

Understanding Barriers to Youth Skills Development and Employment in South Africa

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centre for researching
education and labour



Network for international policies
and cooperation in education and training

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About the Collaborative Programme of Work between REAL and NORRAG:

REAL and NORRAG have established an International Collaborative Programme of Work in Education, Skills and Labour Policy. The broad purpose of the programme is the sharing and dissemination of their knowledge, research, insights and perspectives with local, regional and international stakeholders. The joint vision is to engage in the fields of knowledge creation and dissemination as well as policy dialogue on skills development, education and labour, with the aim of contributing in an informed and evidence-based manner to the South African, regional, continental and international debates on skills, education and training policies. The overall objective is to improve the quality of Technical and Vocational Education and Skills Development.

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Foreword

This country report presents the results of the research undertaken in South Africa within the framework of the triangular study on *Understanding Barriers to Accessing Skills Development and Employment for Youth in Argentina and South Africa*.

The triangular study is the product of two years of work across three continents (Europe, Latin America and Africa) between three institutions: NORRAG in Switzerland, the REAL Centre at the University of the Witwatersrand in South Africa, and PREJET at IDES in Argentina. The study brings together interdisciplinary research perspectives in order to study a critical challenge to both developing and developed countries in the world today: rising youth unemployment resulting in large numbers of young people being unable to access employment or skills development. South Africa and Argentina provide a varied context for studying barriers to youth employment and skills since both countries are faced with the challenges of pursuing social justice within difficult economic conditions. This study is organized around the notions of *People, Policy and Institutions* in order to explore the interconnection between these agencies while understanding *Barriers*. Increasingly, the problem of youth unemployment has tended to be treated as an individual problem by illustrating the 'skills deficits' of young people rather than taking into account the critical role of public policy and institutions that mediate access to skills training and employment. The study is grounded in two sectors – Wine and Construction. These present a useful context for understanding *barriers* in the light of structural factors. These two sectors demonstrate similarities in regulation but simultaneously show differences in areas such as the role of trade unions in accessing skills development. The study makes a contribution to the growing body of research on youth unemployment and access to skills development in both the academic and policy development literature. Policymakers in both countries will find the report to be a useful resource for policy development and analysis which will inform future planning within the broad arena of youth development. The study is a significant contribution to the literature on international cooperation from a 'South-South-North' perspective, bringing together insights that were submitted to a cross-fertilization process in which national, regional and international perspectives were called upon. The three involved organisations do hope that the study will demonstrate the innovative capacity of the South-South-North Triangular Cooperation.

The Synthesis Report of the triangular study is available for download on NORRAG's website.

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The REAL Centre team also wish to thank PREJET team at IDES in Buenos Aires for the warm welcome received in Argentina and for the insightful exchanges during the workshops organized in situ in both countries, which were key elements of the partnership building.

Above all, the team express gratitude to NORRAG for initiating, funding and supporting the study. Without its support and persistence the study would never have succeeded. NORRAG has provided us all with the opportunity to cross-fertilize knowledge, experiences and challenges within a South–South perspective enriched by its ability to understand partnership in an open-ended and constructive manner.

Finally, NORRAG also expresses its gratitude to the Argentinian and South African colleagues who have successfully achieved the ambitious goals set.

Abstract:

This report is based on the study undertaken in South Africa concerning youth transitions to work and the labour market, within the framework of the project *Understanding Barriers to Accessing Skills Development and Employment for Youth in Argentina and South Africa*. In both countries, the studies analysed three main issues: (1) the quality of the productive activities that youngsters get, such as jobs, employment, volunteering, and learnerships; (2) policies regarding work preparation and deployment, including the conceptual approaches, guidelines and designs of implementation, their similarities, and contradictions; and (3) youth opportunities in the construction and wine production sectors. Emphasis was placed on knowledge of the relationships between the various actors within society, state, non-state, public and private national and international institutions. This country report describes the theoretical and methodological framework shared by both studies and then presents the case of South Africa. More specifically: a) the context of South Africa is described in order to highlight the social, educational and labour backgrounds; b) youth employment at the national level and in specific sectors of the economy is analysed from a quantitative perspective; c) the policies addressing skills development and work in the national public governance system as well as in international development cooperation are identified and classified; and d) the Construction and Wine Production sectors are analysed and the strategies of implementation and performance developed by institutions and programmes that support the above policies are discussed. The report also introduces elements of comparison with the situation in Argentina. The study makes a crucial contribution to the national and international literature on skills and youth development by adopting a South–South–North perspective.

Keywords:

Youth employment, skills development, skills development policies, skills training, social justice, construction sector, wine production sector, Argentina, South Africa

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1. Introduction

In different countries, governments are struggling to fulfil their roles in serving their young people through policy development. Through other channels, civil society, and NGOs, businesses are following the same objective. This problem is not unique to the countries of the South, as developed countries are facing huge youth unemployment and an increase in unstable and precarious work due to the economic and financial crisis. The study of work preparation and work for youth in Southern countries can contribute to international discussions in this key subject by providing new input, even when it is sometimes difficult to internationalise and transport policies from one context to other very different ones.

This study is a collaborative project between the Programme of Studies on Youth, Education and Work (PREJET) at the Institute of Economic and Social Development (IDES) in Argentina and the Researching Education and Labour (REAL) centre of the University of Witwatersrand in South Africa. This collaboration is sponsored by the Network for International Policies and Cooperation in Education and Training (NORRAG), which is facilitating a South-South cooperation in the understanding of barriers to accessing skills development and employment for youth in the two countries. This facilitation consists of making available the information and knowledge the Network is producing concerning the international dimensions of the topic of the project, and of disseminating the results of the study focusing on lessons learnt and relevance for the international community.

This is a report on the South African part of the study. At the end of this report, the beginnings of the comparisons between Argentina and South Africa are made. This part of the study still has to be developed to fulfil the original objectives of this collaboration. Both studies sought to understand barriers to accessing skills development and employment for youth in Argentina and South Africa, in the context of regional and international trends.

This study is about: Policies, People and Institutions:

- Policies addressing skills development and work access in the public governance system;
- Young people with respect to what they bring to the table, with respect to educational achievements, family and households characteristics; spatiality of residence; employment histories, values and expectations, etc.;
- Institutions and programmes that support the policies above and their own strategies to manage the implementation of the policies and programmes.

There are roughly 2 groups of questions that this study sought to address:

- a. What quality of jobs do young people get? Who provides the work and where is it provided (formal/informal, sectors, regions, type of ownership, etc.)? What are the structural barriers for youth (such as general unemployment or precarious work, economic cycles and/or crisis, deficits in educational supply)? What is the gender dimension of youth unemployment? What inequality is there among youth groups when accessing skills development and employment?
- b. What are the policies regarding work preparation and deployment? Which are the conceptual approaches, guidelines and designs of implementation, their complements, and contradictions? Do the policies help to improve youth opportunities in accessing skills development and quality work? How do institutions promote the inclusion of young people, especially disadvantaged ones, and what are their strategies in skills development? How do young people get into work preparation and work? What are the relations (conflicting, complementary and parallel) between the institutions and some other non-state actors (including the private sector) dealing with the same issues?

In both countries the study was carried out in the following sectors:

- Construction
- Wine making

In this report, we first present the theoretical framework that informed this study as well as the methodology used to undertake the study. This is followed by a description of the country context, youth employment and youth policies. An overview of the sectors in which the study was carried out is then presented, followed by the findings made in the context of the South African research. A discussion section is then presented and concluding remarks are made in reference to some key points of comparison between Argentina and South Africa. This comparison is merely the beginning of further work still to be done by the two countries in this area.

2. Theoretical framework

This section will outline the theoretical and the methodological approaches to the youth transition to work and the labour market within the framework of the project *Understanding barriers to accessing skills development and employment for Youth in Argentina and South Africa*. This will provide a framework for locating the study of youth unemployment in South Africa and Argentina. The youth unemployment and youth development question is studied from various vantage points. Youth unemployment also spawns a number of social indicators such as identity, class, culture, etc. All these categories can contribute to a rich body of theoretical work on understanding youth transitions to work. The spatial dimension is critical given the geographical disparities between urban and rural economic concentrations of employment. Our societies are also different in many ways, particularly in relation to the structure of our economic systems and the historical evolution of approaches to development broadly and youth development in particular.

In providing a theoretical basis for this project this chapter is aimed at providing a conceptual framework for the study which briefly covers the following areas: (1) where work comes from?: theorizing the youth unemployment problem; (2) skills and work preparation (3) a social justice dimension: education and work in the frame of social protection policies looking at the two countries.

In this way, this section provides a conceptual overview in response to the questions provided and is therefore an analytical framework. In this section we pose three questions, which follow below.

2.1. Where is work coming from? Theorizing youth employment “problem”

Work as a social activity has a history that goes as far back as pre-capitalist economic relations. Nonetheless it is critical to keep in mind the various dimensions of work including the way it is presented and plays out within identities and values. Humans have always engaged in work as part of their social reproduction and as a means of livelihood. Within industrialisation, the notion of work was transformed to become linked to industrial production, resulting in a greater emphasis on more schooling and training in order to meet the requirements of industry. With the move to neoliberal globalisation the restructuring of work has radically redefined the ways in which work is organised and how it is accessed by professionals, young people and jobseekers in general.

Standing (2011) argues that ‘Youths have always entered the labour force in precarious positions, expecting to have to prove themselves and learn. But today’s youth are not offered a reasonable bargain. Many enter temporary jobs that stretch well beyond what could be required to establish ‘employability’. A wheeze of flexibility has been to extend probationary periods, during which firms can legally pay lower wages and provides fewer benefits’ (Standing, 2011:65).

The notion of decent work is contentious in the discourse of development locally and internationally. Yet many progressive scholars and researchers have mobilized for decent work in the face of the increasing informalisation of work in many parts of the world. Some argue that decent work is not attainable under capitalism but should be part of processes towards building an alternative economic paradigm. ‘The goal of decent work should be seen as an objective to be progressively realized. Quite simply, this involves accepting that decent work is not an immediately achievable goal. Each country will have to take into account its

specific social and economic context and set itself a series of immediate, medium and long-term goals' (Webster, 2012:117)

Classical conceptions of work and the labour market that have emerged from sociology have sought to analyse the ways in which the macro structure of the economy impacts on the relationship between the employer and the employee. The sociological approach to labour markets seeks to analyse the persistence of inequality, poverty, discrimination, low wages and insecurity within the labour market. In this sense, work is not viewed in a linear way as just a relationship governed by a contract; it is essentially structured by dynamics of power and contestation within the labour relationship.

The idea that there is a pre-existing market condition in which full employment can be attained under the conditions of the capitalist labour market is proving increasingly difficult to support. Producers are increasing their use of technology and mechanisation resulting in even skilled workers with vocational training finding it difficult to access gainful employment. According to the international debate, informal labour arises because of productive decentralization, associated with globalization and changes in the international division of work. Enterprises make systems of production more flexible and efficient in order to maximize benefits (ILO, 2013). Thus, economic growth does not reduce the size of the informal sector, since this is considered as a special feature of the development of capitalism. Informality is a problem for employment, as most of the workers who work in the informal sector have much lower living standards and, sometimes, their labour rights are not guaranteed.

Neoliberal changes in the global economy have intensified the levels of economic insecurity amongst young people¹ as permanent work opportunities are increasingly scarce and precarisation is rising. This however does not imply that young people have no agency nor do they exercise agency as a means of addressing the problem they find themselves in due to high unemployment. Structural unemployment has also forced young people to evaluate their relations with the political-economic environment around them.

Similar features between countries are shaping the youth unemployment debate; numerous protests about youth unemployment in Europe and North Africa over the last five years have demonstrated the extent of the problem. Youth employment also appears as an issue in the Latin-American political agenda.

While the cause of lack of access to employment by youth is often defined as a problem of individuals who either made wrong academic choices or lack the 'social capital' to access work opportunities, it is often described as a skills shortage. Allais and Nathan (2014:13) argue that a skills shortage is widely regarded as a major contributor to South Africa's high unemployment levels.

However, other researchers have sought to find alternative conceptualisations of the youth employment and work-transition challenge by engaging with the dominant discourse. A report by the University of Johannesburg's Centre for Education Rights and Transformation Centre (CERT) argues:

'Almost without fail, the 'problem of employment' and the 'crisis in education' are discussed in ways that suggest these are essentially the same thing – or at least that they can only, and must, be addressed together. We hear about the urgent need to 'create jobs', but we are told this is difficult if not impossible to do, because of a desperate 'shortage of skills' that we are told exists among South African workers. These difficulties are increased, we are told, by trade unions that are 'too strong', and a legislative regime that is not sufficiently 'business-friendly'. Taken altogether, these conditions are said to make vast numbers of South Africans effectively 'unemployable'. (CERT, 2013:2)

¹ Bradford (2012) contends that 'The way in which youth is understood as distinctive and having special characteristics, as an 'in-between' or liminal social category, as inherently troublesome and as requiring services designed to meet its specific needs, is typical of modern societies in the global North' (Bradford, 2012:23). It should be added also that youth in and of itself is not a class, it is a heterogeneous group with different socio-economic levels. However, the nature of our theoretical framing is orientated towards the youth from poor backgrounds who are finding difficulties in accessing employment and as a result have to overcome many barriers.

To understand the problem in its entirety requires a conceptual lens that transcends a narrow concentration on the market alone.

The pathway to employment and overcoming barriers for youth requires a multi-dimensional perspective which integrates policy interventions, institutional configuration, place of residence, gender and broadly the subjectivity of youth around transitioning to work. It is also equally an issue that structural conditions of the labour market militate against easier access to employment for youth. In the case of South Africa the youth's transition to work has become further accentuated by historical racialised divisions of labour, spatial disparities, gender inequalities and other social cleavages. In Argentina, the transitions of youth are also divided by social inequalities that have grown stronger in the last decades but are not mostly related to racialised divisions but to market segmentation by regions, spatiality, gender and socio-economic backgrounds.

Our theoretical perspective accepts, then, that young people's lives are shaped by the socioeconomic circumstances that they live in and that while their individual agency to resist or explore alternative means to survive economically is limited, it is also a source of power which they draw on to search for employment or work preparation opportunities. Implicit in this is the notion of agency. The objective reality of the transition necessitates that youth in the transition to work invariably draw on social networks, groups, family ties and other resources to negotiate access to employment. According to Sewell (1992) 'Structures shape people's practices, but it is also people's practices that constitute (and reproduce) structures. In this view of things, human agency and structure, far from being opposed, in fact presuppose each other' (Sewell, 1992:3). On the other hand, Giddens in his seminal work *The Constitution of Society* argues 'Structure is not to be equated with constraint but is always both constraining and enabling. This, of course, does not prevent the structured properties of social systems from stretching away, in time and space, beyond the control of any individual actors. Nor does it compromise the possibility that actors' own theories of the social systems which they help to constitute and reconstitute in their own activities may reify those systems' (Giddens, 1984:25). In this sense, the youth unemployment problem and the transitions to work are shaped by the structural conditions that determine economic and social relations in society.

In this sense, youth's transition processes are not homogeneous; because there are different "worlds of the inclusion" (Dubar, 2001) differentiated according to occupational sectors, characteristics of the companies, intermediaries of employment, educational institutions and vocational training, and youth segments. The characterization of this diversity requires passing from a general look to an approach that puts a spotlight on a specific sector of activity.

As a summary, Keep (2012) identifies seven problems traditionally identified by researchers and policymakers in the UK concerning youth transitions:

1. Job quantity and quality, including casualization, entry level employment that has no training attached to it, temporary, part-time and agency work; low paying, boring and/or unpleasant work, and lack of worker 'voice' and task discretion
2. Youth unemployment, linked to low levels of employer recruitment of young people generally
3. Youth under-employment in terms of both working hours, and skills mismatches and over-qualification
4. Employer dissatisfaction with the education system's products (lack of work readiness and employability)
5. Lack of subsequent progression - the trap of low-paid dead-end jobs
6. Rising skills (qualification) levels of young workers not feeding through over time into underlying gross value added or productivity rates. This is coupled with a growing realisation that the linkages between skill production and skill demand and utilisation to create a competitive edge are much more complex and much less automatic than we used to like to believe (Keep, 2012:4)
7. Extended and risky transitions.

The consequence of these problems is that policy makers tend to develop responses that are closely aligned with how the problem has been identified rather than address the root causes of the problem such as the structural orientation of the economy. In some instances young people get blamed for being in a situation of unemployment rather than accounting for the broader political economy factors that need to be addressed through policy interventions.

There are, however, a number of interventions between the structural and subjective frames that may enlarge opportunities, develop resources and lend momentum to the capacity to use them. Understanding the transitions and the establishment of an opportunity structure in a society entails studying the concrete institutions where the lives of the young are deployed. They play a role by providing not also resources but also the tools to implement them. We define the institutional intervention role played in the transition to labor as the measure and shape deployed by each institution as a place for: labor socialization, social inclusion and educational continuity (Jacinto, 2010).

The youth work preparation programmes are generally geared towards entry into the mainstream economy and the social sector of the government is also limited in creating enough work opportunities for youth to enter the labour market. Locating our understanding of where work comes from should encompass an economy-wide assessment of the reality of access to work for the youth in conditions where formal employment has not grown significantly and work opportunities are few.

This study looks at the skills and work preparation dimension from an empirical and a conceptual point of view. Empirically, the study circumscribes two sectors of the economy (see chapter 3). In relation to youth employment and skills development, it provides evidence to support the argument that issues of employment and labour market are critically contested in the workplaces and are shaped by regulatory and policy measures in different sectors.

2.2. What is the nature of skills and work preparation?

The notion of skills is ideologically and theoretically contested; it is often used interchangeably to mean a variety of things from technical manual work, to high level expert knowledge, to scientific and other applied mathematical expertise. The term skill has also come to denote a set of training activities both before and in employment. Winch (2011) argues the concept of a skill as it is used in the labour market, expresses the view that to possess a skill is to have mastered a technique for carrying out a type of task within a work situation, traditionally within a context of a trade but in technically orientated occupations as well. In relation to youth employment, the term skills has tended to refer more to programmes such as vocational training, learnerships, internships, graduate placement programmes and such processes which are aimed to facilitate the transition from school (and higher education) to employment.

From a more conceptual and theoretical point of view, the notion of skills has been viewed to be resulting in the instrumentalization of education to meet the demands of the labour market, whereas education's primary objective is to retain its intrinsic value of providing knowledge for its sake. Skills have also been presented as a 'solution' or what Mayhew and Keep (2010) define as a 'social and economic panacea' to developmental problems confronting society. In a paper entitled *What are skills?* Allais (2011) critiques the notion of 'skills as tasks' as a narrow way of defining skills which tends to be decontextualised from power, social policy and structuring of the labour market. In Argentina, a similar debate occurs between the narrow perspective related to the interventions of the Labour Ministry and the larger more academic perspective of the Ministry of Education. It was argued that skills refers to different types of knowledge about work, not only those related to the concrete task that needs to be performed, but to the "know how" used in that performing and to the capacity to face conflict situations. This last type of knowledge was called "knowledge about situation" (Spinosa, 2006).

McGrath (2002) contends that the language of skill has shifted from an input-orientated concept of

'Education and Training' to an outcomes-orientated language of skill due to the rise of globalization and the increasing dominance of market-led ideologies in society. The differing perspectives on what constitute skill and the search for a common language has implications for statisticians, researchers and labour market research in general. The term skill is central to the various distinctions between members of the labour force and subsequently the bargaining levels for purposes of remuneration. There is a more critical view within the South African literature (Motala, Vally and Spreen, 2011) which contends that the mainstream explanations of a 'skills shortage' are not only present but also paralyzing:

'The nation, and regrettably it seems even organisations of the working class, are hostage to a particular way of thinking and are largely paralysed by it. In this thinking the main proposition is the idea that there is a great shortage of skills in our society and that in particular areas of skills these are so critical as to make any possibilities for economic advancement in particular sectors of the economy unimaginable; that the education and training system is hopelessly out of sync with the demands of the economy, that the lack of skills is one of the (if not the) greatest obstacles to achieving high levels of economic growth, that the lack of skills is the primary cause for low levels of productivity, and the country cannot compete internationally given this poverty of skills and will therefore fall further behind relative to the developed and other developing economies of the world' (Motala, Vally and Spreen, 2011:251)

It is within these vicissitudes of social, political and ideological contestation that the skills development and youth work preparation discourse is taking place globally. The contours of discussion also include the critical role of employers and/or organized business, who have dominated the discussion on skills development since the mid-1990s. The South African context of skills development straddles the need for social redress on one hand and the distributive requirements of the labour market through employment on the other hand. Finding a balance between the two in order to have a simpler transition to employment for the unemployed youth is the ultimate challenge that needs to be addressed.

2.3. What is the nature of social justice in education and work in the two countries?

Both Argentina and South Africa have at different times recovered from deep social crises which have resulted in social injustices, social inequality, poverty and underdevelopment. In the case of Argentina the economic crisis of 2001 resulted in economic instability, currency depreciation, huge social instability due to the economic crisis, and a greater need for social protection for the youth. In the case of South Africa, apartheid, which was abolished in 1994, has left a legacy of social injustices such as racial inequality, spatial inequality, unequal distribution of economic resources and a further divide between rich and poor. The establishment of a democratic order in 1994 presented more favourable conditions for the pursuit of social justice in South Africa.

Transformation in terms of racial redress in South Africa is crucial for understanding social justice. The youth employment and skills development issue is a central component of social justice aimed at overcoming the historical injustices of apartheid and colonialism.

In Latin America, a new paradigm of comprehensive social protection related to the social justice emerged strongly from the acute economic crisis of the eighties and nineties. Raising the need for structural developments and re-discussion of the development models, the new perspective of social protection aims at the coherence and coordination of policies at national and local levels.

In the case of Argentina, during the period under research it begun to conceive employment and training policies as well as social policies as the way to install new forms of social protection. Thus, the instruments already in use for work training, work practices and entrepreneurship support begun to be directed towards the "addition" of opportunities. In the social protection approach, training for work is not considered as training alone, but as a set of combinations of mainstream education, informal education and work experiences, including vocational guidance and life skills.

