupposes action.

These principles provide the backbone of Freire's theory of education, which is perceived as the vanguard for liberation and freedom.

3.3.2 Theory of Education

In order to understand why Freire placed considerable emphasis upon the theory of education, it is important to understand his high valuation of education. According to Freire, the value of education relates to its goals and the type of knowledge and skills considered worthwhile. Education should

raise the awareness of the students so that they become subjects, rather than objects, of the world. This is achievable by teaching students to think democratically, critically question and find meaning in everything they learn (Lyons, 2001). In terms of the subject and context of this current study Freire's emphasis on dialogue is crucial, as it enables the youths to understand the source of the gap between their aspirations and their realities, and then to work towards bridging it. As well as enabling students to think critically, raising awareness requires a special relationship between the teacher and the student. Freire suggests that there should be respect for the student, which involves understanding how and the conditions in which the student lives.

It follows from this that knowledge, according to Freire, is not just unconscious. Students gain knowledge in two ways; firstly, from experience of everyday activities, which he referred to as unconscious knowledge. He argues that this is good to a limited extent. There is a danger to the student if they limit themselves to this kind of knowledge in that they will live a life without looking for "reasons for being". He further argues that if the oppressed only have such knowledge, they remain oppressed because they do not question their situation. Secondly, Freire suggests that knowledge developed through discussion and questioning of the world around them leads to liberation. He argues that there are many things that limit the success of the oppressed majority, but non-critical thinking (naïve consciousness), is a major source of many limitations. Some poor people see no way out of their conditions because of lack of dialogue. However, it is important that dialogue or discussion in itself is not an independent variable. While it is a starting point, there are factors relating to the quality of the participants in that dialogue that will impact on the extent to which liberation can be achieved. An environment such as the mining communities can be limiting in terms of the quality of dialogue because of limited opportunities of new thinking due to the enclosed nature of the communities and resistance to new communities.

In terms of the process of education, the relationship between the educator and the student is crucial in Freire's theory of education. It is this relationship that determines whether there is meaningful learning that can lead to growth, development and liberation. He emphasises the importance of dialogue between the educators and the students in contrast to curricula forms of education. Dialogue is not simply concerned with deepening understanding; it is important in the process of making a difference in the world. Dialogue in itself is a co-operative activity involving respect.

Freire uses language from the banking industry to explain this approach. The basic principle behind his concept is that education should not involve one person acting on another, but educators and students working together. He argued that too much education is characterised by "banking", where the educator "deposits" in the student. Through dialogue, teachers are able to learn how the students understand the world so that the teacher understands how the student can learn. Freire suggests:

'Narration (with the teacher as the narrator) leads the students to memorize mechanically the narrated content. Worse yet, it turns them into "containers" into "receptors" to be "filled" by the teacher.' (Freire, 1996: 52-53)

In his notion of progressive education and sharing of knowledge and experiences, Freire places emphasis on use of students' language for self-expression. This is a challenging but important aspect of Freire's work on education, especially if liberation is to be achieved by all in the mining communities characterised by a mosaic of ethnic groups with diverse languages.

3.3.3 Critique of the Freire concept of education and empowerment

Elias (1994) suggests that a number of criticisms have been made of Freire's theory. He indicates that at times his theory is vague, general and imprecise. He argues that Freire rarely presents evidence of an empirical nature or cites sociological research for his analysis. Other critique put forward relating to Freire's pedagogy of the oppressed and his theory of education range from, amongst others his writing style (Balke, 1986; Berthoff, 1990), lack of characterisation of who the

oppressed and oppressors are (Elias, 1976), to contradictions and inconsistencies (Schipani, 1984). Others argue that the kind of oppression that Freire refers to is found in underdeveloped nations and is not as common in developed nations. The argument being that domination and oppression is subtler in developed nations. One of the major reasons behind this observation could be that Freire's work was in response to issues pertaining to Brazil. Below are some illustrative discussions of some critiques of Freire's concepts.

Coben (1998) argues that *The Pedagogy of the Oppressed* is too simplistic and indiscriminate to accommodate the multi-faceted and contradictory differential power relationships in terms of class, gender or any other social category including migrant communities. The theory does not adequately recognise that oppression are geared to specific concrete conditions that can be contradictory such as that simultaneous positions of oppression and dominance can be occupied by particular individuals or groups. The MPRD (2004) Act illustrates this contradiction by including white women (who are privileged by racial and class location but oppressed by gender order) as constituting the HDSA in the 10% women who should be employed in the mining industry as well as part of the 40% HDSA employed at management level.

This argument blends well with that of Smith (1997, 2002), who suggests that Freire tends to argue in an either/or way. We are either with the oppressed or against them without offering adequate criteria by which this distinction is made. Freire creates an illusion of equity amongst the oppressed in terms of their experiences and their perception of a more humane society. The May 2008 xenophobic violence towards black Africans from neighbouring countries in South Africa illustrates that the interests of the oppressed cannot be considered as homogeneous.

Schipani (1984) suggests that Freire does not always do justice to the very conscientisation thrust by overlooking the variety and nuances, richness and precariousness, of social reality. Freire's

anthropology does not take consistently into account the diverse sources of limitations to human freedom. Although emphasising the importance of conscientisation for successful revolution and liberation Freire does not appear to deal with the contradictions that recently independent African countries experience pre and post independence. It can be argued that pre independence the oppressed are conscientised and appear to have a good understanding of how they are being oppressed and who the oppressors are. In South Africa the anti apartheid liberation struggle pre independence the oppressor was the white apartheid regime. This is illustrated by the high organisational level of liberation struggles within and outside the country (U.N. Chronicle, 1984). Pre independence the liberation force tend to have structures and a language that reflects the ideologies that they base the liberation on. However post independence factors such as globalisation, reconciliation and issues of capacity create contradictions in conscientisation of the liberation movements as in most cases they end up conforming to the establishment. In order to participate and compete effectively on the global arena most newly independent countries such as South Africa have to operate within the ideologies and requirements of the dominant international organisations or countries whose ideologies may or may not be reflective of the interest and conscientisation of the population's revolutionary objectives. The agendas of nations and organisations that supported the struggle or are providing AID to the new government become more pronounced and impact on the path taken by the recently independent nation. Furthermore governing structures, and liberating language (such as "comrade") used during the liberation struggle are discarded as the new government conforms to and utilises the established governing, education and legislative structures of the former oppressive regimes indicating a compromise in the liberation of the oppressed. Paradoxically in most cases these structures were set up to ensure that the oppressed remain oppressed and fulfil the agendas of the oppressors. Matthew (1980) argues that it is a myth that these traditional institutions can also do conscientisation. He suggests that they are there to perpetuate a particular system. In fact this could be construed to indicate Freire's suggestion that the oppressed tend to resemble the oppressors as their model of manhood.

An observation of how structures such as the media has been used to perpetuate the attitudes, language and perceptions of the former oppressors was illustrated by a television advertisement on the main terrestrial channel in South Africa depicting the Zimbabwean President, Robert Mugabe as a baboon. The significance of this is not that the Zimbabwean president was depicted in a negative light but it is the use of a baboon as representing Robert Mugabe. Depicting black men as baboons has historically created controversy and is associated with derogatory racist attitudes towards black men who have consistently been characterised as savagery and uncivilised (Mitchell, 2008). This scenario presents an interesting contradiction because these negative depictions of Robert Mugabe were taking place whilst the then South African and ANC President Thabo Mbeki's stance on Zimbabwe was more supportive than the global view. Yet at the same time the country through the mainstream media used the same demeaning portrayal of blacks associated with the apartheid regime to indicate their opposition to Robert Mugabe.

Reconciliation in South Africa (Van der Merwe and Chapman: 2008) and other African countries post independence and lack of capacity amongst the newly liberated oppressed people means that the revolution is compromised by their reliance on the former oppressors. Freire does not account for the organisational and mobilisation capacities of the social groups and the related political forces. The dependence on international AID and economic/industrial expertise from the former oppressors undermines the success of liberation of the oppressed as the former oppressors and AID agencies take a paternalistic attitude towards the newly independent nation. Inadvertently illustrating Freire's suggestion that the former oppressors and donor agencies take over the struggle because they do not trust the oppressed to liberate themselves, who at the same time open the way for them to do so, since the oppressed call themselves ignorant and say the professor is the one with the knowledge and to whom they should listen (Freire, 1998). To a certain extent this brings out aspects of false generosity where donors and the former oppressors feel that they know what the

oppressed people need whilst ensuring that their agendas are fulfilled. All these post independence factors can create further disagreements amongst the oppressed because the revolution has become an evolution. At the same time the definition between the oppressed and the oppressor can become blurred as some of the former oppressed have positioned themselves in the former oppressor's role within the established structures. Griffith (1972) suggests that the freedom to disagree with the new ruling group, following the revolution, is to be restricted to those who have passed some undefined loyalty test. All these aspects impact heavily on the transition from school to work as the contradictions make it difficult to participate in critical dialogue.

In terms of education it can be argued that globalisation impacts on the effectiveness of Freire's concept of dialogue as a process of liberation. Globalisation provides a contradiction in some situations that may be construed as liberated but in reality may not be. As much as dialogue provides the vehicle for liberation in terms of information sharing as well as equating the relationship between the teacher and the student, it is the quality of dialogue that promotes liberation. For example, during the apartheid era the teachers as well as the local parents in the mining communities were the subjects of the oppressive education system controlling the educational curriculum of the blacks in so far as it aims to keep them subjugated to the white people (Mokwena, 1999). Without the introduction of new thinking, it is questionable whether dialogue will lead to liberation.

Freire did not clearly deal with what happens when the language of the educator is not the same as that of the oppressed Giroux (1993). This is more evident in the mining communities where the environment is characterised with a multitude of migrants from different countries with different languages and histories. Furthermore, even if the dialogue amongst the students results in critical thinking the needs of the global environment and the position of South Africa within it are likely to force the students to compromise and work within the curriculum based education to achieve the

necessary education with qualifications that are internationally accredited to secure successful transition from school to work.

It appears that to achieve liberation in the transition from school to work for the community members in an environment such as the recently democratised country of South Africa, there is need, to a limited degree, to integrate the micro, meso and macro factors. Given the international influences in the South African mining communities, it is important to note that the macro level must be considered at two levels: the national policies and the international or global policies with which most countries have to operate. In addition to this, there is a need to have a liberated economic as well as a political environment that can effectively challenge external influences coming in with false generosity. In view of this it could be argued that Freire's theories apply but adjustments have to be made to suit the unique history and social context under review.

3.3.4 Freire and the South African Context

An interesting but important aspect of Freire's theory in the South African context is the influence it had on early South African freedom fighters such as Steve Biko's understanding of black consciousness. Historically, the apartheid regime in South Africa used the education system to maintain its culture of ignorance (Mokwena, 1999). At the same time, lack of appropriate education in post-apartheid South Africa has condemned those perceived as successful to succumb to conformity. Conformity in the South African context means to live like the former oppressor in the form of the new black elite (also known as the black diamonds). These constitute 3 million people out of a population of 50 million, whose spending power matches that of the white population, amounting to 40 percent of R250 billion. They display their new status by imitating the wealthy whites (Klein, 2008). Most of the black diamonds belong to golf clubs that were once the domain of the whites. They own Mercedes Benz cars and live in areas formerly designated as "White only" areas. Most now find it difficult to socialise with old friends from the past, who are unable to match

this new lifestyle (Swarns, 2002). This is despite South Africa having a large percentage of its black population submerged in poverty. This observation may contribute to what could be described as the gap between youth expectations and the realities with which they have to grapple; a gap that impacts on the transition from school to work for some youths in the mining communities.

By identifying the white man's world as the determinate of freedom, the South African black elite could be construed as not to be liberated, but to be afraid of transforming their world into the liberation vision with its own definition of what constitutes manhood. The impact on the transition from school to work for youths in the mining communities from this perspective is that the aspirations of the youths (especially the local youths) do not match the reality of their environment. This leaves the youths in the mining communities especially the local youths as victims of their environment rather than in control of their destiny despite the state of the environment.

The change to the democratic government has resulted in policies that aim to eradicate the inequities existent during the apartheid era. To a large extent, this has affected some white South Africans in terms of their having to surrender some of the privileges gained from their colour. The mining communities in South Africa are currently in a state of anticipation, with the farmers as well as white mine management currently feeling oppressed due to the gradual erosion of their privileges enjoyed prior to 1994 (MPRDA, 2004). Interestingly, even some black migrant miners currently feel oppressed because the current political regime is encouraging increased employment of local people. As an illustration of Freire's notion that the oppressor class joins the oppressed in their struggle for liberation but inadvertently takes over the liberation struggle, the mining companies generally play a paternalistic role in the mining communities. This image of paternalism is illustrated in the mining companies' literature relating to their relationships with communities. This generally depicts a white mine manager handing over a tool, a prize or a gift to a black community

member as a sign of solidarity. This reflects a poignant statement made by a black South African university postgraduate student when he expressed frustration with his fellow South Africans:

“You see, our people are not happy unless they have a white man overseeing their work. They do not believe that they are employed unless they have a white boss.”

This statement reflects Freire’s (1996) suggestion indicated above that the oppressed see themselves as ignorant dependent on the oppressor whom they perceive as the professors.

In terms of Freire’s notion of education in the South African context, since the establishment of the new political dispensation, the South African government has placed emphasis on the introduction of policies and mechanisms aimed at redressing the legacy of a racially and ethnically fragmented, dysfunctional and unequal education system inherited from apartheid. An important development in the post-apartheid South Africa has been a departure from apartheid education through an outcomes based-curriculum known as Curriculum 2005. In terms of the South African education system, after the departure from the apartheid system, the RSA government set up the Outcomes Based Education (OBE) system (Cross *et al.*, 2002). Curriculum 2005 not only marked a dramatic departure from the apartheid curriculum, but also represented a paradigm shift from content-based teaching and learning to an outcomes-based one. It also marked a departure from ‘fundamental pedagogies’ (a racially-based prescribed set of learning objectives) to a progressive, learner-centred pedagogy.

The aims of Curriculum 2005 are: 1) to align school work with workplace, social and political goals; 2) to emphasise experiential and cooperative learning; 3) to pursue the value of diversity in the areas of race, gender and culture; and 4) to develop citizens who are imaginative and critical problem-solvers. The principles of Curriculum 2005 reflect Freire’s conceptualisation of education, especially with regard to the relationship between the teacher and student, and the outcomes of this

relationship. There have been many criticisms put forward relating to OBE, most of which in the South African context relate to its capacity for implementation within the South African context. However, further issues impact on deprived areas such as the South African mining communities where OBE is ineffectively implemented because such implementation is accompanied by a proliferation of new terminology. For instance, Christie (1999) suggests that the procedures for developing a learning programme are deemed complex. This leads to the need for better prepared teachers, many of whom, especially in the previously disadvantaged groups, are inadequately prepared for basic teaching let alone comprehending the new curriculum. It could be argued that this impacts on the transition from school to work because the lack of critical and explorative dialogue negates the ability of youths to make empowered decisions.

Using Freire's notion of knowledge, it can also be suggested that poorly prepared teachers only enable the students to have unconscious knowledge without the second important form of knowledge that is developed from discussion and questioning. According to Freire, the unconscious knowledge that they gain is limited, causing students to remain oppressed and to fail to learn the "reason for being". Young (2000) suggests that knowledge in the classroom is reduced to the constructs that teachers bring into classroom (personal knowledge embedded in personal experience) or just a product of classroom interaction through some form of progressive pedagogy (group work, integrated studies and so forth). Explicit discipline knowledge is ignored. Muller (2000: 9) suggests that this could be described as the "*side effect of progressivism*" in education, which, by overemphasising learner-centeredness, tends to neglect a critical pedagogical dimension. Gee (1999), cited by Muller (2000), suggests that for instruction to be effective, the teacher must know more than the learner, must have adequate content knowledge, must know the conceptual destination of the leaning, and therefore, purposefully steer the learner towards a pre-set goal or outcome.

In the mining communities, the factors affecting students with which teachers should be aware relate to more than the poverty in which they live. Although poverty is a major factor impacting on the transition from school to work in the mining communities, the issue is not that the students are poor, but how they experience and perceive this poverty. Such experiences and perceptions are also the tools that the students will use to emerge from their poverty. The migrant students experience poverty differently from the local youths. For the migrants, it is the result of poverty in their own country of origin that has brought them into a community that makes them feel insecure by the exercising of xenophobic tendencies towards them. Such experiences contribute to the unstable family life that they encounter as the consequence of living away from their families (Packard, 1989; Posel, 2004). In addition, they must live in constant fear of either migration policy changes or the uncertainty of whether they will be deported for not having appropriate immigration documentation (Crush, 2008). Conversely, local youths grapple with the contradiction of living with poverty in the mining communities whilst their country is hailed the most developed country in Africa, and in some quarters even likened to a developed country. These factors affect students' views of the world and impact on their critical thinking. Other factors of which educators should take account, especially in the context of the mining communities, include gender, ethnicity, parental status and race. Environmental factors such as the political transition of the country, the physical nature of the environment and globalisation contribute to the conditions that shape youths' thinking and their response to educational practice.

There are several contradictory factors affecting knowledge in the mining communities. The insular nature of the mining communities could lead to non-critical thinking because of the poor quality dialogue resulting from like-minded participants in the dialogue as conceived by Freire (1998). On the other hand, the mining communities also have the potential for critical thinking resulting from the high rate of migration into the area from an increasing number of countries with different agendas since the eradication of the apartheid system.

Although Freire provides a comprehensive discussion of the educational relationships at the micro level, there are aspects of the meso and macro level institutions that impact on the relationship. In the South African context the high teacher-student ratio and poor facilities impact on the ability of the youths to benefit from such education. The historical background of educational institutions of South African schools that continue to be segregated in the mining communities impacts on the effectiveness of teachers educated in the oppressive era to undertake progressive education without further support from liberated macro-level actors. It is likely that the view of the educators in the mining communities of what it means to be liberated epitomises that of the “black diamonds”. To move on from the perception that successful transition from school to work is to be like the “black diamonds”, there is need to foster a key element of Freire’s theories for achieving freedom and liberation, namely ‘unity’. Liberation and freedom must have the same meaning at all levels of operation in order to maintain the sustainable effort necessary to achieve them. Despite Freire’s view that teaching must be a democratic process, he also questions the merit of democracy as necessarily a means of providing equal opportunities. He argues that since education is a political process, there is a tendency for schools to be used by institutions in society such as the family, community leaders and businesses as tools of oppression of the less privileged.

In view of the limitation of implementing Freire’s form of education in the mining communities the next section considers issues pertaining to capabilities that may be fostered to facilitate such dialogue.

3.4 DEVELOPMENT AND CAPABILITIES THEORIES

The basis of Sen’s capabilities approach is found in his work *Development as Freedom* (1999). The discussion pertaining to capabilities in terms of the transition from school to work will therefore, draw from this work in addition to the contributions made by Nussbaum (2000). This section will

initially review the capabilities approach by considering the general principles of the approach, focusing mainly on Sen and Nussbaum's contributions. This will be followed by a critique of the approach. Discussion of the application of the approach in the South African context will then be made. Throughout the discussion the relevance of the approach to the current study will be alluded to.

Sen and Nussbaum believe that it is necessary for appraisal of the success of economic development to extend beyond the traditional measures of material success such as GNP to include concerns of social development. They argue that focusing on enhancing capabilities and capacity building to achieve education, health and other social goals may do this. In Sen's (1999) approach, real poverty is identified as both deprivation of income and deprivation of capability. Education is referred to as being foundational for other capabilities by providing access to education and promoting a concrete set of basic learning outcomes, such as abilities to read and write (Unterhalter, 2003). Sen's (1999) approach re-establishes the word "freedom" as reference to the enhancement of human capabilities, which involves the process of decision-making as well as opportunities to achieve valued outcomes. This aspect of the theory is crucial because it takes account of factors relating to empowerment and human rights, which are important aspects of the transition from school to work.

The approach's main contribution consists of broadening the information space of the ethical approaches by defining as units of evaluation not opulence (utilities, primary goods or rights), but functionings (doings and beings) - a measure that encompasses these other units of evaluation. Put simply, it is the identification and weighting of valuable things that people are able to be or to do. This aspect is key to the present study topic because the capabilities approach not only considers the factors inhibiting the transition from school to work in the mining communities, but also considers what individuals are able to be and what they can do given the resources available to them. Sen suggests that the ability to be or do with the resources available can be achieved through basic

education and good general health care. He argues that in the case of basic education, such education and health care broaden a person's line of thinking and generate social understanding which can influence decision making and creative thinking in terms of taking advantage of economic opportunities. As verified by evidence, he argues that health care and nutrition make the workforce more productive and remunerated (Behrman, J. and Deolalikar, 1988, cited by Sen, 1999: 144). The capabilities approach is useful in evaluating and then linking the causal motivational behavioural and directive dimensions of the transition from school to work.

In view of the significance Sen places on education and health care in terms of their role in economic development, which implicitly has an impact on the transition from school to work the review will first of all focus on why education and health care are important.

Basic education and health care are not only important for the individual, but also have a domino effect on the rest of the community. He indicates that both education and health care are an integral part of the transition into employment and, at the same time, reduce the mortality rate, especially where education filters through to women. More importantly basic education is a public good in that:

'... a general expansion of education and literacy in a region can facilitate social change (even the reduction in literacy) and also help to enhance economic progress from which others too benefit.' (Sen, 1999: 129)

For women education is imperative in empowering them to make decisions that impact in their own survival as well as on child mortality rates.

Poverty is understood as capability deprivation. Sen's definition of poverty extends beyond income deprivation, suggesting that other factors need to be taken into account when considering the impact

of poverty on quality of life or freedom. To clarify this, Sen uses the following scenario in the European context:

“The presence of massive unemployment in Europe entails deprivations that are not well reflected in income distribution statistics. These deprivations are often on the grounds that the European system of social security tends to make up for the loss of income of the unemployed. But unemployment is not merely a deficiency of income that can be made up through transfers by the state; it is also a source of far-reaching debilitating effects on individual freedom, initiative and skills. Among its manifold effects, unemployment contributes to the “social exclusion of some groups, and it leads to losses of self-reliance, self-confidence and psychological and physical health.” (Sen, 1999: 21)

In terms of commodities, Sen suggests that although economic growth and the expansion of goods and services are necessary for human development, wealth is not the good that we are seeking; for it is merely useful and for the sake of something else (Sen, 1990). According to Sen, in judging the quality of life, we should consider what people are able to achieve. He suggests that people and societies differ in their capacity to convert income and commodities into valuable achievements. His approach to human well-being emphasises the importance of freedom of choice, individual heterogeneity and the multi-dimensional nature of welfare. Since income, commodity command and utility do not constitute or adequately represent human well-being and deprivation, human functionings and capability are also required. Functionings refer to the achievements of the person in terms of what the person can be or can do given the resources available to them.

The opportunity for choosing between different functionings is called capability and the size of the set of alternative vectors of functionings open to a person describes their capability. Nussbaum (1999) suggests that at the macro level, issues of paternalism and pluralism would be of concern. She advocates that if we were to take functioning itself as the goal of public policy, a liberal pluralist would rightly judge that we were precluding many choices that citizens may make in accordance with their own conception of good. Using the example of a workaholic, Nussbaum (1999) states that a person who has opportunities for play can always choose a workaholic life;

again, there is a great difference between that chosen life and a life constrained by inadequate maximum-hour protection and /or the 'double day' that makes women unable to play in many parts of the world. In terms of capabilities, Nussbaum (2000) also speaks about combined capabilities, suggesting that it is not sufficient to produce good states of readiness to act. It is also necessary to prepare the material and institutional environment at the meso level so that people are actually able to function.

Clark (2005) asserts that there have been many attempts to complete the capability approach focused on augmenting Sen's framework with the theory of the good guide moral judgements. The most well-known and influential attempt to complete the capability approach is that made by Nussbaum (2000), who frames the principles of the capability approach into ten capabilities. The list aims to take account of the necessary elements of truly human functionings that command a broad cross-cultural consensus. She suggests that people who otherwise would have very different views of what a completely good life for a human being would be can endorse the list for political purposes. In practical terms, the list aims to provide a focus for quality of life assessment and political planning, and to select capabilities of central importance, irrespective of an individual's pursuits.

At the macro level, Sen (1999) places much emphasis on the role of government in enabling both individuals and institutions to achieve the capabilities. He argues that in order for economic growth to be achieved, social reforms such as improvement in education and public health must precede economic reform. This captures his views about governance, in which he argues that governments should be measured against the concrete capabilities of their citizens.

3.4.1 Critique of Capabilities Approach

Some critiques of Sen's approach suggest that the prima facie view is that the normative, multi-dimensional and context-dependent nature of the approach might prevent it from having practical and operational significance. Chiappero Martinetti (2000) argues that the approach is difficult to translate into practical terms despite the richness of its theoretical argument. He argues that Sen does not attach great empirical significance to this approach. Although Sen made some references to its practical importance, there is not enough evidence to prove that the approach does not face operational hurdles in comparison to those experienced by conventional use of statistics from conventional utilitarian perspectives.

The lack of a theoretical approach that comprehensively links capabilities and social justice makes it difficult to tell exactly which capabilities should be guaranteed for all citizens in a 'just' society. By having such a long list of capabilities, it is unlikely that citizens will have all the capabilities identified at one time. This makes it difficult to ascertain true freedom. Alkire (2006) and Sen (2004) argue against Nussbaum's single list of capabilities, suggesting that more than one list needs to be developed precisely to guide internationally comparable survey work. Sen (2004a: 77) suggests that the problem is not with listing important capabilities, but with insisting on one predetermined canonical list of capabilities, chosen by theorists without any general social discussion or public reasoning. He further argues that to insist on an eternally fixed list of capabilities would deny the possibility of progress in social understanding, and would also go against the productive role of public discussion, social agitation, and open debate. The final conclusion from this argument is that each contextual situation may require different capability lists. For example, in South Africa, which is sometimes likened to a developed country, the list is likely to be taken as that used in developed countries (Global Environment Facility, 2003). However, despite its developed image, there is a large area of South Africa that is akin to developing countries where capabilities such as freedom to be well-nourished, well-sheltered and in good health are

deprived. The same applies to the capability of escaping avoidable morbidity and premature mortality, and the ability to move about freely (Ozler, 2007; Woolard, 2002). Capabilities should be selected in light of the purpose of the study and the values of the referent populations. Nussbaum's argument for keeping one list is that it is necessary to ensure that the content of the capability approach carries critical force. If it is too open-ended, there is a real possibility that wrong freedoms will be prioritised and expanded (Nussbaum, 2003).

Following on to the critique about whether there should be a relevant list or not Robeyns (2005) argues that both Sen and Nussbaum seem to run into dangers that are intrinsically related to the democratic decision-making. She argues that both are not clear about how the process of public reasoning and democracy are going to take place and how it can be made sure that the minimal conditions of fair representation are guaranteed. Harbeson (2008) provides some indication of how poor outcomes and management of elections in developing countries can impact on the ability to carry out the process of identifying and achieving capabilities as a result of the violence and inconclusive outcomes of the elections.

Similarly, Koggel (2003) argues that the capability approach can be inefficiently critical of social constraints on people's actions, and will not pay due attention to global forces of power and local systems of oppression. Hill (2003) adds that the approach does not pay sufficient attention to social power, which is an important aspect because it plays a role in people's opportunities and socio-economic inequalities. The apartheid system demonstrates the extent to which social power can impact on the capabilities of individuals as it did to the black population in South Africa.

Despite these criticisms, the capabilities approach continues to generate interest with respect to its application to welfare economics and health in high-income countries (Anand *et al.*, 2005). The Open University was involved in a research project to establish a capabilities measurement

instrument with over 60 indicators, which is currently being used by a number of research groups (Anand *et al.*, 2008).

3.4.2 The capabilities approach and the South African context

The gap between the policy aspirations of the democratic government of South Africa and subsequent post-apartheid policy implementation have revealed issues related to capabilities that impact on the transition from school to work for both migrants and local youths in the mining communities. Issues pertaining to the integration of the micro, meso and macro level actors are highlighted in this gap. The following quotation provides an indication of the extent of the challenges that the South African government is facing:

“...Many of the challenges faced by the government in 1994 remain despite good intentions and sophisticated interventions. It has also become increasingly clear that the spatial patterns and physical forms of many human settlement types change only very slowly.” (Department of Housing, 2000: 4,).

In the context of education, Cross *et al.* (2002) suggest that since the establishment of the new political dispensation, the South African government has placed emphasis on the introduction of policies and mechanisms aimed at redressing the legacy of a racially and ethnically fragmented, dysfunctional and unequal education system inherited from apartheid. The changes in the education system include the departure from the apartheid system to the introduction of the OBE system. However, this change has led to structural and policy tensions that have impacted on delivery and outcomes of education in post-apartheid South African society. The tensions include the diversity between the vision in relation to the country's realities; symbolism of mass expectations; the curriculum framework in relation to its applicability, conditions of implementation and actual practice in schools; expected outcomes in relation to the capacity of teachers to translate them into reality; and budget concerns, commitment to values such as equity, redress and massification, and so on (Cross *et al.*, 2002).

In terms of capabilities for implementing the transformation in education policy, Cross et al (2000) suggests that the newly established Department of Education (DOE) was obliged to accommodate the staff from the apartheid regime for a period of five years without any danger of retrenchments. Thus, when the policy activity moved from civil society into the new state, the DOE had to operate for at least five years with two layers of bureaucracy with conflicting interests and cultures and disparate levels of capacity: a politically motivated, visionary but inexperienced bureaucracy of the new regime that had to depend on a strong conservative and technicist bureaucracy from the old system. The result of tensions between these two competing paradigms was passive resistance in some quarters that slowed the pace of change.

In addition to the conflicting interests that impacted on the capabilities to implement the new transformation education system, there were other practical implications to implementing the new policy. Firstly, of significance was the gap between policy and implementation resulting from lack of alignment between curriculum development, teacher development, selection, and supply of learning materials (Potenza and Monyokolo, 1999). Poor planning in implementation was demonstrated by poor coordination characterised by ad hoc workshops in place of teacher training, tied to a cascade training model compounded by lack of relevant OBE materials, and delays as well as non-delivery of such materials. Christie (1999) suggests that the curriculum process did not carefully consider resource constraints or inadequate databases, including, for instance, simple matters such as the number of schools or teachers in the country.

Secondly, the political process that should have informed the curriculum development was overtaken by expert intervention. Christie (1999) suggests that after the initial debates that included COSATU, the ANC and civil society, the technocrats and foreign consultants high-jacked the process at the expense of the practitioners. This led to inaccessible language and jargon that failed

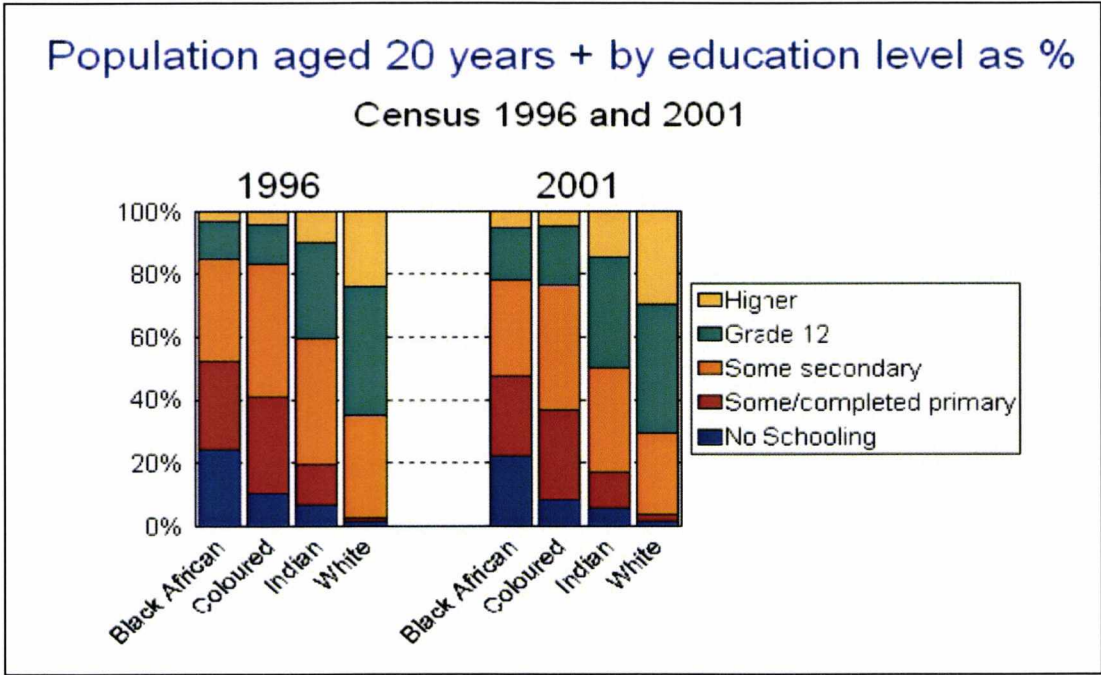
to take into account the South African context. Teachers were marginalised by the complex terminology that was designed for better-prepared teachers, many of whom, especially in the previously disadvantaged groups, were inadequately prepared for basic teaching let alone comprehending the new curriculum.

Thirdly, Cross *et al.* (2002) suggest that there were too many other conflicting agendas for education apart from facilitation of the transition from school to work. These included 'education for cultural diversity', 'education for national unity', 'education for liberation', 'peoples' education for peoples' power', 'education with production'. Each of these had its own knowledge claims and curriculum programme, driven by a particular set of expectations.

In terms of resources to implement effectively the OBE strategy, some of the following statistics help to us to understand why there are critics of the policy and why it impacts on capabilities at all levels of operation. South Africa has 12.3 million learners, some 386 600 teachers and 26 292 schools, including 1 098 registered independent or private schools. Of all schools, roughly 6 000 are high schools (grade 7 to grade 12) and the rest primary (grade 0 to grade 6). In government-funded public schools, the average ratio of scholars (known as "learners" in terms of the country's outcomes-based education system) to teachers ("educators") is 32.6 to one, while private schools generally have one teacher for every 17.5 scholars (Garson, 2004). The high teacher-student ratio makes it difficult to effectively implement the OBE because by its nature it requires more teacher-student contact than the curriculum-based strategy.

The following provides some indication of the challenges with which the South African government is faced if it is to achieve basic education for all as an important pre-requisite for development. *Fig 3.1* illustrates the education levels in terms of racial differences. Despite the policies for advantaging the historically disadvantaged racial groups, there have been only slight changes in access to education at all levels.

Fig. 3.1 Education levels in terms of racial groups



Source: Aitchison and Harley (2004)

In the same census, it was found that the number of men with no schooling increased from 1996 to 2001 by 9%, whilst for women the figures increased by 16%. This could suggest a growth in sex-based discrimination in access to schooling in favour of males, which contradicts current perceptions of there being more girls than boys in schools. It is possible that this simply reflects the fact that the unschooled women are living longer than men (Aitchison and Harley, 2004). In June 2006, the Minister of Education (Naledi Pandor) announced that almost 5 million people in South Africa were totally illiterate. Another 4.9 million were functionally literate people who had dropped out of school. 4.7 million people were regarded as totally illiterate because they had never attended school (Pretoria News, 2006).

In addition to the education policy, the South African government suffers other capabilities issues that impact on the general transformation of South Africa. The following discussion illustrates this

point, showing how issues of capabilities impact on the delivery of services crucial to South Africa. Pieterse (2004) suggests that firstly, there is the question of institutional overload at a time when local government structures were perpetually being made and remade as the legislative timetable moved local government from the pre-interim (1994-1995/1996) to the interim (1996-2000) and permanent phases (post 2000) of existence (see Parnell *et al.*, 2002). The highly complex and conflicting processes of organisational unbundling and amalgamation, along with shifting territorial boundaries of service delivery, caused deep organisational trauma.

For example, in Cape Town, the former City of Cape Town municipality (CCT) inherited a number of black local authorities and management committees, which had no resources, massive accumulated debts and endemic cultures of corruption and mismanagement. Furthermore, after the amalgamation into the CCT, workers performing the same jobs had greatly varying conditions of service and salary levels that invariably fuelled disgruntlement (Pieterse, 2002a). Pieterse further argues that in this context of inevitable organisational turmoil and conflict, it was totally unrealistic to expect that these municipalities would be able to formulate, operationalise, monitor and refine multi-dimensional policy objectives, especially if the policy objectives were politically contentious. In this regard, there was a lack of preparedness, referred to by Sen, on the part of the policy-makers and the black local authorities who had limited experience and skills to achieve the policy goals. At the same time, they were relying on the more experienced bureaucrats whose resistance on transformation impacted on the outcomes.

Secondly, there has been a lack of co-ordination between the national government department setting out the Integrated Development Policies (IDPs)⁷ and the local government departments responsible for implementing the plans (Parnell and Pieterse, 1999). The effect of this has been that

⁷ IDPs are essentially strategic planning frameworks that allow municipalities to establish a holistic but prioritised development plan for how municipalities intend to address the social, political, livelihood and cultural needs of citizens and firms residing in its ambit. IDPs therefore, reflect situated political agreements about which urban challenges and needs are most urgent and how best to address them in the context of limited resources and competing needs. It is given that IDPs must be consistent with the Bill of Rights in the Constitution and therefore, contribute to the realisation of citizens' socio-economic rights. The priorities must reflect a bias towards realising the socio-economic rights of the *vulnerable* and *marginalised*.

despite resources being made available, the lack of capacity both within the government departments and local government render ineffective policy objectives initiated by the government. This is a clear demonstration of poor integration between the macro and meso level actors. Third is the question of political pressure to achieve numerical targets in line with the service delivery commitments elaborated in the government's Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP). Fixation on numerical targets such as promising to build 1 million houses in five years compounded the capacity issues already being faced by the democratic government. Huchzermeyer, (2003) and Royston (2003) suggest that this general lack of capacity reinforced the power of technical divisions such as engineering and accounting within the municipality, who were able to hold the government and other municipality departments to ransom using their much-required skills as the bargaining tool.