In both countries, social justice and the social protection approach are implicitly associated with a political project or a range of social forces which agitate for it. The struggle for a just society has both a political and an economic dimension. As poverty, unemployment, and gender inequality widen so the battle around pursuing social justice continues to intensify.

A strong intellectual current that has a social democratic orientation is the *human capabilities approach*, which is gaining currency in the debates about vocational education, skills development and human development. Drawing on the works of Sen (1999), which focus on poverty and inequality, this approach sees education, even at a minimum level, as necessary in achieving human capabilities. Human capabilities as understood by Sen (1999) have to be judged and aligned with the substantive freedoms an individual enjoys in order for them to lead the kind of life that they can value. 'In this sense poverty must be seen as the deprivation of basic capabilities rather than merely a lowness of incomes' (Sen, 1999:87).

Vocational Education and Training (VET) scholars (Powell 2012, Powell 2013, Tikly 2012, McGrath 2012) use the capabilities approach to argue that education can provide a basis for learning for life rather than learning for work, enhancing the entire human capability of those who have access to it.

By so doing, the capabilities perspective seeks to transcend the aspects of VET research which are structuralist and quantitative. The capabilities approach is also closely aligned with a social justice perspective which aims to put the needs of people first. 'By putting the needs of people first – rather than the needs of the economy – the capability approach brings to the forefront of VET and skills development discourse the importance of social justice, human rights, and poverty alleviation' (Powell, 2013:2).

3. Methodology

This collaborative study is based on the supposition that youth employment is a phenomenon socially constructed through public policies, the young people themselves and institutional training intervention. This "social construction" is made up of segmented youth trajectories where, at a macro-social level, processes of reproduction are observed as well as new processes of change and differentiation (Bourdieu, 1988). In these processes, education and particularly work training acquire significant relevance in the possibility for generating processes of work inclusion for youngsters (Jacinto y Gallart, 1998; Jacinto y Millenaar, 2010).

In this framework, the methodological perspective used to approach the phenomenon of youth employment as "social construction" was based on different levels:

- *Opportunities and restrictions faced by youngsters due to the segmented labour markets and sectors*

At the level of the youngsters themselves, one must take into account that their transition to the world of work is produced in the framework of unequal social relations: social position, gender, age group, ethnicity etc. Youth employment is segmented, both in Argentina and South Africa, according to the different educational circuits and labour market. From a quantitative framework, we have considered not only socio-demographic variables of differentiation (level of education, sex, age) but also specific characteristics of the work opportunities for youngsters in different sectors of activity. Given that the established mechanisms of access to work are diverse in segmented socio-productive structures, the focus was on two specific sectors in both countries: construction and the wine industry.

- *Policies aimed at youth employment*

The assumptions, regulations, and strategies of the policies aimed at inserting youth into the workforce are related to broader perspectives on the approach of the "social issue", implicit in the political economy. In this sense, different "rationales" live alongside each other within policies; they are often collaborative as well as conflictive. From a qualitative perspective, we have identified

and classified them in order to show the global rationale used to promote skills development in the national public governance system.

- *Work training institutions*

Different strategies are developed to respond to the needs and demands of the populations targeted, as well as specific linkages between education and work in the sectors of activity. In this study, and from a qualitative perspective, we have studied how institutionalized training and employment conform to the interventions regarding work insertion of the youngsters in certain sectors of activity. This includes companies (their personnel selection process, demand for qualifications and their employee training strategies) and different programmes which offer work training (vocational training, secondary school technical education, work programmes and/or educational second chance for youngsters programmes, work training programmes in secondary school, etc.). These programmes have particularly aimed at unemployed youngsters or those with poor access to formal work, generally with low level qualifications (secondary school diploma or none at all), with the objective of supporting them in their first work transition.

As seen here, to develop this research, several units of analysis were used:

- *Youngsters (15-24 in Argentina; 15-34 in South Africa): their national trends in terms of employment, precarious work, informal work and their linkages between education and work in the sectorial level.*
- *Education, Training and Employment policies (at the national macro level and at the sectorial level)*
- *The networks/linkages between training institutions, unions, companies and other associations at a micro level.*

Different social research techniques were combined. On one hand and from the perspective of a quantitative strategy, secondary data on youth employment held by public statistics systems in both countries were compiled and processed. On the other hand, from a qualitative strategy (a) documents and other secondary sources of policies at a national and sectorial level were compiled and analyzed, (b) semi-structured interviews were carried out with key players in the skills development and employment systems of the two countries. The chosen strategy to approach the interrogatives dealt with was the triangulation of techniques and data sources (Flick, 1992; Fielding and Fielding, 1986).

3.1. General objective

Understanding barriers to accessing skills development and employment for youth in Argentina and South Africa and the policies addressing them, in the context of regional and international trends.

3.2. Research Questions

- a. What quality of jobs do young people get? Who provides the work and where is it provided (formal/informal; sectors, regions, type of ownership etc.)? What are the structural barriers for youth (such as general unemployment or precarious work, economic cycles and/or crisis, deficits in educational supply)? What is the gender dimension of youth unemployment? What inequality is there among youth groups when accessing skills development and employment?
- b. What are the policies for work preparation and deployment? What are the conceptual approaches, guidelines and designs of implementation, their complements, and contradictions? Do policies help to improve the opportunities for youth to access skills development and quality work? How do institutions promote inclusion of young people, especially the disadvantaged ones, by networking with other public and private actors? What are their strategies in skills development? How do young people get into work preparation and work? What are the relationships (conflicting, complementary and parallel) between institutions and some other non-state actors (including the private sector) dealing with the same issues?

3.3. Data collection

Secondary information was gleaned from the following documents:

- Statistics South Africa publications
- Departments of Higher Education and Training and Labour policies
- National Youth policies
- Department of Basic Education policies
- Construction Industry Development Board policies
- South African Wine Industry Statistics

Interviews were conducted with key players and stakeholders in the two industries and the list appears as **Appendix A**. Skills Development institutions and Employers were given priority in these interviews. A description of the institutions and organisations who participated in this study appear as **Appendix B**. The semi-structured interviews appear as **Appendix C**. The methodology of the study was outlined in the seminar hosted by PREJET in May 2014 in Buenos Aires. Following this workshop, we have been responding to and revising the research methods paper to suit our conditions and the sectorial context(s) of our study. In our research work we did not seek to identify a separate 'domain' of methods from theory. The methodology in our view draws on the theory, finds ways of extending the theory and also contributes to necessary revisions of methodology.

As agreed in the May seminar, the *primary research* was done in a qualitative method and involved interviews and observation. Document collection was part of the analysis of policies for skills development and youth employment in both countries. We did, however, include document collection and archival references as part of our interview questions as they provided more clarification on areas where we lacked background knowledge about the sector(s). Our interviewees gladly pointed us to critical sources which would augment our knowledge of the different sectors.

This section focuses on two critical issues: (a) how we have arrived at our methodological approach and (b) how our fieldwork experience guides our analysis of the data. This overview is therefore a summary of what we did and how we experienced it.

The methodological design of the study suggests a selection of two case studies of companies or organizations in the two sectors (construction and wine) wherein ten interviews per sector would be conducted. We departed slightly from this approach, particularly in the wine industry, where we felt that based on our preliminary interviews the transformation theme was central and we required a more sectorial focus rather than a single company perspective in order to get a better understanding of youth employment and skills development in the sector. Skills development is fragmented in the wine industry, despite there being two Sector Education and Training Authorities (SETAs)² involved in the industry. The construction industry has a wide array of training providers and institutional players both private and public. We opted to do our research at both public and private training provider institutions; this has proven useful in expanding the themes for our analysis.

In simple terms, our methodology included semi-structured interviews coupled with observation. We found this the most appropriate approach for getting the information that we required. We had to revise the questions substantially in order to generate the type of *thematic analysis* we intend to conduct. The survey method of qualitative questions which was originally required proved to have limitations in eliciting the types of information that we required, especially in the wine sector. We adapted the questionnaire to suit the conditions of the research and reworked it in ways that captured critical themes which then

² These are the Agriculture SETA (AgriSETA) and the Food and Beverage SETA (FoodbevSETA). These SETAs deal with the primary and the distribution aspects of the industry respectively. In addition to this, many of the organizations we interviewed had uneven interactions with the SETAs. They were either doing small niche projects with them or were not involved with them/ had never heard about them before. We also discovered that the SETAs themselves had very little focus on the wine industry per se. They tended to include it within a broader sub-sector rather than focus on it in detail.

informed the final report.

As researchers, we generally accept that none of our methodologies are ‘innocent’, ‘value free’ or entirely unproblematic. Our research questions led us to a qualitative approach given that a range of meanings, attitudes and subjective factors inform youth employment and skills development. This is relevant specifically in our engagement with institutional players whose institutions govern or implement various forms of skills development and youth employment programmes. The transformation of industry to represent an equitable representation of South African racial demographics has shaped all Government policies since 1994. The result is that our research had to take into account this critical political dimension which informs the skills development and youth unemployment question in South Africa.

Race, gender and social class remain critical access indicators in South African society. These factors are also influential in the process of doing fieldwork. The people who hold power and control the economy are still predominantly white males. Very few females and black people have ascended in big numbers to positions of economic power in the private sector. Our position as university based academics with authority on the subject of youth employment and skills development created a strong rapport with some of the interviewees. University status is still associated with ‘higher’ social status and ‘higher’ knowledge by professionals in various workplaces. In other areas such as TVET, there exists a deficit relationship between universities and TVET colleges. As a result, some institutional players tend to look ‘up’ to university academics as the holders of ‘higher’ knowledge; these perceptions reinforce hierarchical relations between university researchers and academics in TVET colleges. We entered the field aware of such pre-existing perceptions in society. We can say that our position as Wits researchers (which we declared) facilitated easier access for us into the field.

In the process of political transition, skills development researchers have relied extensively on descriptive policy studies and quantitative labour economics studies which have tended to produce research which accounts sufficiently for policy shifts at the macro-institutional level but pays very little attention to lower-level institutional dynamics.³ In order to bridge our knowledge gaps about the two sectors, we did desktop reviews of literature and policy documents about the sectors coupled with preliminary interviews with sector experts which helped to guide us concerning the developments in industry with regard to skills training, youth employment and broader labour market dynamics. The document analysis was also helpful in the triangulation and validation of the findings.

Accessing the ‘field’ was not always a cut and dry, straightforward process of setting up an appointment, making a telephone call or sending an email to ensure that the interviewees were available for the interview. We realized that we had to negotiate access and bypass institutional gatekeepers in some instances. Employers in South Africa are generally notorious for not allowing external researchers to interview them about their practices. We entered the wine industry research aware of the high profile 2012/13 worker strikes and community protests in the De Doorns and Overberg areas in the Western Cape which had created a tense atmosphere between employers and employees. The result of this was that some interviewees viewed us with suspicion or doubt given the media hype which followed the wine industry strikes and numerous requests to employers from the media for interviews about labour conditions in the sector.

The construction industry interviews involved a smaller number of institutional visits but produced a diversity of findings in relation to resource availability. The public TVET College that we visited and in which we conducted interviews resembled a typical formal educational environment with classrooms, workshops and training facilities all well-resourced through government support. Other providers in the construction industry, such as Soweto Plumbing Academy, have smaller facilities but make do with those resources

³ Other dominant approaches in skills development and youth employment include Evidence-Based Policy (EBP) studies, which are often presented as replicable and are usually generalized across sectors. The SETA process of Sector Skills Planning has tended to be orientated in this way. A standard method is developed and all sectors generally follow the same method. What is lost in this whole process are the nuances of differences within and between sectors.

to train their students for the labour market and have to turn away greater numbers of applicants due to resource constraints. Another centre – Sol Tech – is a fully privately funded (fees and grants) entity of a trade union that predominantly represents white (Afrikaner) workers. It is well resourced, well organised and works on 'real time' systems as part of its training. Our fieldwork experience further exposes the racial inequalities of South African society.

As we have stated above, we adopted different strategies for the two sectors. In the wine industry, our sectorial research approach involved interviews with institutions involved with skills development. These institutions included industry bodies, research and technology organizations, experienced wine makers, wine farms, training academies and an agricultural college. In total we visited 10 institutions and interviewed 14 individuals. In the construction industry we visited 4 institutions. Our interviews became more focus groups at three of the institutions, while in one institution we were able to follow the structured interview approach. **Appendix C** summarizes how the research unfolded. In addition, we interviewed the National Business Initiative (NBI), the Construction Education and Training Authority (CETA) and the Construction Industry Development Board (CIDB).

3.4. Analysis of data

We analysed the quantitative secondary data and documentary analysis to define the state and conditions of youth skills development and deployment in South Africa. The interviews were coded using Atlas TI and this information together with the notes taken by the field workers was the major source for the qualitative part of the study.

4. South African Context

The Republic of South Africa is a constitutional democracy with a three-tier system. Legislative authority is held by the Parliament of South Africa. Executive authority is vested in the President of South Africa, who is the Head of State and Head of Government, and his Cabinet. The three-tier governance system is composed of a national system, nine provincial governments, and 284 local governments. All three levels of government have legislative and executive authority in their own spheres, and are defined in the South African constitution as "distinctive, interdependent and interrelate" ([www.gov.za; www.info.gov.za/documents/constitution/1996/index.htm](http://www.gov.za/documents/constitution/1996/index.htm))

The national government is composed of three interconnected branches:

- **Legislative:** Parliament, consisting of the National Assembly and the National Council of Provinces;
- **Executive:** The President, who is both the Head of State and Head of Government;
- **Judicial:** The Constitutional Court, the Supreme Court of Appeal, and the High Court.

All these branches of the national governance system are responsible for making the laws that govern all the affairs of the Republic. There is often an overlap in some portfolios between national Government competence and provincial competence. However, the portfolio might be the same but the nature of competence will always differ.

The provincial governments of the nine provinces of South Africa have their own executive and legislative branches, but no separate judicial systems. In each province, the legislative branch consists of a provincial legislature, varying in size from 30 to 80 members, which is elected through party-list proportional representation. The provincial governments get allocated their budgets from the national fiscus collected by the national treasury, according to the size of the population they serve. In turn, the provincial governments in South Africa manage a large scope of functions where delivery of services takes place, such as Basic Education; Health and its infrastructure in hospitals and clinics; Transport infrastructure; Tourism; Rural Development; Justice and Correctional services.

The local government is divided into three categories: Metropolitans; District and Local Councils. Metropolitans, also known as Unicitys, have exclusive executive and legislative authority. There are six metropolitans in South Africa which cover the major industrial hubs of the country. On the other hand, the District and local councils are interdependent and involve a division of powers. The district council has municipal executive and legislative authority over a number of local councils. Within a district council area there are individual local councils sharing their municipal authority with the district council under which they fall (www.SouthAfrica.info, 2014).

It is within this complex governance system that young people find themselves as they navigate the path of transiting from being young to entering the labour market of 'adults'. At that point, the closest interaction with government most of them have had will have been the basic schooling system and perhaps the health system. Definitely, the schooling system will have been a major influence in shaping who they are and what they think of their government up to that point.

In this chapter, the South African context will be described under the following headings:

- 4.1. General Key Country statistics
- 4.2. The Economy
- 4.3. The Education and Skills development system
- 4.4. The nature of international influences in Education and Skills development

This is the background which grounds our understanding of the phenomenon of youth transition in each country and in what follows, a description of these issues will be presented with respect to South Africa.

4.1. General Key Country Statistics

The following information is extracted from the Fast facts put together by the South African Institute of Race Relations (IRR) towards the end of 2014 (Institute of Race Relations, 2014). It must be said that IRR does not collect its own information but uses the information collected by the South African Statistics Department for its analysis.

4.1.1. Demographics

Table 1: Demographics

Size	1 220 813km ²
Population density per km ²	44.2
2013 population estimate	53,82m
•Proportion African •Proportion Coloured •Proportion Indian / Asian •Proportion White	79.0% 9.0% 2.5% 9.5%
Proportion aged below 18 (2012)	35.5%
Proportion aged 65 and above	5.3%
Male life expectancy (2011-16)	59.1
Female life expectancy (2011-16)	63.1

From the above, it can be seen that the South African population has been growing – from 51 million in the last Census carried out in 2011 it is now is approaching 54 million after only 3 years. The life expectancy has also been improving, with women demonstrating a significantly higher life expectancy than their male counterparts. Also, South Africa is a country of youth, as young people are more represented than the older population.

4.1.2. South African population and youth

According to the Statistics South Africa mid-year population estimates for 2011, the total population was about 50.5 million, of which the youth population (14-35 years) was estimated at about 20.5 million, representing 41.2% of the total population. The population estimates indicate that the youth population group, year-on year, has been showing more rapid growth than the national average population growth (South African Status of Youth Report (2011/12)). Between 2012 and 2013, the life expectancy of South Africans has increased to 59.6 years for males and 61.4 years for females (Statistics South Africa, 2013).

The definition of youth varies considerably between countries. The United Nations define youth as those between **15 and 24 years**⁴. However, the South African definition of youth is broader and comprises young people between the ages of **14 to 35 years**⁵. In this report, information on both groups will be used. However, there is a discrepancy within the statistics-gathering institutions, with some starting at 14 and some at 15 and some ending at 34 whilst others end at 35.

The other definition that has crept up in the South African language in reference to youth is that of the group of young people who are Not in Employment, Education or Training (NEET). This is always in reference to young people between the ages of 15 to 34/35. This is a category that troubles post-school policy makers and providers as well as employers. The lower threshold for this category remains at 15 because young people are compelled to be in school until this age. However, as will be seen later on, more and more young people remain in the schooling system, attempting to pass Grade 12, which is the end of the schooling system.

4.1.3. The Economy

Table 2: Economy

GDP growth rate	2.2%
Average annual real growth (2003-13)	3.7%
Proportions of GDP:	
• Agriculture	2.1%
• Mining	8.1%
• Manufacturing	11.9%
• Electricity, gas and water	3.3%
• Construction	3.6%
• Trade	13.3%
• Transport	9.0%
• Finance	18.2%
• Community, social and personal services	8.3%
• General government services	15.1%
Labour Market participation rate (2Q 2014)	57.3%
Unemployment (official) (2Q 2014)	25.5%
Unemployment (expanded) (2Q 2014)	35.6%
People living in relative poverty	35.9%
Dependency on employed population	2.6%

It can be seen from the table above that Finance contributes the highest proportion of the GDP of the country, followed by Government Services, Trade and then Manufacturing. This confirms speculation that the South African economy has been shifting from primary sectors to secondary economy sectors over the past few years. As such, the contribution of both Agriculture and Mining has fallen to single digits. Only 57% of the population is reported to be actively participating in the Labour Market and the unemployed

⁴ <http://social.un.org/youthyear/docs/UNPY-presentation.pdf>

⁵ According to the South African National Youth Commission Act of 1996, 'youth' is defined as all people between the ages of 14 and 35 years: <http://www.polity.org.za/polity/govdocs/policy/intro.html>. In order to correspond to the coverage of the Quarterly Labour Force Survey (QLFS), the bottom age limit is increased to 15 years.

rate ranges from 25-35%. The expanded unemployment rate is often used, as the official rate represents those who are still active in seeking employment, thus discounting the discouraged work seekers.

4.1.4. Education

Table 3: Education

Number of pupils (grades 1-12)	12.49m
Education expenditure as a proportion of total (2013-2014)	41.6%
Proportion of 0-4s attending ECD	33.0%
Proportion of literate adults	92.9%
Proportion of adults with no education	5.5%
Proportion of adults with grade 12	32.7%
Proportion of adults with university degree or higher qualifications	4.7%
Proportion of pupils in no-fee schools	73.2%
Proportion of pupils in receipt of social grants	25.8%

Education still receives the lion's share of the Government budget, at 41.6%. Even though education is not free, 73% of children going to school attend schools where they are not paying any fees. In addition, just over 25% of young people in school receive a social grant to help them with living expenses. As compared to two decades ago, when only 61% of South Africans were literate, South Africa has grown to be a highly literate society, but just over a third have acquired the grade 12 qualification and less than 5% a post-school qualification.

4.1.5. Health and social security

Table 4: Health and social security

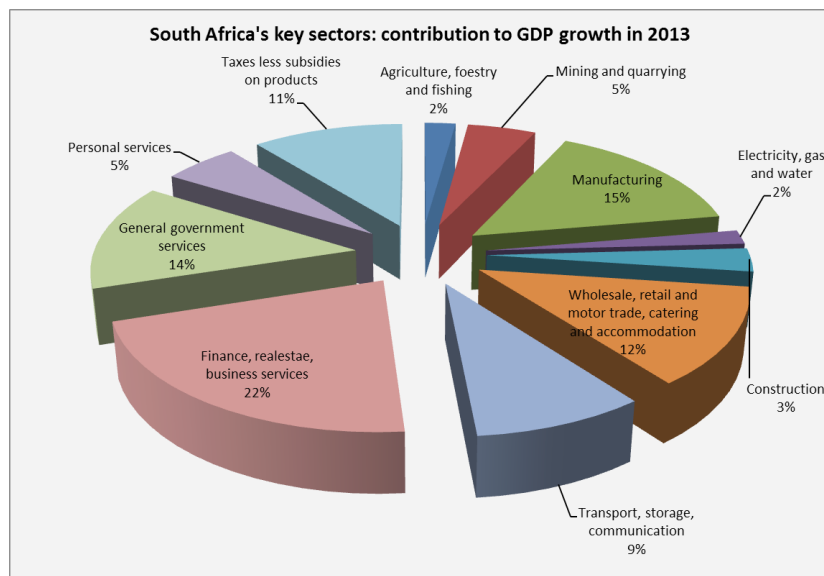
Health expenditure as a proportion of total	30.7%
Social grant beneficiaries (2014)	29.5%
Under-five mortality rate	46.0%
Severe malnutrition under-fives (2012)	4.4%
Children living in poverty (2012)	55.7%

The health conditions for young people do not look good at all. Even though almost a third of the population is in receipt of social grants, it looks like young people bear the brunt of poverty and poor health systems.

4.2. The Economy (1994-2014)

The economy of South Africa is the second largest in Africa, behind Nigeria, and is ranked as an upper-middle income economy by the World Bank; this makes the country one of only four countries in Africa in this category (the others being Botswana, Gabon and Mauritius). However, this ranking speaks to size only and does not speak to the diversification and advanced state of the economic sectors in which South Africa still leads. Since 1996, the end of over twelve years of international sanctions, South Africa's Gross Domestic Product has almost tripled to \$400 billion, and foreign exchange reserves have increased from \$3 billion to nearly \$50 billion, creating a growing and sizable African middle class within two decades of establishing democracy and ending apartheid. The key economic indicators have been presented in section 4.1.3. Overall, South Africa's key economic sectors in 2013 were as follows:

Figure 1: South Africa's key sectors: contribution to GDP growth in 2013



Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Economy_of_South_Africa - accessed 22/03/2014

For the purpose of this study, we will describe only the agriculture (in which the part of the wine industry falls) and construction industries in fuller details. The **agricultural industry** contributes around 10% of formal employment, relatively low compared to other parts of Africa, as well as providing work for casual labourers and contributing around 2.6% of GDP for the nation. However, due to the aridity of the land, only 13.5% can be used for crop production, and only 3% is considered high potential land. Maize production, which contributes to a 36% majority of the gross value of South Africa's field crops, has also experienced negative impacts due to climate change. The most important agricultural exports of South Africa include: edible fruit and nuts, beverages, preserved food, tobacco, cereals, wool not carded or combed, miscellaneous food, sugar, meat, milling products, malt and starch. The most important agricultural imports, which accounted for over 60% of agricultural import value during the same period, include: cereals, meat, soya-bean oil cake, beverages, soya-bean oil and its fractions, tobacco, palm oil and its fractions, miscellaneous food, spices, coffee, tea, and preserved food. The food sub-sector is the largest employer within the agro-processing sector – contributing 1.4% to total employment, and 11.5% within the manufacturing sector. In 2006, the agro-processing sector represented 24.7% of the total manufacturing output. Although the economy as a whole gained 975,941 jobs between 1995 and 2006, the agro-processing sector lost 45,977 jobs. The competitive pressures from abroad, particularly from China and India, played a role in the decline of exports for the food, textiles and paper sub-sectors, as firms in these sectors increasingly compete with lower cost producers. Increased exports from the beverages, tobacco, wood and leather sub-sectors over the period are probably due to the presence of large dominant firms within these sectors in South Africa, which have managed to remain competitive.

Construction currently contributes between 3 and 4% to the GDP. According to Industry insight (2012), construction depends on the growth of the domestic GDP and when it slows down, the construction sector also slows down. This sector also depends a lot on government spending more than private. For example, the boom that was experienced in the preparation for the 2010 World Cup has since slowed down. However, government has put in place a R827bn infrastructure fund in order to stimulate the economy and create jobs. This fund will be used to build schools, hospitals, clinics, dams, electricity, roads, harbours, etc. (South Africa Information, 2014). The budget review points out that R3.6 trillion in major infrastructure projects are in progress, with the new power generation projects taking up the largest share of the budget. Several private-sector projects are also contained in the Government's Strategic Infrastructure projects, bringing the total value of projects to over R4-trillion.

4.3. The Education and Training system

The education system in South Africa is governed by two national departments, namely the Department of Basic Education (DBE), which is responsible for primary and secondary schools, and the Department of Higher Education and Training (DHET), which is responsible for University Education, Vocational and Community Education and Training (VCET) and Skills Development. Prior to 2009, these two departments were represented in a single Department of Education. Under the DBE fall public and private schools, Early Childhood centres and Adult Basic Literacy. DHET deals with Technical and Vocational Education and Training (TVET) colleges, Community and Adult Education and Training colleges, Universities, and Sector Education and Training Authorities (SETAs). The university system has over one million young people on roll in its 25 public institutions. The private university system is relatively small ($\pm$ 300 students). However, only the basic education and the skills development systems will be the focus of our discussion in this chapter as these are the main systems through which the majority of young people are being prepared for the labour market.

Table 5: Structure of the South African education system

The South African Education and Training System				
National Qualifications Framework (NQF) levels	Basic Education (offered in public and private schools)	Vocational and Community Education and Training (offered in TVET and community colleges)	Higher Education (offered in universities)	Occupational qualifications (offered in public and private TVET colleges; community colleges; industry; and by private providers)
10			Doctoral Degree Doctoral Degree (professional)	
9			Master's Degree Master's Degree (Professional)	
8			Bachelor Honours Degree Post-graduate Diploma Bachelor's Degree	
7			Bachelor's Degree Advanced Diploma	
6			Diploma Advanced Certificates	Occupational Certificate
5		Higher Certificate	Higher Certificates	Occupational Certificate
4	Grade 12 – National Senior Certificate	National Certificate: General and Vocational		Occupational Certificate
3	Grade 11	Intermediate Certificate		Occupational Certificate
2	Grade 10	Elementary Certificate		Occupational Certificate
1	Grade 9	General Certificate		Occupational Certificate
	Grade 0-8			

4.3.1. The Basic Education system

South Africa presents us with a complex range of contradictory scenarios in its school education system. To start with, the country bears the legacy of extreme inequality, and hence, the driving force behind most of the post-apartheid state's programmes has been to erase this legacy. In the past 21 years, the state has taken lengthy strides in making school education more accessible to children. The country has not only expanded education provision but has also been able to obtain what Holsinger and Cowell (2000) consider

to be a precursor of successful massification of schooling, namely the adoption of a widespread cultural commitment to education. When the new government took office, the education cause was boosted immensely by the 'back to school' calls made by former President Mandela. Millions of students responded and enrolled en masse. Enrolment and retention numbers have continued to increase steadily, according to a recent study of the survival and drop-out rates in the country's 12-grade school system (Ministerial Committee Report 2008). Even though fees are charged in some public schools, government policies do mitigate against the fees being a deterrent to participating in education for children from poor families and this will be discussed in the section on policies.

As indicated above, the issue of access is one of the lesser problems of the South African education system. More challenging is the question of learner retention, which becomes most pronounced after Grade 9. As Table 6 shows, the drop-out rate below Grade 9 is statistically insignificant, but then increases sharply from Grade 10 to 12. About 50% of the starting cohort reach grade 12.

Table 6: Survival and drop-out rates of the 1980–1984 birth cohort, aged 23–27 years in 2007

Grade	Mean survival rate* *Calculated per thousand births	Drop-out rate
Grade 1	984	0.2%
Grade 2	982	0.4%
Grade 3	979	0.7%
Grade 4	972	1.2%
Grade 5	960	1.7%
Grade 6	944	2.8%
Grade 7	917	4.8%
Grade 8	873	7.0%
Grade 9	811	11.5%
Grade 10	717	16.1%
Grade 11	602	24.2%
Grade 12	456	

Source: Ministerial Committee: 2008

Further evidence of increased school participation and improved secondary schooling outcomes emerges from trend studies of the senior certificate examinations, which serve as the admission requirement for enrolment in the higher education system. The enrolment numbers for this examination have been increasing steadily, and the pass rates have climbed from 47 per cent in 1997 to 73 per cent in 2003. In subsequent years, this figure dropped to the 60 per cent range, but increased again to 70 per cent in 2011 (Naidoo 2006; Department of Basic Education, 2012). In 2014, the pass rate for Grade 12 examinations was 75.8%. Apart from a few exceptions in recent years, the number of students sitting for the senior certificate has increased, as is shown in Table 7 below.

Completion rates of the secondary education system can be measured in two ways: either by looking at the pass rate at the end of the schooling system (Grade 12) or by looking at the survival rates of the same cohort at the end of Grade 12. Table 7 reflects the first method for senior certificate pass rates between 1991 and 2014.

Table 7: Senior certificate, numbers passing and pass rate, 1991–2011

Year	Total candidates	Total passes	Percentage total passes	Total failures	Percentage failures
1991	409 076	216 147	52.8	192 929	47.2
1992	447 904	243 611	54.4	204 293	45.6
1993	470 948	239 556	50.9	231 392	49.1
1994	495 408	287 343	58.0	208 065	42.0
1995	531 453	283 742	53.4	247 711	46.6
1996	518 032	278 958	53.8	239 074	46.2
1997	555 267	261 399	47.1	293 867	52.9
1998	553 151	279 986	50.6	273 165	49.4
1999	511 159	249 831	48.9	261 328	51.1
2000	489 941	283 294	57.8	206 004	42.0
2001	449 371	277 206	61.7	172 126	38.3
2002	443 821	305 774	68.9	137 991	31.1
2003	440 267	322 492	73.2	117 604	26.7
2004	467 985	330 717	70.7	137 173	29.3
2005	508 363	347 184	68.3	160 996	31.7
2006	528 525	351 503	66.5	177 022	33.5
2007	564 775	368 217	65.2	196 558	34.8
2008	533 561	333 604	62.5	199 817	37.5
2009	552 073	334 718	60.6	217 355	39.4
2010	537 543	364 513	67.8	173 030	32.2
2011	496 090	348 114	70.2	147 976	29.8
2012	511 152	377 829	73.9	133 323	26.1
2013	562 112	439 779	78.2	122 333	21.8
2014	532 860	403 874	75.8	128 986	24.2

Source: Department of Basic Education (2009, 2011; 2014)

4.3.2. The Skills Development System

The Skills Development system in South Africa is composed of Industry Training, TVET colleges; Sector Education and Training authorities and quality assurance agencies. Except for Industry Training, all other entities are accountable to DHET. However, it can be said that the DHET entities function disparately as coordination is lacking in the system.

South Africa has made significant gains and progress in overcoming the skills development legacy of its past, since the advent of democracy in 1994. But despite this progress, low levels of skills among the majority of the formerly disadvantaged population and stubbornly high unemployment rates, especially among youths (15 – 35 years), still remain one of the country's most pressing concerns and greatest impediments towards a better future for all. The skills development challenge as it has been inherited from the restrictive education and training policies of the past is not easy to overcome. Apart from dealing with general pressures produced by globalization and the knowledge economy, South Africa faces some unique domestic challenges in the area of skills development. These challenges have been mainly inherited from the apartheid era.

a. Industry training: culture and practices

Industry training in South Africa has a particular history. Under apartheid, quality training and education

in the workplace were not only reserved for whites, but also predominantly reserved for the young. Nowadays, once people have obtained their initial post-school education and training (e.g. artisans, professionals, generalists, etc.), they tend to remain within the same profession, or with the same employer without obtaining further qualifications. Training by employers benefits a small portion of the employees and concentrates mostly on informal part-time, in-house training sessions of short duration and with a narrow skills focus. The only comprehensive workplace-based training that exists is the apprenticeship system, which has been in place since the 1920s. Although during apartheid the apprenticeship was racially based, it is still a major pathway for intermediate skills development. This form of training concentrates on technical trades occupations.

Artisan apprentices were fully sponsored by employers during their apprenticeship, which has an average duration of 3-5 years. The introduction of the Manpower Training Act 1981 resulted in the de-racialisation of the training system and the black intake at the colleges that provided the theory of artisan development grew. As 90% of students in technical colleges were now black and studying full-time, employer participation became limited and as a result the system began to experience a substantial and continuous decline (Kraak, 2007). Consequently, there was a significant drop in the number of qualified artisans (from 13500 in 1985 to 5145 in 1999 to less than a 1000 by 2000). With the recent campaigns on artisan development, the numbers are slowly climbing up again. However, placement rates after training are still problematic. Kraak reported that 69.7% of African and 24.2% of white qualified artisans remained unemployed, clearly indicating that even though the legal barriers for inclusion have been removed, the system still evidences white privilege.

The effort to grow the apprenticeship pool is not only supported and campaigned for by the Department of Higher Education and Training but is also sponsored by the Human Resources Development Council (HDRC) of the country, which is chaired by the Deputy President. This Council has subsequently established a National Artisan Development Centre to coordinate all activities of artisan development in the country and the following statistics were collected by this centre in 2013.

Table 8: Apprenticeship enrolment figures for 2013

	April to December 2013	First quarter	Second quarter	Third quarter
Total youth data (35 and under)	17 584	5 611	5 671	6 837
Total females	3 879	1 202	1 092	1 795
Total males	13 705	4 409	4 579	5 042

Source: National Artisan Database, 2014

Table 9: Apprenticeship enrolment figures for 2013 by race

Artisan male breakdown	Total
Black African	8 904
Black Coloured	1 382
Black Indian	480
White	2 939
Total	13 705
Artisan female breakdown	Total
Black African	3 431
Black Coloured	259
Black Indian	33
White	156
Total	3 879

Source: National Artisan Database, 2014

b. Learnerships

The Skills Development Act 1998 and Skills Development Levies 1997 provide the legal underpinnings for what has been promoted as the cornerstone of providing intermediate skilling while also addressing unemployment and the scarce skills shortage in South Africa – the learnership system. The learnership system was introduced in 2000 and was meant to be a democratic successor of the apprenticeship system. Given the racial stigma and historical decline of the apprenticeship system prior to 1994, the government attempted to replace the previous system with a newly designed, work-based learning system, which would be 'free' of the history and the system-related criticisms inherent to the apprenticeship system. In order to ensure work-related training, the system was defined as a structured dual-learning programme which combined theoretical learning at an institution and on-the-job practical training.

The learnership system has received mixed reviews, as some of the programmes represent the old apprenticeship divided into smaller chunks which are achieved along the way; some are built in areas where there is no tradition for apprenticeships and are programmatically weak; and many are dead-end programmes with no labour market uptake. However, some have proven to be good and valued by employers. The unemployed youth is attracted to them because they receive a stipend for their participation. The greatest danger about them is the churning that seems to take place within, as young people either cycle from one learnership to another as long as they can have some income, or they drop out as soon as something meaningful comes along (HSRC, 2008). Currently, the learnerships co-exist with a growing apprenticeship system as well as other occupational qualifications in the system.

c. The TVET colleges

One of the key players in the provision of intermediate skills within the skills development space is the public TVET college. One of the first reforms the first democratic government of South Africa embarked on was the restructuring of the college sector landscape. The previous politics of race had led to a duplication of facilities, unevenness of resources between formerly advantaged and formerly disadvantaged colleges, and institutions located far away from any economic activity. Furthermore, many institutions lacked training infrastructure, as they were undersupplied with facilities essential for providing active practice-oriented learning, e.g. computer laboratories, workshops, libraries, etc. (Akoojee, McGrath & Visser, 2008).

In 1998, the Further Education and Training Act no 98 of 1998 formally merged 152 former technical colleges, colleges of education and training centres into 50 multi-site FET institutions. The reorganisation process, which started in 2002, intended to lay a solid foundation from which education and training in this sector could respond appropriately and efficiently to labour market demands. Whereas the backbone of the apprenticeship system was the provision of 'N' courses or NATED courses, a new programme was introduced in the colleges, meant to replace the N courses, which was called the National Vocational certificate (NCV). The establishment of a Department of Higher Education for post-school education has resulted in a growth, diversification and differentiation of provision in the college sector that has not been seen in these types of institutions. Now called TVET colleges, these institutions offer N courses, NCV programmes, Higher Education certificates, Occupational certificates and Skills programmes.

d. Sector Education and Training Authorities

The Sector Education and Training Authorities (SETAs) are intermediaries in the education and training arena. There are 21 SETAs, each classified according to the economic sectors. They all derive their existence from the Skills Development Act of 1999. They have also not escaped the many changes that have been on-going in the skills development space. For example, their number has been reduced several times and some SETAs have been incorporated into others whilst in some instances some parts have been carved off one SETA to become part of another. The following is a list of Sector Education and Training Authorities:

Table 10: Sector Education and Training Authorities

MICT	Media, Advertising, Information and Communication Technologies Sector Education and Training Authority
MQA	Mining Qualifications Authority
MERSETA	Manufacturing, Engineering and Related Services Sector Education and Training Authority
SASSETA	Safety and Security Sector Education & Training Authority
AGRISSETA	Agriculture Sector Education and Training Authority
PSETA	Public Service Sector Education and Training Authority
SERVICES	Services Sector Education and Training Authority
CATHSSETA	Culture, Arts, Tourism, Hospitality and Sport Education and Training Authority
TETA	Transport Education and Training Authority
W&RSETA	Wholesale and Retail Sector Education and Training Authority

The Skills Development Act states that the functions and duties of a SETA are to:

- Develop a sector skills plan. This is a plan to describe the trends in each sector and the skills that are in demand, and to identify priorities for skills development
- Implement the sector skills plan.
- Develop and administer Learnerships.
- Support the implementation of the National Qualifications Framework.
- Undertake Quality Assurance. In promoting quality provision, SETAs will:
 - » Accredite education and training providers
 - » Monitor provision to ensure that programmes are being followed
 - » Register Assessors
 - » Collaborate with other Education and Training Quality assurers
 - » Report to the South African Qualifications Authority on how they fulfil the ETQa role.
- Disburse levies collected from employers in their sector. Employers pay 1% of their salary payroll to the South African Revenue Services (SARS) on a monthly basis. The SETA uses 10% of the money to cover administration costs. 70% can be claimed back by companies. The remaining 20% goes to the National Skills Fund.
- Report to the Minister and to the South African Qualifications Authority. SETAs are statutory bodies. This means that they are established by an Act of Parliament and are given clear responsibilities to be discharged in the public interest.

The financing of the skills system is based on a levy-based scheme, regulated in the Skills Development Act. Every employer, who is not generally exempt by the Act (i.e. public service employer, religious or charitable institution, national or provincial public entity), and whose total employee payroll as calculated by Pay As You Earn (PAYE) is to exceed R500 000 per year, has to pay 1% of the total employee payroll. The levy is collected through SARS. Twenty per cent (20%) of the levy is allocated to the National Skills Fund (NSF) and the remaining 80% is paid to all existing Sector Education Authorities (SETAs). The SETAs designate 10% to administration and the rest of the amount to grant payments to employers who have provided training.

e. The Quality Council for Trades and Occupations

In 2010, the Quality Council for Trades and Occupations (QCTO) was established. The QCTO is a Quality Council established on the terms of the Skills Development Act, 1999. Its role is to oversee the design, implementation, assessment and certification of occupational qualifications in the Occupational

Qualifications Sub-Framework (QQSF). Through its quality assurance function, the QCTO ensures that those people who have completed their studies for an occupational qualification, and have successfully passed the final external integrated summative assessment, meet the required standards. Those who meet the criteria are awarded an occupational certificate. This ensures prospective employers and customers can be confident that those holding occupational certificates are fully qualified to do the work stated on the certificate. The QCTO is increasingly taking over the function of quality assurance previously designated to the SETAs.

f. The tri-partite structure of the skills development and employment systems

The tri-partite structure that governs labour-related matters in South Africa is called the National Economic Development and Labour Council (NEDLAC) and is made up of government, employers and the trade unions. At the time of South Africa's transition to political democracy, labour had the political power to prevent the unilateral restructuring of policy, and yet lacked the technical capabilities to influence and impact significantly on social policy (Gostner & Joffe, 2009). In 1995, an Act of Parliament was passed to establish NEDLAC as a statutory body. The formation of this body was influenced by the many international lessons gleaned from the international policy excursions and had the following stated objectives:

- Strive to promote the goals of economic growth, participation in economic decision-making and social equity;
- Seek to reach consensus and conclude agreements on matters pertaining to economic and social policy;
- Consider all proposed labour legislation to labour market policy before it is introduced in Parliament;
- Encourage and promote the formulation of co-ordinated policy on social and economic matters.

The NEDLAC Act therefore provides for a broad range of consultation rights on proposed government legislation and in so doing provides Labour and employers with considerable access to the ways in which policy is formulated. As such, Labour needs only to mobilise its members in those instances in which negotiations have become deadlocked. Goster and Joffe (2009) note, though, that although the trade unions, especially the Congress of South African Trade Union (COSATU) have been able to influence a lot of labour-related matters through their participation in NEDLAC and their alliance with the ruling party, they have not been able to influence macro-economic policies developed and adopted by government. Also, this tripartite arrangement tends to have two dominating partners, namely government and trade unions, with the employers having a rather muted voice that is easily ignored in the policy making process. Because Labour has generally had an inward looking focus – looking after the interest of its members – its focus on skills development was stronger during the establishment of the Skills Development Strategy at the beginning. There has not been much contestation from Labour on subsequent revisions of this strategy, causing many to believe that labour has also been co-opted. In the case of the unemployed and especially the youth, Labour has been silent, except when it considered that policies such as the Youth Wage Incentives were likely to undermine its members in the workplace. Therefore, although on paper there is a tripartite body known as NEDLAC established to steer the course of policy making in labour matters in South Africa, increasingly government has been taking charge of this function and the role of the other partners has been diminishing. The trade unions' views on the Youth Wage Policy will be discussed later, in the policy section.

4.4. International influences in the country's skills development strategy

In this section we look at international cooperation through the lens of donor funding, as it has been this factor that has internationalized South Africa's skills development. The theory behind this kind of scrutiny is that there is a pattern of giving that can be understood by analysing both the donor and recipient countries' conditions (Alesina & Dollar, 2000). In fact, there are hardly any studies that show that no conditions are attached to the act of donor funding. South Africa presents an interesting case as a foreign aid recipient.

It can also be regarded as a newcomer in donor funding since there was an interruption in international relations due to the apartheid policies the country pursued. The period under analysis here falls within the last twenty-two years (1991-2013), and we will examine two policies that have been introduced during this period, namely the National Qualifications Framework and the Skills Development policy.

4.4.1. The National Qualifications Framework

Under pressure to reform the apartheid education, policy makers made two principles for doing this sacrosanct: Equity and Human Resources Development (Christie, 1997). All parts of the education and training system had to find a way of transferring these two principles to the transformation agenda of their sub-sectors. From the perspective of the system, it became important that means to bring together the previously racially divided education and training systems be found. As the new voices for transformation came largely from outside the schooling system (Labour movements) in particular, Adult Education had a very loud voice in these transformation deliberations. The push for the integration of racially-divided departments, and also of sub-sectors of education, found resonance in the idea of a National Qualifications Framework (NQF). All sub-sectors of education would be placed in this one system and equivalent pathways would be fostered. This would also ensure that all education systems were treated the same, as it would no longer be important where learning was obtained; only the 'outcomes' of such learning would be recognised.