At the same time, essentially placing heavy reliance on the private sector IDPs are the strategic planning frameworks that allow municipalities to establish a holistic but prioritised development plan for how municipalities intend to address the social, political, livelihood and cultural needs of citizens and firms residing in their ambit. IDPs therefore, reflect situated political agreements on which urban challenges and needs are most urgent and how best to address them in the context of limited resources and competing needs. It is given that IDPs must be consistent with the Bill of Rights in the Constitution and therefore, contribute to the realisation of a citizen's socio-economic rights. The priorities must reflect a bias towards realising the socio-economic rights of the *vulnerable* and *marginalised* who have been left unchecked, resulting in the creation of new problems such as the expansion of poor quality housing in the periphery of cities and towns.

Finally, the gap between policy and practice brought about by the struggles between the different interest groups must be considered. Following the *consensual model* of politics, the South African government assumes that diverse stakeholders will be able to find agreement through deliberation.

Pieterse (2003) suggests that as long as the inevitable contradictions between competing interests and classes are not acknowledged and actively catered for in the conception of policies, they will be limited in their impact, irrespective of the way transformation rhetoric may appear on paper. Emerging from the discussion on capabilities in the South African context is the recognition that institutional effectiveness is a prerequisite for achieving success in improving the delivery capability of meso level actors. For this reason, it is vital to recognise the crucial role of intergovernmental reform initiatives to improve the integration of micro, meso and macro institutions. In the South African context, this integration must be subject to a politicised understanding of these measures, which defines performance as one aspect in a larger suite of democratic accountability mechanisms.

In the case of developing countries, the capabilities approach is useful as an analytical approach, especially in relation to identification of capability issues across the micro, meso and macro levels of analysis. The approach contributes to contextualising issues by identifying the gaps between policy and practice, policy and freedom and practice and freedom. Whilst this approach helps to identify where the weak links are in the society, it does not deal fully with the empowerment issues associated with the power struggles within institutions that may impact heavily on the freedom of choice and, in turn, the transition from school to work.

3.5 WORKING DEFINITION OF EMPOWERMENT

This review of the theoretical frameworks has revealed that the issue of empowerment is a major factor in the transition from school to work. In view of this, the working definition of empowerment used in the study must take account of the dimensions of empowerment as advocated by the theoretical frameworks. Rappaport's (1985) definition embodies some of the elements of empowerment identified by Sen's (1999) and Nussbaum's (2000) capabilities approach, and Freire's

(1986) and Bourdieu's (1986) theoretical frameworks by including psychological and political dimensions. This definition considers aspects such as personal efficacy (i.e. one's sense of control over one's life), issues of social justice, human rights, self worth and human dignity as well as the conception of one's political efficacy. Chamberlin (1997), and Wowra and McCarter (1999) adopt another approach by considering empowerment as a process with distinctive qualities. It also entails the assertion of basic human rights such as decision-making power and freedom of choice, along with active behaviour such as critical thinking, and control over one's life effecting personal and community change. Thus, the empowering process connotes pro-active attitudes.

In order to remain in line with the macro, meso and micro levels of analysis, this study will draw upon the work of McLean (1995) and Israel *et al.* (1994), who identified empowerment at the individual and community levels. Individual empowerment is considered to be the individual's ability to make decisions and have control over his/her personal life. Hatzidimitriadou (2002) suggests that it is similar to other constructs such as self-efficacy (Bandura, 1982) and self-esteem (Rosenberg, 1965) with respect to a positive self-concept or personal competence. Crucial to this study, individual empowerment includes the establishment of critical understanding of the social and political circumstance and the advancement of both individual and collective skills for social action (Israel *et al.*, 1994). At the organisational level, which encompasses macro and meso level analysis, Riessman and Carroll (1995) suggests that empowerment refers to the politicisation process that occurs to individuals as they move beyond self-awareness to an awareness of larger social issues influencing their condition. This is where they effect change in social policy within the community and broader society.

The following section provides a summary of the discussion on the literature review and concludes the chapter.

3.6 CONCLUSION

My topic is complex because of the nature of the research setting as well as the research group under investigation. Both these aspects add to the complexity of the investigation because their unique attributes also constitute factors that impact on the transition from school to work. In view of this, one theory cannot fully explain the issues that pertain to the experiences of youths in the transition from school to work in the South African mining communities. Consequently, in order to carry out a literature review that comprehensively informs the study, it was necessary for the review to draw from a range of fields. The review in this chapter covered the broad areas representing the significant themes for this study. These themes included migration theoretical approaches; conceptual frameworks for the school-to-work transition drawn from data that take account of the forms of capital, education and empowerment, and the capabilities approach.

In summary, the review of literature on migration explored the various migration theoretical approaches against the historical background of migratory movements in the South African mining industry. Through the historical progression, the review was able to discuss the relevance of three major migration theoretical perspectives. By going through the historical development in the South African mining communities, taking account of the apartheid and post-apartheid migration historical phases, it was possible to analyse the relevance of the different migration perspectives. The historical structural approaches help to explain the migration process before and during apartheid in view of the international relationships between South Africa, its neighbours and the colonial powers. The changes in the political economy in South Africa post-apartheid had a significant impact on the type of migratory movements into the mining communities. Analysis of the neo-classical economic equilibrium and the migration systems approaches helps to make sense of the impact of these changes on the process of post-apartheid migratory movements. The review revealed that there was a link between the political economy of South Africa, the migration process

and integration in the mining communities. The review further revealed that integration issues in the mining communities were not associated solely with migrants from beyond the borders of South Africa but also internal migrants.

In conceptualising frameworks for analysing the findings of the study in relation to the transition from school to work, the review identified theories drawn from data that help to make sense of issues in the South African context at all levels of analysis. The developmental theories that were reviewed contextualised the issues from the micro, meso and macro levels. The review of the forms of capital showed how social, economic and cultural factors impact on the outcomes of the transition from school to work. The developmental theories provided some indication of issues that need to be taken into account in analysing the observations in the study. These theories provided indicative measures that should be considered in ascertaining the limitations of the transition from school to work. To a certain extent, the theories also provided indications of how these limitations can be overcome and the consequences thereof in accordance with data generated from this study.

The literature review also revealed gaps in the literature and the capacity of the theories as well as conceptual frameworks to explain comprehensively the issues pertaining to the transition from school to work in the South African mining communities. Literature pertaining to the transition from school to work in the mining communities was negligible, with most literature focusing on poverty, migration and health. In view of this, the study contributes to an area that is of considerable importance where there is a dearth of knowledge. In addition, the review found gaps in the relevance and appropriateness of the theoretical frameworks that originated in the developed economies. However, despite this, the review found that there were elements of these theories that were relevant to the context of this study. While the developmental theories raised issues pertinent to the research setting, they also demonstrated weakness in dealing with the growing effects of globalisation. Nonetheless, these theories were able to capture the distinctive features specifically

associated with economies of developing countries and the South African mining communities context, such as poverty, lack of capacity and poor governance issues. These are factors with which theories developed for Western countries do not have to grapple. Despite the gaps, the review has illustrated that aspects of these theories can contribute to an understanding of the transition from school to work in the mining communities.

As a way of making sense of the findings, a comprehensive and contextual analysis will draw on the micro, meso and macro levels of analysis. Utilising a qualitative research method will help to draw the narrative issues from the community members at the micro level; and to expose broader context issues of power, capabilities and networks at the meso level. This research method will also serve to reveal policy issues at the macro level.

The following chapter considers the methodological aspects of the study and provides some justification for the methodology selected.

METHODOLOGY

CHAPTER 4

4.0 INTRODUCTION

The combination of the above three chapters provide information that contributes to decisions relating to the selected methodology. This study required preparation that was more comprehensive than I would have undergone in preparing for fieldwork in the UK. Major reasons for this level of preparation included limited available research into the topic in the research setting, and research being undertaken in a foreign country with a language, culture and other social and economic norms that differed from those with which I was familiar. In order to overcome these challenges, it was necessary for the research method design to be explorative.

In view of this, the chapter initially considers the research design taking account of the general orientation of the research study and topic to this effect elucidating why the qualitative and grounded theory are the most appropriate approach. The sampling procedure is then reviewed, taking account of the relevant sample selection and sample size of the study. The data-collection methods used in the study are discussed, including effects of some aspects related to the interview setting and the use of interpreters. Data analyses, including indications of the themes arising from the data, are described. Reflections on the research process from an ethical point of view are made, taking account of my role as a researcher. Finally, the limitations of the study are considered.

4.1 RESEARCH DESIGN

Denzin and Lincoln (2000: 22) suggest that a research design describes a flexible set of guidelines that connect theoretical paradigms first to strategies of inquiry and second to methods for collecting

empirical material. A research design situates researchers in the empirical world and connects them to specific sites, persons, groups, institutions and bodies of relevant interpretive material, including documents and archives. A research design also specifies how the investigator will address the two critical issues of representation and legitimacy. The choice of the research design impacts significantly on the research results in terms of whether they provide the answers to the research question and whether the choice is scientifically acceptable. Consequently, the choice of the research design must be suitable and appropriate to the research enquiry. In view of this, the discussion of the research design of this study will briefly provide a general orientation of the research setting as well as the topic as a way of justifying and contextualising the research design that has been chosen.

4.1.1 General Orientation of the Research Study and Topic

The literature review revealed limited research on the topic in the South African mining communities. The review also indicated the necessity to contextualise the research to take account of the multi-faceted nature of the South African mining communities as well as the historical background. At the same time, it was necessary to account for the history of the South African mining communities in the research process.

Although it has been more than a decade since the dismantling of the apartheid system in South Africa, the effects of the system continue to impact on the communities. As different groups in the communities experience these effects in a variety of ways, the research methodology must be applied so that these and other contextual factors are revealed in the study (Miller and Dingwall, 1997). South Africa is currently undergoing a political transitional period. It is therefore important that the research design selected is able to bring out an understanding of how those being studied are experiencing this transition and the way it impacts on the choices and decisions that they make.

The quantitative approach, which is by nature an etic approach, was not suitable for this study because it would have required better knowledge of the communities, the issues related to the subject matter and sufficient literature to use as a frame of reference (Fielding and Fielding, 1986). As this study is exploratory, it does not require a hypothesis. The reasoning behind this point of view is that in order to ask the appropriate questions in a quantitative research, it is necessary to have a good understanding of the issues and the research setting otherwise the questions may miss relevant themes. Consequently, I chose to undertake a qualitative, explorative approach using the grounded research methods. Bowling (2002:131) suggests that qualitative techniques are essential for exploring new topics and obtaining insightful and rich data on complex issues. The qualitative approach combined with the grounded theory provides the necessary tools to explore the experiences of youths in the mining communities. Stern (1995: 30) suggests:

'...The strongest case for use of grounded theory is in investigations of relatively uncharted water, or to gain a fresh perspective in a familiar situation.'

In summary, grounded theory refers to the process of discovering theory from data that have been systematically gathered and analysed:

'....generating a theory from data means that most hypotheses and concepts not only come from data but are systematically worked out in relation to the data during the course of research' (Glaser and Strauss, 1967, cited by Bowling, 2002: 125).

According to Glaser and Strauss (1967), theories are either deduced from logical assumptions or generated from observation. Grounded theory is a qualitative approach that generates theory from observation. It provides the structure often lacking in other qualitative approaches without sacrificing flexibility or rigour. The resulting theory is an explanation of categories, their properties, and the relationships among them. The results lead to an evolutionary body of knowledge that is grounded in data.

4.2 SAMPLING

Qualitative research aims to understand complex phenomenon, and to generate hypotheses rather than to apply findings to a wider population. As a result, non-random sample selection is used (Bowling, 2002). Generally, these include convenience sampling, purposive sampling, snowballing and theoretical sampling. In this study, all these methods were used at some point. The first part of the discussion focuses on the different sampling selection procedures used and details the key informants utilised in the study. The second part of the section discusses the sample size in the study.

4.2.1 Sample Selection

There is no sampling frame for both local black and migrant youths in the South African mining communities. The large number of informal settlements set up on the periphery of mining communities by internal migrants, documented migrants and undocumented migrants render the research sensitive and the target population hidden. This meant that the recruitment of participants relied on networks, and the research participants were selected initially through the initiatives of the key informants and then developed. Convenience sampling was useful in that the informants knew most people and so it was easy for them to explain the nature of the research. This gave the informants the opportunity to build confidence in terms of knowledge of the topic, and their role as interpreters and co-facilitators.

My involvement in the Stakeholders Perception Survey (SPS) 2004, commissioned by a mining company in South Africa prior to this study, helped me to gain access to some key informants in the research setting for the study. These informants were useful in terms of gaining trust from a community that had seen no changes from the research commissioned by the mining company. Therefore, as part of the initial process, it was necessary for me to convince some of these

gatekeepers that my study was different from the initial research and had different implications from the previous study. Further discussions with the key informants revealed that the mining company had undertaken several research programmes that had yielded neither feedback nor visible changes to the communities. Consequently, the community members had generally become research-fatigued and were mistrusting of researchers. It was important to ensure that the informants had a good understanding of the research topic to enable them to explain the purpose of the research to possible participants. Having community members as part of the key informants helped in obtaining vital contextual information about communities, local culture and subtleties arising during the interviews. Spradley (1979: 45-54) provides a list of five criteria for a good informant:

'Firstly, the informants must have been thoroughly "enculturated" into the area of activity or knowledge being studied. Secondly, the informant should currently be involved in it. Thirdly, the topics and cultural scenes being investigated should be basically unfamiliar to the investigator. Fourthly, the informant should be able to devote enough time to the interviews to give satisfactory information. Fifth, the informant should be non-analytical'.

Although these criteria are useful, Ervin (2000) suggests that fieldwork experience may contradict some of these conditions. Despite this, I found Spradley's guidelines to be useful. In terms of the composition of the key informants, I initially worked with four informants; two females and two males. The initial plan was to have two key informants; however, at the beginning of the survey the main informant was offered employment on a contract and therefore was unable to continue. As a result, he negotiated with three members of the community to replace him. Since the agreement was for the informants to be paid, the increase in the number of informants had cost implications for the study. Despite this, having the additional informants was positive because it helped to extend the cross-section of participants that could be contacted.

The main drawback of the group of informants was that there were no migrant representatives. In addition to identifying participants for interviews, the key informants acted as interpreters. As the fieldwork progressed, the key informants appeared to lose their initial momentum. This was

reflected in non-appearance for interviews by participants, which became increasingly frequent. At the same time, the informants began to have other appointments that clashed with the interviews. This behaviour reflected the employment conditions in the research setting, as non-attendance was due mainly to job interviews or offers of temporary employment. All the informants participating in this study were unemployed and seeking permanent employment. Although some had been employed on a contract or permanent basis at some stage in their lives, they were job-hunting at the time of the study.

The non-attendants were costly in terms of transport and accommodation, as well as time due to the fact that the research setting was 200km from the university where I was based, as indicated in *Chapter 2*. Consequently, I terminated the arrangement with the group and started working with a new informant in another village. This enabled me to gain a broad view of issues; moreover, the new key informant had a personal interest in the project. He was hoping to serve as a councillor in the area and therefore, regarded as very useful the opportunity to hear issues concerning his community at first hand.

Contrary to Spradley's (1979) final criterion that the informant must be non-analytical, I found the analysis of some of the issues raised in the interviews by the informants to be very constructive and contributory to analysis contextualisation. In accord with Spradley (1979), the study showed that informants must be able to devote time to the research to avoid the risk of negative implications as experienced in terms of the cost element to the study resulting from informants' non-attendance of interviews.

This approach also facilitated the snowballing method (Field and Morse, 1992), as I was able to make use of the informants to make arrangements for more interviews and encourage the participants to promote the study. This was a good way of expanding the network of contacts and

contributed to increased opportunities for gathering a wider variety of views. On occasion, obtaining a variety of viewpoints was not always achieved due to some participants recommending people who were of like mind. However, this was not particularly prevalent. To overcome this problem, I made use of two or three contacts to supply participants for each interview. One practical disadvantage in using the snowballing method was the issue of venue. While it was possible to attract participants, identifying venues to undertake the interviews was sometimes difficult; on three occasions, it was necessary to cancel some interviews because the venue became inappropriate. The interviews were to take place under some trees for shade but rainfall on the day prevented us from carrying on. Despite this most interviews took place in the open air at well-known landmarks such as the bus stops or under a big tree. Interviews in sheltered venues were usually in school classrooms, community halls or offices and mine offices. The sheltered venues such as the community halls or offices had been negotiated on behalf of the study by one of the informants. In order to minimise the inconvenience to the interviewees and to reduce the costs to them, the informants and me, the interviews were held in the participants' villages.

The purposive sampling method was applied for several reasons, namely for the purpose of triangulation (Brewer and Hunter, 1989: 175), data testing and to ensure that the planned sampling criteria was achieved. This sampling method facilitated verification of data and the meeting of the planned sample criteria including gender; age (youth and adults); employment status; community member/leader; employer; youth leader and teachers. Having the different sampling criteria allowed the study to obtain a fair representation of views from different groups and to acquire an understanding of the nature of those views and the influences shaping them. It was also a useful way of gaining a better understanding of the power relationships and factors impacting on the transition from school to work.

4.2.2 Sample Size

Table 4.1 provides the total sample size in terms of interviews undertaken in the study. It shows that the sample size for migrants is less than 50 percent of that of the local communities.

Table 4.1 Study sample size

TYPES OF INTERVIEWS	Migrants	Local People
Case Studies	6	12
One to Ones	4	17
Focus groups	7	11
TOTAL	17	50

It is difficult to estimate the population size of participants in this study because of the variable number of people who attended focus groups. However the table above illustrates that 67 interviews were undertaken in this study. Significantly out of the 67 interviews that took place only 17 were with migrants. This provides an indication of the difficulties experienced in finding migrants willing to participate in research in this study. Despite this the combination of interviews undertaken was sufficiently distributed to provide sufficient data. One of the major reasons for this was that despite having a significant number of migrants in the communities, it was very difficult to persuade them to participate in the study. This was despite their initially agreeing to participate and being close 'friends' of some of the key informants. Despite reassurances through the key informants and the introductory letter that the study was totally independent of the government and the police, many possible migrant participants simply failed to attend on the day of the interviews. There were several reasons put forward for this, including, fear of exposure to and arrest by the police, leading to possible deportation. This appeared to be an important reason for non-appearance for both documented and non-documented migrants. As most documented migrants had visiting relatives

who were in search of work, they felt it was important not to be too visible. Other reasons given by community members included,

“Migrants are here for work; therefore, they are not interested in community issues.”

To a certain extent, when undertaking grounded theory, it is naïve to expect the targeted sample size to be adhered to. Grounded theory is progressively refined from data generation until a point of saturation is reached (Strauss and Corbin, 1998a: 212; Kelsey, 2003). Therefore, sample size and criteria will change during the course of the study. Ascertaining when this point of saturation is reached when the research is in progress is difficult, and attempting to predict this before the start of the research is even more problematic (Trochim, 2005). My initial plan was to interview the same number of black local youths as black migrant youths. (Table 4.2) below illustrates the disparity between planned samples and the actual interviews undertaken.

Table 4.2 Planned and actual interviews

Column1	Local Planned	Migrant Planned	Local Actual	Migrant Actual
Employed Youths	5	5	2	2
Unemployed Youths	5	5	11	3
School Youth	5	5	5	3
University Youths	0	0	3	3
Youth Leaders	3	3	4	0
School Teachers	3	3	4	0
Employers	3	3	5	2
Community Leaders	3	3	4	1
Role Models	3	0	3	0
Community Members	3	3	9	3
TOTAL	35	35	50	17

Planning the interviews was useful to ensure that focus is not made on just a few groups despite being guided by data saturation. Planning is important in the early stages of data collection as I found this to be useful in this research setting where I had little knowledge about the environment and the issues pertaining to the topic. The table illustrates that planned interviews did not match the interviews that actually took place. Data saturation resulted in unplanned interviews that included University students and unemployed youths. The decision to interview them was based on data collected from local youths about the difficulties of completing courses. Another interesting observation was the high number of unemployed local youths available to participate in interviews. The unemployed migrant youths that were interviewed were undertaking garden projects awaiting opportunities to work in the mining company.

4.3 SAMPLE CATEGORIES

The following provides some definitions of the sampling categories and some environmental factors to help contextualise and provide more clarity as to how the research was carried out.

4.3.1 School Youths

Approximately 80 % of the interviews with school pupils took place in classrooms at school. The school administrator was the contact at the school where most of the interviews with the pupils were held. The interviews took place in the afternoon just before the end of the pupils' school day. Despite the interviews taking place close to the end of the day, the pupils were very focused and keen to participate. The school administrator organised the classroom and identified grade 12 students, taking account of gender as well as migrant status using their school records. Although some groups were mixed in terms of migrant status, the administrator managed to arrange separate interviews. This worked well because it allowed the migrant and local pupils to express freely and fearlessly their experiences, providing a better understanding of the transition from school to work.

Migrant school children were able to state their views more easily in the separate focus groups than in the mixed focus group.

The classroom allocated for the interviews was typical of the state of classroom facilities in the school. Although the school was a government school and boasted a close relationship with the mining company, the classroom facilities were in very poor condition. For example, the students had to find two chairs that were not broken for the interpreter and me to sit on. The rest of the facilitators as well as the students had to sit on broken chairs. The cemented floors were so worn that a large part of them had become gravelled. However, despite these surroundings, the students looked very smart in their uniforms.

A significant and well-attended interview took place under a tree at the home of a Priest from Kenya. The priest helped to organise the attendance of both local and migrant school children. This group comprised of grade 10, 11 and 12 school children with an age-range of 15 to 20. The priest's house was made of corrugated iron, just like others in the area; however, he perceived himself to be different from his neighbours because he cultivated his garden with flowers and vegetables. This was significant because most gardens in these communities had no vegetation. The priest felt it was important that the local people understand that they can make a living with and survive on their gardens.

4.3.2 Post School Youth

The definition of post -school youth in this section refers to those participants who had completed their grade 12, left school and had moved on to further education, employment or unemployment. The age of these participants ranged from 18 to 40 years. The top age of 40 years related to a few participants who insisted on being classified as youths because they were unmarried and continued to live in their parents' home.

The majority of the employed young people were interviewed in the communities although a few were interviewed at their place of work. Although focus groups that included only employed youths had been planned, it was difficult to organise such a group without including other participants. In addition, some of the participants were unemployed at the time of the interviews but had a previous history of employment. At the same time, some had never been employed. Another interesting aspect of the employment variable was that some participants were in full-time permanent employment, while others were in temporary work or were self-employed. Interestingly, most of those interviewed did not view these jobs as their first choice of work nor did they envisage being employed in that capacity in the long term. The most common types of employment for the local young participants included traffic warden, shop assistant, with a few having previously worked in the mine. In the case of migrant young people, most were working underground in the mine, while others were self-employed, involved in buying and selling vegetables and clothing or undertaking some form of informal apprenticeship in mechanical engineering under the supervision of a migrant business owner. The vast majority of those in employment were male.

In the case of unemployed youths in this study, 70% were looking for work, with most indicating that they would accept any form of employment. Approximately 20 per cent of the other unemployed youths were not job-hunting but waiting for results from promises of funding to undertake further education. Those who had been once employed but were no longer working had been previously involved in various types of employment ranging from mine work, shop assistants to drivers. Most of those in these positions were mainly local youth, with only a few migrants in such work. Female migrant youths were the main unemployed youth amongst the migrants.

4.3.3 University Youths

University students from North West University Potchefstroom were interviewed in order to obtain a better understanding of some of the issues raised by the youth in the mining communities with respect to some of their experiences at further education institutions. The selection of this university was convenient as I was based there.

In order to set up a focus group of university students, I was given permission to request volunteers from a class of 40 students, among whom, 27 were white, 10 were black and 3 were coloureds. Ten students volunteered to participate. Of interest were not the number of students who volunteered, but the racial composition of the focus group. The aim of the interviews at the university was to involve in the study both black and white students. However, only one white female student volunteered, the rest being blacks and coloured (mixed race) students. The official explanation given by the assistant lecturer for the lack of white students was:

“The students said they did not understand your accent when you invited them for the interviews.”

My view is that the white students were simply not interested in research being undertaken by a black researcher. Interestingly, the black students were very keen to be interviewed. A focus group and case studies were undertaken. The white female student appeared comfortable and enthusiastic to share honestly during the focus group.

4.3.4 Youth Leaders

The youth or community members did not appoint the youth leaders in the study setting. Fieldwork observations found that most youth leaders in these communities were self-appointed. Interestingly, community members, including the youth, tended to comply and recognise them as such. Their main desire was to become role models for the youth in the communities. Fieldwork observations

found that most of these youth leaders have a good insight into the issues related to the youth in their communities. To a certain extent, they each have a vision of what needs to be done to help their communities. However, their hands are usually tied because of lack of resources. One youth leader explained why he feels he is a youth leader:

“I consider myself to be a youth leader because I take initiatives that enable other people to take charge of their lives. I also take part in the structures of the communities such as improvements in our living conditions. This is not necessarily the job that I do. I have been shaken by what I see around me. I am concerned about my community. I feel we can achieve more than I see. I want to be part of the uplifting of my community and the youth.”

Consequently, they regarded people like me, who come in to undertake a study, as providing them with the opportunity to air their views and gain new knowledge about the outside world. These youth leaders were characterised as having a close political affiliation, a history of employment and being articulate in English. The majority were male and had lived in the area for a long time although they might not necessarily have been born in the area. No migrant youth leaders were interviewed. This was mainly because no migrant participants identified themselves or were identified as youth leaders by other community members. In terms of their educational levels, most had taken some sort of post-grade 12 courses but at the time of the fieldwork, the majority were not in full-time employment. The few that were working full-time in some form of clerical occupation were employed either by the municipality, local government, non-governmental organisations or traditional authorities. The others were involved in temporary work for the mining and government projects, or worked as volunteers. Most of these projects were mainly community-based, requiring sound knowledge of the communities.

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4.3.5 Community Adults

Community adults and parents, consisting of a range of community members including local and migrant adults of both genders, provided interesting angles to some of the issues raised by the other participant groups. An overview of the background of community adults indicates that the vast majority were unemployed, with most of the few in employment working as manual labourers in mines, on farms or as security guards. Few of the local community adults were business owners. However, there were three significant local business people whose businesses included a supermarket, bakery and a clothes shop. Interestingly, two of the most prominent business owners amongst the participants were women. Most women were unemployed, with those who were employed working as farm labourers or as domestic workers. Some of the women were involved in the mining companies' volunteer schemes, where their main roles involved home care for HIV/AIDS sufferers. There were also a number of elderly participants, including an elderly self-help group set up to support, amongst others, grandparents forced to raise their grandchildren orphaned as a result of the HIV/AIDS devastation.

In the case of migrants, most of the men interviewed were employed by the surrounding mining companies, with others working as farm labourers. Those not formally employed were self-employed, undertaking businesses such as motor mechanics, welding, sales and curio businesses. Most migrant women were unemployed and like their local counterparts, were also looking for employment. Those that were employed were working as farm labourers or mistresses at a crèche operating within the mining compound catering mainly for migrant miners' children. The few that

were involved in business were mainly transient migrants involved in hair plaiting and the selling of goods from their home countries. Most of the male migrants, especially those employed by the mines, were principally from Mozambique and Lesotho. The unemployed women were usually wives of mine workers. The self-employed came from a variety of countries, comprising of Mozambican men involved in the mechanics and welding businesses, and Malawians and Kenyans involved in curio businesses. The main transient women in the area were Zimbabwean.

4.3.6 Teachers

The teachers who responded were from three schools in two different villages. The curriculum for the three schools ranged from grade 1 to grade 12. The portfolios of the participating teachers included life-skills teachers, administrators and school principals. In addition to the school personnel, a school inspector was interviewed, who was able to provide a comprehensive overview of the education issues in the area. All interviews were conducted in English with the exception of one, where the teacher occasionally spoke in Setswana when she was unable to express herself adequately in English.

4.3.7 Employers

Most interviews with the employers took place at the place of work or business complex of the participants. The participating employers came from a variety of sectors including mining, retail, engineering and construction. The traditional authorities' employment officials were included with the employers because they have taken over some of the recruitment functions in the mining companies. The positions and race of the participants were as follows; senior mine management (black and white), recruitment officers (black), retail outlet owners (local black and migrant Asians), engineering company owner (migrant black) and construction recruitment manager (local black). Most of these business entities were located in the black communities, with the exception of one retail outlet based in the white suburbs. Most of the business entities in the communities in this

study were one-man businesses with very limited capital outlay. Fieldwork observations are that the majority of the business entities, with the exception of a few including the mine, operated on a hand-to-mouth basis with very limited income being re-invested into the company due to household needs. Consequently, most of the businesses reflected the socio-economic status of the communities.

Data saturation was recognised by the repetition of information collected from the similar groups of samples. A practical aspect observed in this study relating to the principles of grounded theory is that it can be difficult to ascertain clearly when the fieldwork is complete because new information can continually be obtained over time from new samples. An example of this in relation to the study is the May 2008 xenophobic attacks in South Africa, which provided the possibility of introducing another direction in the data saturation process. In this study time constraints and budget considerations helped to control the sampling procedure. In the final analysis I found that in this type of study grounded data collection ends when the researcher's resources are depleted.

4.4 DATA COLLECTION METHODS

The structure of this section will consider the data-collection methods taking account of how the setting impacts on these methods in terms process of the data collection. To this end, this section will first provide in-depth exploration by reviewing the one-to-one interviews, focus groups and case studies. Second, the discussion will explore how interpreters were used and the implications of using interpreters in the study. Third, the data collection through observation and written documents will be discussed. Fourth, participatory research and its impact on the study will be explored. Finally, data recording followed by a conclusion of this section will be provided to lead into the discussion on the analysis of data.

4.4.1 In-depth Exploration

In-depth explorations were used in one-to-one, focus group and case study interviews. Each of these will be discussed separately to help illustrate special aspects of the information obtained and challenges associated with such approaches.

4.4.2 One-to-one Interviews

The one-to-one interview method was used mainly to gather data from officials of organisations such as teachers, employers, and black and white professionals from the area and the university who had influence with respect to opportunities associated with the transition from school to work for the youths. This method was also used for the case studies for youths both at university as well as in the mining communities. This type of interview facilitates in-depth responses that allow the researcher to delve beneath the surface of superficial responses to obtain true meanings assigned to events by individuals, and the complexities of their attitudes, behaviour and experiences (Bowling, 2002). One-to-one interviews can either be structured, semi-structured or unstructured.

The early stages of the interviews were relatively structured because of the need to obtain the background of the interviewee and to gain a better understanding of how this background would contribute to the study (For example: who they were; what position they held and how they were involved with the youth). Thereafter, the interview was relatively unstructured and semi-structured, where clarity of issues raised in other interviews was important. Unstructured interviews were used because they allowed the respondents to discuss the pertinent facts about the research topic without being limited by the researcher's questions. Despite the unstructured nature of the interviews, a few prompt questions and themes were prepared to ensure that issues of interest were not completely omitted from the discussion. Prompt questions and themes such as:

What do they think about school?

What is the job market like?

Are families helpful in their lives?

What are opportunities for the youth?

Where do they get information about employment?

Where would they like to work?

What issues do they have to consider when looking for work?

These prompts were also useful where the interviewee was not active in their response or where they had their own agenda for participating in the interview (for example, in situations where volunteering to participate in the interview was in the hope of securing employment). As the study progressed and the research categories became narrower, the interviews became more focused and semi-structured.

The benefit of these one-to-one interviews compared with a focus groups were that the respondents were able to discuss issues without fear of being cut off by the interviewer or other members of the discussion groups before they make their point satisfactorily. In this study I found that those with a good command of English tended to dominate the focus groups despite efforts to

A practical problem pertaining to the one to one interviews within the communities was finding a private place to undertake the interviews. In one case the room that I held some interviews was made out of corrugated iron, which had some gaps between the irons. This made it difficult to guarantee privacy for the participants. Although I raised my anxieties to both the participants and my contacts they did not appear to feel it was a problem. In terms of the interview process the participants were very keen to reveal confidential issues pertaining to their health or past traumas despite continually observing shadows through the gaps in the corrugated irons. My consolation was that this is their environment and they know what works and what does not. However, I continued to feel that some of the shadows were people trying to listen in on the interview.

The participants for the case studies were selected mainly from the youth focus groups both from the university and the mining communities. The exceptions were in the case of professionals whose case studies were undertaken to show the background of the process undergone by some of those successful participants on the job market. The aim was to gain a better understanding of the experiences of the youth by taking account of their lives from birth to their current situation. This method of data collection was useful as it individualised the information obtained, and therefore, served as a checking and confirmation of some of the issues raised from other data collection methods. The life-story interviews serve to provide data about the transition biographies and the social factors pertinent to the study. (Bertaux and Thompson, 1997).

4.4.3 Focus Groups

Observations from the study are that the success of the focus group data collection procedure was dependant on the facilitators, composition and size of participant groups, venue and language used.

The size of focus groups in this survey ranged from two to twelve, with an average of four. However, in one case the number of participants was over twenty, which generated a number of difficulties with respect to maintaining the discussion focus. These difficulties included encouragement of the passive participants, who were intimidated by the size of the group; management of group members who took on the role of being spokespersons for other participants without discouraging participation; distraction caused by offspring of participants, as most of the large groups were attended principally by women with young children. When this occurred, refreshments were provided to support the mother. In terms of gender, the experience of the study was that generally, men dominated the mixed group contexts, with women generally taking a passive role unless they were among the more authoritative women in that community.

At the other end of the scale, some groups comprised of only two to three people. This was generally the case with migrants and employed people. Some of the reasons for this have already been explained, especially in the case of migrants (See section 4.2.2). However, in the case of employed community members, the reasons were ambiguous. One possible explanation is that since the main employer of most of the community members was the mine, those participants who were employed may have found it difficult to attend because the meetings clashed with their shift hours. In some cases it was difficult to ascertain whether or not they were employed because most people in the communities were engaged in either temporary or informal employment.

Venues can also hinder data collection through focus groups in two main ways; firstly, through lack of an appropriate venue to accommodate the group; secondly, through the close proximity of some of the venues to the authorities, which rendered the participants fearful of expressing themselves honestly. As an illustration of the first scenario, rain forced us to cancel three focus groups that had been arranged to take place under a tree. As an example of the second scenario, some focus groups were arranged to take place at the village hall where the traditional authorities had their offices, while others were held in the mine offices where mine management was visible. This proximity to the authority figures impacted on the degree of freedom felt by people when participating. One group included volunteers, some of whom were white females whose husbands worked for the mining company. The black participants were passive until the white female participants left the meeting early to attend another meeting.

Although more discussion will be made with regard to language and the use of interpreters, it is necessary to note here that proficiency in English also had an impact on participation. Although there was an interpreter for every group, some people preferred to communicate their points in English than for the interpreter do it on their behalf. This meant that they had more control of their participation and points of view. On the other hand the multitude of languages in the mining

communities meant that for some focus groups more than one interpreter was required. Respecting and being sensitive to local customs was more significant in focus groups than the one to one interviews. This was because for the one to one interviews the procedures and process of the interview was between the interviewer and the interviewee. Whereas in the case of focus groups I needed to be sensitive to the local customs because one disgruntled participant was in a position to render the focus group void. For example a local politician cancelled one focus group because I had not consulted him prior to setting up the group. He later agreed for me to undertake the focus group on condition that he attended and participated. He initially used the platform to justify why he cancelled the original group. His views were that researchers were coming into the communities and were interviewing community members without getting to the truth about what goes on in the communities. It was interesting because when he left and allowed me to carry on with the study most of the complaints by participants were about him. Other local customs that I needed to be sensitive to included starting the focus group with a prayer.

The general practice in all cases where members were seen to be passive during the groups was that the facilitators either offered one-to-one sessions with them, or an informal discussion was held after the group. The results of some of the informal discussions were usually very revealing.

4.4.4 Interpreters

Extensive work has been undertaken on the appropriateness and quality of interpretation and translation services for service users, which has gone a long way to facilitate 'best practice' (Thomson *et al.*, 1999). At the same time, it has been difficult to come to an agreement with regard to the best way forward with respect to interpretation in focus group scenarios. Several issues need to be considered, including the question of whether the interpreter should interpret or simply translate what has been said. There is also the question of whether the interpreter can actually translate everything that is said without losing the cultural context. What should the interpreter do in

situations where there is no direct translation and there are several options to words or phrases from one language to another? How do researchers ensure that the paradigm of the respondent is understood without being contaminated by the paradigms of the interpreter and the researcher? Temple and Edwards (2002) concluded that in order to conduct meaningful research with people who speak little or no English, English-speaking researchers need to talk to the interpreters and translators with whom they are working about their perspectives on the issues being discussed before undertaking the research.

The main strengths of qualitative research are that it is able to reconcile complexity, record, detail and contextualise. In addition, qualitative research allows for reflexivity and the ability of the researcher to take stock of their actions and role in the research process, and to interrogate systematically research relations (Hertz, 1997; Steier, 1991). To be able to achieve this in any research process, it is important that the researcher has control of the research process to allow for such interaction with data to take place. Working with interpreters can result in the researcher losing the ability to take account of these actions because they will have been 'taken away' by the interpreter.

Like researchers, interpreters bring their own assumptions and concerns to the interview and research process. The research thus becomes subject to 'triple subjectivity' (the interactions between research participant, researcher and interpreter), and this needs to be made explicit. Rigorous reflexivity in research where researchers are working with interpreters requires an exploration of the social location of the interpreter (Temple and Edwards, 2002). The reflexive model developed for working with interpreters treats them as a form of 'key informant'. Key informants have been written about and utilised in qualitative research in various ways, notably with researchers relying on professional and/or lay informants to provide a source of introduction to, information and discussion on the social world under investigation (Lofland & Lofland, 1995;

Bulmer, 1984; Whyte, 1955). In the present study interpreters were used throughout, and in all cases they also adopted the triple role of being co-facilitators, interpreters and key informants. This triple role was not only convenient in terms of practicality and cost-effectiveness, but it helped to develop my relationship with individuals and to gain a better understanding of who they were beyond their role in the research.

Difference, perspective and identity are implicitly acknowledged in the literature on working with interpreters, but as a technical rather than reflexive matter. The interpreter-interviewee match in terms of social characteristics is regarded as an important factor, with several writers providing a hierarchy of suitability (Freed, 1988; Fuller & Toon, 1988; Karseras & Hopkins, 1987). Particular stress is laid on the importance of the interpreter and interviewee being of the same sex, with culture, religion and age also being regarded as important within the hierarchy of suitability. These factors were not major factors in this study, as I did not find myself changing interpreters to ensure suitability of these characteristics.