The National Qualifications Framework (NQF) was the first Act to be introduced by the Department of Education in 1995 (SAQA, 1995). The NQF in South Africa was introduced as part of the revolutionary shift of introducing an integrated and equal education system in South Africa, moving away from the separate and unequal education and training authorities systems of the apartheid government. This shift was important because it was sending a message that the South African State, in entering the realm of global politics and economics, was going to pick on the most modern features in its policy-making. The concept of a National Qualifications Framework was new, as only a handful of countries that had introduced the concept at the time. New Zealand, Australia, England⁶ and Scotland and South Africa became the early members of this club. Although South Africa can be regarded as one of the early introducers of the NQF, many countries have since followed and many more are becoming interested in introducing the NQFs in their countries (Allais, 2010).

It was the skills development system, mainly training, that valiantly tried to implement the NQF. This was also the weaker and less established part of the whole education and training system. As a result, very few of the thousands of qualifications and unit standards in the South African Qualifications Authority (SAQA) base were actually taken up by learners, even fewer found currency in other learning institutions and industry, and generally there was no visible and positive impact of such an expensive policy. During the implementation of the NQF policy it soon became clear that the policy was failing to address the issues it faced after years of apartheid education. The policy also failed because of its optimism in using weak and marginal institutions to transform education and society. In addition, if one looks closely at the reasons for introducing this policy, one finds that it was regarded as a panacea for all that was wrong in education and society. For example, the assumption that this policy could have the power to influence job creation and a just and cohesive society was clearly flawed. This policy has been reviewed twice, but the government has not had the courage to abandon and move away from it.

4.4.2. The Skills Development policy

The development policy was one of the key policy initiatives launched by the post-apartheid government in South Africa. The entry of donors in support of the training function has been quite different from that experienced in education and this is worth taking a closer look at. Carton and King (2004) stitch for us a rich tapestry of the role of international agencies in the evolution of the skills development policies in the

⁶ Some would say that England never had a full-blown NQF but had a qualifications framework for its vocational qualifications only. Some would say that England never had a full-blown NQF but had a qualifications framework for its vocational qualifications only.

country. This tapestry has been further confirmed by one of the key architects of the skills development policy in South Africa, Adrienne Bird and Jansen (2004). Accordingly, the start of international support was located within the union movement in the country before it moved to the government space. The Swedish funder, Swedish International Development (SIDA), was at the forefront of supporting non-governmental organisations (NGOs) under 'solidarity' funding to individuals and organisations which were seen to be advancing a just cause. The German Chambers of Commerce followed this trend in the mid-1980s, supporting workers' advancement through special training schemes. It was in the late 1980s that a large union, the National Union of Metal Workers in South Africa (NUMSA) began to take a lead in shaping the skills development agenda in the country. NUMSA was greatly aided by the support it received from the Australian union movement. This was the time when it was becoming clear that there would be a political change in the government of South Africa. By the time the new government took over, the technical assistance given to the South African unions had grown beyond the Australian source and included the United Kingdom's Department for International Development (DfID); the German Technical Cooperation Agency (GTZ); the Danish funding agency (Danida); and support from the Irish; the Scandinavians; the Koreans; the Japanese and the European Union (EU).

The GTZ and EU contributions to the skills development agenda of South Africa present us with particular cases that are worth closer examination here. There is no single funder in this whole process that exhibited the same length, breadth and intensity of support as GTZ in the skills development agenda of South Africa. GTZ had moved from supporting individual projects to having an integrated approach to skills development agenda in a period of more than a decade in the country. GTZ also had one country director for 13 years in the country, who in the words of Carton and King (2004) became a 'trusted advisor' to the government. GTZ facilitated some pilots in the unfolding skills development agenda in South Africa. The sectorial programme support given by the Germans built a lot of confidence for the developing system. Then the European Union came with the largest donor funding for one single project South Africa had ever experienced (approximately €254million). Unlike the German support, which was mainly facilitative and back-stopping, the EU came with an army of technical experts to help South Africa implement its ambitious skills development programme. This programme was, according to the GTZ director:

'Possibly the one of the most advanced skills development plans developed by any nation in the world' (Carton & King, 2004; p.28).

What started as a union-to-union cooperation in skills development matters soon became a coalescing of a creative alliance of trade union educators, progressive employers, academics and even individuals from government. In spite of the absence of directives from donors regarding international aid given to South Africa for education and training, there was a complex interaction that happened between South Africans and the international community that resulted in borrowing policies from all over the world. First, the need to move dramatically away from the apartheid legacy was a strong driving force for almost all South Africans. Policy makers, academics, workers and NGOs raided the world looking for answers. In the early 1990s, South Africa produced a number of experts of different calibres who advocated for one or another policy. Some South Africans had already had close working relationships with different countries even before international aid could formally arrive in the country, and all they had to do was to grow and intensify those relationships. A case in point is the relationships that were formed by the South African Trade Unions and Australian Trade Unions and the Anti-Apartheid Movement abroad. Even though this aid came in the form of solidarity initially, as the political system was quickly getting overturned, this aid also soon changed to policy transfer (Carton & King, 2004).

The timing of this borrowing is also illuminating. Carton and King (2004) trace for us the steps travelled by the policies that were soon to become global policies. They are of the opinion that the reason Australia was to become a fertile source of ideas for South African ideas in skills development and qualifications frameworks was because the Australians themselves had recently undergone major restructuring of their industry and economy due to a massive loss of jobs that preceded the establishment of their bible

of industrial skills revolution, *Australia Reconstructed*. The Australians themselves had travelled to Sweden, Germany, the United Kingdom, Denmark, Belgium and Luxembourg to borrow the best policies. The message was clear:

‘that high skills and high wages would be critical to Australia’s global competitiveness, and that this would mean massive changes to its own version of ‘apartheid’ in which there was an extremely rigid skills system, with little or no flexibility or mobility of workers within its own different provinces’ (p. 22).

This reconstruction was to be followed by New Zealand. When South Africa came along looking for ideas, there was a lot of resonance with the new-look policies as New Zealanders were seemingly addressing similar concerns to those of South Africa. It was therefore not surprising that when the ideas of a new training strategy emerged in the discussions prior to the establishment of the new government, both trade unions and business participants who were familiar with the New Zealand and Australian policies immediately found each other and led the course of development.

In conclusion, we can say that the National Qualifications Framework became the launching pad for new policies in education and training in the country. The NQF then became the root policy for the Skills Development policy. This policy was sold to the public under the guise of integrating education from the disparate education authorities of the apartheid government and integrating different types of education and outcomes into one system. These policies were appealing to policy makers as they also spoke to modern international debates in education and training at the time. Although there is no evidence of donor agencies selling any specific policies, the role of international officials who worked in international aid offices was complex, indirect and sometimes inept. From the beginning of this process, there was already a lot of policy borrowing which was done by the different policy makers in the country. International aid helped the borrowing by financing a range of exchanges and policy-making travel. Because the policy debates in which South Africa was engaged during the time of donor giving were current, it was easy for the aid workers to identify with the issues, as these were also germane back home. They sounded like the right things to support.

4.5. Summary

In summary, South Africa is regarded as a middle-income country, with its economy shifting from the primary sectors to the secondary sectors. However, the growth in the economy has been rather tardy and has not allowed the labour market to create many jobs. The industries chosen for this study, namely construction and wine, fall in the economic sectors where growth has not been spectacular. In the meantime, the number of young people entering the labour market from the schooling system has been growing over the last 21 years. The performance of the skills development system has been lacklustre in spite of the funds collected for skills development. Young people today find themselves with better educational achievements than the previous generation, and yet experience more exclusion from participating in the economy of the country.

5. Youth Employment in South Africa

Employment in South Africa is dominated by adults. Of the employed, 57.2% were aged 35–64 years at the time of data collection. In this section, the employment of youth in both the formal and informal economy will be discussed and sometimes a comparison with the adult population will be made.

5.1. Youth employment in the formal economy

Table 11: 15- to 34-year-olds in the labour market

	Thousands	Per cent
Employed	5 976	30.8
Unemployed	3 195	16.5
Discouraged	1 563	8.1
Other not economically active	8 676	44.7
Population 15-34 years	19 410	100.0

Source: Statistics South Africa (QLFS, 3rd quarter, 2013)

Table 12: 15 to 34-year-old NEETs⁷

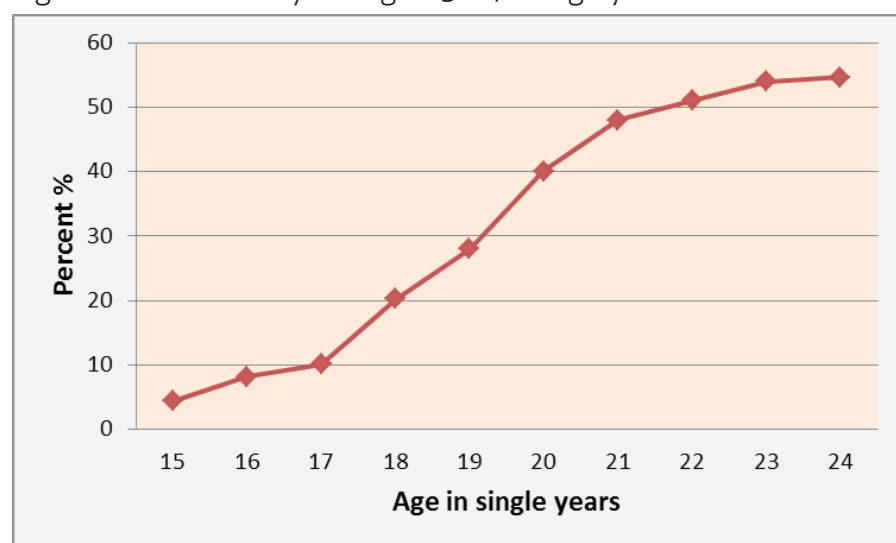
(1) Population 15-34 years	19 410
(2) Not in education, employment or training	7 314
(3) NEET Rate	37.7

(3) is a percentage of (2)

Source: Statistics South Africa report (2012)

NEET rates differ within the age group of 15- to 24-year-olds. They rise from a low 4.4% among the 15-year-olds and peak at 54.6% among the 23-year olds (Figure 2). In other words, half of all 23-year-olds are not in employment, education or training.

Figure 2: NEET rate for youth aged 15–24 in single years

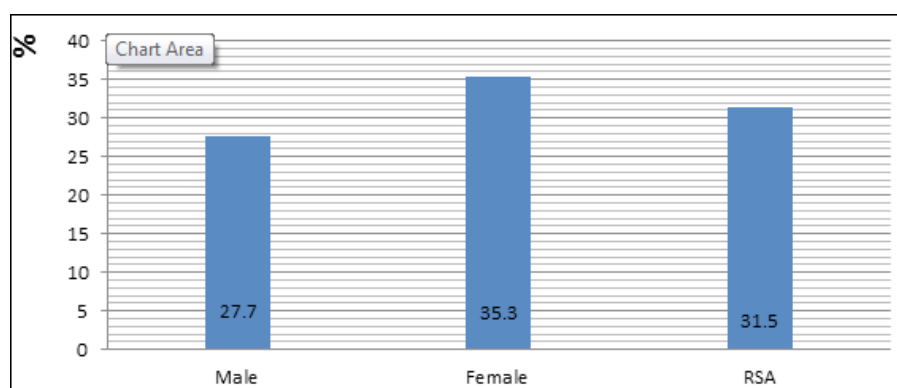


Source: Statistics South Africa report (2012)

We also find further differences in the NEET rate with respect to gender and race. These are attributes that are important in South Africa as they speak to the historical past of inequalities. For example by gender, the disparities are also pronounced. The NEET rate for female youth is 7.6 percentage points higher than the rate for male youth (Figure 3).

⁷ Not in Employment, Education and Training

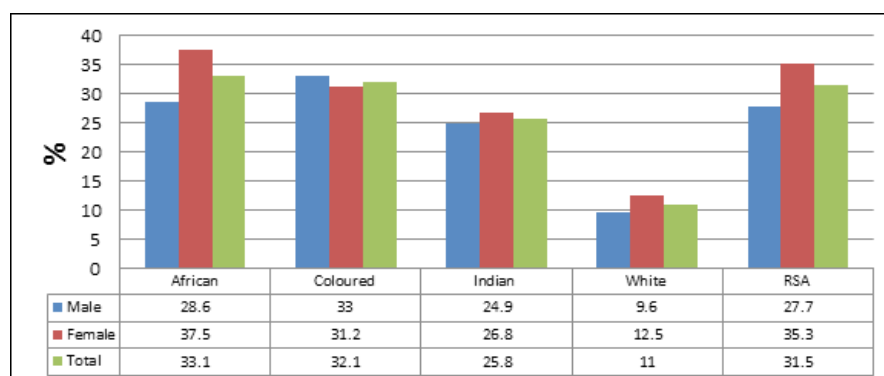
Figure 3: NEET rate for youth aged 15–24 years by gender



Source: Statistics South Africa report (2012)

NEET rates also differ substantially by population group. The NEET rate for black African youths at 33.1% is three times the rate of white youths (11.0%) (Figure 4). Across the population groups, young women face higher NEET rates than their male counterparts, with the largest gender gap found between black African men and black African women at 8.9 percentage points. It is interesting to note that amongst the coloured population, male NEET rates are higher than female rates. Across population groups, black African females have the highest NEET rate: more than one in three African young women are NEET compared to one in eight white young women.

Figure 4: NEET rate for youth aged 15 to 24 years by race



Source: Statistics South Africa (2012)

5.1.1. Distribution of youth aged 15–34 years by level of education

Table 13: Distribution of 15- to 34-year-olds by level of education⁸

	Thousand	Per cent
High school graduates & less	17 594	90.6
TVET	271	1.4
Higher*	1 451	7.5
Do not know and Other	94	0.5
Total	19 410	100.0

*includes youth with diploma and certificates of 6 months or more who have completed high school.

Source: Statistics South Africa: 2011 census

We can also see in Table 3 that the TVET sector is very small in terms of enrolments and participation of those who have left the school system.

⁸ These numbers are for public institutions only, as there is no reliable data for private institutions. However, public institutions carry a major proportion of all students in post-school education.

5.1.2. Young people who find employment on completing vocational training or TVET

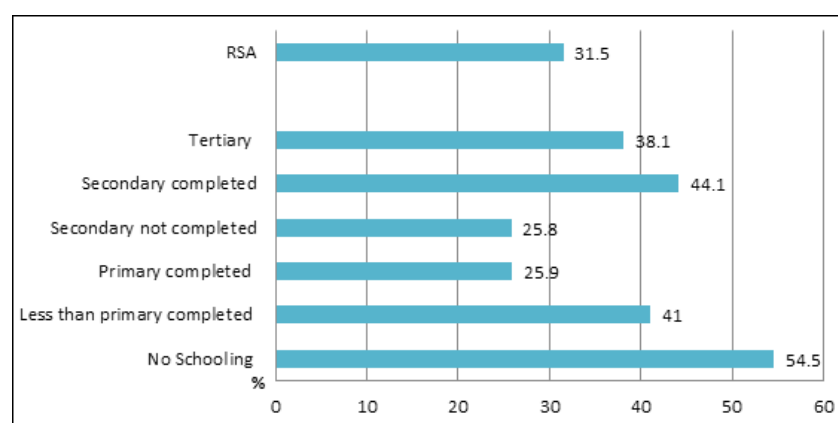
Table 14: Employment of young people after vocational training

	Thousand	Per cent
Employed	106	39.0
Unemployed	64	23.8
Discouraged	14	5.0
Other NEA	87	32.1
Total	271	100.0

Source: Statistics South Africa: QLFS, 3rd quarter, 2013

Besides vocational training, an interesting pattern emerges in terms of NEET rates by level of education. While lower levels of education are associated with higher NEET rates, NEET rates are also higher for those who have completed secondary and tertiary levels of education (Figure 5). The highest NEET rate is for young people with no schooling (54.5%) and the lowest for young people with a secondary not completed level of education (25.8%).

Figure 5: NEET rate for youth 15-24 years by level of education



Source: Statistics South Africa: 2011 Census

Based on the figure 5 above, we can come to the conclusion that having completed high school and even tertiary education puts young people at a disadvantage compared to those who have not completed high school. This would go against popular wisdom that the more education one has, the better off one is in accessing employment. Even though this inference has not been tested, it can be hypothesized that this figure speaks to the nature of the labour market in the country. It can be assumed that those with less education are more likely to get into the informal economy than their qualified counterparts. The former are also likely to take lowly jobs such as domestic work, gardening, petrol attendant jobs, security jobs, temporal jobs, etc., which shows that elementary jobs might still be available out there.

5.1.3. Distribution of employment by industry among young people aged 15-34 years

Table 15: Distribution of employment by industry among young people aged 15-34 years

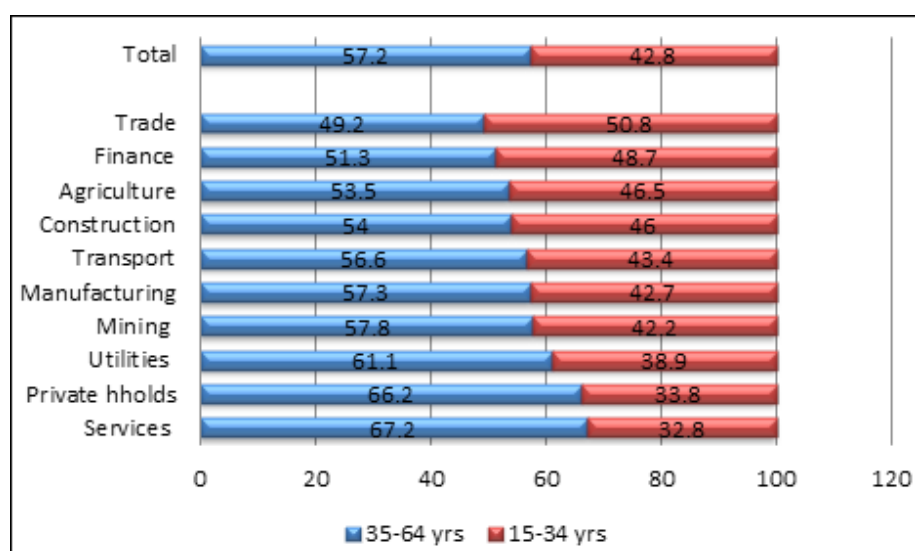
	Thousand	Per cent
Primary	505	8.5
Secondary	1 287	21.5
Tertiary	4 184	70.0
Total	5 976	100.0

Source: Statistics South Africa: QLFS, 3rd quarter 2013

An analysis of the industries in which young people are employed is provided to serve as an indication of the youth employment intensity in different industries. Trade is the only industry sector in which marginally more young people than adults were employed (Figure 6). They accounted for 50.8% of the employed in this industry – 1.6 percentage points higher than the proportion of adults. In all other industries the youth accounted for less than 50% of the employed, with the smallest share being in Services (32.8%).

In 2012, the top three industries in which high skilled young people aged 15–34 years were employed were Community and Social services (32.6%), followed by Finance (26.4%) and Trade (17.2%). Together, these industries accounted for 76.2% of youth in skilled employment (Figure 3.7). In the semi-skilled occupation category, youth employment was concentrated in Trade, with close to 941 000 or 31.6% of young people employed in this industry in 2012. The Community and Social services (16.0%), Financial (14.5%), Manufacturing (14.2%) and Construction (10.7%) industries were responsible for employment of another 1.7 million semi-skilled young people. Low-skilled employment among the youth was dominated by Trade (27.4%) and Agriculture (18.7%) followed by the manufacturing industry (913.5%). Trade, Agriculture and Manufacturing collectively accounted for nearly 60% of low-skilled employment.

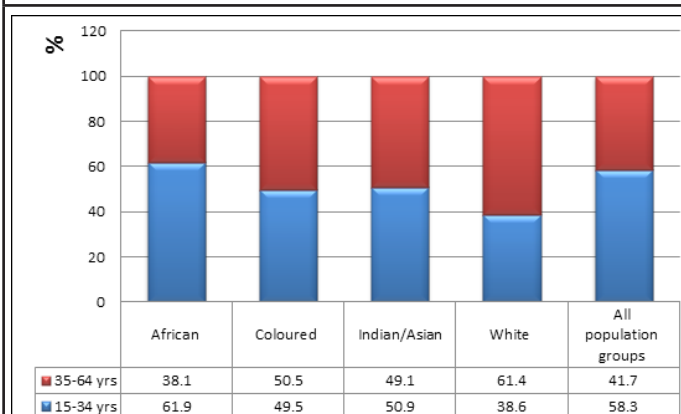
Figure 6: The age profile of employment by industry, 2012



Source; Statistics South Africa report 2012

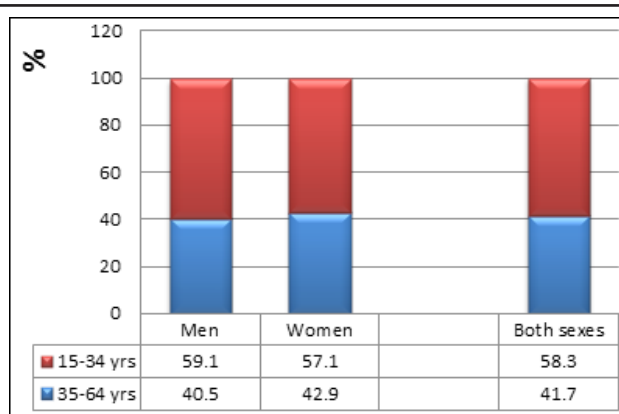
The working age population comprises those aged 15–64 years. While the focus in this paper is the youth aged 15–34 years, for comparative purposes, data on adults aged 35–64 years are also presented. South Africa has a young population, with 58.3% of the population aged 15–34 years. Amongst the population groups, the black African population age profile reflects a more youthful population – such that 61.9% of individuals in this population group are aged 15–34 years. In contrast, only 38.6% of the white population are aged 15–34 years with close to two thirds (61.4%) of this population group aged 35–64 years (Figure 7).