A more reflexive approach reveals the narrowness and implausibility of assumptions that communication and interpretation are necessarily and unvaryingly 'better' on the basis of social characteristic correspondence. In the study this aspect was not a significant factor. I found that culture appeared to be the major character match required, due mainly to the link between language and culture in this context. I found that the interpreters who came from the communities with an interest in the outcome of the study provided a better service than interpreters who had been appointed by the university to work with me on another research project in the mining communities. It was my experience that in most cases they worked to a time frame and tended to cut short the interview sessions. For example, two to three participants would make long contributions and the interpreters would interpret by giving statements such as "they agree" without providing details of what they had said. In short, I found that the interpreters were not interested in what I understood

but what they felt I needed to know. I feel that this may be the result of my relationship with the interpreters, which was generally imposed because of our involvement in university research projects. There may have been some underlying power issues, which manifested themselves in control of the interviews. This contrasted with the interpreters from the local communities, who had an interest in the project, were keen to work with me and ensured that I understood the contextual issues. In view of this, I believe that the relationship between the interpreter and the researcher also contributes to the quality of interpretation. Edwards (1993) confirms this observation by stressing that difference may be 'reduced' according to one characteristic, but issues of perspective and identity remain.

Prior to initiating the fieldwork, I spent some time getting to know the interpreters and gaining their trust, at the same time, allowing them to get to know me and demystify the otherness that most community members had developed because of my Zimbabwean origin, and more specifically, my British connections. Our discussions were focused on what they understood about the research topic and what their interests and views were about it in order to generate an understanding of their paradigms on the subject. It was also useful to hear from them what they hoped to gain from the research. It was interesting that they had varied views, some of which included the need to understand what the community thinks about these issues to help them develop their political careers as well as effectively fulfil their roles as youth leaders. Aware of their views and intentions, I informed them that the aim was to hear the views of the participants rather than direct the participants to inform us of what we felt they were experiencing. Although this was a useful strategy to reduce leading questions, their interest in hearing new information helped to reduce the number of leading questions.

The function of the interpreter during the interview process was to provide a literal translation of the questions to the participants and the responses to enable me to participate fully. I felt that if the

interpreter interpreted rather than translated the responses, the study would lose more in terms of how the respondents perceive their world. Since the interpreters also adopted the role of co-facilitators, it was agreed that the interpreter had to ensure I was aware of the intentions behind their questioning. I consider this to have worked well because I felt supported on points that I had overlooked. It also increased the interpreters' interest in the study.

Since the interpreters in this study were also key informants, they had an opportunity to give their own interpretation of the interviews after each interview. In addition, through their understanding of the research progression, they were able to identify and make arrangements for the next appropriate sample group. Although we had difficulties in urging migrants to participate, by being part of the research process, the key informants were able to appreciate the importance of having the participation of migrants in the study. As a consequence, they made considerable effort to find migrant participants for the study.

The post-interview discussions were formalised because they proved to be advantageous to the study in several ways. It was a good strategy because the interpreters were not starved of the opportunity to express their opinions. At the same time, it made them curious to learn of other people's views. The opportunity to hear the interpreters' views on the issues raised in the interviews was useful in that I could check whether some of the translation was influenced by the interpreter's views. These sessions were also useful because they provided me with an opportunity to hear more contextual explanations of some of the issues raised during the focus groups relating to local cultural practices; or where literal translation was impossible, how the interpreter approached the issue. Using different key informants and interpreters at different stages of the research was helpful because it enabled me to gain a fresh outlook and interpretation of the data collected.

Interestingly, as the study progressed, I observed that while a high percentage of people could speak or understand English, they were not confident enough to interact in a group environment in that medium. The youth groups had the most proficient English-speaking participants and moved from English to Tswana in their interactions during the focus groups. This was very helpful because if the interpreters did not express themselves clearly, the respondents tended either to repeat themselves or attempt to explain in English until their viewpoint was clarified.

In conclusion, I found that involving the interpreter in other aspects of the research process helped me to obtain a better understanding of the research contextualisation issues, both in terms of the topic as well as the setting.

4.4.5 Direct Observations

Direct observation can include everything from field research where one lives in another context or culture for a period of time to photographs that illustrate some aspect of the phenomenon. The recording of data can be as varied as the forms of interview (stenographs, audio, video), and may be done through pictures, photos or drawings (Bowling, 2002). The major difference between observations and in-depth interviews is that in the latter it is assumed that there is a questioner and one or more interviewees. For ethical reasons, I did not take photographs of respondents for research purposes. Even if they had given their consent for photographs to be taken, I would not have been in a position to control the distribution of the photographs. However, this research does use photographs of the environment, including infrastructure.

4.4.6 Written Documents

Written documents usually refer to existing documents (as opposed to transcripts of interviews conducted for the research), and can include newspapers, books, websites, memos, and transcripts of conversations, and annual reports (Denzin, 2002). This study made use of all of these types of

written document, which was useful in gaining a better insight into the issues raised in the study and policy implications. Such written documents were useful for comparison purposes both in terms of current developments in the South African mining communities as well as the historical comparisons.

It is, however, important to state that statistical data was difficult to find in the area, particularly with respect to demographic information. An official from the municipality reported that it was difficult for them to collect such data because population mobility was very high in the area. Since people live in temporary accommodation they found it problematic to keep records. Schools were able to provide information regarding pass rates although the information did not distinguish between local and migrant scholars. No records were kept on students' post-school activities. Therefore, in terms of written documents for statistical purposes, policy documents were utilised principally in this study. There was limited access to data relating to outcomes of policy implementation. As national statistics were more accessible than local statistics, considerable reliance was placed on newspapers and reports.

Webb *et al.* (1966) argue that triangular methods enhance the validity of both qualitative and quantitative research approaches. In theory, different methods should yield comparable results in relation to the same topic and the same research setting.

4.4.7 Participatory Research

Ervin (2000: 200), citing several sources including (Tandon, 1988; Ryan and Robinson, 1990, 1996), puts forwards a number of salient points with respect to participatory research:

'The community defines the problem and then analyses and solves it. The people themselves own the information, analyse the results, and come to conclusion from the research. Radical transformation in the lives of the people is achieved when there is full and active participation. It is a scientific method of research that also represents a democratisation of research where even

outside researchers or consultants can also experience a set of changes within themselves.' (Ervin, 2000: 200)

Heron and Reason (1997) suggest that there is a desire for participants to take an increasingly active role in nominating questions of interest for any enquiry and in designing outlets for findings to be shared more widely both within and outside the community. Participatory enquirers understand action controlled by the local context members to be the aim of inquiry within a community. Control is a means of fostering emancipation, democracy and community empowerment, and redressing power imbalances so that those previously marginalised now have a voice. The actual extent of participation required for these activities varies considerably from one research effort to another, and in some cases mandated “participatory” research has earned a reputation for superficiality (Denzil and Lincoln, 2000).

Tilakaratna (1990) argues that participatory research seeks to de-elitise and de-mystify research, thereby making it an intellectual tool which ordinary people can use to improve their lives. Participatory research must be distinguished sharply from conventional elitist research, which treats people as objects of the research process. Denzin and Lincoln (2000) suggest that the major innovation to applied ethnography resulting from action models has been the tendency to include individuals who are not professional social scientists in various stages of the research, including project selection and design, fieldwork and research analysis. Bennett and Roberts (2004) concur that participatory approaches respect the expertise of the people with direct experience of poverty and give them more control over the research process as well as greater influence over how findings are used.

In terms of the beneficiaries of such an approach, Ervin (2000) suggests that many people do not have enough power or organisational capacity to improve their circumstances, and have been largely excluded from policy making. These include impoverished villagers in developing

countries, slum dwellers and countless vulnerable groups and categories. Ervin (2000: 199) further suggests that powerless and marginalised people frequently become angry when others define their problems. Even the research-sympathetic social scientists and people in the helping professions can be galling. It is also possible that social scientists can patronise or unconsciously cast their findings according to middle class sensibilities or bias. Consequently, the social scientist can be seen to be part of the problem.

Despite these empowering features of participatory research, criticisms have been levied against this research approach. Denzil and Lincoln (2000) suggest that opponents of the approach argue that it lacks scientific rigour and confuses social activism and community development with research. Participatory researchers see themselves as special and different, alienating allies among alternative research proponents in the academy because they identify with the communities that they study. On the other hand, association with activism leads to further accusations that it is politically motivated outsiders rather than the poor, vulnerable and exploited people who initiate in the process of identifying the problems to be investigated. Consequently, investigators with hidden agendas further exploit the vulnerable. This criticism is closely related to those levied against the activities and power of international NGOs in developing countries (Edwards and Fowler, 2002; Tembo, 2003). Such criticisms touch on the ethical issues associated with participatory research. Aspects of ownership of data arise (Renzetti, 1997) and dissemination (Lykes, 1997) and issues of power remain, as collaborative research does not dissolve competing interests (Lykes, 1989: 179).

The mining communities consist of the type of people that can benefit from the participatory research approach. Poor consultation at policy and implementation level, especially in the empowering policy of the MPRDA (2004), justifies the call for this type of research approach to enable community members to have a voice on issues that affect them. In view of this, some attempts were made to incorporate some of the principles of participatory research into the present

study. Initially, this was realised by incorporating the key informants in the research process. In addition, it was planned to use the study recommendations as a pivot for applying for funding to implement the recommendations. However, in practice, due to budgetary constraints, time and commitments to other activities impacting on the key informants, participants and the researcher herself, no specific plans were fully developed to act on the findings although some ground-work was prepared. It is hoped that upon completion of the study, potential projects will be revisited. The following is an account of the effort taken in this study to effect participatory action research.

Since the key informants were paid, the study could be viewed as non-participatory. At the same time, the key informants acted as co-facilitators and were involved in the analysis of post-interview data, giving the informants a degree of control in the study. Through the data collected, the grounded theory approach enabled both the informants and the communities to shape the direction of the study. The contribution made by key informants to the study was more collaborative than instructive. Through this collaboration, it was possible to initiate collaborative work with two community groups associated with two of the informants. By using findings from the study, negotiations with the marketing department of the North-west University were entered into to collaborate with one of the community youth groups with the purpose of setting up an information centre in one of the mining community villages. Although the collaboration remains in its early stages, several planning meetings have been held. One of the meetings also included a government official who was invited as a result of this study.

Another example relates to a community elderly group, who were part of a sample group interviewed for the study. One of the major reasons for setting up the club was to support elderly people in the communities who had become parents to orphaned children as a result of the high rates of HIV/AIDS in the communities. In view of this, the consolidated recommendations from the study would be useful for their club. In response to their request, a participatory research project has

resulted from this study. Currently, two universities, namely the University of Kent and North West University, and the mining company have indicated interest in developing the project by providing training and financial support. Although this study did not fully embrace the requirements of participatory research, it has opened up the possibilities for participatory action research by developing this study further and making use of the findings.

The study highlighted some ethical dilemmas that can result from undertaking participatory research, which is characterised by great promises made to and expectations of community members. These are often frustrated by lack of funds to satisfy the anticipation created by the research findings. The two projects above require collaborative working relationships between different institutions that have not committed fully to the projects. Consequently, community members are currently hoping that the research findings will be used effectively, as implied by the principles of participatory research. An added dilemma is that outside researchers, like the present researcher, render it difficult to commit fully to the actions required by the research findings.

In summary, participatory research could be construed as disempowering the professional by making room for participants. The professional has a crucial role to play, which includes assisting people to collect data and analyse it, linking local situations to the larger external situations, improving people's access to new information and formal knowledge, introducing local people to experiences from outside their environment, and disseminating their work to the outside world. However, it is important to consider issues pertaining to the creating of expectations that will not be fulfilled due to budgetary constraints and the extent to which the researcher can be involved in the participatory research process.

4.4.8 Data Recording

Data recording includes a wide variety of options such as: stenography, audio-recording, videotaping or written notes (Trochim, 2005). For better recollection of information from the interviews, more than one method of recording data is recommended. For this study, audio-recording and written notes that allowed the researcher to write comments during the interview were used. However, written data was found to be less intrusive than the tape-recording. Firstly, some respondents were suspicious of the tape-recording, despite having consented to its use. Migrants were worried that their words might be heard by local community members or government officials and would create problems for them. Some officials felt comfortable talking frankly about things as long as they were not recorded on cassette. Secondly, the limited recording time of the audiocassettes tended to interrupt the flow of discussion when the cassette had to be changed, which happened quite regularly. I also noticed that people expanded on their contribution if they saw me recording the contributions in writing. Consequently, I felt comfortable writing notes during the interviews.

4.5 DATA ANALYSIS

Data analysis in the study is based on two main strands - the informal and the formal process. This is due to the fact that the study is based on grounded theory, to achieve this, thematic interpretation of data collected was undertaken by discussions between the key informants and the researcher. These discussions facilitated identification of themes and categories that needed to be followed up and clarified. Data saturation was achieved when the different sample groups repeated themes continuously. This process was useful because it directed the study in terms of other relevant groups to be included. For example, apart from the target sample groups identified, other sample groups such as university students and lecturers were included as a result of the information generated from the study. These were included to provide a better understanding of issues raised in the interviews

relating to lack of support, information and discrimination being experienced between completing high school and going to university.

In addition, in the early stages of analysis, I utilised the NVivo software programme, which was useful in consolidating the data collected. The form of data analysis was therefore thematic and content analysis. Although the broad themes were identified from the literature review, the software helped to draw themes from the data collection in line with the principles of the grounded theory. The study produced rich data, which raised a number of themes relating to the transition from school to work. These themes were the major factors in identifying the theoretical framework in the study as discussed in chapter 3. The list below shows the themes drawn from the data.

List of themes drawn from data

Poverty

Environmental degradation

Poor social infrastructure

Poor Employment Infrastructure

Poor Educational Facilities

Poor Educational Personnel

Poor Career Advise

In sufficient and inappropriate educational curriculum

Local versus global and national aspirations

Sexual Harassment

Racial discrimination

Institutional discrimination

Xenophobia

Poor parenting

Poor access to information

Gap between aspirations and reality

Gap between policy and practice

Empowerment

4.6 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

This section discusses the ethical considerations and the approaches taken to ensure that ethical research methods and processes were achieved. Reflection on my role as the researcher in this study will follow in terms of my contribution towards the ethical aspects of the research.

Ethical Committee approval was obtained from the European Centre of Migration and Social Care (MASC) Research Ethics Committee, University of Kent (UK). In terms of consent and confidentiality, a letter was prepared and distributed to potential participants prior to conducting the interviews (Appendix 1). The letter, seeking permission to proceed, covered the ethical issues required to proceed with the investigation. In terms of informed consent, the letter provided information relating to the topics the research was planning to investigate; the recipients of the results; the explicit purposes of the research; and the principal questions that would be asked. Finally, information about the potential benefits and risks of participation were provided (Ervin, 2000: 30).

This did not prove to be effective because the key informants responsible for distributing the letters had access to only a few of the participants. Most people attended the meetings on the basis of information obtained from people linked to the key informants. As a result, to ensure that those who participated had sufficient information to give consent, the letter was read and explained to the participants before the interviews took place. Although it can be difficult to give consent without

feeling pressurised when in a group, I ensured that the participants were informed that they were under no obligation to participate. Interestingly, people would stay for a while but then leave if they did not feel that they were interested in the topic. To a degree, this was positive because it indicated that people were able to make a free choice as to whether or not to participate.

In mining communities, where there is a high degree of vulnerable community members seeking opportunities to improve their social situation, it is possible for researchers to use the promise of positive outcomes of a study to entice people to participate. Bulmer (1982: 217) concludes that deception is:

'neither ethically justified nor practically necessary, nor in the best interest of sociology as an academic pursuit.'

It was important to explain fully the nature of the project because people had several perceptions about the study that required clarification at the outset. Firstly, most people believed that participation in the research would give them better employment opportunities. This perception stemmed from my involvement in the mine survey prior to undertaking the study; a number of community members thought that I was a representative of the mine. At the same time, the connection with the previous research had negative implications in so far as some people were reluctant to participate because they did not trust the mine and their representatives. Secondly, due to the migrants' extreme suspicion, it was common for them simply not to attend the interviews. To ensure that these perceptions did not continue, I clarified the purpose of the study, being aware of the importance of not misrepresenting the purpose of the study to either the key informants or others helping to recruit interview participants. Punch (1994: 93) suggests:

'The single most likely source of harm in social science inquiry is the disclosure of private knowledge considered damaging by experimental subjects'.

In terms of confidentiality, the letter also reassured the participants that the information recorded would be confidential. However, at times, I felt that some participants did not trust this fully, particularly during focus groups. For example, whilst I was concerned with difficulties related to gender mix, I overlooked some power relationships within the communities that may have impacted on confidentiality.

The mining communities have a mixture of power groups that include traditional authorities as well as political representatives who can impact on the confidence of people to express themselves freely. On one occasion, a member of the ANC was accused of intimidating the meeting by preventing people from expressing themselves freely because of his political position. Despite my attempts to reassure participants that what was being discussed would not go further, I believe my words were ineffective because they started to speak in Tswana. To ensure that no one suffered as a result of what they had said in the meeting, I had a discussion with the key informants about the issue, who reassured me that the ANC member had been using the meeting to campaign. The group had informed him that they were not interested in his agenda.

Other ethical dilemmas encountered during the fieldwork related to ensuring that participants were not harmed through participation in the study. During a case study interview, an eighteen year-old female participant became distressed and broke down as she talked about her life. I stopped the interview and walked with her for a while. I offered my support and informed her that she did not have to complete the interview. However, she expressed her desire to talk about things she did not normally have the opportunity to discuss; she simply wanted a place to express herself. I found the situation difficult as she spoke of her vulnerability in the home context. I could do nothing more than provide her with information about career paths that would help her to become independent. I relied heavily on my nursing background and the support of the interpreter, who appeared to have gained the confidence of the youth.

Furthermore, in most of the discussions with the youths, I felt that the youths were hoping that I would be able to help them with advice and information that their teachers were unable to provide. As the interviews progressed, some youth groups expressly requested that I help them with information. In other cases, months after I completed the fieldwork, I started receiving telephone calls from some of the pupils that I had interviewed, seeking advice and help in terms of employment opportunities, finance and educational options. This proved to be one of the most difficult aspects of the research because at times, I was tempted but unable to become involved as I had too little knowledge of and access to information about such things in both the mining and South African environments. As indicated earlier (section 4.4.7) I participated in initiating a resource centre in one of the villages by introducing representatives from the university and government to make some presentations at two of the villages.

A major aspect of ethics in research relates to the benefits to participants and their communities from the research. Upon completion of the project and its recommendations, my aim is to discuss my report at conferences, to publish it and to disseminate it to the relevant departments and youth groups.

Mason (2002:7) suggests that researchers should take stock constantly of their actions and their role in the research process, subjecting them to the same level of critical scrutiny as is applied to other research data. This is based on the belief that a researcher cannot be neutral, objective, or detached from the knowledge and evidence they generate, and as a consequence, they should seek to understand their role in that process. Indeed, the very act of asking oneself difficult questions in the research process is part of the activity of reflexivity. In view of this, the next section considers the contributions of my role and background as the researcher.

4.6.1 The Role and Background of the Researcher as an Outsider

In the social sciences both historically and currently, the relationship between researcher and subject has been:

'.....obscured in social science text, protecting privilege, securing and laminating the contradictions' (Fine, 1994: 72).

There has long been a tendency to view the self of the social science observer as potential contaminator, something to be separated out, neutralised, minimised, standardised and controlled. This bracketing of the researcher's world is evident in social science's historically dominant literary style of Madigan et al, (1995), which is predicated on clarion renunciation of subjective or personal aspects of experience (Morawski and Bayer, 1995), particularly those of the researchers. Billig (1994: 326) adds that although it may be true that researchers are never absent from text, the problem of just how to write the self remains. Okely (1992) suggests that simply inserting autobiographical or personal information into the text is not sufficient, as the self has been sacrificed. She further asserts that in most cases, these texts normally serve to establish and assert the researcher's authority. Denzin and Lincoln (2000) suggest that the call for the inclusion of the subjective experience of the researcher has different implications for different situations.

My aim in this section, taking the above into consideration, is to consider what issues about my background may positively or negatively impact on the research process as well as the analysis. This is important, as Mason (2002) suggests that qualitative research should involve critical self-scrutiny or active reflexivity by the researcher. To achieve this, I will initially provide a brief account of my background, before discussing some aspects of my background that might impact on the research process.

In presenting my background, I will focus on my nationality, race, educational background and work experience. I was born in Zimbabwe, living there until the age of ten. I then moved to the United Kingdom (UK) to live with my parents, who had been resident there for three years prior to my arrival there. My parents had come to the UK as refugees in response to Ian Smith's Unilateral Declaration of Independence from Britain. Although I have British citizenship, I identify strongly with my Zimbabwean background. In terms of cultural influence, I feel that I am bi-cultural with cultural influences from my country of origin, Zimbabwe (a country with a similar socio-political history to that of neighbouring South Africa), and the United Kingdom (UK). My educational background is as varied as my work experience. I have a BSc degree in Economics, a Diploma in Mental Health Nursing, and a Masters degree in Migration and Social Care. Work experience is also varied and has been in both the United Kingdom and Zimbabwe. In each of these countries I have lived as a child as well as a youth. I have worked in both the private and public sectors in an African setting. In addition, I have experience of being self-employed in this environment. My work experience in the UK has been mainly in the health and social sector. My observations of the differences in the two environments is that in the UK there is more focus on job security and engaging in formal employment than in Africa, where informal work and public service work represent a high percentage of employment activities for black people (Brillieau et al, 2005).

Interestingly, as a reflection of this, I believe that I am more enterprising in the African environment. An added asset to working in these two settings is that I have experienced the different forms of exclusion issues in both settings associated with my race, gender and ethnicity that are similar to those experienced by the youths in South African mining communities. This is more so because I am black, single, female and of a Shona ethnic background. The above background information is very important in understanding the factors that may influence my theoretical perspective or paradigm. Kuhn (1970) pointed out that what we see depends on what we look at and what 'previous visual-conceptual experiences' have taught us to see. For example, while

a sociologist and a psychologist may observe the same reality, the former may focus on the social structure and the latter may focus on interpersonal differences. The varied educational disciplines, work experiences and bi-cultural background influence my perceptions and assumptions about the research topic.

In summary, the issues that I would like to reflect on relate to my race and ethnicity, dual citizenship, education and youth experience in terms of separation from my parents. In a research setting such as South Africa, with its recent history of apartheid, issues related to the researcher's race and ethnicity can be conceived to contribute to the research process. Jarrett (1993) suggests that one of the major dilemmas in gathering data concerns the question of the race/ethnicity of the facilitator versus that of the participants. Anderson et al, (1988) found that a facilitator of the same race/ethnicity as participants usually enhances rapport and increases the willingness of participants to respond. He found that African-Americans were more likely to express closeness to whites when interviewed by whites than when they were interviewed by African-Americans.

On the other hand, in certain research situations, while specific disparities between interviewers may constitute hindrance, dissimilarities in race, language, class and gender may actually help respondents to discuss their views and actions more freely. In such cases, the researcher is perceived as an outsider who is unaware of specific cultural norms (Mager, 1999:13, and Spiegel and Mehlwan, 1997:17), where "outsiders" can ask questions that "insiders" cannot. My experience with respect to the data collection in the mining communities revealed the verity of this in several ways. Firstly, my racial background allowed some black local youths to regard me as a role model, where they were able to discuss freely their dreams and constraints. This freedom is exemplified in the experience detailed above of the female student who broke down when recalling her personal experiences at home. Their sense of identity with me enabled some migrant youths and adults to speak candidly to me about the activities they resort to in order to stay and work in South Africa. At

the same time, my race and gender rendered the representatives and the traditional authorities less willing to discuss community issues. This was illustrated in the previous research, where the traditional authorities appeared to find it easier to speak openly to a white male researcher than to me. Despite their common history, which is inundated with conflict, my race and gender (more specifically, gender) appeared to be of greater displeasure for the authorities. In view of this, it is arguable that certain obvious character matching is not necessarily a requirement for positive outcomes of data collection.

In the same light, community members appeared to want to speak about the negative aspects of the traditional authorities to me as an outsider, away from the earshot of the key informants. This was usually the case when they wanted to be negative about these authorities. My view is that in small, closed communities such as the South African mining communities, fear of being gossiped about and of the news being received by others can lead to a preference for disclosing information to outsiders.

Issues of power were observed with respect to research undertaken in the mining communities, where white community members found it acceptable for white researchers to interview and study black people; but regarded it unacceptable for blacks to interview white people. As illustrated in chapter 2 white respondents were not forthcoming to being interviewed by black researchers especially with regard to issues that may place the white community in a negative light. This typifies Freire's (1985) concept of false generosity on the part of the white communities. I sensed that from a South African context, my race posed a threat in that discussing their domestic problems would reveal their vulnerability to me as a black researcher. This would not have been as considerable an issue in the UK as in the South African context.

To a certain extent, my dual citizenship and bi-cultural background contributed positively to this study. On the one hand, by being a Southern African, I was able to contextualise both the factors influencing the transition from school to work and the research setting, whilst on the other hand, appreciating the gap between the Western and African conceptualisation of the issues. For example, I feel that I had an understanding of perceptions of the two cultures' approaches to concepts such as poverty; disempowerment and discrimination. In addition, I understood the construct of racial issues in the African as well as the UK context, which was useful for the study analyses. Fully appreciating how people cope with these issues in the two environments is important in grasping the different approaches that can be taken by migrants and local youths when dealing with the factors impacting on the transition from school to work. It is useful in terms of understanding the possible outcomes and implications of inequalities and deprivation in the study. At the same time, this can also be a disadvantage because there may be a tendency to take for granted some observations by assuming some of my experiences to be common knowledge. My awareness of this and the support from my supervisors have helped to reduce the danger of such assumption occurring in this study.

My varied education and work experiences, including a mixture of disciplines, is very helpful because the issues raised in this study are multi-disciplinary and concur with both my academic and work experience. Understanding and having experience in these disciplines helps to make the approach to the study holistic. As indicated above, in the African setting, the labour market experiences differ from the labour market in the Western environment. Consequently, my experience in these employment settings is useful in understanding some of the issues raised in the study.

4.6.2 Data Protection

As part of the guarantee of confidentiality throughout the research process and post-research, the data collected has been held in a securely locked drawer, accessible only to the researcher. At the

appropriate time, the data will be taped over to dispose of it. There are no participant names recorded on the tapes, ensuring the maintenance of confidentiality and anonymity. It is important to state that a biographical database has been kept for analysis purposes (Appendix 2). The information required is aimed at assessing the ethnicity, migrant status, employment status and state of accommodation of the participants. At the end of the research project, this information will be burnt. Wherever possible, I intend to provide feedback to the communities participating in the survey.

4.6.3 Dissemination

In addition to sharing the findings with the community members, I intend to disseminate the report in various other outlets as web-based reports, publications in journals, and hard copy reports. Use will be made of collaborating organisations' websites and e-mail distribution lists. I also aim to undertake presentations of my findings at appropriate conferences.

4.7 LIMITATIONS OF METHODOLOGY

Although the main outcomes of the research were achieved and rich data were obtained, there were some drawbacks experienced in undertaking the study, most of which have been discussed throughout the progression of this chapter. Budgetary constraints limited the time I would have liked to spend in the communities, especially during the weekends. This would have given me an opportunity to observe the social dynamics when all the communities were fully active as the mines were closed during the weekends.

4.8 CONCLUSION

This chapter discussed aspects of methodology in conducting the research for the study. The chapter initially considered the research orientation, which highlighted significant aspects of the research topic and setting. This informed the research to utilise exploratory research to facilitate a contextualised research process in data collection and analysis. A qualitative research approach using the grounded theory method was identified for data collection and analysis. Lack of sampling frame meant that the study had to rely heavily on the knowledge and support of the key informants. As a result, sample selection was based mainly on convenience, snowballing and purposive sampling. Sample size included different youth groups, community members, teachers and employers. There were 50 interviews with the local community members, and 17 with migrants. Sample selection evolved with the progression of the study in response to data saturation, which informed the direction of the next relevant sample to the study.

The research was carried out using multiple approaches to data collection. Data was gathered using exploratory methods in the form of focus groups, one-to-one interviews, case studies and direct observation. Secondary sources of literature were also utilised to contextualise fully the data. Ethical considerations took account of issues related to informed consent and confidentiality. Reflective evaluation of my role in the study was made to ascertain my influence on the data collection as well as the analysis of findings.

The fieldwork was carried out between February 2005 and May 2005. Rich data were collected despite the limitations of an unknown sample frame and the difficulties of obtaining migrant participants. The next chapter reports on the findings of the study, drawing on the methodology discussed in this chapter.

FINDINGS: NARRATIVES OF THE YOUTH

CHAPTER 5

5.0 INTRODUCTION

The findings of the study are divided into two chapters. This Chapter presents the findings from the youth, providing details of their experiences in the process of their transition from school to work. Chapter 6 presents the findings from institutions that contribute to the factors influencing the transition from school to work in the mining communities. The reasons for presenting the findings in two chapters include providing data triangulation, and obtaining better understanding not only of the experiences of the youth from their narratives, but also from the perceptions of institutions that influence the factors impacting on the transition from school to work. An understanding of these perceptions is pertinent to comprehending gaps between policy and practice, needs and practice, and to providing guidance for policy recommendations.

In order to achieve this, Chapter 5 reports on responses from all youth groups, including school pupils, youths in the mining communities and those in further education institutions. Within these groups, variables such as migrant, local, employed, unemployed and gender differences are highlighted as a way of appreciating how these attributes impact on the experiences of the youth. The structure of this chapter takes account of three stages in the transition from school to work, namely preparation for the world of work, job hunting and the world of work. These three stages drawn from the data will facilitate a better understanding of the issues experienced by the youths in the transition process from school to work. The presentation of the findings relating to preparation for work summarises responses from school pupils, community youths and university students. The experiences at the job-hunting stage reports the strategies used and the barriers experienced by youths in mining communities. This section summarises the experiences of both the employed and unemployed youth. Finally, the chapter presents the experiences of the youths in the world of work.

This is pertinent for understanding the attitudes of youths in the mining communities in this respect, which helps to appreciate some of the perceived differences between local black and migrant youths. A summary of the experiences of the transition from school to work of youths in the mining communities concludes the chapter.

5.1 SCHOOL CHILDREN

The issues raised in terms of the transition from school to work were varied. In general, the issues were viewed as barriers to the transition from school to work although a few were perceived as opportunities. The issues raised included schools in terms of quality of education as well as facilities; teachers; relevance and quality of support; the living environment and their own role in the issues affecting the transition from school to work.

5.1.1 SCHOOLS

School pupils perceived school to be the vehicle for achieving a good education and, in turn, a positive outcome in the transition from school to work. However, for most of the pupils, the quality of education in the schools was poor and consequently, largely contributed to the negative outcomes in their transition from school to work. The reasons put forward for these perceptions were varied, as were the effects of such poor educational quality on the pupils.

One of the major complaints made about school related to the subjects taught from grade 10 to grade 12. Several reasons were given to explain why the subjects taught had an impact on the transition from school to work. The first related to their capacity to choose the subjects they would be able to pass. Secondly, students felt that they were asked to choose subjects too early with very little information. Thirdly, the subjects offered at school did not prepare them for the world of work.

The final reason related to the language used as the medium of instruction. Comments relating to these perceptions are indicated below.

5.1.1.1 Subject Options

A grade 12 pupil explained that it is not simply choosing the subjects that will provide students with good jobs; rather it is a matter of choosing the subject that the student is capable of passing. He explained:

“When you hear about these subjects in grade 10, you think it is easy. No one informs you about the big jump you are making. It is only when you start doing these subjects that you realise how difficult the subject is, and in turn, how difficult it is to achieve your dreams.”

Another grade 12 pupil suggested that teachers have no information, therefore they are unable to provide students with careers advice. She observed:

“Teachers do not know much beyond teaching.”

Another pupil stated:

“When you do get advice from teachers, it is often inappropriate. All they do is tell you about what grades you need to get into university when they know full well that most of us haven’t got a chance of getting to university, let alone affording to go there. The truth is teachers here have no idea about other options.”

Despite this criticism against teachers, one pupil from the local communities revealed that she was receiving good support from a teacher who understood her needs. There was, however, a general consensus that there should be a “careers guidance” course given to students between grade 10 and grade 12. Currently, the only source of information is hearsay. One local student reported that she managed to obtain information about a Careers Guidance Fair in Pretoria, which she attended. She added that the fact that one has to go to Pretoria for such fairs could be prohibitive for most

students, due to financial constraints. As a result of attending the fair, however, she now had some idea of what she wanted to do and who to contact. Although this was positive, a despondent pupil corroborated the previous student's comments about the prohibitive cost of fairs, expressing the futility of this course of action by suggesting the following:

“The fact that we have to go to Pretoria for careers guidance fair is unfair. Most of us cannot afford the transport to get to such fairs. Our financial circumstances are prohibitive.”

5.1.1.2 Educational Facilities and Language

The quality of educational delivery was strongly criticised by school pupils and blamed for poor preparation for the world of work. The youths identified poor facilities, equipment and language as impacting on the delivery of education. With respect to the science subjects, the pupils reported that the schools were ill-equipped. The pupils were vocal about the lack of access to computers, which they perceived as a major disadvantage because in their view, employers demanded computer literacy. Although other aspects of facilities were poor, these two were perceived as the most relevant to the employment environment in the new South Africa.

Controversy relating to the language used as a medium of instruction in the schools in this study reflected the broader controversy epitomising the educational history of South Africa that triggered the youth struggle for freedom in the country. Proficiency in English was perceived to be important for positive outcomes in the transition from school to work.

There appeared to be some disagreement relating to the use of English in school between the migrant school children and the local school children. Migrant pupils accused local pupils of lacking interest in developing their English language skills. In fact, some of the migrant pupils reported being pressured to speak the local language by local pupils. Of greatest concern to the

migrant pupils was the absence of support from teachers, whom the pupils perceived as letting them down. One migrant grade 12 student explained:

“Even if we want teachers to teach in English, it is futile. Although the teachers begin lessons in English, they soon change to Setswana if they are asked to explain anything. This defeats the whole object of using English as a medium of instruction. This tendency means that there is little chance for us to practise speaking English. It is my view that some of these teachers cannot speak English well.”

Approximately 75 % of local grade 12 pupils agreed that there was a need for more English in the schools. Interestingly, when asked whether they would be able to conduct a job interview confidently in English, all the students responded positively despite the need for an interpreter during the research interviews.

In spite of these negative views about schools and education in the mining communities, migrant pupils’ opinions tended to be varied. They pointed out an advantage of attending schools in mining communities. During a focus group, the migrant pupils reported that immigrants, especially those from Lesotho, send their children to these communities because they have access to free books and the school fees are cheaper than their country of origin. In addition to the quality of the schools and teachers, the pupils discussed the quality of the students in the mining communities as a factor that may impact on their transition from school to work. Generally, migrant pupils and a substantial number of local youths were negative about the attitudes of local youths towards education and employment.

My observations were that both groups tended to compare themselves with each other. While local pupils were inclined to be very self-critical, migrants were extremely positive about themselves. It could even be argued that the local pupils admired the migrant pupils’ perceived academic capabilities and therefore, were gracious and complementary in reporting their opinions. The general opinion of the local pupils was that migrant pupils were:

“Go-getters who work hard to get what they want.”

Local pupils considered migrant pupils to have an agenda that helped them to focus, in addition to being intelligent, especially in subjects such as maths and science, despite learning under the same poor environment. On the other hand, migrant pupils were condescending towards local pupils, generally describing them as “lazy and lacking initiative”. Migrant pupils who had experienced education in their country of origin prior to migrating to the mining communities blamed the education system in South Africa for not encouraging competitiveness and initiative. The discussions illustrated that migrant children were more confident about their school performance and future challenges than most local pupils. Interestingly, migrant female pupils from Lesotho tended to be the most vocal and confident about their abilities and ambitions. Male migrant pupils especially those from Mozambique, tended to be reserved and quiet. The local female pupils were similar in their presentation to the female migrant pupils. Some of these perceptions are summarised below.

One comment that generated discussion during a focus group of mixed migrant and local pupils was made by a local grade 12 male pupil, who expressed anxiety about the future:

“I want to further my studies. I need to work hard for a bursary. However, I don’t think I will be able to get the grades required to get a bursary. You see, I am not working hard at the moment. So, this means that I will not get the grades required. Consequently, I have to get a job next year. But I do not feel that I am ready for work. I am worried about the world of work because I have no previous experience of that world. I do not know what to expect. I have never worked before. I just do not feel that I am ready to take on that responsibility. The idea of having to wake up in the morning to go to work is frightening. I feel I need to carry on being dependent on my family. I’ve always had my parents to take care of things. I am scared of being independent. Nature will take its course. I will be prepared maybe later but not now. You see I have never looked for a job. I don’t even know what to do. I lack such knowledge.”

Other participants challenged his attitude, especially the confession that he was aware that he had to work hard but that he was not prepared to do it. In response to this announcement, a migrant female pupil reported that this attitude was not unusual for local pupils. She explained:

“In Kenya you go to school at 6 am and it finishes at 6pm. We are taught hard work at school. We work hard for maths and science. Here, the learners (pupils) sit back and wait to be spoon-fed by the teachers. Migrants have pride in resolving the problems themselves. In Kenya there is respect. In South Africa there is no respect at all. They dance on the road or anywhere. They do not care. They do not care what you think.”

A local grade 12 female pupil echoed similar views about the differences between the migrant students and local students when she stated:

“The migrants are more determined to work. Local youths are discouraging because they do not want to work. Migrants experience poverty in their country and when they come here therefore, they are more determined. Local pupils think they do not experience as much poverty as migrants and at the same time they have too much pride. They think that they can choose whether to work or not to work. In addition to their pride, the local youths are not prepared to do just anything. Migrants are not treated well by the local youth because of their origins. Migrants have the ability to work; that is why they are determined.”

In a mixed focus group of migrant and local pupils, one male grade 12 pupil was so mystified by the abilities of migrant pupils, that he went as far as to suggest that there was perhaps something mystical about what they ate that made them achieve high grades in maths and sciences. Interestingly, this was not the only time in the survey that local participants suggested that migrants had special powers that made them better at certain activities than the local population. He suggested:

“At school migrants behave the same as South Africans. However, when it comes to results, the migrants get much better results. It’s like they have extra classes or have something special in their breakfast. They are just too good, especially in subjects such as maths and sciences.”

These comparisons between migrants and local students were not only in the classroom, but also in the playground. Local pupils did not raise significant issues relating to conflicts between migrants

and local pupils. The male pupils suggested that the only conflicts taking place were mainly when the migrant boys take away the local girls. On the other hand, migrant pupils disagreed, stating that there were numerous conflicts, some of which impacted on their performance at school. This discussion exposed issues of conflict of allegiances amongst some of the pupils. Migrant youths reported being teased and bullied into conforming to the ways of the South African pupils. As a result, migrant pupils reported living two lives, the South African life and their parents' lifestyles. One student whose parents came from Lesotho but who was himself born in the mining communities explained his dilemma:

“What is funny for us who were born here but with migrant parentage is that we start behaving like South Africans. For example, my father is from Lesotho but I used to tease the students who were born outside South Africa. You see, we feel like South Africans. We just join the majority and lose ourselves in all that. What happens is that when we are alone with our parents, they tell us about where we come from. We feel bad because we have been teasing our own people. You see, we live two lives. When at school, we experience peer pressure. So we pretend to live a life that is not ours. At home, we are children. We live the life of our parents and understand things differently. Peer pressure is the most dominant influence in our lives because we spend most of our time with our peers as opposed to our parents. So migrant youths, especially those born here and who go to schools here, pick up the South African way of life.”

The impact of this double life on performance at school and the transition from school to work was well summarised by another migrant pupil:

“Even if you do not want to have a double life, you do not have a choice. At times, it depends on the situation. When with friends, you try to cope at school. If you do not conform, you find yourself with no friends. If you do not change your behaviour, the others will make fun of you and it makes life difficult for you. They call us primitive. They try to make fun with every aspect of your difference, even to the extent that some pronounce ‘a’ as ‘arr’, others as ‘e’. You also fear expressing your views, which may differ greatly from the South African view. In the end, you really do not apply yourself fully at school. Another problem is that if you beat them at school, you lose friends. So you have to choose whether to be focused and have no friends or have friends and not be focused.”

Another migrant student in a separate focus group concurred with this view by stating:

“I think the quality of education here is not as good as the one in Lesotho. Migrant students do better. Migrant students work harder in class. When migrant pupils first start here, they are better but after staying here a while, they become like the others here. They lose their focus.”

The observations made from these responses suggest that although migrant youths make a concerted effort to avoid being drawn into what they perceive to be the negative South African way of life, they are forced to acculturate.

5.1.2 Home Life

Factors relating to finance as well as family education were seen to contribute greatly to the transition from school to work. These factors, in turn, had an impact on the support that the children received beyond the school system. More local pupils came from homes with unemployed parents compared to the migrant pupils. Most of those whose parents were employed worked on the farms or as house-maids or gardeners, with a few employed in the mining companies as underground workers. At the same time, most of the pupils came from one-parent families or were being brought up by relatives such as aunts or grandparents. Most youths came from single parent families and were raised mainly by their mothers. Nearly 70% of the local youths from single parent families indicated that they did not know the identity of their fathers.

In contrast, most migrant pupils came from families where at least one parent was employed. Most of the parents were employed in the mining companies as underground workers although some were also employed as farm labourers or domestic workers. Like the local pupils, most came from one-parent families but unlike the local school children that were brought up by their mothers, the fathers raised most migrant pupils. In 70 % of the cases, the mothers had remained behind in the sending communities or were working in another part of South Africa. This background helps to shed light on some of the issues relating to support that were raised by the school children.

Approximately 90 % of the local pupils reported that they received financial support for education from several members of their extended families. However, most expressed that whilst they were grateful for the support they received because it gave them a chance in life and fulfilled some of their basic needs, around 60 % were quite negative about the circumstances in which their relatives rather than their parents had to support them. Some of these circumstances included the death of parents, unplanned pregnancies and absent fathers. The impact on the transition from school to work is that most family members are usually prepared to support the youth until completion of grade 12 but no further. In fact, most are expected to start looking for employment so that they can return the support by assisting another family member. In around 30 % of the cases, grade 12 female pupils reported being forced by family members to enter into relationships with rich men or to consider marriage as a way of supporting themselves.

A tearful local grade 12 female pupil at the beginning of the case study interview explained why this family support is not always positive:

“I have always stayed with my uncle and aunt because of my mother’s irresponsibility. My mother works but I am struggling. She has a lot of money but she does not support me. I always ask myself why she brought me into this world. I also ask if she is my real mother. She works in the grocer’s and I am the only child. My parents were married but they divorced in 1998. After that I stayed with my mother. She was not working at the time. Then she got a job. That is when I was left at my uncle’s place. I only see her once a year.”

She went on to explain why this arrangement was not satisfactory for her:

“I started staying with her when I was standard 5. But in standard 9, I changed and went to stay with my other aunt. The reason was that my aunt and uncle were treating me badly. My aunt wanted me to do things that I did not want to do. She wanted me to fall in love with a guy with a lot of money. When I refused, she started to treat me bad. I went back to them when I was in standard 10. Things are a little bit better at the moment. You see, I have no one to talk to about these things. My mother is not interested. It hurts but I tell myself that I will stand up and fight for my life one day.”

All this has made her quite despondent and impacted on her transition from school to work, as she stated in her own words:

“I want to be a Chemical Engineer because I am good at science subjects. But the idea of the Chemical Engineering job that I am talking about is just a dream. I have to accept that I do not have money to achieve my goal. If the money were available, I would work towards my dream. Even if I am good enough, my family circumstance makes me not good enough. I need to feel free.”

Similarly, another grade 12 student from the same class placed blame on her father for not having sufficient finance to send her to college after she completes grade 12:

“I want to go to college after I complete grade 12 but my parents cannot afford the fees. You see, my father is married to two wives.”

Other grade 12 school children (both migrant and local pupils) pointed out that most of their parents were uneducated or illiterate and, therefore, unable to help them with their education. They highlighted the importance of help from parents and family at this stage of transition from school to work. One grade 12 pupil echoed this frustration by stating:

“There is a need for support from home to encourage the youth. All the parents can say is that they want us to be better than them. But they do not understand the details of how the youth can achieve this. The youth remain in the dark. You see, our parents are not doctors; therefore, do not appreciate what is required to be one both in terms of dedication as well as qualifications.”

During the same focus group, one local grade 12 female pupil used her own situation to explain how lack of parental education causes students to lack the confidence to challenge teachers when their performance is detrimental to the youth.

“Parents feel that the teachers know more than they really do. Parents really don’t feel capable to challenge the teachers. I do not think our teachers take us seriously. I was told that I had a bursary but the results from the school came too late. My school should have sent the results to the technical college in time but they did not bother, so I lost my chance. Now I have to apply again next year and spend the year at home. It’s like the teachers here are used to seeing us

unemployed and loitering so they do not have a sense of urgency. In my case, my parents did not challenge the school for not sending the results in time. Another problem is that the teachers do not have their children come to the schools around here. They make sure that their children go to multi-racial schools that are well managed; consequently they really do not appreciate the problems that we experience.”

In the case of migrants, the situation is compounded by language difficulties and the parents' immigration documentation. Apart from worrying about what happens after grade 12, migrant pupils had the added worry of the possibility of being deported from the country without completing grade 12. Although South African schools do not discriminate against migrant pupils, Home Office officials sometimes visits schools to check the immigration status of children. Undocumented parents can be deported at any time. As a result, migrant pupils are constantly in fear of being deported. This explains why the migrant pupils' main focus during the interviews was on the impact on their education of their parents' immigration identification document status as well as on life directions after completion of grade 12. One student provided the following explanation of their concerns:

“Students whose parents do not have the correct identification documents are affected. They usually deport children from school. If they deport the parents, the children are usually left alone to fend for themselves in these communities. Also, as a migrant when you finish the metric, you cannot go for work or further education because the identification documents are not sorted out. It is difficult to feel settled and make real plans. Migrants bring their children here because there are free books plus cheaper school fees. So, the parents try to take advantage of this by taking chances in bringing their children to these communities even if they do not have the correct documents. Over 50 per cent of the migrant students here do not have the correct identification documents. Some of the children end up going back to Lesotho to look for work there.”

Interestingly, despite all the negative comments from the migrant children about living in the mining communities, some do not want to return to their country of origin. One grade 12 migrant pupil stated:

“I do not want to live in Lesotho. Life in RSA is better than Lesotho. In Lesotho there is no electricity, no hot baths and television. I don't think I can live there anymore. I just want to visit there.”

Another indicated:

“The Rand is stronger than the Mozambican currency. If I cannot get what I want, I will work hard to raise the money to undertake the course I want.”

It was also suggested that in addition to the home environment, the social environment in the mining communities had an impact on the transition from school to work. The general view was that the environment was not conducive to positive outcomes in relation to the transition from school to work. The main issues put forward related to lack of appropriate social infrastructure for the school children as well as the youth, and the subsequent activities that they engage in as alternatives. In addition, lack of appropriate role models in the area left the children with no one to emulate. The school children, especially the local school children, were very critical of the lack of facilities and the activities they get involved in as entertainment as a consequence. Despite being aware that using alcohol, drugs and excessive partying as a way of compensating for lack of facilities was detrimental to their development, they gave the impression that they had no choice but to be drawn into such activities. A local pupil made one significant statement illustrating the impact of the poor infrastructure when he stated:

“Teenage pregnancies have also increased..... The infrastructure here is poor; there is nothing for the youth here... We look at our environment and it is like we are not civilised. We are always discussing parties. We never discuss growth things. You see, we lack entertainment in this area. There are no parks, libraries, cinemas or anything like that; only taverns.”

In addition to these non-developmental activities, the local pupils explained that the children in this area were demanding, wanting to wear designer clothes. Some even refused to go to school unless they were given money or their parents provided them with such clothes. The female pupils were the most affected by this type of behaviour. One pupil’s statement summarises the views of most participants:

“Most girls do not complete their education because they prefer to live with boyfriends who promise them money.”

It was interesting to find that despite persistent reports of poverty, the pupils had sufficient money to spend on alcohol and parties to the extent that it became a problem. The explanation for this phenomenon was provided in one focus group, where it was reported that the youth and children finance their alcohol habit by using their lunch money.

In order to overcome some of these hindrances to the transition from school to work, the pupils were in total agreement about the need for role models. However, most participants were particular about the characteristics of the role models, indicating that they wanted people from their own areas as role models. They wished to understand how people improve themselves and become successful despite living in these communities. At the same time, most of the school children noted the difficulty of emulating the behaviour of those who had become successful from their areas. One student explained:

“If we had role models, it would be encouraging, but we lack them in our villages. We only see business people. We only see the end results when they come to show off with their Mercedes Benz and beautiful girls, but we do not see how they get there. ...It makes it difficult for the youth to emulate.”

This was echoed by another youth who explained that he once had the ambition of becoming a doctor or scientist but he later abandoned the dream because:

“I don't think it is possible now. I have never heard of anyone who has achieved it. This is more so in the case of being a scientist. I need to know the background of people who achieve these goals. I have given up. I don't want to think of careers anymore.”

Traditional role models such as parents, priests and community leaders were dismissed by the youth and other community members as being alcoholics and irresponsible.

Despite these comments, some of the pupils identified their role models. Interestingly, most female youths identified their mothers or other female professionals such as doctors, teachers and bank employees who worked in the communities as their role models. Mothers were identified as role models because of the role they played in raising the girls. The female youth expressed gratitude for the commitment of their mothers despite the absence of fathers. At the same time, they admired what they perceived to be lifestyles of expensive cars, large houses and high quality schools communicated by female professionals to their children as the attributes they wished to emulate. Both boys and girls said Mandela was their greatest role model. Boys identified rap musicians such as 50 Cent as their role models. The principal reason given for such role models was the rise to success of these musicians from very poor and difficult beginnings.

5.2 POST SCHOOL YOUTH

The experiences of these youth with respect to the transition from school to work were affected by several factors. In summary, these included education, job hunting and the world of work, which took into account infrastructure factors (environmental and employment) in the mining communities, work environment as well as external factors including family responsibilities.

5.2.1 Education

The focus of the discussion on education was on two main aspects of the impact of education on the transition from school to work: the inadequacy of education at schools in the mining communities; and the inequalities of further education. The discussion around the inadequacy of education at school concurred, to a large extent, with those points raised by the pupils except that the youth were recounting their experiences or were experiencing the effects of the inadequacy at the time of the

study. The local youths specifically stated that they were affected mainly by the lack of information about career prospects, job-hunting skills and language skills. This led to poor outcomes in the transition from school to work.

Those interested in further education reported experiencing numerous difficulties. The participants who contributed to the discussions included those who had failed to attend further education, those who attended but did not complete, and those who were currently in further education. The main issues raised relating to further education was finance and discrimination at the institutions.

Lack of finance played a significant role in both preventing the young people from attending further education as well as causing them not to complete their courses. Financial difficulties were also blamed for preventing full participation in college activities. The combination of lack of finance and information had an impact on further education attendance.

Around 40 % of those who participated reported that they did not bother to apply for further education. One local youth revealed:

“After completing Grade 12, I did not apply for further education because I feared that it would financially overburden the family despite being aware that it would put me in an advantageous position if I undertake further education.”

In one case study, a female youth indicated that she had achieved an exemption in her grade 12 results but she had been unemployed for two years since then. She explained that she would like to go onto further education to study tourism but she had been at home since finishing school due to lack of finance. The significance of this situation is that with an exemption result at grade 12, the government pays for further education expenses. She explained that she had not been aware of this and that her school had not advised her.

In some cases, in their attempts to acquire vocational education, young people undertook courses at unscrupulous colleges, only to be informed that their qualifications were invalid. Such waste of scarce finance and time was frustrating to the young people.

One female youth explained during a case study:

“In 2002 I started a General Health Care course that was financed by my husband. I passed well. However, I cannot get a job because the college that I attended was not a registered college. It was not registered with the Health Council. I have lost so much. It is my fault; I should have checked on this issue. I cannot do anything about it now. It’s such a waste of seriously needed money.”

During a focus group other young people complained that even training from the mining company was not transferable to other companies. One local young male explained:

“I also went to mining company to attend their MBA (Micro Business Administration) course. I got a certificate but I cannot do much with the certificate. I am trained as a trainer. It is just a certificate. I cannot do much with it now. I thought that the certificate would help me get jobs as a trainer. What was the point?”

The issue of identification documents impacts on most migrant youths in terms of their decisions to undertake further education. Only around 15 % of the migrant youths considered further education as an option soon after completing grade 12. The migrant students at further institutions were mainly those who were granted scholarships by the specific universities whilst they were in their own countries. Otherwise, most of the migrant young people expected their parents to pay for their further education, or hoped that the companies where their parents worked would sponsor them. It is unlikely that companies would sponsor the children of migrant employees in preference to the local children because such an act would be difficult to justify.

The combination of financial difficulties and discrimination at some of the reputable further education institutions had an impact on young people’s choices as to whether or not to complete

their courses. They argued that the reputable institutions used finance as well as language to discriminate against the black students. Consequently, many found it difficult to cope at further educational institutions in the North West.

Over 45 % of youths reported that although they managed to start courses, they were unable to complete them because their parents could not afford to contribute any more. Those at higher education institutions continued to find the issue of money hampering their progress because despite obtaining bursaries, their value was not enough to allow the student to participate fully in all university activities including basic needs such as accommodation and a subsistence income. One black university student summarised his experience by stating:

“Funding is a problem. We owe R2200 and my mother is a pensioner. We have been told that if my mother cannot pay, she will be taken to court. I do not understand why because we have promised that all will be paid. I get R13000 pa subsistence. This does not include accommodation. Now I do not know whether I will be able to write my exams because of the outstanding R2200. I have been told that my paper will not be marked. I may have to drop out. It affects my studies. I won’t be able to focus because of this. To make things worse, I heard rumours that the government is going to drop the level of bursaries. This affects the blacks. Added to this, there are further rumours that the university is going bankrupt. Consequently, they will not be able to help some of us students experiencing difficulties.... You see, there is a committee in the hostels that helps those who cannot afford food. The problem is that this system forgets those who live outside the hostels, who are mainly blacks. By living outside the hostels, these students do not have access to this food. Those who live in the hostels are mainly whites, and blacks find it difficult to stay there. The atmosphere in most of the hostels does not allow for blacks to stay.”

Another student explained that in order to survive at the university, she pools money with two friends so that they are guaranteed food every day. Sometimes, parents cannot afford to send money every week, so they cover for each other. One youth who had started a university course but failed to complete the third year for financial reasons suggested:

“The white universities do not restrict blacks, but the fees and lack of sufficient funding is restrictive for us.”

The university students echoed some of these restrictive factors. They explained that their ability to socialise with students was affected by their lack of funds. The black students reported that although through the bursary schemes and the bank loans they are able to pay for school fees and accommodation, it was not sufficient to cover all their needs. They were unable to participate fully in university life because they could not afford to pay for the social activities. Consequently, the black and coloured students were usually left out, missing opportunities to mix with their white counterparts. This situation affected racial integration at the university, as one black student explained:

“Blacks would like to relate to the whites but we find we are not able to stay in the same accommodation. We do not feel equal to the whites. For example, if you go to the students’ cafeteria and sit next to a white, especially the white girls, the white will get up and go away. When we walk in the university and pass the white girls, they behave as if they are scared. We are associated with negative things.”

As a way of explaining this continued lack of integration from a white student’s perspective, the white female student explained:

“I don’t think a lot of the white students care much about black students. Afrikaners do not want to go out of their comfort zone. For example, the Afrikaner students have black workers and we see them as our subordinates. So it is difficult to move on from that image of the relationship between the blacks and the whites. When we are here, we feel the same way about the black students.... I feel really bad about the stories I am hearing about the little amount of money that the black students have to live on. The money that most of the black students get is less than the pocket money my father sends me to socialise with other students.”

A former college student living on the periphery of the mining communities justified the college drop-out rate of black students by stating:

“Our poverty status impacts on integration... A lot of the black youth from this area drop out of tertiary education. They drop out because their world has been shaken up and opened up from a closed community, and it is a culture shock to realise that it is not friendly out there.”

The youth concurred with the school pupils that proficiency in English promotes a better transition from school to work outcomes. However, some of the youth found that having good English alone was not sufficient, especially in the reputable further educational institutes in the North-west. Two of the three major universities in the North-west Province where the mining communities are located use Afrikaans as a medium of instruction at undergraduate level. Black students attending the most prestigious of these universities felt frustrated, discriminated against and alienated because of the language policies at these universities. The following is a summary of some of the black students' frustrations:

“One of the main reasons why I do not like being here is the racism. In class the language used as the medium of instruction is Afrikaans. The lecturers do not translate some of the notes. We have to translate them ourselves. Photocopies of reserve notes are not in English but Afrikaans. I feel left out. But I have to accept it and cope.... Professors have to teach in English but I get the feeling that most can't speak English. It is not about not being able to understand but they do not want to learn... When it comes to the issue of language, it's frustrating. When I came to this university, I did not realise that it was an Afrikaner University. On entering the class, they told us that it was an Afrikaans university. They did not tell us when they were marketing the university that it was an Afrikaans university. It is a burden to us. For example, last week, we should have attended the committee that was supposed to be conducted in English. But there were whites there so they changed the language used during the committee meeting to Afrikaans. They drove us away because we were no longer able to participate in the meeting.”

Some students indicated that this might be the cause of what they perceived to be the high drop-out and non-completion of courses rate by black students at the university. Also of interest is that the schools in the mining communities did not offer Afrikaans as a medium of instruction. Consequently, the school children from those mining communities were disadvantaged from the outset.

5.2.2 Job Hunting

The youth shared a lot of their experiences of looking for work. In their view, this aspect contributed significantly to their transition from school to work. Although many issues were found to affect both local and migrant youths in similar ways, it would appear that local youths had more difficulties overcoming some of these experiences compared to the migrant youths. Again, the issue of identity documents appeared to constitute a significant barrier to the transition from school to work for migrant youths. The major factors associated with the job-hunting experiences included poor information infrastructure; poor employment infrastructure; youth attitudes to work and the type of work; and interview skills.

Less than 10 % of the youths reported having access to adequate information about job vacancies. All other youths described difficulties or reported no access to such information. The community members had limited access to information media such as the newspapers, Internet or local radios that advertise information about employment vacancies. The cost of newspapers, both national and local, was prohibitive. Access to computers for access to the Internet was non-existent, both in terms of home computers and Internet cafes or libraries. Generally, information about vacancies was gained through hearsay. Information about vacancies in the mining companies was obtained mainly through friends, relatives or more recently, the traditional authorities. The role of these authorities in employment is a recent occurrence prompted mainly by the realisation that there is a high rate of unemployment amongst local people and the sudden interest in mine employment by local people who had traditionally associated mine employment with migrants. The ultimate aim of the traditional authorities is to take over the role of recruitment into the mining operations. The reasons for this are to ensure that the authorities have control over the number of migrants employed in the mines and to ensure that the population from their tribe who own the land where the mines operate receive the jobs. Other strategies used to access employment information

included door-to-door job searching or involvement in voluntary work in the hope that they would be noticed and offered paid employment. The volunteer strategy stimulated a lot of anger and frustration amongst the youths and community members because few of the youths succeeded in gaining employment through the volunteer scheme. However, some youths, specifically migrant and local youths related to the traditional authorities, had positive experiences with a number of these information sources.

The following statements explain some of the experiences relating to vacancy information of the youth. One female internal migrant from the Eastern Cape, who had been unemployed for almost a year, despite having a diploma in Electrical Engineering, gave an account of how finances impact on job hunting by stating:

“I buy newspapers but nothing. I have a friend who works at the Electricity Supply Commission (Escom) (a major South African Electricity parastatal) and she gives me all sorts of information. I talk to people in and out of the field but still nothing. I even go to companies to look for work. I feel that since I have all the affirmative ingredients (a member of the (HDSA) (Historically Disadvantaged South African), i.e. black and female) you would think it would be easy. I sometimes think that I am not doing enough. But what is enough? Newspapers and telephones are not cheap. I have to depend on people for things from personal hygiene to hair products. It is really challenging. What is even more upsetting is that I do not get post-interview feedback from the companies that call me for interviews. At times, I feel that when I go for interviews, they already know who they are going to take.”

Despite these persistent negative outcomes, she was one of the lucky few able to be financially self-supporting and to facilitate an infrastructure for looking for work through telephone and other media access. Since her brother had a good job in the mining company, she assumed that this would give her an advantage. This case study is unusual in these communities because around 85 % of the youths interviewed did not have access to an information infrastructure and finance to look for work. The consequence of the lack of official and formal information and reliance on friends and family for updates on employment vacancies has resulted in widespread accusations of nepotism, bribery and sexual harassment as part of the process of gaining employment.

Observations by participants in general were that as a result, people in these communities were not prepared to share information. This is more the case with income-generating projects set up by the mining companies. It was observed that the traditional authorities, a few people linked to the mine and their relatives and friends had access to most of the projects that took place. This became so obvious that one frustrated youth member stated:

“The usual suspects are always involved in mine projects; they never pass on information to anyone else. It is difficult to know how they get the information. Once they get involved, you can be guaranteed that you will not get it. You cannot be part of the project.”

There were overwhelming reports about the practice of bribery by the mining companies' recruitment officials, who were reported to demand cash for jobs from men and sexual favours for jobs from women. Local youths stated that they were disadvantaged by this for several reasons: firstly, they did not have the money to pay for the jobs; at the same time, they sensed that the migrants benefited because they had access to money; secondly, they did not have sufficient networks within the mining industry and other employment situations to benefit from nepotism. A migrant youth explained how this practice of buying jobs benefited him in terms of getting the correct documentation and a job in the mining company. He explained:

“Last year, I started working in the mine. You see, in the mine, in order to work there you require a work number. One man was leaving and sold his number to me for R8000.”

Incorrect identification documents rendered it difficult for migrants to find employment. At the same time, the first generation migrant youths with South African identification documents reported experiencing difficulties finding employment outside the mining industry because their identification documents differed from those of South African-born youths. South African identification documents belonging to people born outside South Africa are different in colour from

those of South African origin. One self-employed migrant youth looking for formal employment explained how the issue of identity documents can lead to further problems when looking for work:

“On the one hand, white employers want to take on other white people, and on the other hand, black employers want to take people from their own tribes. You end up in no-man’s land. I thought that once I sort out my identification document, my employment problems would be over but that is not the case.”

Women have the added problem of having to endure sexual harassment for an employment opportunity. One youth explained that she was forced to leave her job because the owner of the business for whom she was working wanted to have an affair with her. She said that she was unable to go to the police about the issue because she did not think they would believe her.

Generally, the youth agreed that the form of social networks they enjoyed also influenced the type of information about employment to which they had access. Local youths tended to be negative about their social networks in terms of the transition from school-to-work outcomes compared to the migrant youths. Observations made during the fieldwork tend to concur with this view. For example, during a focus group of unemployed local youths, one female local youth who belonged to the same dance club as the other participants revealed that she would be attending college next year. She explained that she was given funding and would be undertaking a course that she wanted to do. She added that a grade 12 qualification rather than high grades were what was needed, which most of the youth in the group had obtained. She also told the group that it was not too late for them to apply and that she was prepared to give them the information. However, when I met her two weeks later and asked her if the others had received the information from her, she explained in frustration:

“No, no one asked. You know I did not expect them to. People here just want to complain. Anyway I will be going soon.”

It was not surprising to hear this because at the time of the focus group, no one showed any real enthusiasm for what she was saying. Similar views about local youths were echoed in another focus group when one youth stated:

“People here are impressed by labels, expensive beer, type of car and getting the best women. People are focused on pleasurable things despite not having the basic things. We are interested in the end result without really appreciating the work required to achieve what we want. I do not think that we would be prepared to wait to get these things. Even if we knew what we wanted, we are not prepared to wait. That is why there is so much thieving.”

An interesting observation is that although migrant youths are said to participate in alcohol abuse, their level of use is not perceived to impact on their work performance. This is despite the fact that alcohol is blamed for the high incidence of unplanned pregnancies and HIV/AIDS. The following quotation from a local youth summarises the level of the problem in the communities:

“Drugs and alcohol are the main business with the local youth. Peer pressure results in us using drugs. The drugs are sold amongst us.”

The migrant youths, especially those who arrived as young children, who socialised with other migrants, tended to identify less with these issues and appeared to shun socialisation with the South African youths. There are several reasons for this. Firstly, the migrant youths that migrated following their fathers to seek employment tended to be selective about those with whom they socialise; despite having learned the language, they do not integrate. One migrant youth explained:

“My social network mainly revolves around migrants. I do mix with local people but I am particular because it is important to mix with the right kinds of people. Most migrants discuss business issues and things that develop your life; I like that. Yes, some South Africans talk business. For example, the person who gave us the idea about the telephone business was South African but he does not live locally. Migrants my age talk business. We always talk about how we can generate business. Local people do not like foreigners. They call us “Muchangani” businesses. Most locals just want to be employed. They do not have the spirit of risk, a characteristic you require when you run a business.”

He added:

“At the same time, it is useful to associate with community members because they can help to promote your businesses by employing them as sales people.”

Approximately 80 % of the migrant youths interviewed who were employed or were running a business (mainly informal) echoed this view. They indicated that they preferred to socialise with other migrants because they learned more about improving their lives; moreover, they helped them to stay focused. Their view was that following the South African way of life was detrimental to the transition from school to work. Observations from the field research is that the lack of mixing with local youths was not simply the choice of migrant youths, but indicative of issues such as fear of being reported for having no immigration documentation, xenophobic tendencies by local community members and separate accommodation.

Closely associated with the issue of information infrastructure in terms of employment vacancies is the issue of employment infrastructure, which was viewed as poor. This was one of the major reasons put forward for the high level of unemployment in these mining communities, especially by local unemployed youths. In contrast, migrant youths, especially those who migrated to guaranteed employment and were employed or involved in some form of informal business, viewed this area as thriving with abundant opportunities. Unemployed migrant youths, especially those that migrated to seek employment through hearsay without pre-arranged contacts, concurred with the view of the local youths that the employment infrastructure in the mining communities was poor. Most of these migrant youths were usually in the process of relocating to other areas of South Africa. Female migrant youths tended to fall into this category and often were compelled to resort to sex work to survive. All female youths suffer doubly in terms of employment infrastructure in that firstly, the mining environment in South Africa is generally male-dominated in terms of employment opportunities; and secondly, the employment opportunities in the mining environment are limited.

Some comments by local youths about the limited employment infrastructure summarises the difficulties described during the study:

“The main employer in this area is the mine. You find people who are lawyers working in the mines underground. This is usually because people have to pay back their education loans soon after completing. There are so many teachers working underground... There is not much business to employ people in this area. Some of us are working in areas such as catering, which is 14-15kms away from here, cloth factories and car park meter reading and all these jobs are outside the mining communities... In this area, it is only the mining jobs that you can really try for. Other jobs are 15 to 20 km away from here. It costs R6.50 per trip. I have not tried there because of the travelling costs...around here we have the Chinese shops. But people do not like working for them because of the poor treatment that they give you. Some say that they even hit them. Also, they do not pay their staff on time.”

An internal female migrant explained what could happen when females migrate to the mining communities on promises of employment from friends. She used her own situation to illustrate the plight of most female migrants in the mining communities. She explained that she now works as a sex worker, which was not her intention when she migrated. She reported that she was invited to come to this mining environment by a friend, who informed her that there was an abundance of work. However, upon arrival, she discovered that there was no work. When her money ran out, the friend threatened to evict her and not to feed her unless she joined her in sex work. She explained that because she had no money and her family back in the Eastern Cape were expecting financial support from her, she had no choice but to conform to the friend’s wishes. Other youths concurred with her report, stating that a large number of young black local and migrant females get involved in sex work because of the lack of work or through the trickery of older women.

Emerging from the survey was the perception that local youths do not make use of the opportunities available to them, despite the high rate of unemployment, the reasons for which have been detailed above. Indeed, for some, this failure on the part of local youths helps to explain the success of migrant youths in gaining employment. The views from both the local and migrant youths were

that unlike migrant youths, local youths were particular about the type of work that they were prepared to do. Some statements from local youths included:

“Locals have better opportunities but they do not use them. The locals are not prepared to do anything that is not office-based; whereas migrants are prepared to do whatever.”

Unemployed youths blamed the social environment for their unemployment, as summarised by an unemployed male youth in the following way:

“We do not want to stay unemployed, but unemployment is high. The problem is the way we were brought up. The way we were brought up is not conducive to looking at the future. We are growing up in poverty with fathers who are always drunk and beat our mothers up. This shapes our attitudes in that you see no point in life and you see your life not going anywhere except the same road. There is no reason to make an effort.”

In contrast, migrant youths were not vocal about loss of confidence. Indeed, some were confident about the future despite some of the things they had to endure before reaching their current situations. The following statement echoes some of the attitudes of both employed and unemployed migrant youths:

“With regard to confidence, I can say I am confident because I know what I want. I know what I want to be and where I want to reach in life. I want to be an engineer or a nurse.”

Around 80% of the unemployed and around 5% of the employed local youths concurred with the view that there was a difference in approach to work between the local and migrant youths. A summary of this view was made by an unemployed local youth:

“Migrants are focused when it comes to their goals. They know why they came here. They fight for what they want. South Africans want to be fed. Migrants experience difficulties in their countries and are confident that they can find solutions to their problems when they come here to work.”

The employed youths did not completely agree with the view that only migrant youths have the “go-getter” attitude; they also wanted an acknowledgement that within the South African communities there were youths with the same attitudes.

Migrants justified the perception of having a “go-getter” attitude as the consequence of being in a foreign country. Most migrant youths regarded themselves and other migrants as independent. They explained that as migrant youths were in a foreign country at a young age, they had to fend for themselves at an early stage. Employed migrant youths suggested:

“We come from a land where people own their way of life. People there create their own opportunities. We are self-dependent.”

According to the migrant youths, local people have alternatives because they are in their own country and can therefore, depend on their parents, relatives or the government. In view of these factors, the outcomes of the transition from school to work for migrants are usually faster and more haphazard than for local youths. Other employed local youths suggested that some cultural factors could make it difficult for local youths to becoming independent of their families. They explained:

“Black South Africans start to be independent at a late age. Whites stay up to 21 years of age then a person becomes independent. At that age, people are expected to start their own life. The blacks are not like that. You are dependent until you marry. If you are not married then you need to own your own house.”

An unemployed youth added:

“We are spoilt because we do not have to face the consequences of our behaviour.”

Further observations reveal that this apparent dependency on the family may not be as it appears. In some cases, it can mean that the family is dependent on the youth, rather than the youth being

dependent on the family. The implications of staying at home are that the youths take an active role in educating siblings and other family matters. Local youths are of the opinion that migrant youths are lucky because they do not have to face some of the family responsibilities that the local youth have to.

Their view was:

“Even if migrants have to take responsibility for extended families, at least they get a breather because they are far from them.”

It was generally felt that the lack of independence and heavy responsibilities within the family make it difficult for local youths to choose the type of employment they would like. As a result, getting any job and earning money become more important than working towards a desirable job. Although the youths appreciate the need to take on these responsibilities, it does not prevent them from being frustrated and resentful of the social circumstances that prohibit them from pursuing their dreams.

Even if successful in overcoming the difficulties, the youths, especially the local youths, explained that they still experience difficulties with the interview process. The youths described issues related to lack of confidence in conducting successful interviews. Most of the unemployed youth had attended interviews but their rate of success was low. This was reflected by the number of desperate and demotivated youths anxious about the number of times they had been to fruitless interviews. Consequently, the combination of job-hunting costs and lack of job-hunting experience had worn them down to the point of abandoning the job search.

Language plays a significant role in terms of access not only to opportunities in schools and universities, but also to employment. The issue of language in South Africa, as well as these communities, is laden with political connotations. As a result, there appears to be contention

relating to which language should be used as a medium of communication within these communities as well as other areas that influence the transition from school to work. At the same time, language is used as a tool to discriminate against others. During the fieldwork, I experienced the extent of the political passion for the mother tongue; a local politician informed the youth to use their mother tongue during the focus group because this was what they had fought for as a nation. Interestingly, the politician was rebuffed by the youth for attempting to take over a meeting that was of no concern to him. He was informed that the youth needed this opportunity to practise English and that they were not interested in his desire for political gain. The youth explained that English was a medium of communication at most workplaces:

“Lack of proficiency in the English language is causing us to be unemployed. It is opportunities like this that we must take advantage of. Politicians just want to use us without helping us.”

The lack of consensus in relation to which language to learn would appear to be confusing the youth and in turn, impacting on their transition from school to work. The youth reported that they were meeting different language requirements in the different areas of their transition from school to work. Some companies demand that they must be proficient in both English and Afrikaans, whilst, at the same time, teachers appear to feel comfortable teaching in the local language. One local unemployed youth summarised why local youths believe they miss out on employment opportunities:

“Lack of belief in ourselves causes us to fear being laughed at; consequently, we do not approach mine management and other potential employers when we have creative ideas relating to employment or seek financial assistance for business or development projects.”

Most youths blamed the environment they lived in, suggesting that it eroded any confidence they had. An employed black migrant former student at the North-west University suggested that the reason one of his former classmates remained unemployed was lack of confidence. His comment was based on what he had heard to be the general view of employers about local black youths from

the North-west area. It appears that employers generally feel that local black students from the North-west lack confidence. He claimed that he also observed this lack of confidence in his South African friends and suggested that this might be a major reason for their failing interviews. He explained:

“Even employers comment that the black students from the North-west lack confidence and this is why they are not always successful in the transition from school to work. For example, my friend who was raised in this area has been unemployed for over a year despite qualifying at the same time as me. I can tell you issues of confidence have a lot to do with his employment status. He is not confident enough to leave this area and compete with others from the main cities.”

Unemployed youths and those in the final years at school expressed one of their main concerns to be related to being interviewed by white managers. They admitted to feeling more nervous associating with white people than with black. They suggested that there is a need for local youths to integrate more with white people. Despite these concerns, around 20% of the youths stated that they would not have any difficulties working as supervisors of white people. However, further probing revealed that none of the employed youths from the mining communities had supervised a white person.

Up to 90% of the participants regarded work experience to be a major barrier to the transition from school to work for most youths in the mining communities. Although appreciating that in some cases it is a necessity, most of the youth perceived it as a way of discriminating against the local black youths. Local youth reported that some of the jobs require 5 years' experience just to be labourer, with the length of experience expected continuously increasing. At the same time, it appeared to the local youth that migrant youth are able to secure jobs, especially in the mines, without this experience. Most of the unemployed youth strongly believed that lack of skills was the major reason for their being unemployed. However, it was interesting to note that when asked to state exactly what skills they lacked, they were unable to do so. The majority of the unemployed youths had no clear understanding of the skills required although they were definite about their not

having those necessary skills. As a result, the local youths were unable to challenge the employers' perceptions that they lacked the relevant skills or experience. One local youth summarised this in the following way:

“There seems to be a skills problem. We are not sure what skills we are supposed to have but what we hear is that we have no skills. We feel that skills have been used as an excuse for not employing locals.”

Migrant youths reported that they enter employment without any special skill and that to the best of their knowledge, training is given on the job. In some cases, the local youths have undertaken voluntary work to gain experience. On the surface, this would appear to be an ideal strategy; however, as indicated earlier, most youths report being exploited because they find themselves volunteering in some cases for up to five years with no offer of employment. Most of the youths were involved mainly in HIV/AIDS health promotion campaigns as well as providing home care for HIV/AIDS mine workers. Most of the HIV/AIDS voluntary workers were volunteering for the mining companies or Non Governmental Organisations (NGOs) that were subcontracted by the mines. Apart from the issue of not being offered full-time employment after long service as a volunteer, most of the youth complained of not being provided with adequate uniforms, food or transport money when undertaking this voluntary work. At the same time, if they did not fulfil their voluntary obligations, they reported being harassed by the mine officials responsible for the HIV/AIDS campaigns.

5.2.3 Experiences at Work

There was a variety of deliberations about the youths' experience at work from those who were currently employed and those who had been previously employed. Not all the employed youth were completely positive about their experience. Most were not happy about the discrimination they experienced at work, and others were critical of the attitude of the local youth towards employment.