Figure 7: The age profile of youth and adults in the working-age population, 2012



Source: Statistics South Africa report 2012

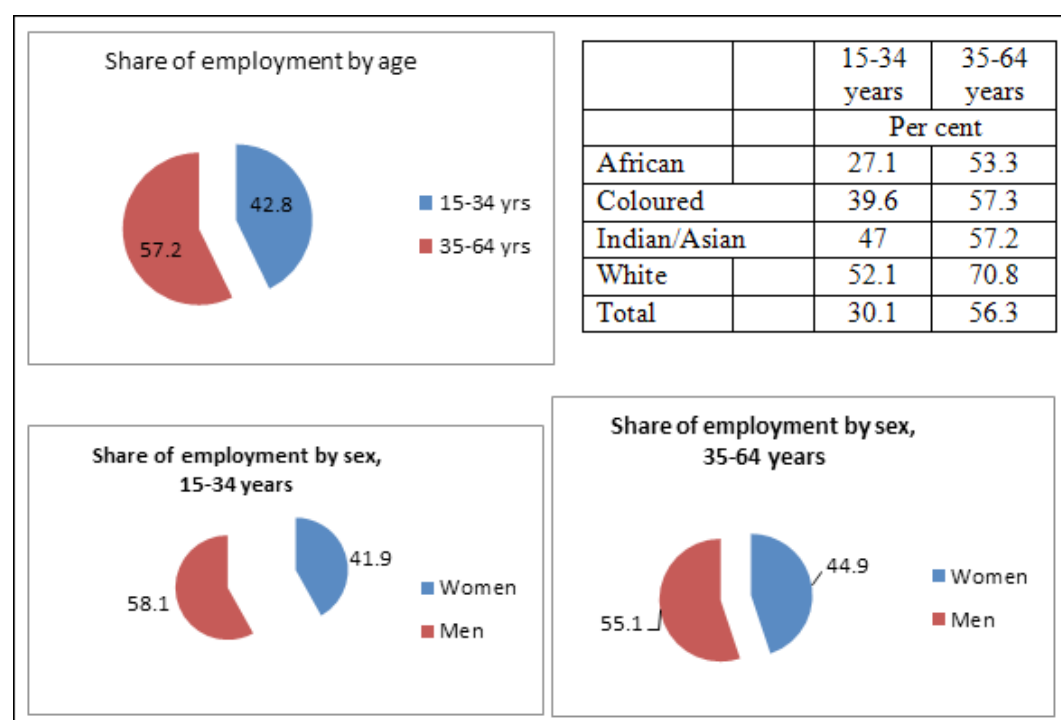
Figure 8: The age profile of youth and adults in the working-age population by gender



Source: Statistics South Africa report 2012

According to the Statistics South Africa report (2012), youth participation in the labour market in comparison to adult participation is as follows:

Figure 9: The age profile of persons employed by population group and gender, 2012.
Absorption rate by population group and age, 2012



When comparing the absorption rates for the youth amongst different population groups, we observe lower rates among the black African youth (27.1%) compared to all other population groups, and in particular the youth from the white population group (52.1%). Adults across population groups have higher absorption rates than young people. The male share in employment is higher amongst the youth and adults, but the share of young males between the ages of 15 and 34 in employment is 16.2 percentage points higher than that of their female counterparts (Figure 9).

In summary, an analysis of unemployment by age highlights how the burden of unemployment falls disproportionately on the youth. Young people between the ages of 15 and 34 accounted for 70.9% of total unemployment. This burden can also be demonstrated through the absorption rate, where the absorption rate of young people is very low. In other words, the absorption rate rises with age, while the unemployment rate declines with age (see Figure 9).

Levels of education also play an important role in the unemployment rates of young people. In 2012, the youth with primary education but less than secondary schooling completion had a higher unemployment rate (36.9%) compared to the youth with a tertiary education (17.5%). Compared to 2009, the unemployment rate in 2012 increased irrespective of education level. The unemployment rate among those with a tertiary qualification, although the lowest, increased by 2.3 percentage points compared to 1.5 percentage points amongst the other education categories. The unemployment rate for black African young persons is more than four times that of young white persons.

5.1.4. Distribution of employment by urban/rural sector

Information on the distribution of employment by urban and rural divides is not collected in South Africa. However, since the economy is linked to the apartheid past of the country that recognised only the urban, white areas as legitimate areas where employment and industries would be established, the rural areas hardly feature in the economic makeup of the country. Instead, rural areas have always been seen as reservoirs of unskilled labour for the mines, agriculture and even domestic services and this was highly regulated. What has changed in the new democracy is the fact that rural people can now freely move to urban areas to seek employment but will often remain at the fringes of the cities in informal settlements with their families and still maintain their rural households back home. Because of this history and current labour market dynamics, there is hardly anything that can be considered as rural economy, as even agricultural economy is dominated by large-scale commercial farming with rural families merely etching out a living in subsistence farming.

5.1.5. Distribution of employment by occupation.

Table 16: Distribution of employment by occupation⁹

	Thousand	Per cent
Manager	319	5.3
Professional	354	5.9
Technician	583	9.7
Clerk	855	14.3
Sales and services	1 032	17.3
Skilled agriculture	15	0.3
Craft and related trade	735	12.3
Plant and machine operator	443	7.4
Elementary	1 395	23.3
Domestic worker	245	4.1
Total	5 976	100.0

Source: Statistics South Africa: 2011 census

Table 17: Labour market rates for young people aged 15-34

Unemployment rate	34.8
Labour force participation rate	47.3
Absorption rate	30.8

Source: Statistics South Africa QLFS, 3rd quarter, 2013

⁹ The South African classification of occupations is used here.

- » More than 1 in 3 South African young people (aged 15–34 years) are unemployed
- » 16.8% of young people are unemployed compared to 9.6% of adults
- » 55.7% of the unemployed youth have never worked
- » 63.5% of young people in South Africa did not complete their secondary schooling
- » Young people accounted for 70.9% of the unemployed
- » Close to 1 in 12 young people had given up searching for work, accounting for 69.1% of the discouraged work-seekers in the South African labour market.

Source: Statistics South Africa Annual Report 2012

In summary, South Africa's unemployment rate is high for both youth and adults; however, the unemployment rate among the young people aged 15–34 was 35.8% in 2012, implying that one in every three young people in the labour force did not have a job. The burden of unemployment is also concentrated amongst these young people as they account for 70.9% of the total number of unemployed persons. It is even more concerning to note that one in 12 young people have given up looking for work, and that they account for seven out of ten discouraged work-seekers in the South African labour market.

When young people are employed in the South African labour market, youth employment intensity is the highest in the Trade, Agriculture, and Finance and other business services industries. Low and semi-skilled youth employment is also concentrated in the Trade industry, while high-skilled youth employment is in Community and Finance Services and other business service industries.

The Not in Employment, Education or Training (NEET) rate serves as an important additional labour market indicator for young people. It focuses on young people who have disengaged with the labour market and who are also not building on their skills base through education and training. Close to one in three young South Africans between the ages of 15 and 24 years were not in employment, education or training in the second half of 2012. This indicator, seen in conjunction with unemployment rates in the region of 50%, suggests that young people face extreme difficulties engaging with the labour market. This problem is experienced by more African and Coloured youth and in particular females. More specifically, those living in rural and peri-urban areas¹⁰ bear the brunt of unemployment more than their urban counterparts.

5.2. Employment in the informal economy

Various sources quote different statistics on the informal sector. For example, Loots (1998) estimated the size of the informal economy to be 12% of GDP. Schneider (2002) puts the informal economy in South Africa at 28.4%. Statistics South Africa (2007) estimated the informal sector at 18.5%. The average estimates of this sector are between 7% and 12% (Casale, et al, 2004; Braude, 2005; Muller, 2003). However, these estimates might be gross under-representations of the actual numbers, as formal employment has been declining and an increasing number of individuals see informal employment as the best alternative to formal sector employment (Blaauw, 2005). South Africa, with its highly diversified formal economy, has not paid much attention to its informal economy. The assumption has always been that the formal economy will expand to absorb the majority of the workers and therefore attention has to focus on growing the formal economy. However, the raging debate about the definition of the informal economy continues and causes this sector not to benefit from the rigorous statistics collection that takes place in the country. This also subordinates issues about employment to those of the formal economy.

According to Devey et.al (2003), the accepted definition for the informal economy is the following:

- Non-registration of the enterprise in terms of national legislation such as taxation or other

¹⁰ The term "peri-urban" is used as an official category and covers those who reside in the margins of urban centres.

commercial legislation; non-registration of employees of the enterprise in terms of labour legislation;

- Small size of the enterprise in terms of the number of people employed.

Consequently, Statistics South Africa collects information on informal employment using three categories:

- Informal;
- Subsistence agriculture; and
- Domestic workers.

In the 3rd quarter of 2014, Statistics South Africa reported the following statistics for the informal economy (see Table 18 below):

Table 18: Statistics for the informal economy

Sector	Sept 2014 (thousands)
Informal (non-Agriculture)	2407
Mining*	2
Manufacturing	213
Utilities	3
Construction	319
Trade	1035
Transport	207
Finance	170
Community and Social Services	390
Other	1
Informal (Subsistence Agriculture)	670
Private Households	1290
Total	4367

* Informal mining is one of those activities that are difficult to collect data on and yet there is a lot of informal and illegal mining done by both South Africans and individuals from the neighbouring countries.

Source: Quarterly labour Survey, 2014 (Statistics South Africa, 2014)

The method of collecting data on the informal sector is highly contested, for various reasons (Devey, et.al, 2003, 2006; Yu, 2012). However, this number is still very high as it represents about 22% of individuals who are actively involved. In real terms this number (and percentage) is likely to be much higher and could possibly be above the 30% range.

It is also important to note that the highest numbers represent individuals involved in trading. Trading is one occupation that requires sourcing goods from the formal economy, therefore supporting the theory that there is no clear division between the formal and the informal economy (Uys & Blaauw, 2006). The most cited source of supply tends to be medium and large enterprises. The formal and informal linkages are also evident in other occupations such as construction, transport, community and social services. In some instances of trading the links are not only with the formal domestic economy, but can extend to foreign linked supply networks, e.g. apparel and other goods for sale. For example Ndabeni and Maharaj (2013) demonstrate how the informal sector produces, distributes and provides services to the formal economy, e.g. taxi industry and waste collectors. Informal sector employment is also quite diversified – ranging from survivalist activities such as car guarding to areas where some level of skills are expected to be employed. The individuals in this sector could be working for themselves or could be employees for others people.

Another complication of the informal sector is that there seems to be a lot of informalisation of the formal economy. Devey et al. (2006) write about the case of part-time workers as well as temporary and casual labour as a form of informalisation of the formal economy. There has also been an increase of labour brokers in the country, whereby employers outsource their labour to the labour brokers, avoiding

ownership of labour and the complications associated with getting rid of labour in the new labour relations dispensation. In fact, Devey et.al (2006) report that over 45% of workers employed in the formal sector display one or more characteristics of informality – they do not have a written contract, a permanent position, or paid leave.

Women informal workers tend to be over-represented in rural areas. Also, women tend to form the majority of informal workers working in private households as domestic workers. In terms of race, more black workers are represented in the informal sector. Male workers represent a higher proportion than females in urban areas and almost three quarters of private household workers are in urban areas (Devey, et.al; 2006; Statistics, 2014).

According to Blaauw (2005) the majority of workers in the informal sector are African and almost 88.8% come from outside the urban areas, presumably from rural areas. With the exception of domestic services, there are more males in the informal sector. A very high number of individuals participating in the informal economy (31.4%) have achieved a minimum of 11 years (Grade 11) of education. This group is followed by those with Grade 10 (15%) and close behind are those who have completed the twelve years of schooling or Grade 12 (14%). This dispels the myth that the informal sector is flooded with individuals with no or little education. Construction (39.2%) and Services (34.3%) comprise the second and third largest economic subsectors of the informal economy. Lastly, almost three quarters of the informal sector participants are less than 35 years old.

Information on skills development for the informal sector is patchy to say the least. From the studies examined, it seems as though that training for the informal sector is also informal, even though these workers may be rendering services or producing goods for the formal sector. In general the skills levels are low. The skills they have gained in the sector are not validated by certification systems. Although individual TVET colleges are beginning to open up spaces for informal sector training needs; this is not on a large scale. There is also an ongoing recognition of a Prior Learning (RPL) project that has been going on for a number of years, but this also remains largely academic rather than practical.

5.3. The diagnosis of youth employment

In a disproportionately unequal society like South Africa, there are various schools of thought about the causes of youth unemployment in the country and only the extreme and dominant views will be accounted for here. First, there is a dominant view that the problem of unemployment is caused by the 'crisis in education' which in turn results into a 'shortage of skills', particularly in areas that are key to economic development (HRDC Task Team, 2013; New Growth Path, 2011). Both these problems have historical roots that can be traced to the apartheid regime that provided poor and limited education for the black population as well as instituting job-reservations for particular groups. According to this view then, there must still be categories of jobs where the previously disadvantaged have not penetrated whilst they remain outside of the formal economy in the country.

Another dominant view that is used to explain unemployment in general and in particular the employment of young people relates to the 'high cost of labour' that prevents business from hiring people. The World Bank is quoted as saying just that:

'South Africa is not attracting enough foreign investment to tackle high unemployment and poverty, the World Bank said on Thursday, citing high labour costs as a key deterrent. "South Africa is attracting far less foreign direct investment and exporting less industrial output than many countries in the same peer group," a report said. The investment climate report compared the country with other emerging economies such as Brazil, India and China. High labour costs and low manufacturing productivity were holding back to the economy, it said, in a country where unions demand salary hikes more than double the rate of inflation. "The growth of manufactured

exports is constrained by relatively high labour costs, including benefits and wages paid to employees,” said the report’ (Fin24 News, July 29, 2013).

The view above is frequently expressed by South African employers when explaining the lacklustre economy and its consequent inability to absorb more labour, especially new labour entrants. The view has almost become a mantra in conservative quarters, particularly as opposed to labour unionism and a legislative regime that is seemingly ‘business unfriendly’. South African trade unions are strong, dominant in both the labour and political discourse. Employers will dismiss their demands at their own cost.

The third dominant diagnosis about unemployment in the country sees it as a structural feature of capitalism by others (Treat et al., 2013). According to this position, the process of corporate, neo-liberal globalisation – which began in the 1980s – was aimed at the removal of many restrictions on trade and financial transactions. This process was designed on the basis of ideas proposed by mainstream economists instructed by such international organisations as the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank and the World Trade Organization (WTO). Accordingly, this process has continued to play a dominant role in creating the ongoing global financial crisis that began in 2007–8 and has also affected the country. The first consequence has been increased competition in doing business, forcing companies to cut costs on production. Secondly, this has encouraged financial speculation and companies investing in profit-making measures away from reinvestments in own industries. Thirdly, it has encouraged casualization of the workforce in the name of ‘labour flexibility’, making it easier to retrench, employ for short terms and make industries more capital intensive. In the long term, this leads to low productivity and poor quality in workplace training.

The effects of this structural process in the labour market have been felt in many large industries in South Africa. For instance, the textile industry provides us with an example of a large industry with vast numbers of highly skilled workers who lost their jobs as this industry shrank in the country. The Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) estimates the loss in the textile industry to be between 75 000 and 85 000. Since 1988, the steel industry has lost almost 50 000 workers (Hlatshwayo, 2013). Similarly, the employment of South Africa’s gold and platinum miners is subject to fluctuations in the price of these metals globally, on currency exchange rates, and on investment decisions made by capitalists, regardless of the levels of skill, experience and training of workers. Also, there has been a gradual introduction of mechanization in these companies which have historically been the backbone of the economy.

In view of this, Treat et al. (2013) conclude that the causes of unemployment have very little to do with how skilled or educated the workforce is. Rather it is the general features of capitalism that make unemployment inevitable and the situation becomes worse when governments adopt economic policies promoted by international organisations reflecting the globalisation of the economy. Capitalism therefore inherently requires a level of unemployment in order to function, and the policies that have been promoted in recent decades in the country have tended to make this situation worse for working and poor people, by shifting the balance of power in society even further in favour of bosses and political elites.

When an educated and skilled force is in a precarious position with respect to employment, the situation is even worse for young employees. Mlatsheni (2012) postulates that the nature of the employer–employee relationship is different for youths than for adults. In other words, he is of the opinion that the opportunity costs for firing young employees are lower and therefore make young employees more vulnerable than their adult counterparts. On the other hand, when unemployment is high, it becomes even more difficult for a potential new labour market to penetrate.

Youth are passed through schools that don’t teach, then forced to search for jobs that don’t exist, and finally left stranded in the street to stare at the glamorous lives advertised around them (Newton, 2009).

6. Policies for youth skills development and employment in South Africa

South Africa's (SA) policy story is a story of tensions between the 'newcomers' and 'old timers' (Lave and Wenger, 1990) founded on imperatives of transforming the social, political, and economy environment and privilege reserving. The political and economic conquest brought by colonialism and apartheid sought also to displace the social order and uproot cultural arrangements of the pre-colonial SA. It is not our intention to overstate here the typology invented to describe social learning in factory set-up by Lave and Wenger (1990). However, it is worth clarifying that the colonial conquest brought about role shifts: the newcomers became old timers. The negotiations that began in the late 1980s and the anticipation of a democratic settlement were informed by the identified need to collapse these historical binaries to create what came to be known as rainbow nation. To fulfil this vision the constitution of RSA aims to protect the rights of the citizens (Constitution of RSA, 1996).

A commitment to this principle was initially expressed in a 'policy statement' adopted in 1955 by the Congress of the People (COP) which was a confluence of the allies to the African National Congress (ANC) - the freedom charter. It stated that 'SA belongs to all who live in it, black and white'. As a result the proliferation of policies since the 1990s attempted to reclaim ideals expressed in the charter. Typically, emergent policies from the early days of transition to the present are littered with such discourses as redress, equality, and participation. However, due to differing interest between privileged and marginalised groups, proposed policy reforms tend to be contested and thereby favour the former group (de Clercq, 1997). The less privileged sometimes lack bargaining agility to lobby for fairer policy positions. This means that the transformation imperative which has to do with equitable racial representation in all structures of opportunity is often frustrated and sometimes derailed.

Increasingly, the composition of persons needing education, training and employment opportunities is dominated by young people who may not yet have found exposure to interact with policy processes. Highly concerning is that about 73% of all unemployment in the country is constituted by young people between the ages of 14 and 35 years of age (DTI, 2012). In 2010, a decomposition of unemployment by age showed that the 15-24 age cohort accounted for 31% on aggregate, the 25-34 for 41% and only 28.3% for the ages between 35-64 years old. Given this statistic, unemployment tends to be viewed as a youth unemployment crisis. Table 19 shows that the highest share of unemployment and lowest participation and labour absorption is experienced by the racial category of Africans.

Table 19: Unemployment, participation, absorption, and share of unemployment, 2010

	Unemployment rate (%)	Share of unemployment (%)	Participation rate (%)	Labour absorption rate (%)
Gender				
Male	22.9	50.2	61.5	47.4
Female	27.4	49.8	47.3	34.4
Population group				
African	29.3	86.1	51.0	36.1
Coloured	22.0	9.9	64.0	50.0
Indian	9.0	1.2	60.5	55.1
White	5.8	2.8	68.1	64.2

Source: Extracted from the Mayer (2011) report prepared for DBSA.

The labour force (aged 15-64) makes up 64% of the population with the proportion of children and the elderly comprising a smaller share. Demographic profiles such as this are associated with rising income, faster productivity growth, higher savings, and rising standards of living. In South Africa we find a destabilising environment where young people cannot get work and are at risk of falling prey to other

social ills such as violence, crime, and alcohol abuse. The country's growth trajectory since attaining democracy has not absorbed labour at the required scale. At some point this raised the controversy of a 'jobless growth' (NPC, 2011). Lack of access to the labour market and wage income also contributes to high levels of poverty and inequality even with the increases in social grants.

About 40% of the national income continues to feed fewer mouths – the richest 10% of households, at least in the first decade of the new millennium. Fewer (less than 50%) SAs of the working age had income earning employment, compared with international trend of almost two-thirds. The interpretations of this differ as conceptions of youth unemployment vary and depending on the analyst's lens. In the main there are roughly about three dominant representations which may directly or indirectly impinge on youth policy thinking - conservatives, moderates and reformists. Conservatives argue for skills and experience (Kraak 2005; Mayer and Altaman, 2005; Barnerjee et al., 2008; Erasmus and Breier, 2009; National Treasury, 2011) moderates for economy and industrialisation (Crankshaw, 2012), reformists for transformation and equitable share in already existing opportunities as a starting point (Kingdon and Knight, 2004).

Regardless of the perspectives, it is now an undisputed fact that young people's non-participation in structures of opportunity demands policy attention and proper strategies for implementation. In South Africa there is no lack of policies and programmes to address youth challenges but somehow this problem has not been arrested. Significant attempts have been made to put up a national youth development strategy to redress the apartheid legacy and expand opportunities for full participation in the economy and society. A national youth strategy is already in place, National Youth Commission to monitor and evaluate progress, national skills development framework, clear quotas for youth participation in government interventions, investment in a 'unified' education system, and social grant support. Today more young people have access to education than the generations before them, yet they are unable to access the labour market in ways that are satisfactory.

6.1. Policies for the social protection of youth

A need for a National Youth Policy (NYP) was identified in 2000 but the proposed policy was never formerly adopted and remained a guiding policy for the youth sector. In 2002 the National Youth Development Framework (NYDPF) developed and its scope of application stretched five years between the years 2002-2007. There are two versions to the NYP – one covers the years 2008-2013 and the other 2009-2014 – but it is not clear what informs the five year cycles. Most of these policy documents begin with acknowledging that failure to care for the youth means that the nation is without future (NYC, 1996; NYP, 2000; NYDF, 2002-2007; NYP, 2008-2013; NYP, 2009-2014).