Migrants appeared to be grateful that they were employed and looked positively at the opportunity to be in employment. To a certain extent, the migrants underplayed the negative aspects of their experiences at work.

In a case study, one female youth explained that on occasion, employers judge the person in terms of what they think the person needs, rather than remunerating according to the job requirements. She illustrated her point by reporting her own employment experience. She reported that she was dismissed from a job that she enjoyed for an unusual reason. She explained:

“I got a job as a driver after a long search. The job required me to drive for a white lady delivering flowers. I worked for her for about a year. However, she asked me to leave after she found out that a white guy was helping me with some of my domestic issues. She said that because of this, she did not feel I was sufficiently poor to warrant being employed.”

Most local youths felt that employers perceived them as being suited only for manual work with no dreams of earning more than the minimum hand-to-mouth pay. This has an impact on the jobs offered to the youth. The inability to choose the type of work is perceived to impact on job retention by local youths, the general view being that local youths work for a few months only before leaving.

According to local youths, migrant youths have no choice but to take every employment opportunity. The migrants acknowledge that they will take any opportunity, arguing that by so doing, they make important connections for better employment opportunities. At the time of the study, a significant number of migrant youths were undertaking self-employment projects in the communities, whilst others worked in the mine, taking advantage of career development courses offered there. One employed migrant youth explained:

“I work underground. I am currently undertaking a mining course at Technicon (Technical College). I have started Mechanical Engineering. When I started here, I had no experience. I

went through a three-month training programme when I started. I did not need special skills when I started working at the mines. I go to college twice a week. I go in my own time because I am not given time by the company. I also pay for myself. The agreement is that if I manage to pass, they pay me back. If I do not pass, they will not reimburse me. I am currently doing N1. The course for N1 takes 6 weeks. To be fully qualified, I have to do from N1 to N6. I need to change departments at work in order to get sufficient practical experience. You see, by doing this course, I am preparing for tomorrow. If I do well, I can get good promotion."

It appears that earning some form of income is of paramount importance for migrants, as observed by one migrant youth:

"In terms of employment, most migrant youth are quick to become self-employed."

This appears to be the pattern until they can secure formal employment. Migrant youths tend to focus on career prospects once they settle into a job by undertaking career development courses.

Most unemployed local youth stated that despite claims by the mining company that the health and safety levels have improved underground, their observations do not confirm this claim. Most local youth associate working underground with parents who die shortly after retirement from a mine-related illness. Apart from the perception of dangerous work in the mines, the mining companies are also perceived to prefer migrant employees because they accept low wages and other poor working conditions. Consequently, local youth feel that even if they were prepared to work in the mines, they would not be employed because they would demand their rights. They argue that migrants are preferred employees because they are desperate and neither know nor care about their rights.

Local youths employed in the mines reported that having qualifications did not appear to make a difference. Some reported that whilst the management demanded qualifications from black employees, they were aware of white employees who were appointed to high positions without qualifications. In some cases, youths reported having friends with degrees working as manual workers underground.

Employed and unemployed local youths agreed that whilst white management claimed that having more black people in management positions within the industry was an indicator of improvement in employment conditions, the local youths contended that the positions given to the blacks are merely window dressing. They claimed that the management positions occupied by blacks are diluted and powerless with no substantive decision-making capacity. Consequently, the local youth feel that the mining industry remains discriminative.

When asked why they do not undertake career development courses once they find employment in the way the migrant youths do, most unemployed youths with work experience in the mine explained that the work in the mine is too heavy and similar to hard labour, tiring them too much to be able to undertake any studies after work. Others claimed that the heavy nature of mine work explains the poor job retention amongst the local youth. One unemployed local youth who once worked for the mine explained:

“It is difficult to undertake skills development programmes once employed; we are too tired after the hard labour that we have to endure.”

Apart from having to endure hard labour and discrimination from white management, the youth reported poor support and harassment from black supervisors. The local youths argued that the black mine supervisors are not happy working with well-qualified youths or those undertaking career development courses because they fear being superseded by them and becoming their supervisors in the future. This is despite the youths having no guarantees of promotion after successfully completing the skills development courses.

Even in occupations outside the mining industry, the local youth appear to surrender to the perception that migrants have better skills. The local youth accept that migrants alone are able to undertake self-employment, as stated by one local youth:

“People from Mozambique and Zimbabwe are said to be skilled in many areas. They are able to fix cars, radios, etc. Therefore, they can open small businesses. The type of education that they get in their countries attributes to this. In South Africa, people do not get technical training.”

However, interestingly, some migrant youths claimed to have been given some business ideas (such as a telephone business) from local youths. Migrant youths explained that they employ local youths to undertake the marketing and sales because they know the language, culture and the people, despite the claim by local youths not to have appropriate skills. A group comprised of migrant and local youths concluded that:

“Lack of skills is not the real problem; it is the lack of interest. Skills require hard work, so local people are not prepared. Zimbabweans are naturally skilled and are prepared to learn. For example, despite being unemployed, South Africans are not prepared to work on the farms, even as a way of gaining experience.”

Other issues raised by the young people that bear similarities to those raised by the school children are linked to home life. Findings were that sibling relationships were based mainly on financial support in terms of school fees or in the case of the female siblings, support in childcare. Most of the local youths interviewed were either working towards or were currently supporting their siblings. The majority of the youth appear to have taken on a parental role. Even unemployed siblings reported being put under pressure to find employment to support other siblings. One unemployed married female youth reported:

“My brother has informed me of a job in the correctional services. He wants me to work so I can finance his schooling. He is in grade 12. My parents cannot afford to help him. He is 17 years old. He wants me to help him finance his grade 12 and further. My other sisters all have grade 12 but they are all unemployed. He can see that we are all suffering but he still expects us to support him.”

Settled migrant youths are usually expected to provide kick-start finance and support for newly-migrated relatives in addition to facilitating identification documentation, contacts for employment and business, accommodation and networks. These expectations have an impact on the transition

from school to work for the youth. The local youth claimed that these expectations impact on the choices they make in terms of the type of employment as well as career development because their focus becomes directed towards earning money rather than career development. The effect of this is that the motivation to find work is reduced. Those who are at work are frustrated and find it difficult to retain jobs. Migrant youths tend to cope better because the support they give to others is transient, and sending money to assist family and siblings at home is done at the working migrant's pace.

Most are expected to start looking for employment so that they can return the support received from their family by helping another family member. On the other hand, male offspring of migrant employees (who remained in the sending communities), although not dependent on their relatives for financial support, are dependent on male relatives for support on “*manhood*” issues. Migrant youths within the mining communities reported using the migrant networks for support. In fact, some reported that they had developed new kindred relationships with other migrants from their homelands who act as close relatives and provide the necessary support.

Like the school children, most local youths complained bitterly about the lack of support from parents. Most of the local youth complained of conflict with their parents on several issues. Firstly, most complained that coming from one-parent- families meant that they had missed out on support from both parents and other opportunities that they perceived to be gained from stable families. As one female youth stated:

“By the time I was 6 years old my mother had divorced my father and remarried. I went to school there until 1989 when my mother divorced. She divorced again a few years later and on all these occasions we were going backwards and forwards from new father to grandmother. Each time my mother divorced I returned to stay with my grandmother. I feel that these family issues affected my life because if two parents had raised me, they would have helped each other to raise the children.”

Secondly, the majority of local youths complained that it was difficult to relate to their parents about career choices. They stated that parents in the mining communities had very limited knowledge about the career choices available to their children. Most parents continued to base their perception of a good career for a black person on their knowledge at the time of apartheid. As a result, the parents would recommend and encourage the youth to pursue careers in teaching, nursing and police work. They indicated that if the youth contradicted their parents on these career choices and suggested careers in areas such as environmental studies or information technology, fields with which the parents were not familiar, there was usually conflict at home. Finally, the youths also complained that parents in these communities had abdicated their responsibility with respect to raising children, passing it on to teachers. During a focus group, one local youth summarised this observation by stating:

“Parents in these communities do not advise children against bad things; they rely on schools to discipline, e.g. alcohol abuse, prostitution and HIV/AIDS awareness.”

A migrant youth who felt that migrant parents were better than local parents evaluated local parents in the following way:

“For me, the mentality of South Africans goes back to the apartheid era. The whites oppressed parents of today’s youth. So they have the mentality of the oppressed. South Africans have the mentality of the oppressed. Migrants do not come here to take from the South Africans. There is no need for them to view the migrants as a threat. You see, the South Africans have to ask themselves how they recover their destiny.”

The oppressed mentality of local parents therefore, means that they cannot discipline their children.

5.3 CONCLUSION

In summary, Chapter 5 has reported on the issues felt by the youth and school pupils to impact on their transition from school to work. In most cases, the issues raised by local youth and school pupils related mainly to barriers to the transition from school to work. Although migrant youths and pupils also spoke about the barriers that they experienced, most of their responses were focused on how they worked towards overcoming such obstacles. The barriers to the transition from school to work identified related to both external (meso level and macro actors) as well as internal (micro) factors. The quality rather than the availability of external factors were viewed as the main source of such barriers. These external factors included the poor quality of education, mainly focusing on the curriculum, teachers, school facilities and the inadequacy of school equipment. Despite vehement complaints about the quality of education, migrant pupils appeared to cope with the negative aspects and achieve well. Environmental factors such as poor surroundings and home lives characterised mainly by single parentage or extended family upbringing affected the local as well as the migrant youths and young people. This impacted on the transition from school to work in terms of lack of support and guidance exacerbated by poor role models in the environment. Again, migrant youths and pupils, especially those who maintained contact with migrant communities and experienced limited acculturation, tended to have greater success in the school-to-work transition.

The youth gave accounts of practical difficulties with respect to job hunting. Issues relating to poor access to information about vacancies, prohibitive costs, nepotism, sexual harassment and racism all contributed to poor successful transition from school to work. Some of these prohibitive factors were also given as explanation for the low level of successful completion of higher education courses by most local youths in the area. Migrant youths tended to have greater success, and in their case, the discrimination and nepotism in the work environment appeared to work in their favour. An additional factor emerging from the research was the apparent difference in attitudes towards work

between the migrant and local youths. This view was reflected, and could explain some of the observations, by both the local and migrant youth and young children relating to internal factors such as migrants youths' image as hard working, motivated and generally more focused. In contrast, migrant youths concurred with the local youths' description of themselves as lazy, grandiose in ambitions, and interested in immediate gratification with poor insight into the future.

FINDINGS: NARRATIVES OF MESO AND MACRO LEVEL

ACTORS

CHAPTER 6

6.0 INTRODUCTION

Chapter 6 reports on the contributions made by the meso and macro level actors who influence the transition from school to work. Most of the respondents in this chapter represent institutions that were identified as contributing to the barriers to the transition from school to work. Although in most cases the interviews with these respondents were undertaken independent of the youth interviews, it is interesting to note that some of their responses mirror the responses of the youth, and in some cases appear to defend the institutions that they represent. This chapter presents the responses made by youth leaders, community adults and parents, teachers and employers on the transition from school to work of youths in the mining communities.

The structure of the chapter is in accordance with the sample groups from the meso level actors. The first section presents the responses made by youth leaders, which focus on youth and employment and the relationship between youth and community adults. The second section reflects on the responses made by community adults and parents. Their responses centre on the effects of schools and education, and the relationship between parents and the youth in the transition from school to work. The third section reports on the responses by teachers, who discuss how aspects such as educational facilities and equipment, attributes of school pupils and their social backgrounds impact on their experiences of the transition from school to work. The final section reports on the responses from the employers reflecting on the youth at work and issues determining the type of work that youth are employed to undertake. A conclusion summarising the findings from this chapter will be offered as preparation for the analysis chapter.

6.1 YOUTH LEADERS

The youth leaders were generally in agreement with the community adults' observations and to a certain extent, empathised with the experiences of the youth in these communities. At the same time, some were quite critical of the community hierarchy, specifically the traditional authorities, blaming them for creating barriers to the transition from school to work for local youths.

The youth leaders agreed with the youths about the difficulty in finding employment in occupations outside the mining industry. Most youth leaders encouraged the idea that local youths should look beyond the mining industry for employment. One of their main objections to the mining industry related to safety issues, especially in the underground mine, where most black people were employed. This view concurred with those of the general community as well as the youth. Poor working conditions were viewed as a significant factor that differentiates the transition from school to work between local and migrant youths in the mining industry. One youth leader explained this issue and also offered an explanation as to why migrants may not be concerned with such factors:

“Locals may not be intelligent but they are aware of safety requirements in the working environment. Local people have no problem with hard work but we want to work only if there are certain commitments that the company will meet. Underground mining safety conditions are not being met; as a result, the number of employees injured remains high. When people claim compensation from the mining company they are always told that they are not entitled to it because they knew that the area they were working in was dangerous and should not have gone there. Therefore, they are not entitled to compensation. So our people are not keen. Supervisors opt to say that local people do not want to work therefore prefer to employ migrant workers instead. Migrant workers do not have much choice but to accept the poor safety conditions as a normal part of their working life.”

Despite explanations like the above statement for poor uptake of mine employment by local youths, some youth leaders attributed this poor uptake to the attitudes and self-perceptions of local youths. Some of their views were that local youths lack 'self-knowledge'. As a result, these youths tend to imitate behaviour that is beyond their means and does not satisfy their requirements. This sentiment

echoed the views of some of the community adults. One youth leader described this lack of self-knowledge by stating:

“South African youths do not identify themselves with other Africans. They identify with the African-Americans who they perceive to have ‘cool’ lifestyles.”

Another youth leader attempted to explain this attitude by relating it to the political changes in the country. His analysis was:

“By the time we got our independence, we were all white. We adopted what we perceived to be the flashy side of the white people’s lifestyle. We adopted the White man’s culture when we lacked the equipment or the facilities to maintain the lifestyle.”

The youth leaders observed that the downside of this African-American identity adopted by the local youths has resulted in the loss of a sense of reality in their situations. The implication of this has been that the youth in the mining communities lack cultural guidance, which has resulted in their being described as uncontrollable in many spheres of life by parents, community leaders and other interested stakeholders in these communities.

6.1.1 Relationship between the youth and community adults

The youth leaders expressed strong opinions about the role played by both parents and community elders in the progress of the youth. Community elders in this case refers to those representing the traditional authorities, perceived by the youth leaders as having control of the general economic activities in the area as well as being the cultural custodians for these communities.

In terms of parenting, the youths suggested that the parents had either abdicated this role or had lost control. Some of the youth leaders provided interesting analytical appraisals of the loss of control and perceived abdication of responsibilities. The major explanation put forward related to the

differences in the socio-political experiences of the parents during the apartheid era and the experiences now enjoyed by the youth in the new democratic South Africa. These views are summarised in the following quotations from some the focus groups:

“Our parents lived in apartheid where they pushed to improve themselves but were stopped. The youth today use the new children and human rights laws and the parents do not use those principles. As a result, parents and children are not linking. Parents are seen as outdated. The young here have rights and opportunities but they feel desperate because when life gets difficult, there is no one to look up to. There are no real role models.”

Another youth leader illustrated the impact of the generation gap compounded by the differences in political experiences when he stated:

“I feel there are generation issues and it relates to the generation gap. The transition from parents to children (personal development) did not take place. Parents were taught things that I was not taught. I saw school as the answer to shaping me. But I did not benefit from social understandings of the issues that I was learning. I learnt the fashionable (Western) words such as jobs, engage in development but I was not taught what the job can do for me apart from feeding me. Issues such as self-actualisation never came into it. It was just about immediate gratification. I came out of school with no pride in the community.”

The youth leaders further described how this difference in thinking is reflected in the views of community leaders who have a responsibility towards community cohesion and development. Most youth leaders were very negative about the community elders although they respected the role that they could play in the life of youths. Some youth leaders perceived the community leaders as frustrating potential opportunities for the youth by dwelling on the past. One youth leader provided an illustration of the way in which the old mode of thinking could impede progress:

“I remember one of our community elders getting involved in some issues and maintaining the old way of thinking. There was a time when the local government was working on installing water in homes. This old man stated that this was not a good idea because it would spoil the children. He felt that people should continue to carry water from the rivers as this was character building.”

Another youth leader added:

“We also started a library but the community leaders became a problem and as you see, we still have not got a library.”

According to the youth leaders, these frustrations were not just limited to developmental projects, but to the development of the youth in terms of their abilities to use their talents. For some youth leaders this issue was at the root of all the problems relating to the transition from school to work for local youth. One youth leader illustrated the influence of the traditional authorities in this respect:

“The traditional authorities are still dwelling on our forefathers. They argue that elderly men are the only ones who can sit and discuss issues relating to community development; but that is not right because things are changing. We need to find a means to stimulate our young people to start thinking creatively if changes and development are to take place here.”

At this point, a comparison with migrants was made. The general sense was that the migrants did not have to deal with the controlling factors that impeded independence of thought. One youth leader stated:

“What I find in people from outside - they take pride in what they do. They study hard and so forth. Those taking up jobs around here do it because of the impoverished position they find themselves in; they come with the sole purpose of tapping into what ever resources they find to raise their families. South Africans are faced with not just being lazy, but thinking lazily. We are dependent on our parents. We become independent at the age of 35 years. People from other countries become independent at a much younger age.”

As a result of these factors, most youth leaders concurred with other groups that there are no role models in these communities. Indeed, they also observed that when someone does well, he/she leaves the community. One youth leader explained that people who manage to do well in these communities do not come back because they are too ashamed. He observed:

“A role model needs to be a member of the community. By giving back and taking centre stage, people are encouraged. We need people at churches and schools who can be seen as such. Currently, people who do well are too ashamed. They cannot bring their friends to these communities; its too undeveloped and dirty. The problem is that they come home and brag about their riches and buy people liquor. They are promoting a particular ideology, which is if you work and are successful, move away from your community.”

6.2 COMMUNITY ADULTS AND PARENTS

The main issues discussed related to schools and education, the relationship between the youth and parents, youth socialisation and youth experiences of work.

6.2.1 Schools and Education

Local community adults complained of insufficient numbers of schools in the area, causing school children to have to travel long distances for education. In some areas there were no crèches, which disadvantaged the children in their early learning skills. The community members also expressed dissatisfaction with the physical condition of the schools, stating that school children were unable to concentrate because they endured tough environmental conditions throughout the year. One community member during a focus group described these conditions in the following way:

“During the winter seasons the children suffer cold conditions from the wind passing through the cracked walls. In the summer they suffer from the unbearable heat resulting from the heat-conducting materials used to build the schools. These factors affect the concentration of the children.”

The local community adults, as well as the parents, also raised the issue of the medium of instruction at school. They stated that they were very keen for their children to learn English as opposed to Afrikaans. Their view was that the children would have better employment opportunities if they were proficient in English.

6.2.2 Relationship between parents and youth

Local community members were overwhelmingly concerned about the deterioration of the relationship between parents and the youth in these communities. Most local community members were of the opinion that parents in the communities had lost control of the youth, which was having a detrimental effect on the transition from school to work. Most of the blame for this deterioration was placed on the youth although some community members suggested that there were other factors that needed to be considered. Some parents even suggested that parents were to blame because they did not properly fulfil their role as parents.

An interesting reason suggested by parents for the loss of control of the youth was an exaggerated interpretation by the youth of the government's policy on human rights. One community member explained:

“As parents you find that the youth do not listen. They would rather go to the sheebins or beer halls. They tell you that they know their rights and in doing so, they undermine the parents. The reason why the youth say that they know their rights is that our government has given certain rights to individuals, especially the young, without really thinking about the implications. Now the youth are exaggerating things. As a result, there are constant conflicts between parents and the youth. I think the government is interfering too much in the way we bring up our children.”

Another reason put forward for the loss of control of the youth was associated with the parents' inability to compete with people who offer money to their children. Parents explained that this creates a challenge to them, especially with the female children, who were consistently being reported as seeking relationships with much older men for the money they could gain. One of the female business owners spoke of a young girl who committed suicide because her mother did not buy her a clothing item with a specific label. She said that most local parents were living with such threats hanging over them, making it difficult for parents to relate to the youth.

A further observation about the local youth was made by a business woman, who accused them of having closed minds, which impacts on their perception of the world around them. She stated:

“The youth here have no understanding of the world beyond the mining communities, therefore they have very limited and unrealistic ambitions. My niece is a very good example. Prior to going to the United Kingdom for two years, she was a problem to her mother, constantly demanding all these label cloths despite the fact that her mother could not afford them. Now that she is back her focus is on educating herself and making a better future for herself. She is very realistic now.”

Other community members did not totally blame the youth. Some blamed the parents for the poor relationship with the youth. The main complaint was that some parents were poor role models for the youth, they ignore the poor behaviour and activities of the youth, especially in relation to alcohol abuse and their lack of personal responsibility and self-respect. These accusations were mainly targeted at the men. At the same time, some of the women in the communities were blamed for setting up brothels and luring female youths into the business. A statement from one of the local women’s focus group highlighted this issue:

“There is a need for role models but there are none around. Parents need to lead better and more exemplary lives. If they do, they can become good role models. Currently, there are a lot of parenting problems that affect the youth; problems such as wife and husband fighting are rife. There are a lot of divorce and single parentage and these issues demoralise the kids.”

The relationship between migrant youth and their parents was not so clear-cut from the migrants’ point of view. However, local community members made a large number of observations about migrant parents and their children. The main objection of the local community members to migrants is their arrival in the mining communities unaccompanied. This leads to fraternisation with local community girls, pregnancy and then the need for the local community to raise the children when the migrants return to their families. In most cases, these children lack discipline and roam the streets. Another issue affecting both the local as well as migrant families is the HIV/AIDS pandemic, resulting in a high number of grandparent and child-headed families in these

communities. Although local children have access to support from the extended families, migrant children who lose both parents suffer from lack of access to social benefits. In addition, returning to their country of origin is sometimes difficult. Community members report that these children eventually become involved in criminal activities in order to survive.

Internal migrant women, especially those from Lesotho and the Eastern Cape, expressed a sense of hopelessness about their children being raised in the mining communities. One view put forward during a focus group was:

“We feel that we have not benefited from this lifestyle and do not want our children to go through the same thing. The biggest losers out of this lifestyle are our children. The children would have been better off educated back home. Now it appears that they are going to go through the same lifestyle as their fathers. Our children have no future.”

Some migrant men, especially those with children in the sending countries, agreed that their lifestyle in the mining communities denies them the possibility of watching their children grow up. For the majority, one return to their homelands per year is the norm.

In terms of youth socialisation, most community members were in agreement that alcohol abuse is the most serious negative behaviour among the youth. These negative comments were directed principally towards the local youths, with a few stating that alcohol abuse is mainly a migrant youth problem due to their access to money.

6.2.3 Work

Discussion of issues relating to work and the youth was varied, with a number of community members defending some of the criticisms made against the local youth. For example, most local community members disagreed with the perception that local youth are lazy and do not work hard.

They contended that this view is held by the mining companies, which they use to justify employing migrants rather than local people. The argument put forward in one focus group was:

“There is a problem with the people who hire at the mines. They have this belief that the local people do not like working underground and that they are not strong enough to do the hard work. As a result, the mine prefers migrants to work for them. That is a very wrong perception on the part of the mine.”

For some local community members, apartheid was still regarded as the way of life in the mining companies. According to these community members, the local youths find it difficult and too challenging to work with the white people on an equal footing. On the other hand, some community members echoed some of the views put forward by young migrants that local youth are particular about the type of work they do. This was seen by some local community members as detrimental to the transition from school to work, a view directed mainly at those who find glamour in voluntary work. One community member summarised this view in the following way:

“People here like to work in the office. They are not interested in manual work. Some are prepared to use their money to go and volunteer as long as they are seen in the office. In a way, it is not the migrants taking away the jobs but the volunteers. As long as the voluntary system exists, things will not be solved.”

Migrant youths were viewed as having an unfair advantage over the local youth. This was mainly in relation to the mining jobs. Community members echoed the sentiments of the local youth with regard to nepotism and bribery associated with gaining employment. This view was strongly voiced by a women’s focus group, where it was stated:

“They (the migrants) get jobs for several reasons; first, they are cheap labour, they have the money to pay for work and they have relatives who can get jobs for them. Migrant women are like us in that they have the same zero chances of getting work ... We should get first preference. In this place, to get a job, you have to buy a job. Migrants have money so they can buy for their relatives.”

Other community members were adamant that despite the nepotism and bribery in the mining industry, local youths just do not want to work. These members were of the opinion that local youths do not want to work as farm labourers as their parents had done. The youth would rather watch their parents and migrant youth work on the farms than be seen earning money as labourers.

One focus group provided a surprising insight into the differences between the migrant and local parents' contribution to the transition from school to work. Unusually, the focus group consisted of local and migrant community member participants. One particular dialogue involved the exchanged of views between a local and a migrant parent about their employment expectations for their children. In general, whilst the local parent wanted his children to move away from manual employment and mine work, the migrant parent wanted his children to follow him and to work in the mines. The following is an excerpt from the dialogue:

Local Parent: *“Youth working in the mining industry are abused. It is really not that good for them in the mining industry. You see, the mine operations are not that safe. There is methane and that is very dangerous. Youth should further their education and avoid mining.”*

Migrant Father: *“My father worked in the mining industry, I work in the mine and my children will work in the mines. At the moment, there is no abuse. If you want to work, there is no abuse.”*

Local Parent: *“I and the other gentleman work in different mines. I have examples of abuse in the mining companies. One man got expelled from one of the mines because he was not prepared to work in an area that was dangerous. There is competition in the mining industry. Some people are recruited from the taverns because some of these people charge money for jobs. Youths are not aware of what is happening there. But as a parent, I would tell my children and encourage them to do other jobs. There is no transparency in the mining companies. It's a shame we cannot take cameras underground.”*

Migrant Parent: *“If there are no more mining jobs, I would encourage my child to find another industry such as construction, but mining would be my first choice.”*

Local Parent: *“In fact, I would rather they went further with their education. I would prefer they work as nurses, police or teachers.”*

These expectations clearly have an impact on the transition from school to work of the youth groups in the mining communities.

6.3 TEACHERS

Generally, the teachers complained about the poor facilities and support that they received from the government departments. They explained that this had an impact on the quality of education they could deliver to the students and in turn, impacted on the transition from school to work. The teachers did not go into depth about their own educational needs but expressed their need for additional training in technical subjects relating to information technology. They also felt the need for more information about career opportunities so that they could pass it onto their students. The major issues raised in relation to the transition from school to work included educational facilities and equipment, school children and social background.

6.3.1 Educational facilities and equipment

The teachers confirmed the observations made by the community parents by repeatedly complaining about poor supply of educational equipment. In one schoolbooks were said to be in short supply to the extent that the teachers had to rotate photocopied materials amongst the students and teachers. One school principal summarised this predicament in the following way:

“The majority of parents relax because they believe the government’s promise that they will supply these things. Two or three students out of ten may buy some of the books but at most, we have to find ways of dealing with this very unhealthy situation. What we do in the main is to photocopy pages then take them back from the students after school. How is a child expected to cope under these circumstances and at the same time, be expected to compete in the wider world where some people go to well-equipped schools and are able to use educational materials at home?”

The teachers described the teacher-student ratio in all the schools as poor. One school reported that despite a 22-teacher capacity, the school had been operating with only 15 teachers. This was having

an impact on teacher-student contact, with some classes having 77 students. This situation made it difficult for the school to implement the new National Curriculum Statement, where students are expected to choose their subjects. A school principal explained the effect of this:

“The outcome-based education (OBE) has now been introduced here. This is difficult to implement because of the large class sizes. We should have a minimum of 30 students per class. In reality, we cannot maintain this target; we always overshoot it. You see, we cannot turn away any children; this is despite not having sufficient resources. This situation is not the result of shortage of teachers in the country, but the result of slow teacher allocation by the Department of Education.”

In addition, the increase in migrant students into the area accompanied by the government policy of non-discrimination against migrant children in schools places a further burden on already scarce resources. One teacher observed:

“We also have a language problem. For example, in a class of 50, you will find that you have Xhosas, Tswanas, Suthus, Mozambicans and Zimbabweans. How can you ensure that everybody understands what you are teaching, even if the medium of instruction is English?”

6.3.2 School children

The teachers had mixed views about the school children. However, most of their observations tended to coincide with the views of other participant groups. Generally, their views were that local youths lack ambition. One teacher suggested:

“Although some local youths have talent, they do not make use of their full potential because of lack of ambition or aim in life.”

In agreement with other participant groups, the teachers' views were that the impact on the transition from school to work is exacerbated by the local youths' questionable work ethics. According to the teachers, migrant youths have a stronger work ethic than local youths. One principal explained:

“Migrant children have a strong work ethic whilst the local youth do not have strong work ethic because they are too comfortable. Our learners are lazy and are not dedicated to their work.”

At the same time, some teachers felt that the grade 12 pupils were too young to take on the responsibility of making decisions about employment. They argued that the kind of background of the students renders it even more difficult for them to be prepared to make the right choices. One school principal explained:

“You can say that some (grade 12s) can make proper judgements depending on their background. Some can do so in relation to money. As a result, it can be difficult to ascertain when they are ready to be treated as adults. Some here are getting work because of poverty, not because they are ready for the job market. Our students are not ready for the job market. The type of qualifications they get does not result in them being ready for the job market, but to undertake further studies. The certificates that they leave with do not make them ready for other careers except labourers. The age at which they leave school combined with the certificate they leave with causes them to be unstable at work. They are just not ready to embark on the career of their choice. At the age that they leave, they are not mature enough to be creative in their approach to work and be left alone to cope with new work environment. They need a lot of guidance and support. This is the case, despite having some who attend school at the age of 29. There is a problem of behavioural conflict; some of the students are motivated but some are not.”

In agreement with the community parents, some of the schoolteachers felt that the school children are unprepared to compete equally in the commercial world, which is predominantly white. A school principal explained that local black youths experience difficulties associating with white people. He explained that local black youths do not have access to white people and like most black people in the area, still harbour the old mindset of regarding the white people as superior. To illustrate his point, the principal informed us of what would go through his mind if he were informed that there were some white visitors in his office:

“If I had come in and found a white person instead of you in my office, something would have rung in my mind. I would have worried and asked myself what have I done? Imagine I am the principal and I have such fear. What of the students going to meet white people for the first time when looking for work? It must be difficult for them and this may affect their chances of successfully getting through interviews.”

In the case of migrant students, the teachers indicated that although initially, they thought that language would be a barrier, this issue would resolve itself in time. Migrant students are mainly from Mozambique, Lesotho, Swaziland and Eastern Cape (South Africa). They normally experience language difficulties for the first three to six months; however, after that they are able to read and write Setswana. The general observations by the teachers were that students from Mozambique work hard with the support of their parents and move to the top of the class. The teachers reported that when requesting a discussion with parents about their children's progress, they find the Mozambican families willing to visit the school to discuss matters, while other migrants, namely those from Swaziland, Lesotho and Eastern Cape, are not as willing. Interestingly, one teacher observed that some migrant children raised by fathers in the absence of mothers tend to do well.

In contrast, some of the teachers reported that children from Lesotho find it difficult to request help from their fathers. One teacher explained:

“The fathers are not usually prepared to help. You see, quite a lot of them lack education and have language difficulties. Most people from Lesotho keep to themselves and do not mix. Subjects such as mathematics are difficult for them. So fathers may feel that coming to school to discuss their children and the expectation that they will help the children is a way of being judged. So they get embarrassed and respond aggressively. There is a lot of friction between fathers and children from Lesotho. When we send information forms home with the children, we have to translate them from English to Sesotho and Tswana.”

Another issue affecting migrant performance relates to the education policies of the country of origin of the migrants. Teachers reported that some migrant students do not access school at an early age in their own communities. Consequently, depending on the age of migration of the children, they can fall behind and have difficulty catching up with their studies. One teacher illustrated how they deal with such situations:

“For example, you get migrant children from the Eastern Cape starting school at 12 years old. What we do is that the child is assessed and from there, we identify what grade the child should start from. We aim to put them together with their age mates. The majority end up coping.”

Other factors reported by the teachers associated with education in the sending communities with potential effects on migrant education performance were the cost and the focus of education. One teacher explained:

“Schooling in Lesotho is cheap at the lower levels but it becomes expensive at the higher levels. So the parents bring them here for higher education. So that is why the language issue can be a problem. In Mozambique they have self-help education; this means that if a student is good at something, then the education system will focus on that subject for the child.”

In terms of educational performance, the teachers reported that most students generally pass their matriculation examination. However, they feel that the students could do better if there were no extenuating circumstances, some of which will be discussed below. The teachers reported the general pass rate for their schools to range between 69 and 79 %. One principal stated that in his case, the pass rate was decreasing. In one of the schools, of those who pass their matriculation examination, 20 % are accepted to Technical College and 2 % to university. One teacher observed that in their school, the girls excel more than the boys, with more girls than boys completing courses.

6.3.3 Social background

The teachers echoed the voices of other participants with regard to the detrimental social activities of school children and youth. They expressed concern about high school alcohol abuse associated with violence, sexual abuse, truancy and crime. Moreover, the issue of alcohol abuse was not just limited to the youth and school children; teachers and parents were also involved. In one situation, the school inspector reported that some teachers were known to have drinking sessions with the students, especially on day outings. One teacher stated that the wholesale abuse of alcohol by all groups in the communities makes it difficult to control and discipline children. To illustrate this point, one school principal referred to an incident that disturbed him:

“A student was caught drinking wine on one of the school outings. His parent was called to the school to help resolve the issue. Instead of helping to resolve the situation, the mother told the child off for drinking wine instead of beer. What can you do in such situations?”

Most disturbingly, alcohol as well as drug abuse, mainly cannabis, were reported also to take place at kindergarten.

Generally, the teachers were disappointed with the level of parental support for school children.

While in some cases the teachers blamed the parents for this, in others, they blamed the social and financial circumstances of the families. The teachers were not happy with the non-attendance of parents at school events. One teacher summarised the impact of this by stating:

“Most parents are not dedicated. We have organised workshops for the school governing body but they do not turn up. The performance is affected because the youth do not do their homework. They fail tests but the parents are not encouraging. When we call parents to come and attend events at school, invariably only 2 out of 10 parents turn up. We usually encourage parents to come and help with school activities such as cleaning up, etc. but they refuse. Even if you ask them to come and talk about the performance of the children, they do not come.”

A school principal also observed:

“School fees are R130 per annum (estimated £8.13). I am sure all parents can contribute if they put their mind to it but a high percentage does not because the parents are too poor or are not around. This is R11.00 per month. Parents are not prioritising. It is well known in these communities that Sunday morning is church time and the afternoon is time for alcohol. The parents here just do not have a culture of participating in schools. Another problem is that over 30 per cent of the parents are unemployed.”

Teachers also identified sexual abuse as being high amongst school-age children. They agreed with other participant groups that sexual abuse is linked to the high pregnancy rates; HIV/AIDS and school drop-out rates.

One school principal suggested that poverty drives some mothers to arrange relationships between their daughters and boyfriends or rich men in order to gain money to “survive”. At the same time, female youths are understood to be leaving school in search of “rich”, mainly immigrant, men and better lives. One teacher explained:

“What are they going to eat? So in the end, they protect the husband so they can continue to be supported. That is why most of our learners drop out. In other cases, the mother is staying with a boyfriend. The boyfriend abuses the mother and the children. We also get cases where the children are being forced to have sexual relationships with rich men. Last year, we had to talk to pregnant girls. Some are already living with boyfriends. All we can do is to talk with them and call their parents. We only get hearsay. It is difficult to get the truth out of the girls.”

Another teacher explained that the family circumstances of the children make it difficult for them not to be caught in such detrimental situations. The teachers reported that most of their school children come from one-parent families, are looked after by other vulnerable relatives such as brothers/sisters, grandparents or have no one. One teacher summarised this observation by stating:

“Most of our learners are orphans. Relatives such as grandparents, sisters and/or brothers help to take care of the young ones. In the case of migrants, their relatives usually take children away. We have had one case where a child did not have a family. One teacher took the child. We have had one case of student death from HIV/AIDS. We counselled the children without talking about HIV/AIDS in respect of the child.”

The teachers agreed with other participant groups that there are no role models in the communities for the youth to emulate for a successful transition from school to work.

6.4 EMPLOYERS

The main issues discussed related to youth attitudes towards work, qualifications and skills, and type of work. Responses tended to concur and confirm some of the views stated by other participants.

6.4.1 Youth at work

Most of the responses about the local youth were negative. However, some of the responses were useful in providing an explanation of the reasons behind some of the negativity towards how local youths in relation to work.

Mine recruitment officials concurred with the view that migrant youths tend to be hard working whilst local youths take every opportunity to avoid working underground. Other employers within these communities appeared to have the same perceptions. A migrant mechanics company owner explained that he now has to recruit youth from Mozambique because he has been disappointed repeatedly by the local youth. The main difficulty with the local youth is that they are not reliable. He reported that it is always difficult to know whether they will present themselves for work. At the same time, employing migrants from Mozambique is also difficult for several reasons, which include issues of immigration documents and complaints from local people about non-employment of local youths. To overcome the immigration documentation problem he reported having to pay the police to protect his property from local people. He highlighted his powerlessness to deal with the complaints of local people, who once shot at his house and injured him to show their displeasure. An Asian shopkeeper who employs local youth stated that he finds it useful to employ local youth because they know people and the language. However, he was very critical of their performance, stating:

“South Africans have no passion for the way they work.”

A local manager for a construction company complained, stating:

“The traditional authorities force us to employ local youth but we have to suffer the consequences. If you rely on local youth to get the job done, you will regret. Most of them are asleep on the job by 10 am. It is hard because they report you if you employ migrants.”

Mine recruiting officers added further to this negative attitude towards employing local youth by stating that the youth are unreliable and have poor job retention records. One officer stated:

“The youth here will only work 6 months. They see R6000 in the account and get excited, disappear from work and come back when the money is finished for their old job. In addition to this, some youths do not turn up to work on Fridays and Mondays. Friday is the day they start drinking and Monday is the day they recover from withdrawal symptoms. They soon become unemployed because of absenteeism.”