However, there are three types of specific policies which have been designed for the social protection of young people, namely (a) those aimed at ensuring continued participation of young people in education and training for longer periods, (b) those aimed at supporting the youth in accessing employment; and (c) those targeting the welfare of young people.

6.1.1. Education and Training policies

Education is a basic right. Section 29(1)(a) of the South African Constitution states that "everyone has the right to a basic education, including adult basic education". Through the South African Schools Act of 1996, the Department of Basic Education has made educational attendance compulsory for all children aged seven to 15 (or the completion of Grade 9). Compulsory education places a responsibility not only on parents or caregivers to send their children to school, but also on the State to ensure that schools are accessible and affordable.

In South Africa, where the majority of children live in poverty, lack of money can be a barrier to schooling. Therefore, there are four government policies designed to make school education affordable to poor

children. These are the School Fee Exemption policy; the No-fee Schools policy; the National School Nutrition programme; and the Scholar Transport policy.

a) The School Fee Exemption policy requires that each school, through its School Governing Body (SGB), must determine fees and inform parents and caregivers about the exemption policy. The Exemption of Parents from the Payment of School Fees Regulations of 1998 set out a means (income) test for the granting of exemptions. The means test read as follows: "If the combined annual gross income of the parents is less than ten times the annual school fees per learner, the parent qualifies for full exemption." Partial exemptions are available for those whose income is more than ten times but less than thirty times the annual fees. Eligibility for full and partial school fee exemptions is worked out on the basis of parental income in relation to the fees. Certain categories of children are now automatically exempt from paying fees. These include Child Support Grant beneficiaries and children in foster care. Increasingly, children in high school are now included in the no-fee policy if they qualify, as the Social Welfare policy has also increased its age-limit.

b) No-fee schools were introduced in 2007 and are being expanded over the next few years to include the poorest 60% of schools. Schools have been ranked into five categories. The schools in the lowest 40% (quintiles 1 and 2) were deemed poor and allow learners to enroll without paying fees. In return, the government funds expenses that were previously covered by fees.

Initially, the no-fee schools policy abolished school fees in the poorest 40% of schools nationally for learners from Grade R to Grade 9. Now, these schools also include those in high school, as more poor children are graduating from primary schooling. Schools that do not charge fees are allocated a larger amount of funding from the provincial budget per learner to make up for the fees that would have been charged. The no-fee policy ranks schools according to the level of poverty in the surrounding area. This means that poor children who go to school in wards that are not rated amongst the poorest will attend fee-paying schools.

c) The National School Nutrition Programme – sometimes referred to as the school feeding scheme – aims to foster better quality education by:

- Enhancing children's active learning capacity;
- Alleviating short-term hunger;
- Providing incentives for children to attend school regularly and punctually; and
- Addressing certain micro-nutrient deficiencies.

School feeding is a small part of the integrated Food Security Strategy for South Africa, which was introduced in 2002 and involves the Departments of Health, Social Development, Land Affairs and Agriculture. The school feeding programme is therefore just one of a range of projects that respond to nutritional needs, and does not claim to respond comprehensively to poor nutrition, hunger or food security.

The targeting of the National School Nutrition Programme works in two ways. First, whole schools are selected for funding for this programme. Within selected schools, learners are selected by age or grade or some other criteria for feeding. The minimum policy is to feed all Grades from R up to Grade 7 for 156 out of approximately 196 school days per year. Although the National School Programme provides only a small amount of food – regarded by some caregivers as being insufficient – it helps to relieve child hunger and also relieves poor caregivers from some burden of worry when they are unable to provide enough food for their children (South African Child Gauge, 2006).

d) The Scholar Transport policy is sponsored by the Department of Transport in order to assist

children who face barriers in accessing schooling because of the long distances involved, threats to safety and the cost of scholar transport. The policy provides a single framework and enabling environment for government and other stakeholders to address scholar transport challenges. Scholar transport is provided on the basis of a number of principles, including affordability, safety and security. The target group of the policy is scholars who attend schooling between Grades R to 12 and live more than 3km from the nearest school.

Through government procurement procedures, service providers submit tenders to either the Department of Transport or the Department of Basic Education to render this service. There are two kinds of services available: (i) a subsidized group made up of operators who provide a dedicated scholar transport service and receive a subsidy from the provincial Departments of Education and/or Department of Transport; and (ii) a non-subsidized group who render a non-subsidized service but the Department of Transport has the responsibility of regulating the safety and security of the vehicles used for scholar transport. In addition, the Department of Transport has a Shova Kalula (pedal easy) bicycle project for the provision of low-cost solutions to improve access and mobility in rural and urban areas. The project prioritises and targets scholars, farm workers and women who walk long distances to access basic services and economic opportunities.

For post-school support, the Department of Higher Education allocates the National Student Financial Aid Scheme (NSFAS) to eligible students to study at public TVET and public universities. Again, eligibility is defined according to a complex formula of a means test as well as academic qualifications to study in these institutions. There are two types of aid given to students who qualify: loans and bursaries. NSFAS funding has grown from R441 million in 1999 to R8.5 billion in 2013. It is the number one single contributor to the enrolment growth that has occurred in both the universities and TVET colleges in the country. The universities have tripled their enrolments whilst the public colleges have more than doubled theirs during this period and the most growth has been witnessed in the previously disadvantaged population groups. Between 1991 and 2012, over one million students were funded by NSFAS (NSFAS, 2013).

Finally, the Skills Development Act targets both the employed and the unemployed. However, the bulk of the funds for training paid out by the Sector Education and Training Authorities goes to the unemployed youth. These funds help young people to acquire skills and qualifications through the apprenticeship, learnership, or internship systems. In addition to being recognized by the industry, these qualifications and skills are of added value to young people as they allow them to earn whilst they train and also supposedly put them at an advantage by exposing them to real workplace tasks.

6.1.2. Approaches to Youth Employment

There are three specific policies that can be regarded as some form of social protection for youth in the area of youth employment:

a) *Umsobomvu Youth Fund*

Umsobomvu Youth Fund (UYF) was established in 2001 and administered by the National Youth Commission (NYC). The fund targeted the funding of youth business initiatives in order to promote creation of jobs-skills development and transfer. In this way, young people would acquire skills to access the job market or pursue meaningful self-employment through various enterprise initiatives. Its functions sought to contribute to the enhancement of active participation in the 'mainstream' economy through effective development programmes supporting livelihoods. The government allocated funds to enable the functioning of both NYC and UYF. The latter focused on providing young people with information through multiple channel Youth Advisory Centres, youth connect, and youth Internet Portal. Despite these initiatives in the past and present similar ones, the lack of funding remains an obstacle. The Umsobomvu Youth Fund was terminated in 2009, with very little evidence of success.

b) *Employment Tax Incentive Act of 2014*

The Act is intended to encourage greater private sector employment through tax incentives that would reduce the employer cost of hiring young and less experienced work seekers. The incentive reduces the costs of hiring young people for employers through a cost-sharing mechanism with government. Employers registered for this tax are eligible to decrease the Pay As You Earn (PAYE) that is payable for hiring a qualifying individual. The targeted age group is between 19 and 29 years of age. This tax incentive aims to create approximately 400 000 jobs over a three-year period. In this way, employers could recover the cost incurred in hiring qualifying young employees in a specific sector. The Act allows employers to reduce the total monthly employee's tax which employers are obliged to pay to SARS on behalf of his/her employees. When risks are minimised on the side of employer then the prevailing excuse for not hiring is put out of place. The implicit assumption is that when employers have the buy-in they would be keen to oblige. However, even if they do, accessing a work place is still a barrier to be overcome.

c) *The Youth Employment Accord*

The accord was signed in 2013 as a gesture by government officials and its partners to outwardly commit to the need to prioritise youth employment and skills development. The parties agreed to work together to expand opportunities for greater employment and the empowerment of youth in the economy. The accord recognises the need to increase the total number of employed persons in SA through sustainable and decent work opportunities that do not merely displace older workers. The parties noted other structural challenges such as poor skills, weak economic infrastructure, monopolies and cartels and lack of partnerships at workplace level. The document also sets targets and timeframes for specific sectors or programmes including:

- Identifying areas of immediate action that could be implemented in the same year – 2013
- Using lessons learnt in the first phase and practical measures to identify additional possible actions, revise targets and scale-up programmes in an expanded and updated accord to be concluded in 2014
- Commencing discussions on constraints in the economy that hinder job creation and inclusive growth.

There are six areas on the list of commitment seeking to:

- Improve education and training opportunities through second-chance senior certificate ('matric') programmes for those with no or poor results, intake in Further Education and Training (FET) colleges, the role of SETA and the targets of National Skills Accord (NSA).
- Give young people work exposure through connecting them to employment opportunities. It is envisaged that this would be achieved by supporting job placement schemes, promoting work readiness programmes for young school leavers, encouraging private sector employment initiatives, widening internships to 5% of the total employment in all government departments, and pushing state-owned enterprises to develop employment opportunities for FET and University graduates.
- Scale-up young people employment participation in the public sector.
- Prioritise young people on those programmes where they can be used in large numbers; these include such programmes as solar water heater installation, green economy, infrastructure, and Business Process Services.
- Promote youth entrepreneurship and cooperatives through encouraging public agencies such as Small Enterprise Finance Agency (SEFA), Small Enterprise Development Agency (SEDA) and Jobs Fund to support youth enterprises and co-ops.
- Persuade the private sector to expand the intake of young people.

6.2. Social Welfare

The South African youth falling between the ages of 15 and 35 are the recipients of only two forms of social welfare, for education and training, from the State. The younger cohort (up to age 18 years) can be covered by the Child Support Grant whilst the older cohort (19-35 years) can get assistance towards their education and training in post-school institutions through the National Skills Financial Aid Schemes.

The Child Support Grant (CSG) was first introduced in 1998. The CSG is an important instrument of social protection, reaching over 10 million South African children each month (Unicef, 2012). Over the past 16 years, South Africa's social grant programme has evolved into one of the most comprehensive social systems in the developing world. Expansion to the CSG's criteria for eligibility over this same period includes an increase in the age limit from 7 to eighteen years old, and adjustments to the income threshold to take inflation into account and improve equity. Children and adolescents who are eligible are defined as those who live with a primary caregiver whose household income falls below R74 400 per year (\$744). The amount the caregiver gets is R310 (\$31) per month and can be received for up to six children in the same household.

There is currently a proposal on the table by the Department of Social Development to increase the age of the Child Grant from the upper limit of 18 to 23 years old. This Department argues that some of the children they support are still at school by age 19 and suddenly they cannot afford a means of living because they are dropped by the welfare system and this results in these children also dropping out of school. It is also reported that the highest HIV infection is around this age group (18-19) and there is speculation that many of these youngsters resort to unbecoming sexual behaviours as a way of income generation. Finally, the age limit of 23 is also accommodating for students who are in post-school education and aims to supplement poor students' cost of living.

6.3. Reflections on youth social protection policies

When the present government assumed office in 1994, the duration of compulsory education was pegged at nine years. This decision was informed largely by international practice, with developed countries making education available and compulsory until the ages of 15 or 16 years (National Education Policy Investigation, 1992). The structuring of school education into a system that distinguishes between basic, compulsory education, on the one hand, and senior secondary education, on the other, was a pragmatic consideration, given that the new government could not guarantee a budget able to accommodate 12 years of equitable education. Today, 18 years later, it is clear that the lower threshold of nine years has become a significant barrier hindering young people from becoming productive citizens (National Youth Commission, 2008; Altman & Marock 2008). Altman and Marock (2008), for example, show that those who do not complete their senior secondary schooling or access higher education are the most vulnerable and their chances of being employed are greatly reduced. We have already demonstrated above that although the numbers are high for students who proceed beyond Grade 9, qualitative throughputs are still very small.

Many of the problems relating to drop-out rates during the last three years of senior secondary education are rooted in the education policy shift of 1995, which was aimed at reducing the number of over-age learners in the schooling system. Its consequence was that large groups of young people, who previously would have remained in the schooling system, were pushed into the labour market with little education and few skills that matched the needs of the economy. Black schools, which had a history of higher rates of grade repetition, were disproportionately affected by this policy (Burger & Von Fintel 2010). The fact that the state does not provide many opportunities for young people to re-enter the education system, therefore, exacerbates the travesty that is faced by many young people as they languish at the margins of society because they have missed their first opportunity to obtain a senior certificate qualification. In theory, young people can choose from a variety of paths that connect education and work or further learning during their evolution from childhood to adulthood. These transition routes include:

- from school to a post-school education institution, and then to work;

- from school to an apprenticeship or learnership, and then to work; and
- from school directly to work.

In instances where transition from one type of education provision to the next is clear and there is an established relationship, the connection with work is also better. For example, it is true that the school education system is actually mapped onto the higher education system – the nature of the subjects learned in the upper part of secondary education is often mirrored in the higher education system, and is, in fact, an extension and deepening of this knowledge. The senior certificate, therefore, has become the acknowledged selection tool for admission to higher education. Because universities are few, and selection takes place at the upper levels of the 'matric' pass range, a large number of students that have passed the senior certificate examinations cannot gain admission to these institutions. Increasingly, many more students are accessing higher education these days. The National Student Financial Aid Scheme (NSFAS) has helped a great deal in providing access opportunities to poor youth. For example, twenty years ago the university population was about three hundred thousand and it has now gone over a million.

The next post-school institutional option is the further education and training (TVET) college, with a curriculum that is designed for admission after passing Grade 9 at secondary level. However, these colleges already have a large supply of students who have passed 'matric' with low marks; hence, learners with senior certificates are cherry-picked at the expense of those that have not obtained this qualification. In addition, questions that have been raised about the quality and administration of TVET institutions have also made them a less desirable tertiary option for students and their parents who prefer the university route (DHET 2012). This is not a unique South African experience, as parents and their children all over the world realise that the more education one acquires, the higher one's earnings are likely to be, and the lower one's chances of unemployment (Wolf 2011).

Another transition route is a work-based learning pathway, like an apprenticeship or a learnership. Learnerships were introduced into the training system as an intervention to solve a number of problems experienced in the production of skills for the country. The list of these problems includes:

- A need to create a work-based learning pathway of education and training qualifications and, thereby, move away from an entirely institution-based learning mode. The creation of this pathway was particularly important in the past decade, as the school system was underperforming, with less than 50 per cent of students who wrote the senior certificate examination passing. The alternative form of education was a compensatory education with a practical aim.
- A need to replace artisan training, which took too long to complete for learners who were not able to access employment, due to partly completed credentials.
- A need to formalise the skills programmes required by the labour market that were not easily accommodated in FET colleges.
- The inadequacy of workshop facilities at FET colleges and the added need to include work experiences in the curriculum, in order to prepare learners better for the world of work.

When learnerships were introduced into the system, they were premised on these underlying assumptions, which have always been weakly articulated. The South African Qualifications Authority (SAQA) then designed unit standards-based qualifications, which were meant to be 'national qualifications' since they were not linked to any institutional provision and any provider could provide them. These qualifications have been pegged at the level of some of the formal and institutionalised qualifications, such as the senior secondary certificate, but use lengthy and complex terminology to describe them. The intention of this model has been to provide an alternate route to obtaining a senior secondary school equivalent qualification or a qualification that would compensate for the non-acquisition of a national senior certificate.

There is evidence that standards-based qualifications such as learnerships are not being used as an alternative to the national senior certificate (Allais 2007). This is the case primarily because schools have

been picking up momentum in increasing the pool of Grade 12 qualifying students, as evidenced by improved overall pass rates. Even though students may drop out before they write the Grade 12 examination, they have still been staying at school longer (Ministerial Report 2008). It is clear that for the majority of young people and their parents, completing Grade 12 is still the first priority and preferred route. Consequently, learnerships have been taken up mainly by young people who have attempted Grade 12, some of whom have failed and others of whom have passed weakly, instead of being used as an alternative pathway to obtaining a senior certificate. Recent research by the Human Sciences Research Council shows that the majority of learners in the learnership system are situated at the National Qualifications Framework (NQF) Level 2 (22 per cent) and NQF Level 4 (31 per cent), which coincide with formalised exit levels (HSRC 2008). As such, the study suggests that school leavers see learnerships as a way of improving their chances of accessing work and career opportunities, rather than compensatory education. Government regulations for qualifications have not yet accommodated any alternative route to obtaining a national senior certificate. Therefore, serious doubt exists about the ability of new compensatory programmes, like learnerships and now foundational learning, to compensate for a senior certificate qualification in our society¹¹.

In practice, it seems as if learnerships have come to serve as a repackaged form of artisan training. The fact that learnership qualifications are often without an institutional base has become problematic, because there are many questionable service providers in the market solely for the pursuit of profit, with little capacity to add meaningful value to the education system¹².

A second problem has to do with the type of knowledge acquired in these training programmes, which are more practical and based on job tasks, as opposed to the general academic nature of a school curriculum (Gamble 2003; Young 2006). It is difficult to equate disciplinary knowledge with functional knowledge. A third problem is the fact that many of these learnerships tend to be 'dead-end pathways'. Just like the Youth Training Schemes of the United Kingdom (UK), learnerships here tend to be government-induced schemes that are meant to combat youth unemployment and not to further educate (Fuller & Unwin 2012). Like their counterparts in the UK, young people are churned through these learnerships primarily to provide a means of economic survival (HSRC 2008), without obtaining the skills that place them on a sustainable economic path.

There seems to be a renewed intention to resuscitate the artisanal development programme. Again, we will have to draw on the experiences of the UK in this regard. The resuscitation of artisanal development is not any different from the modern apprenticeship programmes that surfaced at the end of the twentieth century in the UK. Fuller and Unwin (2012) regard these efforts as government schemes designed to manage youth unemployment and entry to the labour market; they caution that:

The policy produces difficulties when there are more 'entitled' young people than there are employers willing to employ and train them. The gap can lead to the emergence of a sub-group of apprentices who do not have employed status and are consequently more vulnerable to the sorts of outcomes (e.g. moving around state-sponsored placements) associated with the youth training schemes of the past (p.9).

In conclusion regarding the education and training system, the senior certificate or 'matric' is the most recognised minimum education qualification that is required for success in the labour market. Some would say that it is almost as important as having an identity document. As the notion of school completion has become synonymous with passing matric, the senior certificate examinations have become a rite of passage for all citizens and foreign nationals residing in this country. Yet, despite its importance, it has become difficult to obtain for those who have either failed the first time around, or have postponed the completion of their secondary education.

¹¹ Foundational learning is a mathematics and English programme that is being advocated by the Quality Council on Trades and Occupations to serve as compensatory learning for those who have not acquired the fundamental skills in these areas before they enroll for occupational qualifications.

¹² This observation is based on anecdotal conversations held with individuals working in this area.

The problem of a large section of the population not attaining a senior certificate has economic consequences for the labour market, as employment conditions increasingly privilege individuals who have acquired a 'basic' education level, but it also has social costs as some individuals are limited by their low levels of education in accessing vital political and social information that allows them to participate fully as citizens. From this perspective, the need for a general education qualification, equivalent to high school completion, for most citizens remains a high educational priority in the country. There are social justice imperatives that drive the agenda for continuing to provide education even to those who have left the formal schooling system in any given society. In the context of South Africa, it means that the greater the proportion of the population that has completed secondary education, the better opportunities will be distributed among the population in general.

Concentrating all energies and resources in the trickling effects of a growing primary education system does not seem to be getting us to a point where educational opportunities are being distributed fairly in our society. Also, putting most of our resources into the university system still means that millions of citizens are bypassed. In order to equalise the opportunities given through educational access, much more effort must be put into the promotion of a completed senior secondary schooling. Equality of opportunity is about levelling the playing field for everyone during key stages of life, and the last three years of schooling are vital to this exercise. A shift in the debate towards equality of opportunity in this area promises to be a better guide for public policy and for providing similar chances to all citizens.

6.4. Employment policies

The largest programme of government intervention in this regard is the Employment Tax incentive discussed above. Critics of this policy such as the trade unions argue that the policy removes focus from the structural crisis in the economy which creates unemployment; it reduces the youth unemployment issue to a problem of wages; it could lead to replacement of older workers with younger workers who are in short-term employment; and that such resources should instead be directed to expanding training and education programmes rather than funding employment wages.

Recent research shows that this government's flagship youth employment initiative has been a flop. According to a paper published by researchers at UCT, the Employment Tax Incentive which was introduced on 1 January 2014 is a failure. According to their research, it 'did not have any statistically significant and positive effects on youth employment probabilities' (Ranchhold & Finn, 2014). The authors compared the first six months of the tax subsidy to the three years prior. They conclude: 'In the first six months since the introduction of the ETI, we find no evidence that the ETI had any substantial, positive and statistically significant effect on aggregate youth employment probabilities.' The authors show that the tax subsidy is potentially a very expensive government subsidy to businesses, with very limited impact. The authors give the example of a firm that was planning on hiring 50 youth anyway. It would receive R50,000 in tax relief for doing nothing differently. The question is then whether it would hire a 51st young person. If it did, government would essentially be paying a firm R51,000 per month to hire one new young person at R4,000 per month.

The authors then conclude:

'The lack of effectiveness of the ETI has implications for the efficacy of policy from a public finance perspective... [I]f there is substantial take up of the incentive for employment that would have arisen even in the absence of the ETI, this represents a pure transfer from taxpayers to a subset of firms who are not doing anything differently. These transfers have opportunity costs, and it is difficult to believe that this is desirable from a policy perspective.'

Indeed, the problem of youth employment seems to be structural (CDE, 2010). It is difficult to understand how youth employment can be fixed by giving tax incentives in the absence of sustained rates of economic growth. More than a quarter of the country's residents receive social grants. Put this together with high

levels of public spending on education, health care, housing, etc., and South Africa may well have built the most redistributive state in the developing world. Yet, as long as so many young people are still destined to life of unemployment, the effects of these redistributive actions will always be marginally felt in society, especially by the youth who aspire to access the labour market.