Whilst not denying the observations about the local youth, other employers, especially mine management, provided an explanation for the described behaviour. Some senior black mine recruitment officials explained that motivation to work in the mines among the local youth is influenced by two factors, namely the experiences of their mine-employed parents and the family responsibilities that they have to carry once they are employed. The officials argued that these issues have a negative impact on the local youth with respect to work in the mines. A senior mine official asserted:

“The youth see the mining industry as their future and all they see is a down trodden father in dirty overalls who works unsociable hours, does not bring much money home and whose only outlet is alcohol. Consequently, they bunk off school and look to the mine to employ them with this perception of the mining industry. There are very few local black people who occupy decent positions in the mine that would motivate the youth. The perception of the mining industry is one where black people work hard and are underpaid. The mining industry is not for educated people and very few women.”

In addition, the youth lose interest in work because they do not enjoy the money that they earn as long as they have to look after other family members. Although migrant youths experience the same difficulties, the changes they experience as a result of being employed have significant effects on their lives. Indeed, some migrant youths regard as positive the experience of being in the mining communities.

6.4.2 Type of work

Interestingly, the employers raised the issue of the type of work offered to black youths impacting on the transition from school to work. Although most of the contributions were from participants from the mining companies, their varying views are worthy of note. Contradicting some of the observations by the teachers about the differences in academic performance between the local and migrant youths, a white mine manager suggested that local youths do not want to work in the mines because they have qualifications. At the same time, he confirmed other participants' views about the stigma towards mining when he stated:

“It is also difficult to employ from local communities because of the stigma attached to mining. Mining is labour intensive. People prefer to work elsewhere. Academics prefer elsewhere. It is difficult to get the local youth to look at mining. We have a few local young people with extraordinary qualifications.”

Others, including a black manager, took the view that the mining industry promulgates the attitude that certain jobs are for blacks and others are for whites. This point was made in relation to the mining companies' announcement that the mines intend to work towards employing local people rather than migrants. His view was that there would appear to be a problem with the definition of migrant employees:

“The company is also moving away from employing migrant labour and focusing on local labour. The problem is when the company is talking about stopping migrant labour they are talking about the black manual labourers. Top management who are mainly British and American do not appear to count themselves as migrants. They talk as if local black people are incapable of being more than just mine labourers.”

6.5 CONCLUSION

In summary, this chapter echoed many of the issues raised by the youth groups in Chapter 5. Interestingly, the stakeholders were not prompted to discuss these issues as a way of responding to the experiences reported by the youth groups but were raised under their own volition. In most cases, the comparisons made between the local and migrant youths continued to place the migrant youths in a better position in terms of their transition from school to work. Despite factors such as poor environmental conditions at school, within the communities, at work as well as at home impacting on all youths, migrant youths were perceived to cope better than the local youths. There was a tendency by both local and migrant stakeholders to be more negative about the local youths than migrant youths. However, this does not necessarily mean that the local stakeholders admired the migrant youths. Indeed, in some cases the local stakeholders, in addition to expressing hostility towards them, tended to feel sorry for them. Migrants were perceived as disempowered, with limited abilities to make choices about the transition from school to work in terms of the type of work they do and opportunities for undertaking higher education. Migrants were viewed as being more vulnerable to exploitation than local youths and as impeding the local people's fight for better working conditions in the mining environment.

The relationship between the community adults, other stakeholders and the youth was highlighted. The political transition currently experienced by the country and mining communities contributed immensely to the stakeholders' impact on the transition from school to work. Whilst local community members, specifically local teachers and parents, wished the local youth to benefit from the opportunities provided by the current political climate, they were disempowered to do so. These community members and stakeholders were discovering the ambiguous nature of the new political challenges manifested in the poor relations between community parents and other stakeholders on the one hand, and the youth on the other. The parents and teachers felt that this period provided

them with opportunities to support the youth in achieving more than they had achieved during the apartheid system. However, they felt unable to support them due to their own poor economic, educational and social conditions. The community members were frustrated and felt in conflict with the youth, whom they should be supporting, when dealing with the racial, cultural and ethnic discrimination experienced at work.

For the migrants, the political change has meant that they are able to move away from the mining compounds and expand both in terms of their businesses as well as their living in the communities. Most are able to have their families within the mining communities, something that was difficult during the apartheid era. Although facing hostilities in some cases from the local communities, most migrants remain focused on supporting their children into some form of employment. However, the migrant mothers expressed regret, indicating their fear to be that their children will follow the same paths as their fathers; working hard but with no control over their destinies. Their views tended to echo those of local parents, who were concerned about their children as achieving nothing greater than manual labour.

In general, this chapter has been concerned with the wishes of community members for the youths in the mining communities and their experience of constraints in their attempt to support them.

DISCUSSION

CHAPTER 7

7.0 INTRODUCTION

The findings chapters highlighted rich data related to the experiences of both youth groups in terms of the transition from school to work in the mining communities. In summary, the findings revealed that the experiences of youths in the mining communities reflect the environment in the mining communities. Poverty and the lingering political economic history of the mining communities, in addition to the dynamics of an environment responding to national and global political economic changes are major factors impacting on the transition from school to work. As a result, the experiences of the youth in the mining communities are multi-faceted and greatly influenced by the integration of the micro, meso and macro level policies and actors. The findings revealed the challenges faced by youths in the mining communities in consolidating their aspirations and realities of the mining community environment in relation to the transition from school to work.

In short, issues at the micro level revealed aspects related to the decision-making process of youths in their transition from school to work. The meso level reflected on the impact on this transition of the support networks and infrastructure of the mining communities, taking account of institutions such as the family, community leadership, educational institutions and employers. The macro level issues drawn from the findings illustrate that despite macro policies set up to support an effective transition from school to work, the youths continue to experience difficulties. Therefore, in general, the findings illustrate how poor integration between the three levels of analysis contributes to the negative outcomes of the transition from school to work. The anxieties expressed by a youth whose ambition is to become a scientist can help to illustrate how poor integration between the micro, meso and macro levels of analysis can impact on the aspirations of youths in the transitions from school to work within the mining communities.

At the micro level the youth aspires to be a scientist. The youth's anxieties about whether he can become a scientist or not are not only based on his abilities but on the lack of information and support relating to being a scientist. The youth lacks information about the qualifications and subjects required and the career prospects in addition to what being a scientist entails.

The poor and inadequate capacity of meso level institutions and actors in the mining communities such the social networks, education and infrastructure such as schools and information structures play a major role in his anxieties and feelings of hopelessness about his chances of being a scientist. As indicated earlier schools are ill equipped with the necessary learning equipments such as books, computers and appropriate science and laboratory facilities. This is in addition to the inadequately trained teachers who have limited knowledge about employment opportunities. By not providing the necessary support and guidance the poor integration between the meso and micro is highlighted as a major factor in the youth not realising his aspiration.

Despite the macro policies such as the OBE system and the MPRDA (2004) set up to improve the abilities of the historically disadvantaged blacks in achieving their employment aspirations, poor capacity at the meso level impacts on the effective implementation of these policies. Chapter 3 section 3.4.2 illustrates how issues pertaining to capabilities at the meso level have rendered the OBE system ineffective and in turn negate the youth's opportunity to be a scientist. Therefore it can be argued that poor integration between the micro, meso and macro levels have a negative impact and outcomes in enabling the youth achieve his aspirations despite South Africa and the mining communities having favourable policy objectives. All these factors ultimately negate the abilities of the youths in the mining communities to make informed and effective decisions about matters pertaining to the transition from school to work.

The findings reveal issues that are general to all youths in the mining communities. At the same time, they raise issues pertaining to different categories of youths, which will be referred to later in the discussion. In light of this, the present discussion will employ the following definitions to define the different categories informed from the findings. 'Local youths' refers to Tswana youths of South African origin in the North-west of South Africa. 'Internal migrant youths' refers to youths from other parts of South Africa who are of South African parentage. 'External migrants' refers to youths from outside the borders of South Africa. 'External migrants from traditional sending communities' refers to migrant youths born in Mozambique or Lesotho. 'External migrants from non-traditional sending communities' refers to migrant youths from all other countries. 'Second generation migrant youths' refers to youths born in South Africa but from external migrant parents.

To gain a deeper insight into why migrant youths appear to have better outcomes in the transition from school to work than local youths, the chapter will draw on the findings. To this end, the discussion will initially explore the issue of youth empowerment in relation to the transition from school to work. The influence of the environment on integration and its impact on the transition from school to work will be explored. Integration in this environment plays a crucial role in terms of choices as well as benefits from social capital. The discussion will then consider the environmental issues with which the youth have to grapple in the school-to-work transition. The role played by institutions in the mining communities in this transition will be discussed, taking account of institutions such as the family and schools. Aspects relating to the world of work and the labour market will be explored to illustrate the environmental factors at work in the mining communities that impact on the youth. The youths' responses to these factors will also be examined. Issues relating to policy will be discussed, focusing upon the impact of the gap between policy and practice on the transition from school to work. The chapter will conclude with a summary of the issues raised. The discussion will draw on the theories discussed as the theoretical frameworks in chapter 3 and aspects of Bandura's role modelling and Berry's acculturating concept as a way of

providing an understanding of the experiences of the youth in the transition from school to work in the mining communities.

7.1 YOUTH EMPOWERMENT

The issue of empowerment is key to the transition from school to work. Empowerment factors impact on the outcomes in terms of how they inhibit or promote the factors influencing the transition. This section focuses on the impact of the empowerment issues raised in the findings chapter of this thesis on choices and decision-making processes relating to the transition from school to work of the youths in the mining communities. To this end, the discussion firstly, provides a general overview of empowerment issues related to the youth in the mining communities. Secondly, a discussion of how empowerment issues impact on the different categories of youths in the mining communities is made. Thirdly, an analysis of empowerment issues relating to women in mining is provided, illustrating how female youths are affected. The rationale behind sub-dividing the youth groups is that it provides an understanding of how issues of entitlement resulting from aspects such as ethnicity, migration status and origin impact on empowerment in decision-making on issues relating to the transition from school to work.

7.1.1 Overview of youth empowerment

Lack of empowerment in decision-making was a major influence in the outcomes of the transition from school to work in this study. Empowerment, relating in particular to choice of career or general post-school direction, was viewed as lacking in the study. Interestingly, not all the youth groups in the study understood or perceived empowerment or disempowerment from the same perspective. Generally, local and second-generation migrant youths expressed a general awareness of disempowerment in terms of their ability to make decisions and choices relating to the transition from school to work compared to the first-generation migrant youths. Further analysis in this

discussion will challenge this view by stating that migrant youths, especially those working in the mining industry, may be equally or more disempowered than the local youths. This aspect of the analysis may help to shed light on why migrants appear to have better outcomes in the transition from school to work than the local community members.

Findings reveal a difference in approach in relation to what constitutes “*the transition from school to work*” between the local and migrant youths. Understanding the differences in approach to this aspect is crucial to understanding the impact of the poor resources in the mining communities on decision-making pertaining to the transition from school to work for the relative groups. In short, it appears that the local youths’ approach to the transition takes into account a wide spectrum of factors including issues relating to career prospects, conditions of service, quality of life and equal opportunities. It would seem that local youths have a stronger sense of being marginalised and excluded, and are far more sensitive than the migrant youths to these issues within both the labour market and the political arena. In contrast, Migrant youths appear to focus more on economic factors associated with the school-to-work transition. The question therefore, is how do the differences in approach impact on empowerment and, in turn, on the transition from school to work for these youth groups? The following section discusses empowerment issues related to the local youth.

7.1.2 Local youth

In terms of empowerment, local youths appear to be more disempowered in terms of making decisions relating to the school-to-work transition than the migrant youths. Throughout the study, local youths expressed their inability to make these decisions. This inability was manifested through various ambiguities observed in the local youths with respect to their behavioural response to work. Local youths were negatively portrayed by most community members and, most significantly, by the local youths themselves. In their defence, local youths openly acknowledged their lack of

confidence, anxieties about the world of work, and their sense of hopelessness, portraying themselves as less capable than their migrant counterparts. As illustrated by comments such as:

“migrants are go getters who work hard to get what they want”.

And that, migrants get better results than local students:

“...its like they have extra classes or they have something special in their breakfast”.

At the same time, they appeared to have more awareness of the infringements of their rights by the employers and what they perceived to be the continuation of exploitation and marginalisation on grounds of race in the work place. In contrast, other community groups, especially the migrants, regarded their response to these ambiguities as being a love for flamboyant lifestyles, a lack of ambition and excessive pride. The love for the flamboyant life is associated with the South African youths' emulation of the black American R&B lifestyles reflected in their love for labelled cloths. As illustrated by several comments made by South African youths and community members such as

“People here are impressed by labels, expensive beer, type of car and getting the best women. People are focused on the pleasurable things despite not having the basic things”.

Both parents and youth representatives reported the negative outcomes of the flashy lifestyle aspirations as manifesting in suicides by some youths and involvement in prostitution especially by the female youths. The suicides are usually the result of anger against parents who fail to provide the youths with the relevant money to purchase cloths with special labels.

Access to the global world through media such as the television and the radio, the rich lifestyles of the white communities and the influence of migrants from other countries encourages the local

youths to share the aspirations common amongst the youth in industrialised countries. Conversely, the semi-rural social and economic structures as well as the poverty of the communities in which they live constrain their ability to make informed decisions about what they can become as they make their transition from school to work. The local youths also experience a gap between ideology, aspiration and their social realities brought about by the current politico-economic transition of the country. This transitional phase has resulted in significant importation of western concepts that the black mining communities are currently incapable of realising. Consequently, the local youths respond to a multitude of expectations without the tools to fulfil such expectations. Apart from their own expectations, the local youths are pressured by global and national expectations. In addition, they must cope with the expectations of their parents and community members in a day-to-day reality that cannot facilitate cultivation of such aspirations. This incongruity impacts heavily on their aspirations in their transition from school to work. An acknowledgement of this was made by a South African youth who stated:

“We are interested in the end result without really appreciating the work required to achieve what we want...that is why there is so much thieving.”

Another comment to this effect is:

“We adopted the white man’s culture when we lacked the equipment or the facilities to maintain their lifestyles.”

The above observations concur with the capability approach’s notion of ‘combined capabilities’, where it is suggested that to secure capabilities, it is not sufficient to produce good internal states of readiness to act. It is also necessary to prepare the material and institutional environment so that people are actually able to function (Nussbaum, 2000). The local youths lack the capabilities to make informed choices and become successful in the transition from school to work because they live in deprived communities that have a dearth of information infrastructure and facilities that could enable them to engage in the kind of imaginative exploration required to make informed

choices. Even where the youth are able to make informed decisions relating to what career path they want to follow, the comments by some youths illustrate that meso institutions such as schools and disempowered parents can impact on the outcome of the transition from school. As in the case of one youth who had passed her exams and offered a place at college but let down by the school who did not send the results to the college in time and disempowered parents who did not challenge the school for not sending her results in time.

The political changes in South Africa have opened up opportunities and freedom for the local youths, of which mining communities are not ready to take advantage due to lack of capabilities. Consequently, the outcome of the transition from school to work for the local youth reflects not their choices, but the limitations caused by the realities of the South African mining communities. Several local youths indicated that despite obtaining sufficient grades to attend further educational institutions most did not complete their courses because they could not cope with the change in lifestyle that they experienced at the higher educational institutions. As one former college student who dropped out of college expressed:

“Our poverty status impacts on integration at college. A lot of the black youths from this area drop out of tertiary education. They drop out because their world has been shaken up and opened up from a closed community and it is a culture shock to realise that it is not friendly out there.”

This presents an interesting contradiction between the aspirations and behaviour of South African youths. On the one hand they appear to aspire to live the white man’s world as indicated above but when they find themselves in that world they find it too challenging for them to cope with. This is further illustration of lack of informed choices faced by the youths in the mining communities.

These factors leave the youths in these communities with limited resources to shape their futures. Consequently, anxieties emanating more from the local than the migrant youths is sensed constantly throughout the study.

From Freire's perspective, the local youths' awareness of being exploited could be construed as progression towards being empowered. For Freire, liberation dialogue presupposes action, which is lacking in the local youths. They are aware that they are being exploited by the employers but they do not have specific actions to overcome this. This type of situation is the prompt for Freire's supposition that the lack of conviction about their liberation creates the danger of slipping back in their quest for transformation and becoming slaves of others' aspirations for them.

7.1.3 Migrant youth from traditional sending communities

Migrant youths from traditional sending communities feel empowered because the majority are either employed or involved in some form of self-employment. Most of the employed migrant youths from these communities were employed as labourers in the mine underground with no prospects of promotion beyond supervisor, just as their fathers before them. In contrast, the migrant youths who set up small businesses were able only to trade in the poor mining communities with no prospects of expansion to the more affluent areas where the mine management do their shopping.

It could be argued that migrant youths are economically empowered because they are more affluent than the local community youths. However, from Freire's (1998) perspective, these migrant youths are not empowered because they have not recognised their employers' exploitation of them. Adopting Freire's perspective, it could be argued that migrant youths from the traditional sending communities are not conscientised about the need for empowerment. Freire (1998) suggests that ignorance and lethargy as a result of economic domination keeps these migrants from being

critically aware of exploitation. In addition to these issues, some research findings have shown that employment in the mining industry does not necessarily mean empowering economic capital for migrants. Ulicki (1999) found that in many cases, contract workers barely made enough money to feed themselves, let alone support their families. Such findings go far in confirming some of the observations by local youths that employers in the mining industry are exploitative and some migrants succumb to the exploitation because of the type of employment contracts into which they enter.

From the capabilities approach perspective, it could also be argued that these youths experience capabilities deprivation because by focusing exclusively on being employed as labourers in the mining industry, these youths are disempowered from fulfilling their potential if they utilise the resources available to them (Sen, 1999). The migrant youths have very limited choices because the sending communities, the mine employers as well as their parents expect them to follow their fathers into the mining industry. Interestingly, migrant mothers perceive their children to be disempowered as a consequence of following their fathers. Alternatively, if the analysis draws on the push-pull migration approaches, migrant youths could be considered as being empowered because the cost benefit analysis that they had undertaken prior to migrating would have shown that moving to the mining communities in search of employment was more advantageous than remaining in their region of origin.

Consequently, on the basis of Nussbaum's (2000) list of capabilities, they have no control of their environment. A significant aspect of this study is that some of these youths were not aware that they could make choices beyond the mining industry or even recognise the level at which they were being exploited. Therefore, they lacked the capability to aspire beyond the established historical transition from school to work. As a result, they were unable to use their creativity to reach their full potential in relation to their transition from school to work.

7.1.4 Migrant youths from non-traditional sending communities

The number of migrant youths from non-traditional sending communities has increased since the advent of democratic South Africa. The political turmoil in neighbouring countries such as Zimbabwe (Jacobs, 2008) and the opening up of opportunities resulting from eradication of the apartheid regime in South Africa has significantly increased the number of sending communities into the mining communities. In comparison with migrant youths from traditional sending communities, migrant youths from non-traditional sending communities may appear more empowered in terms of making informed decisions about their transition from school to work. The study found that the capabilities of migrant youths from non-traditional sending communities with respect to the transition from school to work were relatively complex. Despite appearing as if they are empowered to make informed choices, illustrated by the variety of activities in which they become involved as part of their transition from school to work, they may also be considered to be disempowered. Furthermore, although migrant youths seem to make long-term plans rather than focusing on the immediate gratification associated with the local youths, issues related to ID documentation and poverty force them to make contingency plans. The study revealed that whilst these migrants seemed uninterested in working in the mining industry as labourers and more interested in establishing businesses, in reality, most were waiting for opportunities for regular employment with the mining companies.

Poverty in these communities makes it difficult for most self-employment ventures to develop into sustainable businesses; consequently, the majority of migrants entering into such ventures ultimately live from hand to mouth. If they eventually secure employment in the mining companies, they are guaranteed regular income, despite the exploitative nature of the working conditions as perceived by the local community members. At the same time, it is interesting to note the impact of globalisation on the activities of migrants into South Africa. Peberdy and Rogerson (2003) found that entrepreneurship amongst migrants in South Africa appears to be gaining momentum as an

alternative source of employment. Their study found the majority of the migrant respondents to be pursuing futures as small-scale entrepreneurs. Less than 50% were interested in finding formal employment and less than 5% were actively seeking employment. 29% said that they had entered into business. This concurs with Brilleau *et al.*'s (2005) findings, namely that the informal sector plays a significant role in job creation in the African context. These findings could explain the attitudes of some migrant youths towards the transition from school to work where their focus is more on self-employment as opposed to formal employment.

Bloch (2005) concurs with a number of the findings within these communities that some of the migrants who migrate to these communities for economic gains are highly qualified people working in occupations substantially below their level of qualification in the country of migration. This means that the oscillating migrants do not make free choices with regard to migrating or the transition from school to work. These migrants may have internal capabilities in the sense that they are able to be creative and use their imagination through the education that they have attained. However, they do not have combined capabilities. The external conditions as stated by Nussbaum (2000) prevent them from remaining in their countries, force them to migrate. Once there, the institutional conditions such as migration policies compel them to seek employment in occupations that are below their level of qualification.

7.1.5 Women in mining

In this study gender divisions with respect to disempowerment were evident and had an impact on the transition from school to work for female youth from both the local and migrant groups. The historical nature of the mining industry renders it male dominated to the extent that mining management complained that they would not be able to employ the required female quota of 10% by 2009 (MPRDA, 2004).

One of the major reasons put forward to justify the expected difficulties in this regard relate to the lack of suitable facilities underground, such as female showers and toilets. These considerations, together with other health and safety issues, were put forward as justification for not employing women. Poverty as well as the single sex hostels synonymous with South African mining communities have historically been associated with women undertaking sex work (Schoofs, 1999). The capability of making decisions for both local and migrant female youths about their transition from school to work was generally more affected by family poverty through the females being used as tools for poverty alleviation (Nussbaum, 2000). Both the local and migrant youths fail to lead the kind of life that they value, and at the same time, lack the dignity that enables them to make the decisions they would like in relation to their lives. This was clearly illustrated by the female student who became tearful during her case study interview.

Although some female youths boasted of having fashionable clothes given to them by wealthy older men, family and environmental poverty impacted on their capacity to make decisions relating to the appropriateness for them of that particular life direction. Indeed, most female youths claimed to have little choice in this respect. Consequently, the level of disempowerment for the local female youths is not only the result of their being taken advantage of by older men, but also the consequence of poverty in the environment and within families.

Paradoxically, it can be argued that the policies designed to empower women in the mining communities may further disempower those very women. Lack of institutional capabilities to evaluate and monitor the effectiveness of these policies on the part of the mine authorities as well as government officials has left women in the mining communities vulnerable to abuse from officials responsible for recruitment. Although the setting of targets for the empowerment of women such as the MPRDA (2004) is a positive step, recruitment officials have used desperate women to demand sexual favours.

There is increased competition for the few jobs available for women. This is the result of a combination of factors; firstly, poverty in the mining communities, especially amongst women who lost their livelihood in agriculture due to the ever-expanding mining operations, without compensation of alternative employment or livelihood (Packard, 1989); and secondly, the push by mine management to meet the MPRDA (2004) targets. At the same time, the excitement amongst women in the mining communities at the prospect of a degree of control over their lives through access to employment has resulted in a rush for the few available jobs, which has led to the abuse of power by recruitment officials. Consequently, instead of empowering women in the mining communities, these policies have inadvertently left them disempowered. Furthermore, those who manage to gain employment expect to be required to offer some form of sexual favour. Such expectation impacts on the dignity of women living within these communities employed in the mining sector because there is always doubt about the authenticity of their employment. This has a significant impact on the capabilities of women, which has far-reaching consequences in the communities extending to domestic relationships and health (Nussbaum, 2000).

Migrant female youths, especially those whose migratory process was based on the push-pull model (Massey *et al.*, 1993,1994; Castles and Miller, 2003), reported that their cost benefit analysis made prior to migrating was based on incorrect information. The limited employment opportunities for females as well as the poverty in the mining communities make it difficult for the migrant female youths to fulfil their original plans. This group experiences contradictions in terms of empowerment for the following reason: whilst the cost benefit analysis calculated pre-migration was intended to be empowering, the post-migration experience is disempowering as most reported having to resort to sex work initially to survive and to support the family left behind in the sending communities. This finding concurs with that of Schoofs (1999). Drawing on the capabilities approach, it could be argued that the migrant female youths may have capabilities in terms of skills and knowledge to

become involved in the activities to which they aspire. However, the external environment, such as poor information infrastructure, poor employment opportunities for women and poverty, impede their chances of fulfilling their aspirations.

With respect to public policy, it is important to appreciate that empowerment is more than simply imposing politically correct policies. It is also concerned with imposing and supporting those policies with the capability to implement them as well as monitoring and evaluating their impact. There appears to be a substantial gap between policy, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies in the mining communities.

7.2 INTEGRATION

The issue of identity played a significant role in the transition from school to work in this study for both the local and the migrant youths. The factors impacting on the identity of the local youths were mainly related to the way they responded to the national and communal political transitional period. Identity in the case of migrant youths was influenced by factors such as the stage of migration, age of migration and the political changes taking place in the communities. Furthermore, this study has demonstrated a significant correlation between factors already mentioned and the type of social networks available to the youths with respect to identity and its impact on the transition from school to work.

The discussion on integration will be presented in accordance with the different participating youth groups. In view of this, initially considered will be integration issues related to the local youths. Second-generation migrant youths will then be discussed. This will be followed by consideration of integration issues related to internal migrants. The approach to the discussion on external migrants will be discussed, taking account of the background relationship between the country of origin and the mining communities. In view of this, the discussion on external migrants will consider external

migrants from traditional sending communities before exploring the integration issues of external migrants from non-traditional sending communities. Finally, undocumented migrants will be considered.

7.2.1 Local Youths

The general view among participants was that local youths have adopted an African-American identity rather than an African one. Several groups within the communities perceived the adoption of this identity by local youths in a negative way. Migrant groups regarded this as illustrative of the South Africans' sense of superiority over other African people, and as their attempt to separate themselves from what they perceive to be the negative image associated with being a black African. Other local community members saw the adoption of this identity as being unrealistic and disruptive to the transition from school to work because the expectations were based on aspects of life that they did not understand or could not attain. As one participant stated,

"We were white before we were independent".

This notion suggests that being like the white population or behaving like African Americans would be the ultimate life goal and a sign of success. By adopting the African-American identity, striving to be like the white population and shunning other black Africans, it could be argued that these youths confirm Freire's (1996) suggestion that the oppressed see their model of manhood in the oppressor.

At the same time, the idea that the local youths only superficially understand the African-American's way of life concurs with Sen's (1999: 6) views of the level of deprivation of the African-American in comparison with low per capita countries. Using the same analogy, it may be

argued that despite living in the richest country in the region, the South African blacks' level of deprivation may be worse than that of the people from the neighbouring countries, whom they shun.

Use of Nussbaum's (2000) classification of capabilities may help to gain an understanding of why the African-American image may contribute negatively to the transition from school to work apart from the effect on role modelling. The economic and political transitional period being experienced by South Africa has created opportunities and promises to bridge the gap between the rich and the poor. This, in turn, has enabled the youth to have aspirations that other generations in the mining communities were unable to have because of the restrictions imposed by the apartheid regime. The current generation of youth is able to aspire to lifestyles of which previous generations were deprived. However, the aspirations that they have aimed for are misinformed and far too grandiose for the environment in which they live. According to Nussbaum's (2000) capabilities classifications, in order to achieve this lifestyle, the youth must have combined capabilities.

The youths in the mining communities are unable to develop combined capabilities because the poverty there impacts on the promotion of internal capabilities (such as education or training) and the poor external institutional and material conditions. The reality is that the lack of information compels the youth to identify with the artificiality of the glamorous side of the African-American lifestyle. Consequently, they lack capabilities related to practical reason in this aspect of their image. Indeed, by working with false or mis-informed realities, the youths in the mining communities are not able to satisfy their full potential within the framework of the resources available to them. This impacts heavily on their expectations of their transition from school to work in terms of the type of employment for which they aim, their potential income as well as the buying-power of their earnings. Some of this is evidenced by reports that local youths tend to work for short periods; once they have earned some money, they spend it extravagantly. It could be argued that the type of social capital of these youths impacts on their self-image.

7.2.2 Second-generation migrant youths

Second-generation migrant youths born in the mining communities were found to have the most significant identity concerns. They were torn between their South African and their migrant community identities. Although these findings concur with the work by Tonks and Paranjpe (1999), namely those who migrate at an early age experience fewer difficulties integrating into receiving communities, the present study has revealed that this group might experience acculturation stress that is not necessarily categorised in the same way as the other migrant groups. In view of this, the discussion of second-generation migrant youths will focus on how their integration strategies impact on identity.

Despite assimilating and identifying with the South Africans, some of the youths reported using the assimilation acculturation strategies as a survival technique. The assimilation strategy was used to gain acceptance and to avoid being marginalised through the xenophobic tendencies both in these and in the South African communities (Danso and McDonald, 2002). At the same time, the second-generation migrants assimilated to the extent that they also marginalised and practised xenophobic tendencies against other migrant youths and in turn on the transmission from school to work.

This behaviour supports the results of Gelderblom and Adams (2000), who found that those who migrated at an earlier age were hostile to new migrants, adopting xenophobic attitudes towards them. However, the level of xenophobia in the South African mining communities compromises the level of assimilation as well as the advantages that are expected from this strategy. It is questionable whether assimilation strategy is internalised since these youths report living two lives. Second-generation migrant youths tend to have similar experiences to those of the local youths.

The issue of ethnicity and tribal origins tend to take precedence in the labour market, and this impacts on the transition from school to work for the second-generation migrant youths. This group of migrant youths may identify with South Africans, but the South African youths do not identify

with them. This is reflected in the exclusion tendencies in the labour market towards second-generation migrants. It may be concluded therefore, that second-generation migrant youths are doubly discriminated against in the transition from school to work because in their attempt to integrate into the mining communities, they lose their allegiance to both the migrant communities and the local communities. As a result, second-generation migrants lose support and are marginalised, to a certain extent, by first-generation migrant youths, who no longer identify with them. At the same time, local youths do not fully identify with them because of differences in ethnicity.

7.2.3 Internal Migrants

Despite being of South African origin, internal migrants tend to suffer similar marginalisation to those suffered by second-generation migrants. In terms of their integration into the mining communities and its impact on the transition from school to work, the cases of internal and second-generation migrant youths are not simply about how they perceive their own identity, but how others perceive their identity. It is therefore, possible to have two integration strategies for one situation. The two strategies in this situation are one of assimilation on the part of the second-generation and internal migrant youths but marginalisation by the host communities. Consequently, despite assimilating into the mining communities, the second-generation and internal migrants continue to experience integration anxieties that further impact on their transition from school-to-work outcomes.

7.2.4 External migrants

Several factors influence the integration outcomes adopted by first-generation migrants. Some of these influences include age of migration, length of stay in South Africa, type of networks (Woolcock, 2001) as well as the reasons for migration. Identity and integration of migrant youths in the mining communities are not homogenous amongst the different migrant groups in the mining

communities. The different migration as well as the integration models adopted by migrant groups and the resulting identity also impact on the transition from school-to-work outcomes. In all of these aspects, the types of networks formed have great influence on how they cope with the conditions in the mining communities, which ultimately impacts on the transition from school to work. Most of the migrant youths experience both bridging and linking social capital.

Migrant youths who had contact with their sending communities or socialised with other migrants expressed fewer identity issues than the other youth groups. Interestingly, whilst local youths' and second-generation migrants' identities appeared to be in conflict with the cultures of their parents, first-generation migrant youths tended to identify more with the cultures of their countries of origin.

7.2.5 Migrants from traditional sending communities

The migrants whose migration model was based on the historical structural approach, specifically from Lesotho and Mozambique, tended to adopt a differential exclusion or separatist integration approach. The bonding social capital formed by these migrants was inclined to be limited to only people from their countries of origin. Moreover, as most tended to live in hostels, opportunities for integration with local communities or other migrants were very limited. The migration process for these youths was usually oscillatory and the age of migration was normally as young adults. In most cases, the youths from this group maintained their identity and tended not to learn the local languages, including both English and Afrikaans. Gelderblom and Adams (2000) suggest that identity is not only a reason for people remaining in one place; it can also be a reason for their migration, as in the case of committed Zionists who migrate to Israel. Migrants from traditional sending communities to the mining communities may have the same commitment to the mining industry, for livelihood provides the greatest definition of their identity. The pathway to the transition from school to work therefore, was predestined for these youths as working in the mines as underground workers. The national contracts between their country of origin and South Africa

(Crush, 1997), in addition to their embodied social capital manifesting in parental expectation, encouraged this predestined pathway.

Most of these youths worked as contract workers, relying heavily on relatives or their kinsman to secure employment for them. Such reliance is despite the existence of contracts between South Africa and their countries of origin in relation to mine employment, giving them an advantageous position with respect to securing employment and the transition from school to work. These contracts and the way the migrants have come to rely on them also place them in a disadvantaged position compared to other migrants as well as the local communities. As discussed earlier, in terms of capabilities, dependence on the mining industry has jeopardised the opportunity for youths from the traditional sending communities to grow towards other horizons in line with the demands of globalisation. On the other hand, on the basis of Sen's (1999) concept of culminating outcomes, the migrants in this position may argue that the means justifies the end. It would be possible to make sense of this argument if the migrants from this group showed that they had developed beyond their dependence on the mining industry. However, generation after generation have continued to use the same exploitative pathway into employment. The fact that this situation continues post-independence, where opportunities have opened up for them to work in less exploitative employment, can be viewed as confirmation that this group of migrants lacks capabilities to choose beyond the traditional migratory movements. To a certain extent, this confirms Gelderblom and Adams' (2000) suggestion that livelihood may define the identity of these migrants. Consequently, the transition from school to work continues to be predestined and lacking in imagination for these youths (Nussbaum, 2000).

7.2.6 External migrants from non-traditional sending communities

This study has confirmed that the migration process by migrants from non-traditional countries has become more imaginative, concurring with the findings of Crush (2003). The political freedom in

South Africa and recent political and economic upheavals in neighbouring countries coupled with globalisation have led to an increased variety of migrant groups and migrant activity in the mining communities. This has had a profound impact on the migration process, which has progressed from the historical structural approach to the push-pull then to the migration systems approaches. The cost benefit analysis has progressed from wage differentials (Castle and Miller, 2003) to business potential in the mining communities (Crush, 2003). Macro factors such as the comparative price of education and political stability have also contributed to the migratory decisions to move into the mining communities, especially from neighbouring countries such as Zimbabwe. In short, what has changed from previous migratory movements into the mining communities is that migration is no longer only based on the demand for capital (Sassen, 1988). As a result, movement into the mining communities is now based on more than simply seeking work in the mining industries or responding to organised migration.

Improvements in telecommunications have strengthened the social links that are maintained between areas of origin and destination areas. Castles (2002) suggests that this has transformed the nature of migration, particularly international migration. In the past, migrants had the option of choosing between permanent migration and assimilation in the country of destination on the one hand, and a period of temporary labour migration with no possibility of assimilation, on the other. Castles (2002), Portes (2000), and Brettell and Hollifield (2000) suggest that now there is the third option of transnational communities where people maintain extensive economic, cultural and social links between their country of origin and the country of destination to the extent that they can be regarded as citizens of both countries. The effect of this in cultural terms is that there is more fluidity and possibility of identity formation that go beyond mere assimilation or encapsulation.

The implication of the political changes in the migratory movements to the mining communities is that migrants are no longer relying exclusively on hostel accommodation, but are now living

amongst the local communities. Consequently, there is more integration between migrants and local community members (Hanman, 2004). Globalisation has seen an increase in migration into the mining communities from non-traditional or non-neighbouring countries such as Nigeria, Somalia and China. This background has had an interesting impact on identity and integration, and has a bearing on the transition from school to work for migrant youths. This has resulted in a high rate of oscillating and undocumented migrants into the mining communities. This situation has had a dichotomous impact on integration and, in turn, identity. On the one hand, the oscillating migrants integrate into the local communities by learning the language, living amongst the local communities by renting from community members or building temporary shacks within the communities. Conversely, undocumented migrants are marginalised by the circumstances of their migration status, and practice separatist integration strategies.

The interaction with local community members is motivated by the reciprocal nature of this relationship. The oscillating migrants receive patronage from community members for the businesses that they set up whilst the community members receive rent from the migrants. Indeed, the oscillating migrants and the local community members have developed an economically dependent relationship that has enhanced the integration process between these two groups. The resulting linking social networks from the integration process have had a positive influence on the transition from school to work for migrant youths. They have been able to gain a deeper understanding of the environment in which they undertake their business, enabling them to be more creative in their entrepreneurial projects.

Identity for these migrant youths has remained tied to the country of origin because of the links with that country through remittances to family members as well as business links between the country of origin and the mining communities. Despite having integrated with local communities, their level of integration strategies is based on the benefits obtainable from the relationships. These migrant

youths appear to have reservations about the quality of the social capital from the local communities, their being of the opinion that local community members, especially local youths, lack entrepreneurial qualities. Therefore, these youths identify more closely with other migrant groups, or link up with networks from their country of origin.

7.2.7 Undocumented migrant youths

The increasingly open entry doors into South Africa have unwittingly resulted in a rise in undocumented migrants in the mining communities. Some undocumented migrants use the circulatory migration model and adopt two identities. This particular model is adopted because lack of migration documents makes it difficult for the migrants to cross borders without the risk of deportation. By not having the correct migratory documentation, the migrants are forced to adopt two identities; one that represents their country of origin, reflecting their perception of themselves; and one adopted to avoid being detected by local communities and the police. As with second-generation migrants, undocumented migrants assimilate in order to avoid detection, but at the same time, distance themselves from potential access to officials who may scrutinise their identity documentation. This has a serious impact on the transition from school to work for these migrants.

On the other hand, there are other undocumented migrant youths who do not assimilate and largely interact with migrants from their country of origin. Theoretically, the migration systems approach best describes the migration process of undocumented migrants because their decisions are affected by micro and macro factors. However, in terms of the integration model, these migrants adopt a separatist integration strategy, spend considerable time hiding from officials and being suspicious of new faces and community members. These migrant youths rely heavily on bonding social capital to secure employment. As with the undocumented migrant youths who assimilate, these migrant youths are limited to occupations where scrutiny of documents is not strict. This has an impact on their pathway to the transition from school to work, as they are forced to take any type of work,

mainly contract or seasonal work in the surrounding farms. The more entrepreneurial of these migrant youths set up informal businesses, where they trade within the migrant communities.