A recent study conducted by the REAL Centre shows that networks are far more significant in allowing young people to access work opportunities than had previously been thought (Marock, 2013). This study confirms the World Bank study trends. What is becoming clear is that youth employment policies have very little chance to work if they do not address the level of education young people should have before they should access skills development programmes; the nature of skills development programmes that work; and if they do not recognise that many young people do not have the kind of networks required for accessing employment opportunities and therefore, instead, an enabling environment must be created to help this group of still-disadvantaged youth.

In the following section we present information about the industry sectors in which this study was conducted, namely the Wine and Construction industries. It is in these sectors where:

- we verify if the abovementioned policies have been implemented or not;
- whether our interpretations of these policies are evidenced through the field work; and
- explore the initiatives that might compensate /oppose the failings of the policies.

7. Industry Sectors

The construction and wine industries are both significant contributors to the economy of the country and significant employers. Colonialism and apartheid have left a strong legacy of racial inequality in both sectors resulting in significant transformation efforts. Throughout the twentieth century, the South African wine industry worked on a co-operative model which was anchored around the **KWV** Koöperatieve Wijnbouwers Vereniging (KWV). K WV is one of the leading wine and spirits producers in South Africa and it was founded as a winemaking co-operative on 8 January 1918 by wine makers from the Western Cape in South Africa, with Dr. Charles Kohler as its chairperson The name is Afrikaans for “Co-operative Winemakers’ Society of South Africa”, but today KWV represents a well-known global wine and spirits brand producing a large portfolio of products. KWV as a central purchaser of pressed grapes and production. The construction industry has been central to the building of physical infrastructure and associated largely with urbanization as the structural features of the modern city have been developed by the construction sector.

These two sectors provide a crucial context for the study of youth employment and skills development. Both sectors reflect the general features of South Africa’s economy. High levels of concentration and dominance by a few players, segmentation of the labour market between a small core of professional workers followed by a wider layer of semi-skilled workers, and a huge number of labourers who are generally paid lower wages and are more vulnerable to the winds of economic change.

This section looks into the contextual issues influencing the operation of these two sectors in order to compare and contrast with developments in the same two sectors in Argentina. The paper covers the following issues: (1) the historical context of the two sectors; (2) an economic overview of the two sector; (3) labour market trends in the two sectors; (4) education and training in the two sectors and a conclusion. The section is a descriptive overview drawing on available data in published sources, reports, sectorial studies and other relevant documents.

7.1. Historical context of the two sectors

7.1.1. The wine industry

The South African wine industry can be traced as far back as the seventeenth century when the first vines

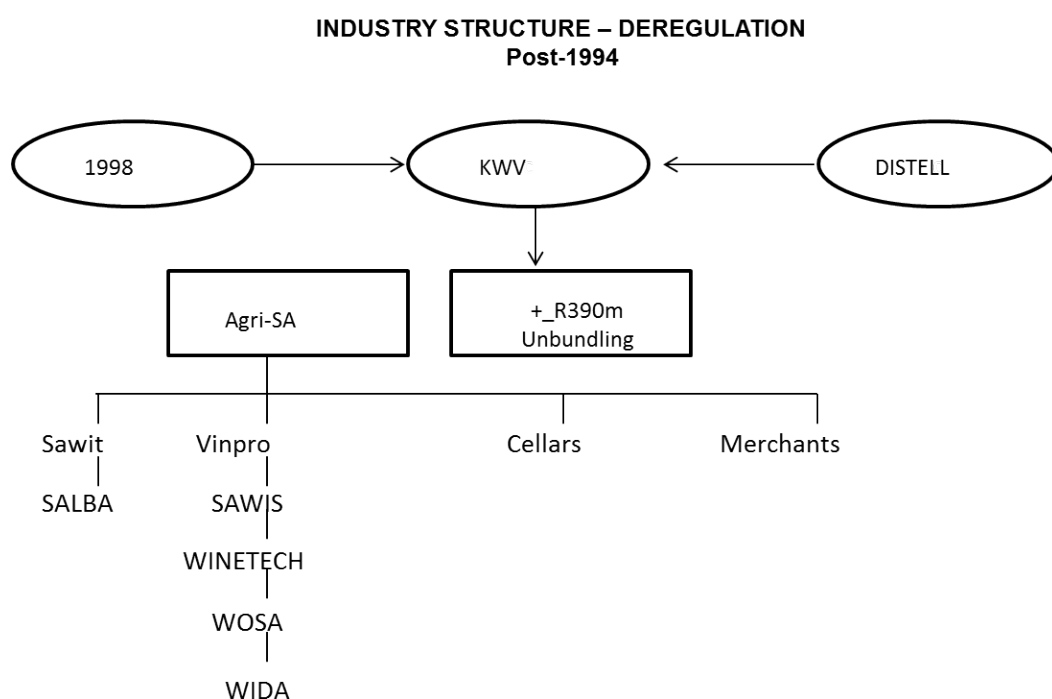
were planted after the Napoleonic Wars. Throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the industry experienced numerous problems including trade treaties between France and Britain which impacted on South Africa's wine exports to Britain. When prices of wine rose significantly in 1916, a decision was taken by the government to develop a mechanism to for the regulation of the industry. It was against this backdrop that KWV was established as a co-operative, essentially to manage surplus production within the wine industry. According to NAMC (2002)

KWV was initiated as a co-operative in 1916 and registered as a company in 1918. Its members had to sell all their wine through KWV and contribute a levy of 10% on their sales. KWV would declare an annual "surplus", which it would remove from the market. Some 90% of the wine farmers in the Cape had signed the constitution of KWV by the end of 1917. (p.4)

A significant feature of the wine industry labour market has been the 'tot' or 'dop' system which was a system of paying workers with alcohol rather than with monetary compensation. This was a system of social control which contributed immensely to the rise of alcohol abuse in the agricultural communities. 'The dop system had its origins in the early years of colonial settlement in the Cape Colony when indigenous pastoralist and coastal peoples were induced to enter service on settler farms with payment of tobacco, bread and wine. This tradition became an institutionalised element of farming practice in the Cape over the next 300 years and an important element of social control exercised over indigenous people of the region' (London, 1999:1408).

With the ushering in of the new government in 1994, significant policy changes were introduced to protect workers and rural dwellers. New policy initiatives included the land reform programme; the application of labour law to agriculture; laws protecting agricultural workers and labour and agricultural marketing; and the Marketing of Agricultural Products Act (1996). The government also took steps to stamp out the remaining pockets of the notorious dop system of providing wine rations as a form of payment (SAWCI, 2007:12). Within the transition phase the industry has undergone three key areas of change: (1) de-regulation from the 'KWV model, (2) integration into global value chains and (3) legislative changes. The table below illustrates the nature of the de-regulation which occurred in 1998.

Figure 10: Deregulation of the Wine Industry, 2014



7.1.2. The Construction Industry

The pre-1994 era of public procurement was driven by state tender boards which had provincial and local level board equivalents. With time it became clear that the tender system needed to be decentralised: 'If the national-level State Tender Board is taken as indicative of the general situation then the system of centralisation was gradually accompanied by recognition of the need for a measure of decentralised flexibility. It seems this was generally understood as the need to reduce the prospect of the central tender board becoming a bottleneck' (PARI, 2014:13).

The construction sector's history since 1994 has seen a gradual trend of growth stimulated particularly by the state's investment in infrastructure. Government investment in infrastructure is aimed mainly at dismantling apartheid spatial patterns, addressing poverty and inequality and improving physical infrastructure to create a climate conducive to private sector investment. Large-scale housing, road, water and sewerage infrastructure projects have been central to the state's investments in infrastructure since the dawn of democracy. Since 2009, the government has adopted the Strategic Integrated Projects (SIPS) which are under the Presidential Infrastructure Co-ordination Committee (PICC). There are 18 SIPS which cover seven main areas: Geographic, Energy, Spatial, Social Infrastructure, Knowledge, Regional and Water and Sanitation.

7.2. Economic overview of the two sectors

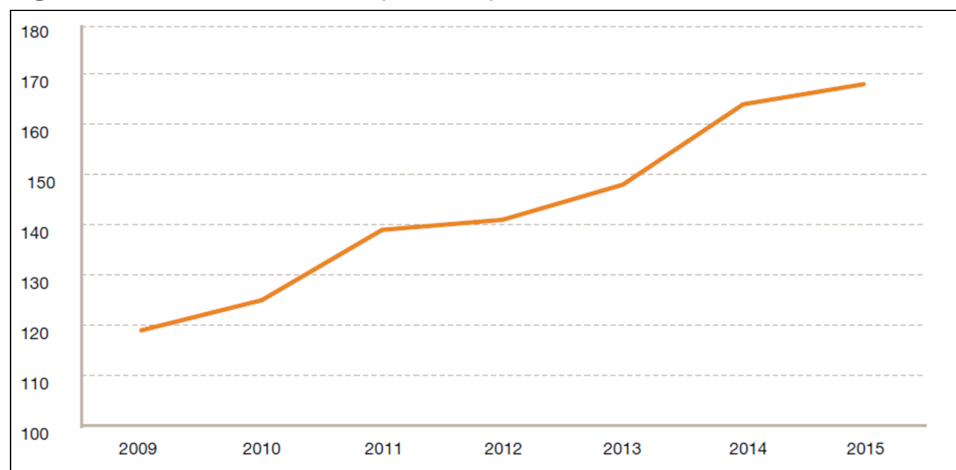
7.2.1. The construction industry

A defining feature of the sector is the high level of concentration and dominance of a few big companies. Large firms operate nationally and internationally, including the rest of Africa where many new opportunities are emerging. Public sector capital expenditure on construction is gradually increasing (see figure below). State-Owned Enterprises (SOE's) also make huge investments in infrastructure.

- There are 182,000 employees in the construction sector (Stats SA QLFS (Q2,2014))
- The sector has a large informal sector which employs thousands of people
- The sector has a huge number of small firms, many of which are dependent on provincial and local government for work
- Investigations by the Competition Commission are currently underway in response to alleged collusion between big companies in the building of stadiums for the World Cup 2010.

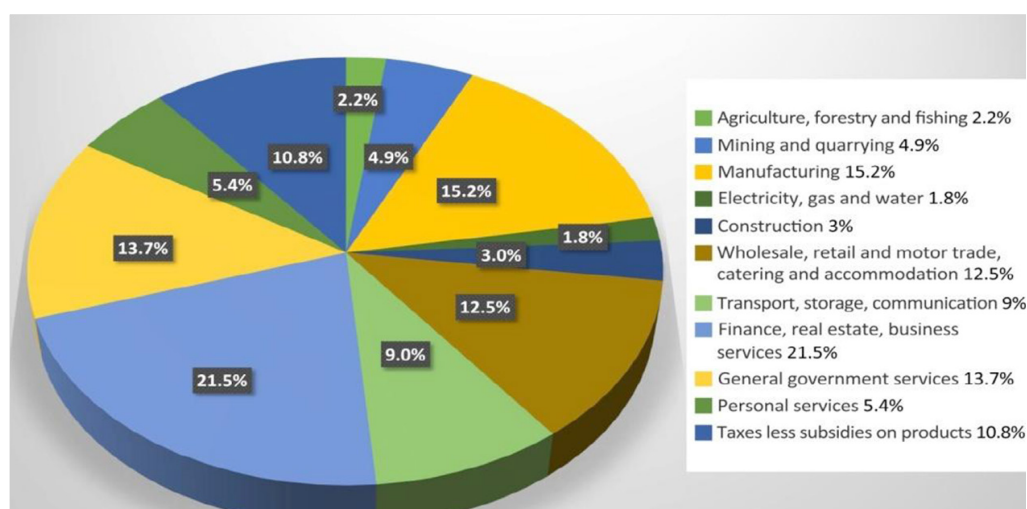
Construction, particularly as regards infrastructural projects, requires huge outlays of capital. Clients, whether they are government departments, state-owned entities, companies or private individuals, are cautious when the economy turns down. When it crashes, there is panic, and projects are postponed or cancelled. Construction was to some extent bolstered by the Soccer World Cup held in South Africa in 2010 (CETA, 2013/14:44). Figure 11 below summarizes the capital expenditure relating to new construction, the cost of development of properties and major rejuvenation projects actually incurred by the public sector for the financial year up to and including 2012 together with estimates for the 2013 to 2015 period. The graph shows a solid growth trend over the last few years and positive expectations for the next three years.

Figure 11: Construction related public expenditure in (billions of rand)



As per the 2014 Stats SA GDP report, the construction sector contributes 3% of the GDP of South Africa's economy. It is argued by some observers that the sector's contribution impacts on other sectors by reducing the costs of production, contributing to the diversification of the economy and providing access to the application of modern technology. This perspective has informed the general logic of the government's drive to expand infrastructure expenditure. It has also been seen as the best way to stimulate recovery in the economy following the 2008 financial crisis.

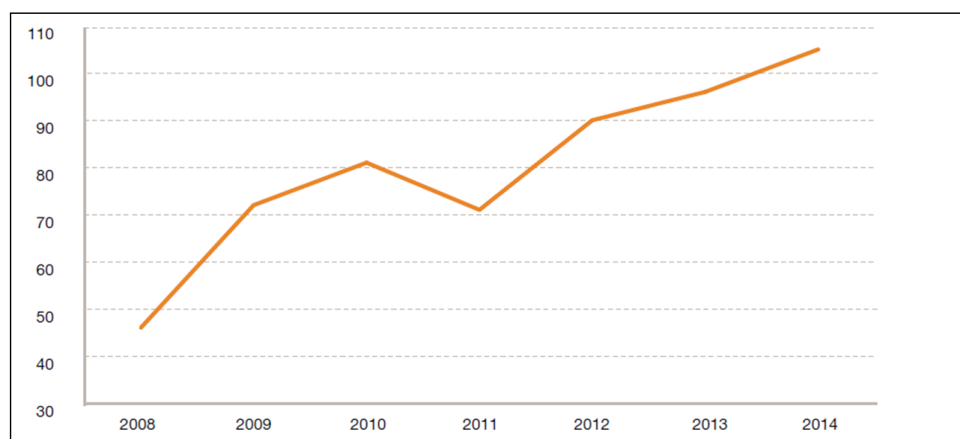
Figure 12: Sector contribution to GDP



Source: Stats SA, 2014

A defining feature of the sector is the high level of concentration and dominance by a few big companies such as Murray & Roberts, Aveng, WBHO, Group Five, Raubex, Stefanuti Stocks, Basil Read. Large firms operate nationally and internationally, including in the rest of Africa where many new opportunities are emerging. These companies have a high grading, a wider geographical reach and diverse activities. According to a report on trends in the industry by consulting firm PWC (2013), total expenditure in 2012 by public sector institutions amounted to R202 billion. State-Owned Enterprises (SOEs) such as SANRAL, Transnet, Eskom and ACSA have made additional investments in infrastructure linked to specific projects in line with their capital spending requirements. The figure below gives a breakdown of the combined value of the investments made by these major SOEs.

Figure 13: Capital expenditure by State-Owned Enterprises (SOEs)
Eskom, Transnet, SANRAL and ACSA (billions of rand)



The investigation into price-fixing and alleged collusion between certain big companies by the Competition Commission in 2012/13 exposed a practice that is alleged to have netted these companies huge profits from the World Cup project. The commission has recommended penalties that constitute a percentage of yearly turnovers for the 2010 financial year. The penalties for the alleged anti-competitive behavior by the sector have been met with outrage by the general public. Despite the fine of R1.46 billion, a sentiment exists in society that heavier penalties could have been given to these companies as they continue to make even bigger profits.

7.2.2. The wine industry

The wine industry is much broader than what is suggested by the ordinary meaning of the word “wine”. Brandy and its building blocks (wine for brandy and distilling wine) have always formed a significant part of South Africa’s wine industry. In recent years, grape juice and grape juice concentrate for use in non-alcoholic beverages, and not just for the sweetening of wine, have also come to the fore. The wine industry thus encompasses wine (natural, fortified and sparkling), wine for brandy, distilling wine, brandy and other spirits distilled from distilling wine, and grape juice and grape juice concentrate for use in wine and non-alcoholic products (SAWIS, 2013: 4).

The wine industry’s annual impact on South African GDP is approximately R26.6 billion which is 2.2 % of GDP. In addition to this the industry contributes R4.2 billion to state income from VAT and excise on wine industry products. 352.7 million litres of wine are consumed in the domestic market and 357,4 million litres are exported (Wine Industry Directory, 2012/13: 23).

SAWIS (2013) describes the differences between the types of cellars. A producer cellar is a winery where grapes are received and processed on behalf of a group of wine grape producers – its members – into wine grape products and the marketing thereof as packaged or bulk. A private wine cellar is a winery belonging to an individual or group where grapes are received and processed into wine grape products and the marketing thereof as packaged or bulk.

Table 21 confirms the concentration of production in the Western Cape towns of Stellenbosch, Paarl, Robertson and Swartland. As stated above, the sector is concentrated in one region, rather like in the Mendoza region of Argentina.

Table 20: Distribution of wine cellars per region in South Africa

	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Producer cellars	66	66	65	65	59	58	57	54	52	50	50
Private wine cellars	423	477	495	494	481	504	524	493	505	509	493
Producing wholesalers	16	18	21	17	20	23	23	26	25	23	21
Number of wine cellars which crush grapes	505	561	581	576	560	585	604	573	582	582	564

PRODUCER CELLARS	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Northern Cape	4	4	4	4	4	4	3	3	3	3	3
Olifants River	6	6	5	5	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
Swartland	5	5	5	5	5	4	4	4	3	2	2
Klein-Karoo	7	7	7	7	6	6	6	4	4	4	4
Paarl	10	10	10	10	9	8	8	8	8	7	7
Robertson	12	12	12	12	10	10	10	11	10	10	10
Stellenbosch	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Worcester	20	20	20	20	20	5	5	8	8	8	8
Breedekloof						16	16	11	11	11	11
Total	66	66	65	65	59	58	57	54	52	50	50

PRIVATE WINE CELLARS	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Northern Cape	5	6	8	8	8	10	9	9	8	10	11
Olifants River	16	16	17	15	12	15	15	11	16	14	11
Swartland	19	23	26	31	31	34	37	33	34	33	31
Klein-Karoo	16	20	18	16	16	16	20	22	24	25	22
Paarl	132	149	156	139	141	152	148	128	136	128	125
Robertson	41	45	46	51	51	52	58	53	55	54	55
Stellenbosch	160	175	173	177	166	170	175	172	171	178	175
Worcester	34	43	51	57	56	42	46	49	48	52	48
Breedekloof						13	16	16	13	15	15
Total	423	477	495	494	481	504	524	493	505	509	493

Table 21: Geographic distribution of wine grape vineyards per wine region during 2013

WINE REGIONS	NUMBER OF VINES	% OF TOTAL VINES	AREA HECTARES	% OF TOTAL HECTARES
Stellenbosch	49 523 365	16.69	16 294	16.35
Paarl	48 460 222	16.33	16 106	16.16
Robertson	49 743 713	16.76	14 676	14.72
Swartland	34 165 525	11.51	13 509	13.55
Breedekloof	41 366 550	13.94	12 878	12.92
Olifants River	27 498 000	9.27	10 116	10.15
Worcester	28 028 029	9.44	8 814	8.84
Northern Cape	9 879 230	3.33	4 652	4.67
Klein Karoo	8 110 484	2.73	2 637	2.65
Total	296 775 118	100.00	99 680	100.00

Source: South African Wine Industry Statistics, industry structure annual publication 2013, p9

7.3. Deregulation and regulation within the two sectors

7.3.1. Deregulation of the wine industry

The deregulation of the wine industry from the co-operatives model of KWV resulted in the emergence of a model that integrated a variety of institutional players. As stated above, the KWV model of the apartheid era operated until 1994. It was based on 52 co-operatives supplying KWV and involved the pressing of grapes which were then bottled and exported in bulk from KWV.

The 'new model' of deregulation post-1994 resulted in an increase in private sellers after 1995, affecting about 575 private wine estates producing about 50 000 tons of grapes. The South African Wine Industry Trust (SAWIT) was established in 1998 with a mandate to use funding made available by KWV for the transformation of the wine industry. SAWIT was mandated with two main objectives: (1) socio-economic transformation and growth of historically disadvantaged individuals within the wine industry; (2) commercial development and promotion of the wine industry to ensure global competitiveness and

sustainability.¹³ The table below illustrates the basic structural configuration of the industry in light of transformation initiatives since 1995. The support institutions can be divided into statutory and private industry institutions.

Given the size of the wine industry and its scope of coverage, which extends to primary agriculture, grape pressing, wine cellars, bottling, packaging, distribution, export and also tourism, we can identify over 20 more institutional bodies which play a role either as associations or regulators. The figure below illustrates the wine production value chain in a simplified format:

Figure 14: Wine Industry value chain



Source: Winetech Learning and Development Strategy 2014, p21.

Given the racialized history of South Africa, the industry bodies tend to be divided between established white bodies and new bodies representing the emerging black participants in the sector. All the bodies we cited in the table covering institutional bodies in the sector have many other sub-structures that relate to the sector and a variety of other activities in the wine sector.¹⁴

The restructuring process ran concurrently with the writing of the Wine Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) Charter, itself hailed as an inspirational piece of legislation for the Agricultural Black Economic Empowerment Charter ("AgriBEE") process. The most salient points which inform the transformation agenda of the wine industry include:

- **A highly-skewed ownership regime:** Land, enterprises and capital are largely in the hands of white entities
- **A history of problematic labour relations:** The sector has a history of low wages, outsourced/contract labour, poor living conditions and no acceptable minimum wage
- **Economically viable and market-driven BEE:** Legislation focuses on the creation of an entrepreneurial class amongst historically disadvantaged South Africans
- **Value chain integration:** All levels of the value chain need to be integrated into empowerment
- **Human and social development:** The industry is capital, skills, knowledge and management intensive, and is becoming increasingly technology intensive.¹⁵

These imperatives of transformation impact on the overall operation of the sector. Labour unrest within the sector has cast a negative light on the nature of employer–employee relations in the sector.