Undocumented migrants may have basic and internal capabilities developed from their country of origin (Bloch, 2005), but their combined capabilities are negated by lack of correct immigration documentation, which prevent them from exercising functions with these basic and internal capabilities. Inability to control their environment, through their disenfranchisement, results in exploitation by employers, community members as well as other migrants who know that this group of migrants will not complain due to their inadequate immigration documentation. Inability to affiliate with other community members means that they are limited to bonding social capital. Identity for this group remains attached to the country of origin. The social capital available to migrants is not necessarily positive because on occasion, it can be both exploitative and competitive due to the limited number of jobs not requiring stringent immigrant status checks.

The lack of correct immigration documentation exacerbates the social exclusion and marginalisation experienced by migrants, who already suffer from the negative effects of xenophobia in the mining communities. All of these factors impact on power relationships and on the capabilities that impact on the transition from school to work for migrant youths. Ultimately, these migrant youths are unable to realise their full potential because of migration policy restrictions, which invariably contribute to the factors that influence the identity of migrants.

7.3 ENVIRONMENTAL FACTORS

Most of the changes generated by the political changes in South Africa have been aimed at providing equality for the blacks in terms of their political and economic participation. However, this study has found that the opportunities brought by the political changes, to a large extent, are

inaccessible to the youths. Although poverty is the major factor for this inaccessibility, it is worth noting that poverty itself is the result of other factors unique to the South African mining sector characterised by lingering non-institutionalised apartheid doctrines. This study has exposed issues relating to exclusion, discrimination, and marginalisation of the black population in the mining communities that continue to exist despite the removal of the separate development policy that had encapsulated the apartheid system. In light of this, the present section will discuss the impact of racial relationships with respect to the transition from school to work. The aim of this section is to attempt to shed light on the factors influencing the transition from school to work as well as to determine the nature of the youths' response to the factors impacting on their transition from school to work.

7.3.1 Racial Relationships

Both local and migrant youths have found that in order to a secure successful transition from school to work, they have to assimilate into the dominant economic culture in the North-west region of South Africa, which is the Afrikaans-speaking white population. This creates difficulties and a multitude of issues related to exclusion, marginalisation, discrimination as well as extensive inequalities against both the local and migrant youths. Although the purpose of the political changes was to secure racial harmony amongst all South Africans, this study has found that racial relationships continue to create significant problems for the local youths. It could be argued that the type of inequalities experienced by local and migrant youths concur with Bourdieu's (1986; 243-244) notions of embodied, objectivity and institutional cultural capital.

Local and migrant youths lack both the embodied and objectified cultural capital required for positive outcomes in the transition from school to work that reflect their aspirations. Aspects such as race, language and lifestyle work against the black local and migrant youths in the mining communities because they constitute the main variables used by the dominant culture to dominate

other groups in the South African context. Although the government has put forward policies that encourage inclusion of blacks in the labour market, the government does not own the means of production to effectively implement these policies. Analysis of the findings of this study reveals that poverty impacts heavily on the cultural capital. This influences the transition from school to work for local black and migrant youths to fully integrate successfully in the world of work. Numerous examples were provided by youths relating to the way in which poverty was a tool used to exclude them from university activities, culminating in some of the students dropping their studies. This reflects Bourdieu et al's (1992) notion of the process of self-elimination in which the black youths drop out because they realise that they do not speak sae language as the educational system. The dominant white Afrikaners use their access to embodied, objectified and institutionalised states to exclude the black youths.

The study has also shown that in general, the persistent racially based economic gap has made it difficult for youths in the mining communities to achieve both embodied and objectified states to effectively integrate in the work place. Embodied capital based on race cannot be learnt because it is not possible to change racial origin. This contradicts Bourdieu's (1986) postulation that an individual can learn embodied capital by investing time into self-improvement. Consequently, this has perpetuated the separation between the black community members and the white communities. In turn, this maintains the power differentials existent during the apartheid era. The effect of such racial separation has been that only a few blacks from the mining communities experience positive outcomes from the transition from school to work. Those who succeed do not return to the mining communities, the effect of which is the creation of stagnation in the process of embodied capital for those remaining in the mining communities. This has a significant impact on the bridging social capital available to youth in the mining communities in terms of their progression from school to work.

In addition to race, the white population with the economic power use language as a tool for maintaining their dominant status. Although this is an embodied state that can be learnt, the study found that the institutionalised state in the mining communities makes it difficult for the local black youths to improve their language skills. Most youths interviewed required interpreters to participate in the study. Although most were able to understand the questions, they did not feel confident to respond in English. The dominant group takes advantage of language as a way of marginalising the local black youths by demanding that all job applicants speak both English and Afrikaans. Unfortunately, this poses difficulties for the majority of youths in the mining communities because they are not taught Afrikaans at school. Furthermore, the racial separation in the communities means that they do not interact with Afrikaans-speaking people, exacerbating the mutual fear between the two groups. Therefore, black youths are excluded from potential work by failing even to qualify for interview. Interestingly, local youths more than migrant youths appear to experience this as a disadvantage.

An interesting observation in this study is that migrant youths, especially those from non-English speaking countries, did not appear to raise the above-mentioned issue with respect to the transition from school to work. One observation that concurs with Berry *et al.*'s (1997) suggestion that those who migrate at a young age integrate more easily than the older migrants was that youths who migrated as young children into the mining communities were reported to have better English than the local youths. In addition, they had learned the local language. The discussion below on the effects of the different types of social capital may shed light on this observation.

The continued use of their mother tongue and fanagalo by migrant youths who work as underground labourers reflects their limited opportunities to integrate with the local community members. Although the use of fanagalo underground is useful in terms of facilitating information and communication amongst the different ethnic groups, it can also be used as a tool to ensure that

these groups do not develop beyond the underground manual occupations. Continued use of this language underground is an advantage to the dominant white management because it ensures high productivity from the labourers, as the language is structured around mine operations. At the same time, the limitations of the language means that these employees will not rise to surface occupations, where English and Afrikaans are the media of communication.

The effect of this in terms of the transition from school to work is that the youths are disempowered with respect to choice of work. Furthermore, they lack the capability of overcoming these obstacles. Again, the pathway to employment as well as the outcomes appears to be limited to manual work underground. This is more so for the migrant youths from the traditional sending communities and the local youths. It could be argued therefore, that their situation supports Sen's (1997) suggestion that the opportunity to make use of new possibilities is not independent of the social preparations that different sections of the communities have.

So far, the discussion has focused on issues pertaining to the liberation of the oppressed black communities. However, the study has also shown a need for the liberation of white community members, especially the employers. They continue to exploit the black employees under the pretext of being benevolent. This is illustrated in the case of the employer who fired a black youth because she no longer perceived her to be poor, allowing "*a white man [to support] her*". This reflects Freire's (1996) notion that although truly desiring to transform the unjust orders, the oppressors believe that they must be the executors of the transformation. This is the consequence of their background, which leads them to believe that they know what is good for the oppressed. Instead, they should trust the oppressed to know what is good for them. Without liberating the employers, the black youths will continue to be disempowered. In addition, Freire's (1996) concept of false generosity is reflected throughout the mining communities by the continual assumptions by employers, especially white employers, that they know the capabilities and needs of the black

population. Employers' continued association of blacks with manual occupations and remuneration linked to what they perceive to cover subsistence needs for the black community members rather than the value of the job, which further perpetuates the state of disempowerment for the blacks.

The transitory stage of the political economy also revealed an interesting twist in the power struggles between the old and the new. Whilst most issues relating to the oppressor and the oppressed focused on either the migrants and the local community members or blacks and whites, the study exposed significant power struggles between the black mine workers from the old era and the young miners from the new era. The political change opened opportunities for black miners to work in senior positions and to have aspirations for higher positions than they had previously held. The impact of this on the transition from school to work on the youth was contrary to expectations. Whilst it was expected that the black employees would now be placed in higher occupational positions, acting as relevant and useful role models for the local youths, this does not appear to have happened. Indeed, in some cases, the rise of black employees in high occupational positions has had the opposite effect, especially for some local youths. It seems that experienced miners who have worked their way up the ladder are finding it difficult to accept working with youths.

From a social capital point of view, having experienced black miners at the work place could be construed as being positive because of the advantages that can be gained from bridging social capital in the transition from school to work for the youth. However, the present study suggests that this is not necessarily the case (Woolcock, 2001; Putnam, 2002). In fact, rather than being regarded as mentors for the youth, they are viewed as bullies who add fuel to the exploitation already being practised by the employers. The older and experienced miners in dealing with the changes and challenges brought by political change to the work environment appear to reveal some of the behaviour suggested by Freire (1996) above (section 3.3.1) that the oppressed tend to adopt the attitudes of the oppressed.

On the other hand, the lack of preparation amongst the youth for the world of work and poor support networks mean that the youth do not have sufficient capabilities to deal with the challenges of work-related conflicts. The observation from the study is that the youth, especially local youths, ultimately '*throw in the towel*' and leave employment, Thus corroborating the reports made throughout the study that local youths work for short periods only, and are consequently perceived as lazy and unreliable.

7.4 ROLE OF INSTITUTIONS

So far, the discussion has focused on how the characteristics of the youths respond to their environment and how this impacts on the transition from school to work. Nussbaum (2000) suggests that it is insufficient to consider the internal states alone without taking account of the external states when assessing the capabilities of individuals. It is important to understand the role played by institutions in the mining communities in the school-to-work transition. The major institutions influencing this transition within these communities include the educational institutions, community institutions such as parents as well as the traditional authorities, and the labour market. In summary, the role played by these institutions in the transition was generally perceived as negative. Issues relating to capabilities for translating newfound opportunities arising from the new political economy of both the country and the mining communities were the main basis for this negativity. These institutions also play a part in aspects relating to development of embodied and objectified states through role modelling, constituting an important aspect of the transition from school to work.

This discussion will focus on education and the labour market, taking account of the attributes of these organisations as presented in the mining communities as well as the contributions of the role players.

7.4.1 Education

Many contradictions were found in the study with respect to the role of education. It was questionable whether education in the mining communities commanded the same respect or influence in the transition from school to work as in other environments. Poverty coupled with the political history of education in South Africa and the mining communities contribute to the contradictions emerging from the study.

Education was viewed in two ways; firstly, from the perspective of education as a facilitator for the transition from school to work; and secondly, from the standpoint of the relationship between education facilities and outcomes in the transition from school to work.

7.4.2 Education as a tool in the transition from school to work

The study found general acceptance of education is one of the key pathways out of poverty in South Africa. The responses from the mining communities, to a great extent, concurred with this view. However, the social, political and economic history of the mining communities has tended to place some doubt on this view. Throughout the study, there were repeated reports of anomalies associated with the pathway to the transition from school to work, contradicting the view that higher education necessarily leads to better employment opportunities.

One of the major contradictions relating to the role of education in the school-to-work transition was based on reports that the mining communities consisted of large numbers of unemployed, well-educated youths. At the same time, there were reports of the mining companies employing black teachers as well as lawyers as underground workers. This has led to the questioning by the youth of the value of education in the transition from school to work. These observations concur with findings by Keswell and Poswell (2002), who suggest that education is not the only factor accounting for inequalities in the labour market. There is evidence that the correlation between

schooling and earnings is weaker for some segments of the population than others. They suggest that differences in the labour market are not simply in terms of income and occupational status across workers with similar observable characteristics, for example, human capital especially in the form of embodied capital and experience but with different physical appearances such as race and/or gender. Factors such as race, ethnicity, migration status, gender as well as economic status all appear to take higher precedence in providing advantage in the transition from school to work than education. To a certain extent, it could be argued that this has contributed to some of the negative attitudes of a number of the youths towards the merits of education. Interestingly, it was not only the unemployed who expressed such negative views; employed youths also concurred with these opinions.

Despite the negative views about the role of education in the school-to-work transition, using Sen's (1999) notion of preparedness, it can be argued that education plays an important role in the transition if the youths look beyond immediate employment in the mining companies. On the basis of this notion, while education may not facilitate entry into the mining companies, it prepares and empowers the youths to be creative to take advantage of opportunities brought about by the change of regime. Migrant youths, especially those from the non-traditional sending communities, appear to have this preparedness. At the same time, it can be argued that although Sen (1999) did not take account of the implications of race, ethnicity and migration status as important factors in capabilities, he did provide some indication of the importance of education for oppressed groups in his work on women. Sen (1999) emphasised the importance and benefits of education in empowering women. The same argument about the benefits of education could be used by the oppressed to overcome the oppression and empower themselves.

Similarly, Freire (1996) argues that education has a role in the transition from school to work. However, the type of education received by the youths impacts on the outcome of their transition

from school to work. Education involving critical dialogue will enable the youths to look beyond the mining industry and generate ideas about how to enter alternative employment. Overall, the argument is not about the immediate benefits of education in the transition from school to work, although these theories encourage a view of education as a long-term benefit despite limited observable short-term benefits.

7.4.3 Education environment

The negative aspects of the education environment in the mining communities were the main focus of the study in terms of the role of education in the transition from school to work. The physical, social, political, economic as well as psychological environment of both the schools and the mining communities were said to be detrimental in academic terms and with respect to facilitating the transition from school to work. The study observations concur with Perry et al (2003), who suggests that the education structure in deprived areas reflects the legacy of apartheid. The educational inequalities in the mining communities display similarities in other deprived South African communities. He further suggests that black Africans' participation in primary, secondary and higher education have increased, but they still lag behind in educational attainment because of the continuing severe inequalities in a number of areas. Education provision in many public schools is still of poor quality.

Poverty in the mining environment impacts on the actual and perceived quality differential in education as well as the various types of qualifications that account for most of the inequities in the labour market. Local black youths tend to study in fields with poorer economic and labour market outcomes in the South African context. This is reinforced by the lack of educational equipment and apparatus to study sciences, information technology and maths in the mining communities. To a limited degree, this finding supports Bourdieu's (1986) suggestion that educational inequalities continue to perpetuate the inequalities in the labour market.

The study found that the youths are aware that choosing technical subjects including maths and sciences improves their chances in the job market. At the same time, the study found that most of the youths in the mining communities undertake humanities subjects. In most cases, the youths have little choice because many black students are constrained by the requirements of various departments in higher educational institutions, lack of finance and the poor academic backgrounds of the social networks within the communities as well as of the youths themselves. All of these factors make it difficult for black students to cope with and successfully complete their studies. Other factors impacting on their choice include poor bridging and linking social capital amongst local and second-generation migrant youths. This means that they experience poor career guidance and access to reliable labour market information to help them to make informed decisions before entering higher education or the labour market.

These observations show that schools are embedded within communities, reflecting their dynamics in so far as what occurs in the community also takes place at the micro-level within the school (Field, 2003). The concept of the school as a centre of the community has its roots not only in social capital, but also in the practical experiences of community schools. This concurs with Putnam's (2000) view that child development is powerfully shaped by social capital, the presence of which has been linked to various positive outcomes, particularly in education. Pretty and Ward (2001), and Woolcock (2001) link community development and the many forms of capital by suggesting that community development theory demonstrates that success and sustainability ultimately depend on the ability of a community to appreciate, access and utilise the many forms of capital.

The closed nature of the mining communities provides some interesting contradictions with respect to the contributions of the many forms of capital to the role of education in the transition from

school to work. The observation that poverty is the major source of inequalities in both education and the labour market in these communities can be viewed as according with Bourdieu's (1986) suggestion that the different types of capital are all derived from economic capital. With this background, it could therefore, be envisaged that all the groups in the mining communities experience education and the transition from school to work in the same way. However, observation from the study does not concur with this, as there appears to be a disparity between the experiences of the local and the migrant youths.

The general complaint amongst the youths was the lack of support from families as well as limited information and poor careers advice. Despite having strong social networks due to the closed nature of the mining communities, the local youths appear to have negative outcomes in education as well as the transition from school to work. To understand this contradiction, it is worth examining the type of social capital that exists in these communities for the black youths and how this impacts on education and the transition from school to work. Local youths in the mining communities experience bonding social capital (Woolcock, 2001). Whilst bonding social capital can be viewed as being good for under-girding specific reciprocity and mobilising solidarity in these communities, the negative aspects of such capital appear to impact on education as well as the transition from school to work. Since networking is limited as a result of the youths' resistance to socialising with outsiders, local community members and local youths tend to network with people of similar characteristics such as families, close friends and neighbours. This is problematic in so far as the networks tend to be introspective with a tendency to reinforce exclusive identities and homogeneous groups (Putnam 2000: 22). Consequently, using Bourdieu's (1999) notion, it could be argued that there is a tendency towards cultural reproduction, whereby existing disadvantages and inequalities are passed down from generation to generation.

Some analysts romanticise the notion of social capital in poor closed communities by advocating that social capital amongst the poor is positive because community members help each other. They suggest that whilst poor people may not have physical or financial capital, they have both human (their labour power) and social capital. The downside of such social capital is that the experiences of living in close-knit communities can be stultifying, especially for those who feel that they are different in some important way (Putman, 2000). Social capital is not the sum of individual human capital held by members of a community. Each individual's contribution compliments and increases that of others. Consequently, social capital increases with use. However, if individual effort is expended solely on subsistence activity, then the capacity of individuals is unlikely to be amalgamated into capital for the whole society (Carter and Beeton, 2004). This reflects the main focus of activities of most people in the mining communities, which is on subsistence living. As a result, little attention is paid to upgrading the information and capabilities within the communities.

What may shed some light on why migrant youths experience the link between poverty and education differently is the issue of social benefits. By virtue of not having access to social grants and welfare, the migrant youths experience higher poverty levels. It follows therefore, that if other forms of capital are derived from economic capital, migrant youths will experience negative social capital as well as cultural capital in terms of education and the transition from school to work compared to the local youths. However, as indicated earlier, this is not necessarily the case. As a way of shedding some light on this observation, Carter and Beeton (2004) suggest that flows of capital as support or subsidy schemes often diminish social capital by lessening the motivation for collective action. This view concurs with Sen's (1999) idea that access to welfare does not cater for far-reaching debilitating effects such as individual freedom, inactivity and skills. He views such welfare as an impediment to self-reliance, a view echoed throughout the present study with respect to local youth, who displayed tendencies towards dependency.

Paradoxically, from the above perspective, the combination of welfare benefits and the limitations of relying solely on bonding social capital appears to have affected the cultural capital of the local youths in so far as they seem to reproduce the dependency syndrome imposed on their parents by the apartheid regime. Furthermore, the poor economic capital amongst the parents and the community means that very little is invested in educational tools such as computers and recreational facilities, which exacerbates the negative cultural capital experienced by local youths. Beeton (2006) suggests that human capital of an area can decline because the skills and educational levels drop as a result of out-migration and of people becoming out of date with the knowledge component of their human capital. Reports from the study suggest that the few local youths and community members who have positive outcomes from the transition from school to work have a tendency to leave the communities, returning only to “show off” about their success without sharing their newfound knowledge. Beeton (2006) further suggests that the high level of social capital amongst the local communities makes it difficult for strangers to operate in the area, leading people often to become increasingly suspicious and fearful of the outside world.

7.4.4 Migrant youths

In the case of migrants, the experience of education and its impact on the transition from school to work is varied. Like the local youths, the type of social capital owned by these youths has an impact on the role of education in the transition from school to work. At the same time, the migration status of the migrant youths and their parents has an impact on education’s role in this transition. Interestingly, despite living in the closed mining communities, migrant youths experience various types of social capital (Woolcock, 2001). The type of migration and the integration strategies adopted by the migrant youths and their parents generally influence this aspect. Consequently, this study found that migrant youths make significant use of all three types of social capital, namely

bridging social capital, linking social capital and bonding social capital. In terms of cultural capital, migrants with bridging and linking social capital tend to experience positive outcomes from the cultural capital that they gain in terms of education as well as the transition from school to work.

7.4.5. Migrant youth from traditional sending communities

Youths from the traditional sending communities, particularly those from Lesotho with fathers who worked in the mining industry, experienced poor cultural capital because their parents adopted bonding social capital. As indicated above, it appears that parents from Lesotho tend to associate only with people from Lesotho. As a result, these parents have poor proficiency in the local languages as well as the language used as the medium of instruction at their children's schools. This impacts on the level of cultural capital invested by parents into their children in terms of education and the transition from school to work. Although there are some advantages to be gained from bonding social capital, these youths experience inequalities at school because of poor support from their parents. Parental non-attendance at PTA meetings and school open days disadvantages these youths (Putnam, 2000).

As observed by Montgomery (1991), the channelling function of networks that involve channelling into particular occupations or particular companies can have a negative impact on the role of education for migrant youths. The study found that some migrant parents pay little attention to their children's education because through their networks they already have jobs arranged for them. This is despite the available opportunities for these children to improve their career prospects through better education. This has in some cases created conflict between ambitious children and their parents.

7.4.6 Migrant youths from non-traditional sending communities

The migrant parents and youths who adopted more integration strategies within the mining communities enjoyed the advantages of bridging as well as linkage social capital. In terms of education, bridging and linking social capital opens up opportunities for social capital to people outside their communities, expanding the knowledge base, which is currently inadequate in these communities. The study found that migrant youths, especially those who maintained contact with the sending communities and integrated with migrants from other countries, had access to a wide range of information about possible careers. The advantage of such a broad network is that these migrants have leverage to a far wider range of resources (Woolcock, 2001). Bloch (2005) found that migrants from Zimbabwe to the UK and South Africa were involved in highly-skilled occupations prior to migrating in their country of origin compared to the occupations in which they become involved in the country of destination. Consequently, youths who integrate with such migrants are able to obtain information beyond the occupations that are undertaken within the mining communities.

The study found that these youths used the information gained from migrants from other countries to diversify away from mine employment and to obtain career guidance despite having to work in the mines in order to earn money. Observations from the study showed that the access to a wider range of resources facilitate linkages to external assets as well as information diffusion (Putnam, 2000). This also enhances the cultural capital that the migrant parents are able to invest in their children. Migrant youths were reported to adjust well to the education system in the mining communities despite initial difficulties. In spite of high poverty rates, these migrant youths appear to have access to better cultural capital. It could be argued that they appear to have embodied and objectified capital that helps them to cope with the education system in the South African mining communities. As an example, one school inspector stated that despite their poverty, the migrant youths have advantages over the local youths because their parents invest in educational toys and

games. This was one of many explanations for migrant youths' greater success at school than local youths.

Despite having positive social capital through the bridging and linking social capital, it is interesting that this positive factor can also be a negative to cultural capital. Factors such as the migration status of migrant youth already have an impact on the ability of migrant youths to undertake further education. Bridging and linking social capital negate the cultural capital through the remittances that migrants are obligated to make to the country of origin. Ratha and Zhimei (2008), and Pendleton (2006) found that migrants from neighbouring countries in some cases remit more than a third of their earnings. This has a significant effect on their decisions to undertake further education and the choice of career because focus is on making as much money as quickly as possible.

Arising from this study is the finding that the cultural capital that migrant parents may have had in their country of origin is not carried over to their country of destination. Bourdieu (1986) based his theory of cultural capital on class differential, which does not fully explain the position of migrants in the mining communities. Cultural capital in the mining communities for migrants is based more on immigration status and employment permits than on class. Migrants working in occupations that equated to their qualifications or reflected the type of occupations that they had in their country of origin tended to move out of the mining communities to other less deprived areas as soon as they could. It was also observed that in some cases, migrants sent their children to schools outside the mining communities. The South African context negates the importance placed by Bourdieu on class from the Western perspective as a cultural resource, but shows that aspects such as race, ethnicity and migration status could constitute a resource.

7.4.7 Teachers

The general view was that teachers contribute negatively to the transition from school to work because of their lack of capability to impart knowledge and information about the requirements of the labour market. Major reasons for these observations relate to the historical factors associated with the discriminative nature of the education system in South Africa; firstly, poor educational provisions that have failed to keep up with the requirements of the new political economy; secondly, the impact of the medium of instruction used by the teachers on job preparation. In view of this, the following discussion focuses on how the language used as the medium of instruction has impacted on the educational achievements of the youth and, in turn, their ability to interact in the work environment.

7.4.8 Medium of instruction

Language has been a major tool of oppression in the history of South Africa, and appears to continue to do so. The South African education system during the apartheid years was characterised by a curriculum that served the interests of the white minority: second-rate education for blacks; and the imposition of a language of instruction policy that favoured Afrikaans and English at the expense of indigenous African languages. African languages were totally excluded from public life (Webb et al, 2000). Unfortunately, the issue at the heart of the youths' involvement in the fight against the apartheid regime continues to beleaguer them (Mokwena, 1999). The youth in the mining communities feel this more than most youths because of the nature of the mining communities, which, like the rest of South Africa, is characterised by a mosaic of languages. What is different about the mining communities is that this mosaic of languages is concentrated in a confined area and includes an array of migrant languages in addition to the eleven official South African languages. This characteristic impacts greatly on access to services and education and, in turn, influences the transition from school to work of both the local and the migrant youths. Language plays a significant role in terms of ability to learn at schools and universities and with

respect to access to employment opportunities. The issue of language in South Africa and these communities is loaded with political connotations. As a result, there is contention relating to which language should be used as the medium of instruction at schools, within these communities and other areas, which influences the transition from school to work. At the same time, language is used as a tool to discriminate against others.

Inability to conduct dialogue with the teachers and other students because of poor skills in the language used as the medium of instruction is disempowering for the youth. Black university students specifically rely on translated and photocopied material as a medium of instruction, the result of which is that the type of education that the youth receive resembles what Freire (1996) referred to as the transference of knowledge in a mechanical fashion, which results in mechanical memorisation. Freire's (1960) criticism of this method of teaching was concurred with the observations of teachers, employers and peers from other areas that the black youths from the North-west province, especially from the mining communities, lack confidence, which impacts on their employment opportunities. Freire (1996) suggested that non-critical thinking is a source of many limitations, and some poor people whose circumstances are similar to those in the mining communities see no way of escaping their current conditions. Consequently, despite passing their matriculation and university exams, the youths in these communities, and in particular, the local youths, are unable to translate this into employment.

It is interesting that Freire (1996) suggests that liberating education requires political power. However, the struggle of the youths with language at school and university appears to contradict this view. Despite the political change in the country, Afrikaans remains the main medium of instruction in the major university in the North-west region. Indeed, Moleke (2005) found a correlation between the university attended and employment. He found that those students who had attended the historically white universities (HWU) had a much higher chance of immediate employment than those who had attended the historically black universities (HBU). This gives a

considerable disadvantage to both the local and migrant youths in terms of using education as a vehicle for the transition from school to work.

The youths in the mining communities are further disadvantaged in that the major employer in the mining communities is mainly Afrikaans speaking. As a result, most work on the surface requires that the prospective employee speaks both Afrikaans and English. The study revealed that there was a persistently high failure rate in job interviews amongst the youths in the mining communities. Employers in the mining communities therefore, can be viewed as using language as a powerful tool for maintaining the status quo in terms of economic oppression against both the local and migrant youths.

7.5 EMPLOYMENT AND THE LABOUR MARKET

The journey or progression of the youths in the mining communities in their transition from school to work is strongly affected by poverty in all aspects of the labour market. The combination of poverty and poor employment infrastructure exacerbates inequalities in the labour market, which manifest themselves in terms of power struggles, discrimination and corruption. Although these characteristics are not unique to the mining communities, the nature of these communities helps them to thrive despite numerous poverty eradication and positive discrimination policies in favour of black mining community members (MPRDA, 2004). Discussion of employment and the labour market with respect to the transition from school to work will examine issues relating to job hunting, recruitment and the world of work.

7.5.1 Job-hunting

Two main factors emerged from this study pertaining to the impact of job-hunting strategies on the transition from school to work. Firstly, the cost of job-hunting in terms of accessing information

about jobs and attendance of subsequent interviews creates barriers for the majority of youths in the mining communities. The poor employment infrastructure, characterised by reliance on one major employer and a few periphery industries, exacerbates the problem further because the youth are forced to look for employment beyond the mining community's borders with very little resources to do so. The combination of cost factors and poor information impacts heavily on the capabilities of the youth with respect to making informed decisions and having the right strategies to seek employment on an equal basis with others (Nussbaum, 2000). Consequently, most youths, especially the local youths, who have strong attachment to the mining communities, give up, resorting to undertaking voluntary work or remaining unemployed. Migrant youths either venture into self-employment or move on to another area.

The second issue experienced by the youths in relation to the job-hunting phase of the transition from school to work is the requirement for experience and skills by the labour market. The issue of experience in the mining communities was significant because it was perceived as a tool used by some employers in the mining communities to assert power over and oppress black community members. It could be argued that mine management used the issue of experience as a justification for maintaining the status quo. It also appeared to be a strategic way of overcoming the government policy of increasing the number of HDSA in management or senior positions. At the same time, migrants would concur with the idea that local community members and youths lack experience in order to ensure that they remained in favour with employers. What appears to be a divide-and-rule strategy by the mine management was successful because local community members, including the local youths, seem to have internalised the view that they lack experience and are therefore, unemployable. Throughout the study local youths consistently stated that they lacked experience and skills to work in the mining industry or any other fields. In contrast, migrant youths did not appear to view this as a significant barrier. Interestingly, most local youths did not know precisely what experience and skills they lacked even though they claimed to know that they were lacking in

both these requirements. A discussion about why migrant youths are not incapacitated by such negative perceptions may help to shed some light on why the local youths continue to carry these negative views about themselves.

The type of social capital possessed by the migrant youths may influence their attitude towards issues relating to experience and skills. Through historical factors and the migration networks that encourage information-sharing, migrants are better informed about the requirements of occupations within the mining communities. Linking and bridging social capitals facilitate this type of information sharing because the networks are among people from different backgrounds (Woolcock, 2001; Gelderblom and Adams, 2000). Consequently, these youths have access to advice about work in the mining industry, the level of skills required and the way to demonstrate their experience. Migrant youths also have an added advantage over the local youths in that their employment history is not easily checked and validated. They are able therefore, to claim to have experience in fields that they do not have. On the other hand, in some occupations they have much more experience than is required in the occupations, as found by Bloch (2005).

7.5.2 Recruitment

Recruitment in the mining communities, especially into the mining industry, has become embroiled in extreme power struggles, with claims and counterclaims of discrimination, corruption, and sexual harassment. It is suggested that the root of these anomalies may be found in the combination of poverty and dependency on the industry as the main source of employment. This has unwittingly placed some individuals in the mining communities in very powerful positions. Recruitment has become very lucrative for some, placing them in influential positions within the communities. There are several recruitment doors into the mining industry, all of which are associated with some form of negativity. Some of these doors include TEBA, the traditional authorities (recently involved to ensure that local community members are recruited into the mines), the mine recruitment

department for manual mine workers and the human resources department for surface workers. However, there are also the informal doors including local bars. The issues raised in this study relating to recruitment significantly affect the transition from school to work. The following discussion on recruitment will focus on discrimination, corruption and sexual harassment.

7.5.3 Discrimination

Discrimination in the mining communities manifests in several forms, including race, gender, ethnicity and migrant status. The discussion on this section focuses on discrimination against migration status. Although migrant youths appear to get respite from the pressures relating to their migrant status whilst still at school, they find that their identification documents impact on their opportunities beyond simply having valid immigration documentation. The labour market embodies discrimination that negates the qualifications that migrants attain at school.

Apart from the racism that lingers from the recent history of apartheid in South Africa, the migrant youths' transition from school to work is further challenged by xenophobia (Landau *et al.*, 2005; Danso and McDonald, 2002 and Mattes *et al.*, 1999) and tribalism in the labour market. These observations support the suggestion present in the migration systems theory that the interaction of the macro and micro structures impact on the migration process (Castles and Miller, 2003). The experience of documented migrant youths who are discriminated against due to the difference in the colour of their South African ID from that of South Africans reflects Freire's (1996) suggestion that the oppressed, instead of striving for liberation, tend to become oppressors. It would appear that the local community members have opted to discriminate against the migrants rather than to join them to develop and cultivate their social and cultural capital.

On the other hand, it is worth noting that through their networks, migrants also practice discrimination against other groups or non-members of the networks, an observation that concurs

with the findings of Gelderblom and Adams (2000). They suggest that the reciprocal nature of networks can be exclusive if the members break the unwritten laws of reciprocity within the networks. An interesting observation stemming from this discrimination is that such behaviour brings benefit to no one because in the final analysis, both the migrant and local youths continue to live in poverty whilst the mine owners and employers thrive. It is appropriate at this stage to make reference to Freire's (1996) warning to the oppressed that as long as they live in the duality in which to be is to be like, and to be like is to be like the oppressor, then liberation is impossible. He questions how the oppressed can, as divided unauthentic beings, participate in the pedagogy of their liberation. When the discussion considers issues related to the type of work offered to the youth in the mining communities, it reveals that despite gaining democratic government, the youths in the mining communities continue to struggle for liberation.

7.6 GAP BETWEEN POLICY AND PRACTICE

In its consideration of the macro factors, the discussion will focus on the pertinent policies impacting on the transition from school to work in the mining communities. The policies considered relate to those set up to respond to the inequities created by the political economic history of both the mining communities and the country. The discussion will focus on how these policies contribute to redressing the inequities, and at the same time, will consider how the policies are experienced in the mining communities. To this end, the structure of the present section will initially consider the general attitude towards macro policies in the mining communities. The discussion will then consider various policies, including the MPRDA, 2004, education policy, land policy and migration policy. The discussion will draw on the capabilities approach as a way of understanding the issues relating to the gap between policies and practice. To complete the discussion, the impact of globalisation will be assessed, followed by a conclusion summarising the chapter.

7.6.1 Overview of Macro Policies

The South African economic and development policies have been hailed internationally as being of good quality. The economic targets set and the development strategies have been met with international approval. As a result, the South African government and economy is well-respected internationally. Indeed, in the eyes of most countries, South Africa is rated well above other African countries. In some quarters, it is viewed as a developed country, distancing it from the developing nature of other African countries. However, the mining communities are not fully persuaded of this international perception of South African policies, and consequently, are extremely critical of some of the government policies and actions. One of the major criticisms laid on government policies by the community members is that the national government policies are not locally appropriate. It has been argued that focus on the growth rate does not take account of the local poverty experienced in the mining communities. This concurs with Sen's (1999) suggestion that although focusing on growth of the GNP is important, it provides a narrower view of development and freedoms enjoyed by members of society. The argument put forward in this study is that whilst the national government is reporting high growth rates to the world, the mining communities are not benefiting from the same prosperity that the country is experiencing; that is to say, the policies are perceived not to be locally appropriate.

The local view is that the government should divert its attention away from its international 'good boy' image to focus on local issues. In the study, some community members complained of seeing the major politicians during election campaign periods only. The feelings drawn from community members were that:

"These politicians have no idea what we are going through."

The views of the communities concur with both Sen's (1999) and Nussbaum's (2000) concepts of democracy and empowerment, where they argue that consultation with communities is a major part of community empowerment. According to community members, consultation takes place with the communities during elections, where people vote for individuals rather than issues related to community development. This led them to argue that politicians:

"... just want our votes."

On the other hand, where policies are set up to be locally appropriate, there appeared to be capabilities issues manifesting in poor interpretation and implementation of the policies (Van Wyk, 2007). Issues of capabilities render these policies ineffective and local communities carry the burden of this inability to implement policy. Capabilities issues were perceived to affect all levels of the South African society, namely government departments (macro), local government and companies (meso), and communities (micro). The impact of these issues on the transition from school to work will be discussed with respect to the significant government policies relating to the youth and the mining communities.

7.6.2 Mineral and Petroleum Resources Development Act (2004) (MPRDA)

The section on the Social and Labour Plan of this Act was intended to induce development as well as create employment beyond mining in the mining communities. However, rather than this, it has inadvertently created employment for businesses outside the mining communities in the form of consultancies. One of the major complaints about this emanates from the mining companies. They argue that the process of obtaining the mining licenses have become long and protracted (Rebelo, 2005). The mining industry argue that delays in approving mining-title conversions and granting new prospecting permits have caused widespread uncertainty among mining and exploration

companies operating in South Africa. The industry indicate that by delaying these approvals the Department of Minerals and Energy (DME) is having negative knock-on effect for investment (Rebelo 2005).

The De Bassompierre (2007) reported that this inability to perform functions in a timely manner is apparently costing South Africa's mining industry up to US\$1.4bn annually in lost investment and trimmed 0.5% off the annual GDP, according to South Africa's Chamber of Mines in 2006. The argument put forward is that the DME has been overwhelmed. It is not a deliberate attempt to block licences. DME just needs to put more resources into solving the problem. Unfortunately, it faces the same challenges as the private sector in finding good people. The skills shortage has become so severe that some companies are giving top staff quarterly increases as part of a retention strategy. Rebelo (2005) reports that to overcome some of these delays and difficulties some mining companies have resorted to employing lawyers and consultants to help them obtain the necessary licenses. One vocal critic of the current approach is Neil Gardyne, the manager of the New Africa Mining Fund (NAMF) – a vehicle used to raise equity for junior mining companies. He believes that the DME's delays are restricting the development of South Africa's junior mining sector, which in most instances, are emerging black economic-empowerment companies (Rebelo, 2005).

Some aspects of the gap between policy and practice could be explained by the capabilities approach. The study found that this may be the result of the lack of capabilities in both the government department and the mining companies.

One of the difficulties related to the implementation of the policy through the mining companies is that most mining companies have never viewed social issues as part of their core business. Indeed, social responsibilities are often perceived as a component that contributes to the erosion of their business. In view of this, both implementing institutions have capabilities deprivation. The

implication of this tug-of-war on the transition from school to work is that no development by either the mining companies or the government takes place in the mining communities until the license has been granted. Without development, these areas remain stagnant with no programmes for enhancing the tools for employment and no job creation.

7.6.3 Land policy

Issues of capabilities for the government have a variety of implications for a country in transition such as South Africa. The capabilities that most impact on the transition from school to work in terms of land policy relate to the government's inability to have control of their environment and rights to property (Nussbaum, 2000). In order to understand the impact of the land policy on the transition from school to work, it is important to understand the land allocations in the mining area under study. As indicated in Chapter 2, land allocation is distributed in the following way: mining companies own 80%; traditional authorities own 15%; the white commercial farmers own 3%; and the government owns 2%. Essentially, the national government's policy on land acquisition is based on the principle of willing buyer and willing seller. Since land prices are not controlled, the government experiences difficulty acquiring land because of the high prices set by landowners who are aware of the government's vulnerable position. The level of government land allocation has a serious adverse effect on the transition from school to work. Community perceptions were of an inadequate number of schools and other public facilities.

The government and municipality officials including community members reported that the land issue plays a crucial part in inhibiting progress. As the government does not have land to develop, it is compelled to purchase land from other stakeholders to increase its land portfolio. This poses a problem for the government because if it purchases land with its limited resources, it will not have sufficient resources to undertake development on the newly acquired land. Developing on other

stakeholders' land has also resulted in difficulties for the government because of the legal issues related to control of the developments made. A municipality official reported:

“We have been engaged in negotiations with the mining company for over three years to get permission to undertake developmental construction on one of their pieces of land but we are not getting anywhere with them. These are some of the factors that prevent us from developing these communities. It is frustrating.”

Consequently, even if the government wanted to build houses, schools and recreational facilities, it would not be able to because of the current land acquisition policy. Thus, government departments and municipalities are perceived as inefficient and corrupt due to non-delivery of services. Although such perceptions may contain an element of truth, it is important to understand some of the underlying factors influencing the behaviour of the government and municipalities.

7.6.4 Education Policy

The policy and practice gap factor in the transition from school to work continues to take place in education in many aspects, some of which have been raised above. Issues relating to capabilities contribute to this gap. There was discussion about the gap related to imbalance between the appropriateness of the curriculum and the transition from school to work, curriculum requirements and facilities. Most participants agreed that the curriculum does not fully prepare the youth for employment. The gaps identified include lack of vocational guidance and too much theory with no practical application. A school principal reported:

“The problem is with the certificates. The content is insufficient. If you have business economics and accounting, you still require training. There is no practical input; most of their studies are theoretical”.

In addition, the outcomes-based education that has been introduced is not appropriate for poor schools in the communities. The principal further explained:

“There is a National Curriculum Statement that says that students should choose their subjects. There is outcomes-based education. This is difficult to implement because of the large class sizes. We have a minimum of 30 students per class. We cannot turn away any children despite not having many resources.”

7.6.5 Migration Policy

The government policies discussed so far influence the success of migration policies in the area. The main discussions in this respect are that whilst the changes in policies towards migrants in the mining areas have made it easier for them to bring in their families, the lack of additional resources to cater for the increased migrating population hampers their successful access to resources and integration into the communities.

Complaints of xenophobia and corruption on the part of the police were the major complaints made by legal migrants, a finding that concurs with those of the South African Human Rights Commission (2004). Some migrants reported that despite being entitled to South African ID, the Department of Foreign Affairs refused to grant them the relevant documents. Some migrants reported having had to pay money to obtain their ID documentation. At the same time, other migrants with correct documents complained of regular harassment by police who demand money from them. Most legal migrants with correct documentation reported that they usually pay out of fear of imprisonment. All these factors contribute to the gap between policy and practice, where policy at the macro level is poorly implemented at the meso level, with negative effects at the micro level. These aspects all have an impact on the capabilities, liberation and potential benefits of the different forms of capital for migrant youths in their transition from school to work.

7.7 CONCLUSION

In general, the study found that the socio-political economic history of the mining communities continues to impact on the transition from school to work for both the local black and migrant

youths. At the same time, the policies influenced by the global economy, coupled with the capabilities of both the mining communities and the South African economy that influence the capacity to translate policies and aspirations into practice, were highlighted as major impediments to the transition from school to work.

Issues of empowerment to make informed choices and decisions were highlighted by drawing on the capabilities approach, illustrating the gap between aspirations and realities with respect to the transition from school to work. Poverty impacted heavily on the ability of youths to use the education system as a vehicle for the transition from school to work. Rather than being used as a tool of empowerment for the local black and migrant youths, the education system continues to reflect the oppressive function that existed in the apartheid era. In addition, language is continuously being used as a tool for exclusion, preventing the kind of liberating education through dialogue promoted by Freire (1985).

In addition to the historical and transitional factors currently being experienced in South Africa, the poverty and the infrastructure of the mining communities had an impact on the transition from school to work. The effect of poverty on the physical infrastructure was that the youth had limited access to tools that could facilitate the transition from school to work, such as information and employment infrastructure. Poor information infrastructure impacted on the job-hunting process for the youths from the outset because they lacked information about relevant subjects to undertake for the job market as well as information about vacancies and presentation at interviews. The limited employment infrastructure in the environment meant that the communities relied on the mining company as the major employer. This widened the issues that influenced the transition from school to work, in so far as aspects such as forms of capital and power relationships determined the outcomes of the transition from school to work.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

CHAPTER 8

8.0 INTRODUCTION

Utilising a qualitative research design and grounded data-collection methods, this exploratory study produced rich data that provided the basis for more focused research on the transition from school to work in the South African mining communities. The report on the study has been divided into eight chapters, including this conclusion. In summary, Chapter 1 identified the topic and justification for undertaking the study. Chapter 2 provided useful contextual information about the research setting and was used as a reference point for better understanding of some of the issues raised. Chapter 3 explored relevant literature that could help to inform the study. Chapter 4 described the methodological approach to the study, detailing the experience of the research process and some lessons learnt. Chapters 5 and 6 highlighted the findings, providing a number of narrative accounts given by the participants. Chapter 7 discussed the findings, drawing from the theories and literature discussed in Chapter 3. At the end of each chapter, a summary highlighting the issues raised was provided. The focus of the present chapter is on concluding by highlighting issues relating to the aims and objectives of the study and making recommendations informed by the study.

The concluding chapter will summarise the study by providing an overview of the study, focusing on the research aims and objectives. Since the study is exploratory in nature, the discussion will draw on the most significant aspects of the research objectives. My intention is to illustrate the complexity of the research findings by incorporating the multi-dimensional issues that were raised in the research. The study has revealed the underlying issue related to the transition from school to work for both the local and the migrant youth to be the gap between their aspirations and the realities that they face within the mining communities.

The structure of the conclusion will initially capture the essence of the study by briefly summarising the findings, highlighting the aims and objectives set out in Chapter 1. As stated earlier, the aim of the study was to explore the factors impacting on the transition from school to work of the local black and migrant youths. This was done by taking account of their aspirations and the realities in view of the environmental factors in the South African mining communities. Within the main aim, there were several objectives incorporating micro, meso and macro factors that influence the transition from school to work in the mining communities. These included: a) assessing how the environmental characteristics of the South African mining communities impacted on the transition from school to work; b) discussing the role of education in the transition from school to work in the mining communities; c) examining the employment infrastructure of the South African mining communities and assessing how local and migrant youths coped with the conditions; d) evaluating the impact of the relationships in the mining communities on the transition from school to work for both the local black and migrant youths; and e) exploring how the youths in the mining communities coped with the challenges of globalisation.

The limitations experienced in undertaking the study will be considered, taking account of some reflections on the research methodology used for the study. These reflections will take account of what lessons were learnt; what I hoped to learn as well as what could have been done more effectively. The contribution of the study to literature and research will also be considered. In addition, recommendations relating to policy, future research and ways in which this study can be further developed will be made.

8.1 OVERVIEW OF THE FINDINGS

Generally, this research found that the transition from school to work in the South African mining communities is well embedded in the political history of both the country and mining communities.

The school-to-work transition is also influenced by the teething problems of the transitional policies and practices that the country and the mining communities are currently experiencing. Consequently, issues related to poverty, migration and environmental degradation continue to impact on the livelihood and the transition from school to work of populations in the South African mining communities. The physical nature of the mining communities is temporary, being neither rural nor industrial based, and this contributes significantly to the outcomes of the transition from school to work. These features also help to shed light on the reasons for the gap between youths' expectations, their realities and the environment.

The research found that the variety of expectations arising in the transition from school to work is influenced by a number of sources, including the local communities, migrant communities, urbanisation and globalisation. At the same time, the ability to effect these expectations is dependent on the resource-starved infrastructure, developed mainly to cater for the mining companies and not the surrounding communities. Apart from these tangible factors, intangible factors correlated with relationships between the mining communities, within the mining communities and the external world also impact on the transition from school to work. Through comprehensive analysis of the research findings, the study illustrates that in addition to the political economic history, the transition from school to work in these communities is affected by factors related to the dynamics both within and outside the communities. Consequently, a multi-dimensional approach using theoretical frameworks such as the forms of capital theories, capabilities approach and Freire's education theory, provided an in-depth understanding of the issues pertaining to the transition from school to work in the mining communities for the local and migrant youths. These theories helped to make sense of the issues raised in relation to the aims and objectives of the study. In view of this, the following section provides a summary of how the environmental factors impact on the transition from school to work for both the local black and migrant youths.

8.2 ENVIRONMENTAL FACTORS IMPACTING ON TRANSITION FROM SCHOOL TO WORK

Just as the mining industry is temporary in nature, so the environmental structures influencing the transition from school to work in the mining communities also appear to be planned on a temporary basis. The poor infrastructure and fragmented nature of development in these communities leads to such a conclusion. The information and employment infrastructure in the mining communities is generally poor and in most cases, set up to feed the needs of the mining industry rather than the surrounding communities. Although the underlying principle of the MPRDA (2004) is to develop these aspects of the mining communities by setting targets for employment of HDSA within the mining industry and development of mining communities, the policy appears to reinforce the temporary nature of development within these communities. Development decisions are left to temporary entities such as the mining companies, with limited visible initiatives or participation by government (especially in terms of infrastructural development). As a result, the development of these communities is limited to the capabilities of the mining companies to correctly assess the needs of the surrounding communities and to allocate the necessary resources.

In light of the above, from the outset, development in the mining communities is dependent on how mining companies perceive their responsibilities in developing these environments as well as how they link this responsibility to their core business priorities. The current deprivation in the mining communities is evidence that community needs are not a priority for these companies. The research found that in response to, and reflecting, their environment both local and migrant community members tend to take a temporary approach to their plans, which is illustrated through the limited outcomes in the transition from school to work despite their high aspirations. In view of the temporary nature of the infrastructural structures, government activities in these communities appear transient; the high percentage of informal housing structures that have become a feature of

the mining communities makes it difficult for youths to regard this environment as a permanent feature of their aspirations. Like those before them, the youths in this study overwhelmingly perceive successful outcomes in transition from school to work to be associated with out-migration from the communities. The majority of local and migrant youths do not perceive employment activities linked to this environment as representing their aspirations, rather they powerlessly perceive it as the inevitable outcomes of their transition from school to work.

An issue that exacerbates this perception further is that even where the government, mining companies and/or NGOs introduce developmental projects, the projects usually reflect the temporary nature of commercial activities in the area. Most projects remain hand-to-mouth because of poor re-injections into the projects resulting from the infrastructure of poverty in the communities. In addition, most projects set up by AID agencies, government and mining companies are usually externally motivated by funders' agendas, which fuel the activities. As a consequence, these projects do not take account of projects motivated by local community members who set up self-help groups based on the principle of learning from experience and set up to respond to local agendas/needs and capabilities. Indeed, in most cases, these locally motivated projects are usually swallowed up by the externally motivated projects that tend to leave a frustrated community once funding is exhausted, a phenomenon observed in throughout this study.

The research also exposed aspects of forms of capital, specifically, social capital, in relation to the transition from school to work. These aspects impact on role modelling, identity and choices related to the transition from school to work. The type of social capital in the mining communities available to local youths has a limited and in some cases, negative impact on the outcomes of the school-to-work transition. Mining communities lack positive role models; consequently, local youths find it difficult to bridge the gap between aspirations and reality because of the lack of information and motivation. Those who manage to satisfy their aspirations from the local communities tend to leave,

returning only to show off, which exacerbates the gap. Migrant youths have access to different types of social capital. The research found that the outcome of the transition from school to work is dependent on the social networks with which they associate. The study found that migrant youths who maintained links with local community members, other migrants and their country of origin tend to have better outcomes in their transition from school to work. These different forms of networks provide migrant youths with access to bonding, bridging and linking social capital. Interestingly, a link between identity and social capital, especially for second-generation migrants or migrant youths who migrated at an early age, was revealed. Their integration strategies result in their having to choose between identifying with local or migrant youths. Although this approach was seen to be useful in terms of acceptance by local youths in general, it resulted in negative effects on the transition from school to work.

Poverty in these communities for both the local and the migrant youths is reproduced not only in terms Bourdieu's perception of the function of education system, but also in terms of remittances or support for extended families. Having an extended social network in these communities can have positive outcomes in terms of support in the transition from school to work. However, at the same time, it can also have detrimental effects on the outcomes of the transition from school to work because of the support that the youth have to return to their families. This infrastructure of poverty within their social networks, especially bonding capital, impacts heavily on youths' abilities to realise their aspirations and choices with respect to their transition from school to work. Understanding these contradictions in the outcome of social capital is important for policy makers because it helps them to understand the impact and multiplier effect of investment into these communities. The relationship between the youths and their social capital can erode the effectiveness of policies introduced to improve the transition from school to work.

8.3 THE ROLE OF EDUCATION IN THE TRANSITION FROM SCHOOL TO WORK IN THE MINING COMMUNITIES

The general principle of theories such as those of Freire (1996) and Sen (1999) is that education functions to bridge the gap between aspirations and realities. To a certain extent, they propose that education helps individuals to develop informed aspirations based on their choices rather than those influenced by external forces. The study illustrated that the youths, especially the local youths and those from traditional sending communities, had limited informed aspirations. The perceptions of the participants in this study concurred with this view and looked to schools and the education system to facilitate positive outcomes in the transition from school to work. However, the study found that the poor integration amongst the three levels of analysis contributes to negative outcomes in the transition from school to work (as illustrated in section 7.0) and could also be viewed as contributing to the widening of the gap between youth aspirations and their realities.

The macro level is characterised by well-prepared policies and rhetoric that is not supported by effective implementation. Implementation of the policies at the meso level, especially the OBE curricula set up on the foundation of liberating the pupils by encouraging dialogue and choice in the learning arena, were supported by an environment that had a poor education infrastructure and facilities, an inadequate supply of learning resources, insufficient and poorly equipped teachers, and conflicting agendas associated with purpose and outcomes of education both from the demand (employers) and supply (students and their representative) side of the education perspective. Several factors impacting on the transition from school at the meso level were identified in addition to facilities, including the language used as the medium of instruction, poor support from parents and teachers, and poor information infrastructure. The language issue impacted on the ability to conduct dialogue in class for both the local and migrant youths, which culminated in mechanical learning and impacted heavily on the sharing of information and the testing of ideas (Freire, 1996). In

practical terms, the youths experienced difficulties, which resulted in seeking employment typified by manual work. In fact, throughout the transition from school to work, language was used as a tool to disempower the different groups of youths by community members, youths, education system and employers. This was more visibly evident in further education institutions and within the mining industry, where proficiency in English and Afrikaans were pre-requisite for non-manual occupations. It was interesting that migrant youths were observed to achieve in subjects such as maths and science that did not require proficiency in the language used as a medium of instruction.

This study concurred with Lareau and Horvat's (1999) findings that being white was a form of cultural capital that facilitated the transition from school to work. At the same time, for the black youths, having embodied capital that reflected the white environment contributed to cultural capital in terms of the transition from school to work. This study found that the youths were disadvantaged by poor integration with the white communities. Indeed, the embodied capital of the parents with respect to the transition from school to work was perceived as a disadvantage because historically and from social, economic and political perspectives, the black parents were the subjects of institutional discrimination and disempowerment. Therefore, the embodied capital of the parents in the mining communities provided only limited support for the youths in their transition from school to work. Perceptions by community members were that this poorly embodied capital explained the high drop-out rate from higher education establishments and poor job interview outcomes. This observation was more prominent among the local youths than migrant youths.

The information infrastructure in the mining communities resulted from mainly poor careers advice from the education system, poor parental support, poor access to information media such as newspapers, the Internet, libraries and employers. Teachers and parents were limited in knowledge about careers, and were reported to value careers perceived to be prestigious for the blacks during the apartheid era. The implication of this was that there was a gap between the aspirations of parents

and the youths, which culminated in conflict between the two generations. Even where the parents and youths had the same career choice aspirations, there was limited information within the mining communities to advise on the pathway to achieving the aspiration.

8.4 THE EMPLOYMENT INFRASTRUCTURE AND COPING STRATEGIES OF THE YOUTH

The employment infrastructure in the mining communities was found to be sparse, contributing to the negative experiences of the school-to-work transition for the youth in the mining communities. The research demonstrated that the combination of poverty and limited employment opportunities in the mining communities culminated in various power struggles and resultant disempowering practices. Some of these practices included racism, sexual harassment, sexual and physical abuse and discriminative practices from those responsible for recruitment and institutions. Diversities such as gender, race and ethnicity were highlighted as the basis for these disempowering practices. Poverty in these communities compels community members and youths to succumb to these disempowerment processes. Interestingly, the relationships in the mining communities are all struggles for jobs in the lower end of the occupational ladder. In contrast, the power at the top of the occupational ladder is based on race, and community members, including the migrants, have no access to such positions.

The youths appear to respond differently to the poor employment infrastructure in the mining communities, which impacts on the outcomes of the transition from school to work. Migrant youths tend to become involved in self-employment activities, whilst local youths rely on developmental projects set up by the mining companies, NGOs or the government. These youths also undertake voluntary work, especially the HIV/AIDS awareness campaigns. All these activities are perceived as bridging activities whilst waiting for employment opportunities in the mining companies. A

significant aspect of the power struggles that impacts directly on the youths in the mining communities relates to the struggle between the old and the new. Older mine workers who are beginning to gain recognition for their experience and long service in the mining companies by being given supervisory occupational positions appear to have inadvertently adopted the role of the oppressor. Local youths in particular reported high drop-out rates from mine occupations arising from harassment by black supervisors. Conversely, migrant youths appeared to benefit from migrant supervisors, who acted as support networks for them.

8.5 CHALLENGES OF GLOBALISATION IN THE MINING COMMUNITIES TO THE TRANSITION FROM SCHOOL TO WORK.

This section focused on the way power at the macro level impacts on the transition from school to work in the mining communities. The impact of power relationships at the meso and micro levels has been alluded to throughout this conclusion. The power relationship at the macro level is significant because it is at this level that the gap between the aspiration and realities in the transition from school to work is created by the expectations generated from South Africa's self-recognition as a nation.

The transition period currently being experienced in South Africa has placed it in the spotlight of developed western countries, who have poured in support and donations to help South Africa rebuild. The consequence of this support has been that South Africa has adopted Western ideologies in its developmental policy formations, and is described as an industrial country rather than a developing country similar to its neighbouring countries. At the same time, the level of poverty and developmental need, especially in environments such as the mining communities, are similar to other developing countries whose macro policy formation must be appropriate to the environment. This two-layer macro level approach has resulted in contradictions in the power relationships at the

macro level. On the one end, there are the global macro policy ideologies that South Africa has adopted, while on the other, there is the reality of the South African socio-economic and political environment that lags behind. The result of this is that South Africa has the aspirations of industrial economies but developing country realities in its socio-economic environment. This gap is evidenced by the gap between South African policies in the mining communities and the capabilities to implement them. Interestingly, this scenario reflects the local youths' self-image, characterised by a sense of being distinct from other African youths. The study found that the South African youths identified more with Afro-Americans than other Africans. The effect of this on the transition from school to work is that their aspirations are based on what they perceive to be the Afro-American environment, which does not necessarily accord with their realities.

This contradiction is also reflected in South African migration policies, where in order to be part of the global world, they have been forced to relax some of their policies due to skilled labour requirements. However the level of xenophobia in the country does not reflect the migration policy relaxation, especially with respect to asylum seekers and refugees from other African countries. South African police and migration officials are known to take advantage of the xenophobic tendencies within the communities by demanding money from migrants with or without correct migration documentation. Interestingly, most of these xenophobic tendencies are directed at black African migrants. As a consequence, migrants in the mining communities are mistrustful of the police and other migration department officials to the extent that even when they have the correct immigration documents, they prefer to remain shy of strangers in the mining communities. This has resulted in poor integration between migrant youths in the mining communities. In turn, this has led to the presence of disadvantaged youths, especially local youths, unable to develop their embodied capital by learning from migrant youths who have greater access to the outside world. As a result, the two groups do not learn from each other, but continue to be mutually suspicious. This scenario empowers the employers, who are able to divide and rule by informing the local youths that they

have no skills and are lazy. At the same time, they inform the migrant youths that they are well-skilled and reliable, but then offer them poor working conditions.

The implication of this is that meso level actors such as schools and higher education institutions, and the employment structures formerly used as oppressive tools remain unchanged. The consequence in terms of the transition from school to work in this transitional period of the country is failure to translate into action government rhetoric. The lack of capabilities to implement policies and the abdication of government responsibilities in implementing the liberating policies means that these institutions quickly revert to the systems with which they are familiar. This is experienced by the youths as exploitation in the transition from school to work.

8.6 LIMITATIONS OF THIS STUDY

The research was an exploratory study of a well-researched topic in a setting that has been rarely studied. As such, it was necessary for the research methodology and design to take account of the context. In light of this, the limitation identified should be viewed as adding to future research approaches and providing guidance for future studies in a similar context.

8.6.1 Sampling framework

The main limitation of the research was the lack of sampling framework. This was due mainly to the transient nature of both external and internal migrants. As a result, the research relied on networks, which could influence the data collected because the participants identified may have had similar experiences and beliefs to those who identified them. However, the use of various data-collection methods, village settings and contacts in the study helped to create a wide and diverse sample.

Nevertheless, there was limitation in terms of access to some sample groups who would have contributed to a better understanding of some aspects of the issues pertaining to the transition from school to work of local black and migrant youths. Although efforts to interview white youths in the mining communities were made, the results of my efforts did not go beyond promises of appointments that never materialised. These interviews would have provided insight into some of the issues pertaining to integration of local black and migrant youths into the white communities. In addition, they would have helped in the assessment of the extent to which the issues relating to the transition from school to work in the mining communities could be applicable to all youth groups, not simply those in this study.

8.6.2 Qualitative research

It is not possible to generalise the findings of a study using a qualitative research method in the way that would have been possible with a quantitative research method. However, without knowledge of issues pertaining to this topic in the mining communities, the qualitative approach proved to be the better choice to the quantitative approach. The quantitative approach would facilitate more focused and generalised findings; however, such focus was not appropriate at this early stage of exploration of the issues.

Nevertheless, there are advantages and disadvantages to all research designs. Since these research designs can be used to complement each other, combining the qualitative and quantitative approach would have brought to light some relationship factors in the research. A quantitative questionnaire could have contributed to a fuller understanding of the relationship between parental qualification, employment and youth employment. However, an initial qualitative research design would have been required to appreciate the importance of that relationship in the mining communities with regard to the transition from school to work.

8.6.3 Contribution of this Study

The contribution of this study will be approached from three perspectives: literature on the transition from school to work within the South African mining communities taking account of local black and migrant youths; the theoretical approaches to migration, forms of capital, capabilities approach and theories of education; and finally, the level of analysis.

8.6.3.1 Contribution to literature on the transition from school to work

The study has contributed to the literature and research on the topic of the transition from school to work by investigating the subject in a unique environment of the South African mining communities. The unique nature of this particular environment challenges some of the theoretical foundations on which most of the studies on this subject are based. The majority of the studies on the transition from school to work investigate how youth make use of resources to undertake the process. In contrast, this study challenges such a stance by investigating how youths undertake the process in a country that is in a political economic transitional stage with a socio-economic and political history of power struggles, deprivation and migration. In short, this study contributes to literature on the transition from school to work by investigating how youths from the host and migrant communities undertake the transition from school to work in a resource-deprived environment. The study is set in a context where there is disparity between the resources to facilitate the transition and the capabilities to do so.

8.6.3.2 Contribution to literature in the South African mining communities

The study contributes to literature and research in the mining communities in terms of both the topic of the study as well as the combination of the social groups being studied. Most studies in the mining communities have focused on how the mining industry impacts on health, migration, and relationships and communities (Packard, 1989; Campbell, 2001; Crush, 2003). This study adds to

the literature by studying how two significant youth groups in a particular environment deal with the afore-mentioned conditions in the transition from school to work.

8.6.4 THEORETICAL CONTRIBUTION

The main theoretical contributions of this study are that it provides new dimensions to existing theories that were formulated to suit industrial settings. The study found that most of the theories applied in the study contributed positively to understanding some of the observations of the transition from school to work in the South African mining communities. The theories that will be discussed in the present section from this perspective include migration approaches; forms of capital; the capabilities approach; theories of education; and micro, meso and macro levels of analysis.

8.6.4.1 Migration theoretical approaches

This study has contributed to the different migration approaches by examining the progression of migratory movements from the perspectives of historical structural analysis, push/pull theories and systems analysis in relation to the transition from school to work. Although not a comparative study, the research contributes to the different migration theoretical approaches by undertaking an examination in context to this environment and by also considering the transition from school to work in relation to the youths in the host communities. This provides a gauge of the influence of migration on the transition from school to work in these communities.

The multi-disciplinary nature of the study helps to facilitate a move away from simply regarding migration, especially from developing countries, as a negative process. Understanding the issues from the host community and migrant community perspectives has revealed a number of positive possibilities that migration into the area from neighbouring countries can bring. These positive

outcomes include widening social capital that can facilitate role models for local communities, especially as migrants are perceived to be better skilled. The study has therefore, illustrated that a better insight into migration processes in developing countries is important in understanding aspects and benefits of capabilities and social capital for both the migrants and the host communities. This contribution to theory, especially in the South African mining context, is an important consideration for migration policy makers. Understanding migration as complementing rather than conflicting with community development could lead to better school-to-work transition outcomes for both the migrant and local community youths. Such a perception of migration can encourage a move away from a restrictionalist to a managing approach.

8.6.4.2 Forms of capital

Issues relating to the forms of capital were pertinent to positive outcomes in the transition from school to work. However, there were a number of conclusions drawn about the benefits of these forms of capital that did not necessarily concur with the findings in this study. The study findings agreed that high social capital contributes positively to the transition from school to work in these communities by providing financial, accommodation and other support. However, the study also found that extensive social capital contributed negatively to both the local and migrant youths. Pressure to send remittances to families in the country of origin and support for siblings affected the ability of both youth groups to make choices about the outcomes of their transition from school to work. This aspect contradicts Putnam's (1995) postulation that broader social capital is positive. The study also found that Bourdieu's (1986) embodied, objectified and institutionalised states can help to explain why the purported flamboyant lifestyles and aspirations of local youths could impact on the outcomes of their transition from school to work. At the same time, the study confirmed the findings by Lareau *et al.* (1999) that being white is used significantly to enhance cultural capital in the transition from school to work in this environment, an aspect of which Bourdieu's (1986) findings do not take account.

8.6.4.3 Capabilities approach

The capabilities approach proved to be an informative theory through its notion of combined capabilities. This assisted in the identification of the gap between the level of internal readiness of the youths to act in relation to the transition from school to work, and preparedness of the material and institutional environment enabling youths to function (Nussbaum, 2000). This was an important aspect in the framework of the study because it enhanced the ability to contextualise the analysis of the study and, in turn, the recommendations.

8.6.4.4 Theory of education

Freire's theory of the role of education helped me as the researcher to recognise that both the local and migrant youths in this study perceived the role of education in the narrow sense of being the facilitator of readiness for specific employment. Freire's theory adds a dimension that enables the youths to think beyond employment with respect to their transition from school to work. His focus on empowerment and liberation as important outcomes of education widens the dimensions to be considered in the transition from school in the mining communities. This aspect is crucial for both the local and migrant youths in terms of reducing the gap between the aspirations and realities of the mining communities. Freire's theory advocates the importance of turning the approach to perceptions about the transition from school to work. His approach to education advises that education should result in the changing of reality by youths to suit their aspirations, rather than the changing of aspirations to suit their reality. By using Freire's approach to education, through dialogue and questioning their realities, they can revolutionalise the way they think sufficiently to liberate their minds and themselves.

8.6.4.5 Levels of analysis

Use of the micro, meso and macro levels of analysis were useful in that they helped to identify and clarify the link between the issues to be addressed and the level at which they need to be addressed.

However, this study found that although useful, they can be complicated in its application, especially in identifying the levels of operation and the actors. This was more evident at the macro level in the study, where the macro level policies stemming from the national government were inundated with international agendas to the extent that they did not suit the local agenda. In his study of the Zambian mining industry, Fraser and Lungu (2008) found that in its pursuit to please the international institutions such as the World Bank, the Zambian government had abdicated its role in determining national policies. The pressure of being perceived as a role player in globalisation with national policies that encourage investment and increased growth in the economy has characterised macro level policies in South Africa with two layers of influence, namely the global institutions and the South African government. This is an important aspect to consider when working with the levels of analysis in projects relating to the transition from school to work in developing countries. This is due to the fact that it impacts on the capabilities related to the gap aspiration of the macro policies and the realities of the communities in terms of relevance and capabilities to implement.

8.7 RECOMMENDATIONS

The recommendations in this section will first consider how outcomes in the transition from school to work can be enhanced, drawing from the study findings. Key issues incorporated in the recommendations include power relationships and participation. The study has found overwhelming weaknesses at every level of analysis. Consequently, this has informed the approach to the recommendations.

8.7.1 Macro level recommendations

Firstly, to deal with a major outcome from the study, namely the imbalance between the aspirations of the youths and the capabilities of the environment to facilitate these aspirations, the integration of

the macro, meso and micro level institutions and actors is strongly recommended. The study found that although it is important that work towards integration between these levels of institutions and actors takes place prior to initiating policies, it must be undertaken on an on-going, post-policy introduction basis. The motivation behind this recommendation is that dealing with integration issues at all levels prior to policy initiation helps policy makers to understand the capabilities issues in the communities. This ensures that appropriate policies are instigated that take account of training requirements and existing capabilities in their implementation.

Secondly, the government at the macro level needs to take the lead in these processes as a way of steering the transitional process currently being experience by South Africa in the direction aspired to by its people. At the same time, a realistic identity for South Africa as a nation should be carved that is achievable by the youth in the communities.

Thirdly, to facilitate an effective transition from school to work, the government as the macro actor needs to take responsibility for setting up permanent infrastructures that include the physical as well as the operational environment. Aspects such as adequate equipment, communication structure, teachers and libraries all contribute to effective operational structures in the transition from school to work. Physical infrastructures that are well structured contribute to a permanent approach to the transition from school to work in the mining communities. All these aspects enable the mining communities and the youths to compete effectively with the external world.

Fourthly, to enhance the employment infrastructure, government departments should be situated in mining communities. There are two advantages of this: it creates employment for the local communities and also provides access to government departments. In addition, the government could provide incentives to establishments to set up businesses in the mining communities.

Fifthly, the government is encouraged to consider in a positive light migration, especially from neighbouring countries, to take advantage of the gains that local community members can receive from the experiences of their neighbours. The advantages that can be gained include increased social capital that is likely to provide potential role models; opportunities to share aspirations and gain a better understanding of how these can be achieved. In addition, mixing with migrants will give South African youths and other community members the opportunity to think beyond the confines of the mining industry.

Finally, the government should view the social capital in the mining communities as positive in terms of supporting the transition from school to work, while also appreciating the negative aspects. In view of this, it is recommended that research be undertaken into the impact of financial support for extended families and remittances on the transition from school to work. Such study should be undertaken with the view to taking steps to alleviate family members that support others in order to facilitate choice in the transition from school to work.

Fiscal policies in both the sending and receiving communities of migrants should take account of remittances by migrants as being both poverty alleviating for those left behind but poverty creating for those who have migrated. It is recommended that the banking system fiscal policy could be used to support those who send money to their countries of origin. This has advantages in that the burden of supporting a family in the country of origin could be alleviated if the tax system took account of money sent. At the same time, a good fiscal package has the potential to increase tax income for the government because more people would be willing to use the system and avoid the risk-taking processes that they currently use.

8.7.2 Meso level recommendations

Two major issues characterised the meso level in terms of the transition from school to work. These two issues included capabilities and power struggles by institutions of this level, leading to duplication or non-performance of expectations. In this regard, the first recommendation is for all institutions at the meso level that influence the transition from school to work to coordinate their activities. Effective coordination requires an understanding of capabilities amongst the meso institutions and the youths undertaking the transition from school to work.

Secondly, and more specifically, schools, parents, employers and youths should improve their information infrastructure to enable the youths to make informed decisions.

Thirdly, role modelling programmes should be established, in which volunteers from universities or those in employment act as sources of inspiration and information for youth in the mining communities.

Fourthly, community projects set up by NGOs need to take account of projects already initiated by community members, who by virtue of having set up these projects have already identified the needs of the communities. NGOs therefore, could either work within the projects or work to create an infrastructure within which the existing projects could expand.

Finally, schools in conjunction with other meso and macro actors should increase activities as well as the appropriate infrastructure to facilitate integration between blacks, whites and migrant communities.

8.7.3 Micro level recommendations

Although community goals are important in terms of support networks, a major recommendation at the micro level is that youths should be empowered to have individual aspirations. Such aspirations will serve to motivate youths to undertake activities that enhance their capabilities through education, training and making the necessary sacrifices to achieve their goals.

8.7.4 Future research

The recommendations for future research will be drawn from the issues raised in the findings and lessons learned from the research. This will facilitate a progression from the exploratory research to a more focused study of issues pertaining to the transition from school to work in the mining communities.

As a way of setting the scene for the transition from school to work in the mining communities, it is suggested that base-line research examining youth unemployment statistics in the mining communities be undertaken. In the course of such research, it will be important not only to consider the youth unemployment levels and trends, but also to explore issues pertaining to underemployment. In view of this a quantitative research method is recommended.

Secondly, future research on the topic in relation to the mining communities could focus on how the environment impacts on aspirations, and how aspirations can impact on the environment. Understanding this relationship could help to enable youths to develop aspirations that are realistic but, at the same time, expand the youths' vision beyond the limitations of the mining communities.

Thirdly, future research could focus on the positive and negative social capital that migrant communities bring into the communities with respect to the transition from school to work. Such research could expose the level at which migrants and host community members might act as role

models to each other in these unique environments. To a certain extent, research on the impact of social capital in the transition from school to work in the mining communities is closely linked to the research on issues of aspirations and realities highlighted in the present study.

Finally, research into the level and impact of migrant remittances on choices in the transition from school to work of migrant youths in the mining communities is recommended. At the same time, consideration of how these remittances impact on the transition from school to work of youths in the country of origin would also be interesting. Such research can provide an indication of the longevity of the limitations on the choices of migrant youths with respect to the transition from school to work. Globalisation and the dependency that developing countries' economies have now placed on the Diasporas will provide interesting dimensions for examination of the impact of remittances on the transition from school to work.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

INVITATION TO PARTICIPATE IN A RESEARCH SURVEY-Consent to participate

The transition from school to work in mining communities: the experiences of local black and migrant youths.

I, Charity Chenga am undertaking a research for my PhD at the University of Kent (United Kingdom) and am undertaking a study on youth development in the mining communities. In order to find out more about the experiences, attitudes, knowledge and behaviour of both the local and migrant youths the research methods will include face- to- face interviews and focus groups. The aim is to include community members, youths and other significant stakeholders in order to get a better understanding of the issues relating to the transition from school to work.

If you agree to take part you will initially be asked to answer some biographical questions to give us an understanding of your social circumstances and background. You will either be interviewed or be allocated to a focus group where you will take part in discussions about issues relating to youth development. An interpreter will be allocated to every focus group where necessary to ensure full participation for everyone. With your agreement some of the interviews and focus groups will be tape recorded to ensure accurate recollection of the discussions. Your names will not be revealed on the tape recorder. I undertake that I will share the outcomes and recommendations of the findings with you.

How long will it take?

The focus groups or interview should not take longer than two hours. Refreshments will be made available during breaks.

Confidentiality

All contributions that you make during the focus groups and interviews, if you do take part will be completely confidential. No names or personal details will be passed on to anyone.

Taking part in the study

You do not have to take part in this study. Feel free to say no if you would rather not take part or discuss certain issues. Please feel free to advise how best we can work together.

If you have any further questions, or wish to get in touch about any aspect of this study, please contact us:

Charity Chenga – Phone No 018 299 1749

I understand and agree to participate in the survey

Name.....

APPENDIX 2

BIOGRAPHICAL DATA

PERSONAL DETAILS

Mr/Miss.....Name-(Optional)..... Date of birth.....Age...

Marital Status.....Husband or wife living you..... Y/N.....

Who else lives with you?.....

Ethnic Origin.....Country of origin.....

Area of origin.....Country of Citizenship.....

Where were you born?

Date of arrival at mining community if not born here?.....

Who is the head of the family?

Do both parents live with you?.....

ACCOMMODATION

Which village do you live?

Do you live in a brick house or corrugated iron home?

Does your family own or rent your home?

Who owns your home if your family does not own it?

How many rooms does your home have?.....

Education

Are you currently at school?

If no when did you leave school?

EMPLOYMENT

Are you in employment?

What type of work do you do?

How long have you been working there?

How did you know about the job?

Are you Unemployed?

How long have you been looking for work?

When did you last work?.....

APPENDIX 3

THE RESEARCH PROCESS AND THEMES

Sample group

Themes

1st Stage

Youth at school

Poverty

Parents and community members

School Curriculum

Teachers

Parent/Youth conflict

Poor support-Parental illiteracy

Poor or no role models

2nd Stage

Youth post school

Financial Problems

Unemployed youth

Poor information

Employed youth

Poor preparation for work

Youth Leaders

Addiction

Poor recreational and social infrastructure

Poor facilities

3rd Stage

Employers

Poor Opportunities

Government Officials

Lack of experience

Mine Personnel

Youth motivation questionable or misunderstood

Too high expectations

Scant information

Poor support

APPENDIX 4

Letter to the parents

Charity Chenga
North-West University
Potchefstroom Campus
P. Bag X 6001
Potchefstroom 2520
4th March 2005

Dear Parent

Re: The transition from school to work in mining communities in South Africa: a comparison between local black and migrant youths

My name is Charity Chenga and I am undertaking a research for my PhD at the **University of Kent (United Kingdom)**, currently based at **North-West University (Potchefstroom)** and am working on a survey relating to youth development in the mining communities. I attach here with a letter explaining the project for your perusal.

I would like to take this opportunity to ask if you would allow your child to participate in an in depth interview relating to issues that influence the transition from school to work.

I hope the information provided will be sufficient but if you require additional information please do not hesitate to advise accordingly. My contact details are included in the attached letter. I hope you will be able to help us in this project.

Yours Sincerely

Charity Chenga