7.4. Regulation of the construction sector

Since 1994, over 789 laws and legislations have overhauled the sector to bring it into line with the Constitution. The sector also has upstream and downstream linkages with a vast number of other sectors. According to the Construction SETA Sector Skills Plan 2013/14, the skills in the sector link to a range of upstream skills including the mining industry, which requires machinery, chemicals, wooden structures,

¹³ See SAWIT Executive Report, Independent Performance Evaluation of the South African Wine Industry Trust: 1999–2009. The report provides an analysis and background to the establishment of SAWIT.

¹⁴ The South African Wine Industry Directory is produced annually by the Winelands magazine and Vinpro. It details all the activities in the sector, their economic value and the technical background of all players.

¹⁵ See Thuthukile Skweyiya Western Cape-Burgundy Wine Exchange Programme: Fifth Anniversary Review 2001–2006, p. 8–9.

cranes and materials required in the manufacturing sector on one hand. On the other side of the spectrum, the skills link to home owners who require building materials. In other words, the construction sector covers a wide range of industries and sectors, such as Housing, property, conservation, safety, public works, human settlements, tourism and leisure, banking, marketing and sales, consumer satisfaction, environment, health and sanitation all require building services from the construction sector.

The construction sector engages in diverse activities including construction, maintenance, renovation, or replacement of fixed assets of a variety of magnitudes. The sector is made up of five broad sub-sectors – materials manufacturing, construction, electrical contractors, building and the built environment professions, with each sub-sector covering a different aspect of the industry (CETA, 2014:22). The sector has numerous associations that interface with and inform policy processes. Some of the associations are linked to professional bodies while others are government-created bodies which oversee the general operation of the sector. These include bodies such as the Council for the Built Environment (CBE), the Construction Industry Development Board (CIBD), the South African Federation of Civil Engineering Contractors (SAFCEC) and the Master Builders Association.

Since 2009, the government has made huge infrastructure investments worth trillions of rands which have benefited the industry handsomely.¹⁶ Controversy surrounding industry collusion over pricing of materials and other inputs has given a negative image to the sector, given the findings of the Competition Commission. These huge investments have also been coupled with a large scale 'contractualisation' of the state which has produced a strong procurement regime within the state system.

As stated above, the construction industry is regulated by a range of legislations which give rise to policies that influence the operation of the sector. We choose to segment these legislations according to their specific area of implementation i.e. construction industry regulation, labour standards regulation and health and safety regulation. This approach gives a better sense of how we analyse the scope of the policies affecting the sector. This is not a definitive list, as a range of other private and public sector policies also impact on the industry. The legislations also vary in their impact on the sector: some have a direct impact while others impact the industry indirectly. We stress that for now this is merely a descriptive exercise which gives us an overview of all players in the sector. The table captures the key acts or policies which have an impact on the sector and provides a short summary of each.

7.5. The Labour market trends of the two sectors

7.5.1. The wine industry

The much publicised worker strikes over minimum wages in De Doorns and the Overberg region in 2012/13 are considered to be amongst the most significant in post-apartheid South Africa. The strikes have been equated to the Marikana mining sector strikes which occurred in the same period in the Platinum belt of Rustenburg.¹⁷ Seasonal labour is a characteristic feature of the wine industry labour market, which is also linked with contractual employment or other forms of short-term employment. A greater number of migrant workers are employed in the sector. Skilled workers tend to be mostly permanently employed. The range of occupations and careers cuts across the value chain from primary production to marketing. Specialised fields such as wine-making do not absorb big numbers but are critical to the functioning of the sector. Wine tourism also accounts for a significant number of employment opportunities in the sector. According to the Wine Industry Directory (2012/13) the wine industry supports about 336 128 job opportunities directly and indirectly across the value chain. Included in this figure are opportunities related to wine tourism.

¹⁶ Strategic Infrastructure Projects (SIPs) are the major investments of the state co-ordinated by the Presidency through the Presidential Infrastructure Co-ordinating Committee (PICC). Other big investments came through the World Cup 2010 building of stadiums.

¹⁷ A recently completed Master's Thesis in Sociology (Wilderman, 2014) titled 'Farm Worker Uprising in the Western Cape: A Case Study of Protest, Organising, and Collective Action', GLU, Sociology Department Wits University details how the strikes began and highlights that they started off as independent strikes not initiated by a union. Wilderman describes the underlying cause of the strikes as paternalism and a general lack of information given to workers on the broader issues of minimum wages in the economy.

The establishment of the minimum wage in 2012, set by the Minister of Labour through Sectorial Determination Thirteen, left farm workers as some of the lowest paid workers in the formal sector of employment. It is important to note that there are also variances in working conditions between farm workers; these differences often break down by gender, immigration status, race, and employment status. Generally, women earn less than men, partially because they make up a higher percentage of the casual or seasonal workers, but even in situations where their employment status is the same. There has also traditionally been a divide — albeit uneven or inconsistent in many places — between “coloured” workers, who tend to hold more of the permanent jobs, and “African” workers who make up a greater percentage of the casual or seasonal workers. More skilled workers, of whom there are fewer, tend to be paid higher wages while migrant or contract workers — workers who are sometimes employed by labour brokers — are sometimes paid below the minimum wage and face higher rates of vulnerability based on lack of consistent work (Wilderman, 2014: 6).

Table 22: Approximate monthly wage rates in agriculture for selected sub-sectors

Subsector	Primary Production	Processing/Pack house
Meat	R 2000	
Dairy	-	R 2650
Wines	R 1100	R 1400
Flowers	R 800	R 1200
Fisheries	R 5000 (crewman)	R 1892

Source: Agri-SETA, 2012/13, p 4

The daily wage rate for farm workers has been improving slowly but not adequately enough to match those of wages in the rest of the labour market. In 2012, the minister of labour placed a sectorial determination for farmworker wages at a monthly minimum wage of R 1,375.94 to R1,503.90. The table below shows a breakdown of the daily minimum wage rate since 2009.

Table 23: Minimum Wage in the Wine Industry

Year	Daily Minimum Wage Rate
2009	R56.79
2010	R60.66
2011	R63.36
2012	R69.39
2013	R105.00
2014	R111.72

Sources: Department of Labour, 2011, 2012 and 2014

7.5.2 The construction industry

In this section we look specifically at trends in employment, the distribution between formal and informal economy employment, gender dynamics, professional registration, the geographical distribution of employment, employment conditions as they relate to access to benefits, and the nature of employment contracts. According to the Stats SA Quarterly Labour Force Survey 2014 Quarter 2, the construction sector accounts for 1,182 million employees which is about 8 per cent of total employment in the labour market. This makes the construction sector one of the bigger employers within the labour market.

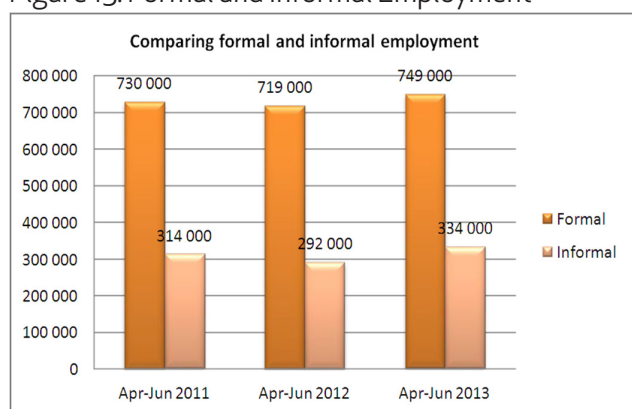
Table 24: Employment by industry

Industry	Apr-Jun 2013	Jan-Mar 2014	Apr-Jun 2014	Qtr-to-qtr change	Year-on-year change	Qtr-to-qtr change	Year-on-year change
	Thousand			Per cent			
Total*	14 692	15 055	15 094	39	403	0,3	2,7
Agriculture	742	709	670	-39	-73	-5,5	-9,8
Mining [#]	403	424	419	-5	16	-1,2	3,9
Manufacturing	1 838	1 804	1 745	-60	-93	-3,3	-5,1
Utilities	123	130	118	-11	-5	-8,8	-3,8
Construction	1 149	1 199	1 182	-18	32	-1,5	2,8
Trade	3 087	3 186	3 179	-8	92	-0,2	3,0
Transport	897	895	947	52	50	5,9	5,6
Finance and other business services	1 967	2 045	2 012	-34	45	-1,7	2,3
Community and social services	3 266	3 428	3 531	103	265	3,0	8,1
Private households	1 215	1 231	1 290	60	75	4,9	6,2

Source: Stats SA QLFS, 2014, Q2

The sector has a large informal sector which employs thousands of people. This informal sector is also responsible for private projects, housing renovations, community initiatives and other general small-scale infrastructural requirements in society. The sector is dominated by a huge number of small firms, many of which are dependent on provincial and local government for work. Economic downturns or recessions impact the small firms significantly. 'When there are economic hardships, demand for construction activities are put on hold, particularly in the private household sector. As such, when the economy is depressed, those working in the building subsector particularly, including builders, electrical contractors and materials suppliers, are negatively affected' (CETA, 2013:13). The table below compares the trends in formal and informal employment in the sector.

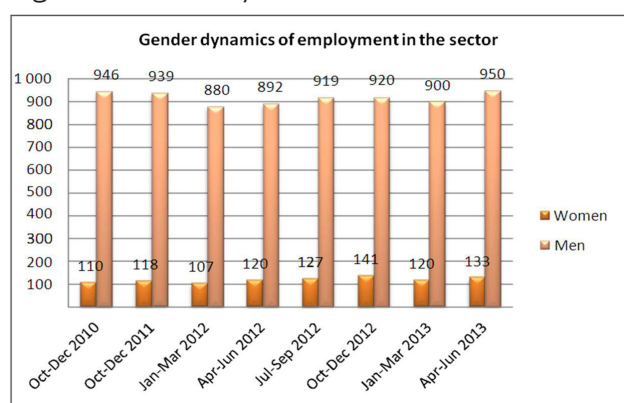
Figure 15: Formal and Informal Employment



Source: CETA SSP 2012/13

Employment by Gender in the sector shows that employment in the sector has generally been male-dominated as the figure below confirms.

Figure 16: Gender dynamics in the sector



Source: CETA SSP 2012/13

Data on professionals' registration as per the table below is limited as it only covers engineering professionals. There are other professions in the industry which are not recorded in the table.

Table 25: Professional registration

Professional Council	Professionals	African	White	Indian	Coloured
ECSA	27208	4106	20920	1640	542
SACAP	7775	1007	5655	544	569
SACPVP	1392	157	1138	53	44
SACQSP	1826	305	1340	144	37
SACPCMP	1996	230	1616	93	57
SACLAP	159	1	155	2	1
Total 2013	40356	5806	30824	2476	1250

Source: CETA SSP 2012/13

The data on the geographical distribution of employment show a trend of concentration of employment in Western Cape, Gauteng and Kwazulu Natal. As a result, many professionals are also situated within these three provinces. This reflects a general trend in the economy which sees economic activity dominated by these three provinces. However, compared to the wine industry, construction is far more nationally spread.

Table 26: Provincial distribution of employment

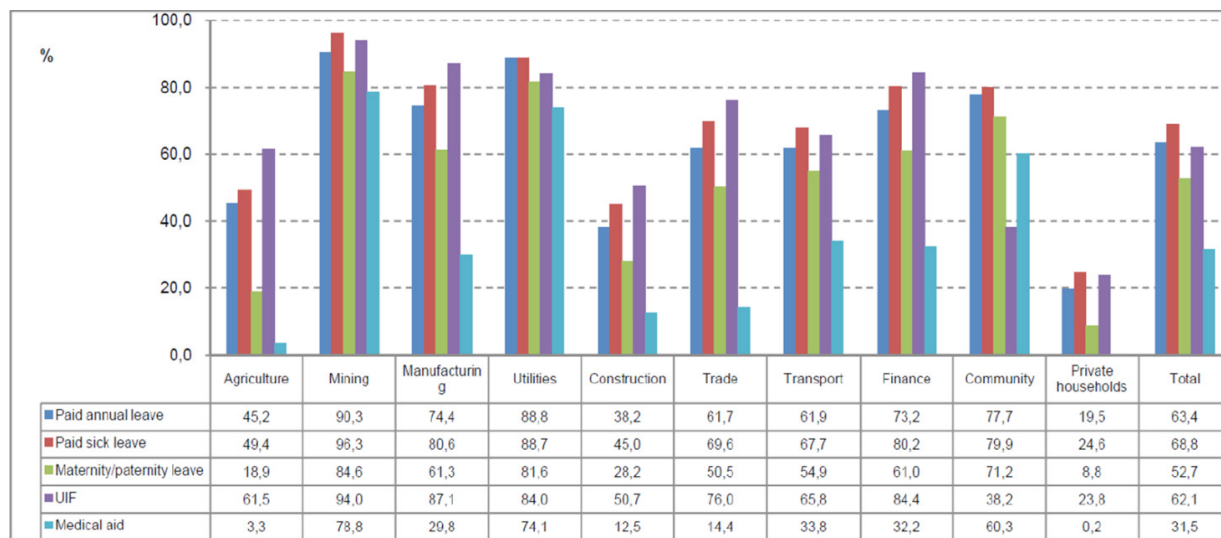
	Jan-Mar 2012	Apr-Jun 2012	Jul-Sep 2012	Oct-Dec 2012	Jan-Mar 2013	Apr-Jun 2013
	Thousand	Thousand	Thousand	Thousand	Thousand	Thousand
Western Cape	135	144	135	138	129	142
Eastern Cape	108	106	143	131	128	134
Northern Cape	19	20	14	18	21	21
Free State	47	48	51	52	54	51
KwaZulu Natal	210	211	215	220	215	237
North West	46	45	42	43	37	46
Gauteng	265	269	279	287	278	268
Mpumalanga	64	76	66	73	71	79
Limpopo	92	94	101	99	87	105
Total	986	1 012	1 046	1 061	1 020	1 083

Source: CETA SSP 2012/13

Figure 17 on the next page shows that only households lag behind the construction sector when it comes to providing benefits for their employees. This explains the high level of casual labour in the industry because their temporary status relieves the employer of wage expenses when there are no projects, and there is no need to make provision for paid leave, paid sick leave, maternity leave, medical aid or UIF. Only agriculture is comparable with construction as far as paid leave is concerned and households come in lowest (CETA, 2012/13: 53).

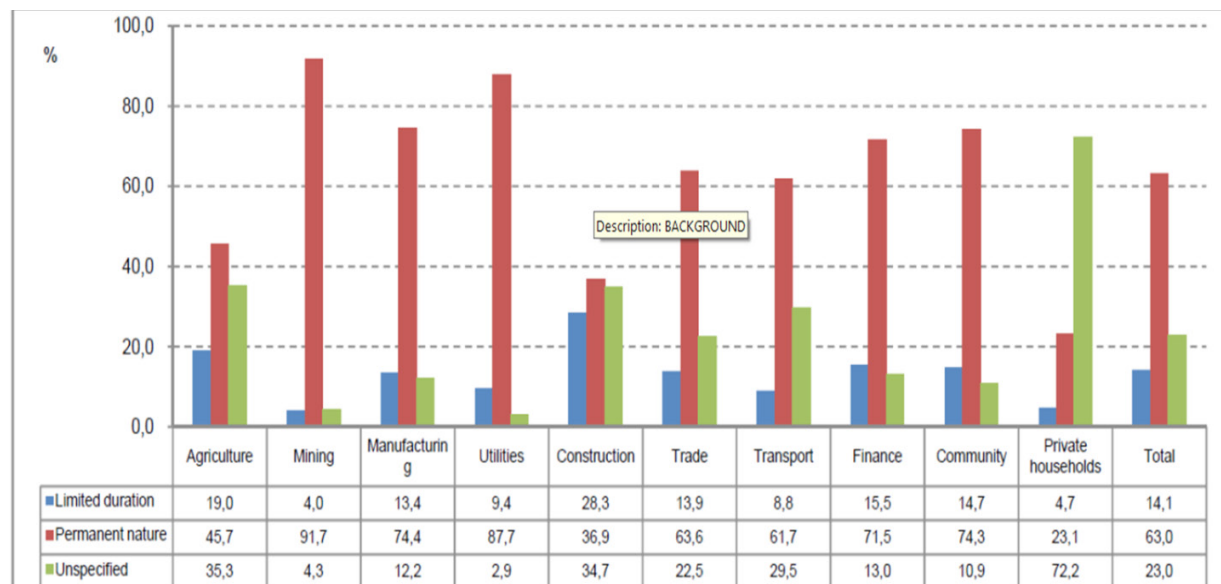
According to CETA (2013), many contractors argue that they only need labour when they have projects, as they cannot afford to pay wages when there is no work. This results in sub-contracting or employing casual labour rather than employing permanent staff. Figure 18 below shows this phenomenon in the sector: there are three types of agreement for the workers: temporary work of limited duration; permanent contracts involving the usual benefits; and unspecified employment which is probably casual labour.

Figure 17: Employee access to benefits by industry



Source: Quarterly Labour Force Survey, Quarter 2, 2014

Figure 18: Nature of employment contract or agreement by industry



Source: Quarterly Labour Force Survey, Quarter 2, 2013

7.6. Conclusion

This industrial context section was aimed at providing a descriptive overview of key trends in the sectors (wine and construction). It showed that the racialised inequalities are still key features of both sectors, necessitating a serious focus on transformation. While young workers may be accessing new job opportunities, the sectors' labour markets are generally quite vulnerable and seasonal in nature. Both sectors have a significant segment of casualized and externalized workers. In both sectors, the professional and technical stratum of workers is reasonably stable in their employment. Skills training at entry level is provided by private providers, skills academies and industry bodies through learnerships.

The issues raised provide context for the findings and analysis chapters. South Africa's progressive policies and institutions directed at youth employment and skills development seek to respond to the issues we raised in this paper. The policy responses across the public sector policy environment seek mainly to redress historical imbalances, promote transformation and create an enabling environment for societal redress. It is against background that the chapters on policy, theory and research methodology are located.

8. Findings

This section looks at social justice in skills development and the deployment of youth and seeks to address two broad sets of questions:

- a. What quality of jobs do young people get? Who provides the work and where is it provided (formal/informal, sectors, regions, type of ownership, etc.)? What are the structural barriers for youth (such as general unemployment or precarious work, economic cycles and/or crisis, deficits in educational supply)? What is the gender dimension of youth unemployment? What inequality is there among youth groups when accessing skills development and employment?
- b. What are the policies for work preparation and deployment? What are the conceptual approaches, guidelines and designs of implementation, their complements, and contradictions? Do policies help to improve the opportunities for youth to access skills development and quality work? How do institutions promote inclusion of young people, especially the disadvantaged ones, by networking with other public and private actors? What are their strategies in skills development? How do young people get into work preparation and work? What are the relationships (conflicting, complementary and parallel) between institutions and some other non-state actors (including the private sector) dealing with the same issues?

In answering the above questions, data was collected from secondary sources and interviews were conducted in the wine and construction industries. The interviewees for both sectors appear as Appendix A. The youth training and employment policies described in this study were used as secondary data for making interpretations on practices on the ground. In addition, information on youth employment is referenced in discussing the observations that have been made in this study. Atlas TI was used to analyse the collected data and the following themes were established.

Table 27: Themes used to analyse data

General and specific policies	Sector interviews
1. Policies for youth skills development	1. Access/barriers to skills development
2. Policies for youth employment	2. Access/barriers to employment
3. Implementation of youth skills development policies by institutions	3. Ownership and geographical spread of work
4. Implementation of employment policies by employers	4. Industry employment trends
	5. Gender dimension in training and employment
	6. Inclusion of youth in training institutions
Conclusions	
Relationships, contradictions, complementarities of policies and practices	

8.1. The interviewees

In Appendix C we give a more detailed description of the interviews for this study. We did not compartmentalise theory and method in our approach but instead saw the methodology as part of extending and reconstructing our theoretical framework. We based the fieldwork on semi-structured interviews with observations where possible. Our approach departed from the original research plan as we realised that the wine industry would be better captured through a sector rather than single-company approach. We took this advice from our preliminary expert interviews and also from our reviews of the literature. Construction is a sector we had a better idea about and were committed to identifying a few organisations relevant to our research questions. Across both sectors we interviewed institutional directors but not from a single company. Our motivation has been the overarching theme of transformation, which impacts all aspects of South Africa's social formation. In this section of findings we describe our fieldwork experience, providing a simple overview of what we did and how we did it.

The overview of the entities we visited to carry out interviews gives a sense of how we approached the analysis and the final write up of the findings. The organisations in the Wine sector predominantly represent white sections of the industry. Black wine producers are organised under the umbrella of SAWIT and work closely with eight trade unions in the sector. The Wine and Construction sectors are diverse in their historical orientation and their present modalities of operation. The Wine sector has a strong agrarian component, which extends into a value chain that connects to global markets through sales. While the South African wine industry has entered new markets and grown in some countries, there are still many issues of transformation and calls for better conditions for workers. The Construction sector is equally broad, but is concentrated, with four large companies dominating it. It is also a good period for construction given the government's trillion-rand investment into public infrastructure following the huge 2010 FIFA World Cup investments into stadiums. We discuss the contrasts between the sectors in more detail in the sectorial context chapter.

8.2. A description of findings with respect to policies

a) Policies for youth skills development

Since the advent of the new democracy, South Africa has made a lot of progress in redressing the past inequalities of education and training. For example, progress in youth development is more stark when we look at the general educational achievements of young people in the school system. Whereas 21 years ago barely 50% of young people completed 12 years of schooling, the figure is now beyond 75%. Even though not all young people manage to progress with their general education to the end of high school, survival rates are very high for the first nine years and the hurdle seems to be the last three years of schooling. In general, this achievement has laid a favourable foundation for skills development. These improvements have been made possible by the policies established and put in place for educating the poor. Examples include the feeding scheme, transport policy and the no-fee policy; these are things the 'new' government deserves applause for.

However, the problems of education rates in the last three school years have been evident for the last 21 years and yet very little has been done. Second chances to complete school are not available for young people. Those who have not completed school are always going to be the last choice for training programmes as qualifications have become 'a positional good', something with value that depends on how many others have it. Therefore, young people from poor backgrounds are still very likely not to be able to access training in the post-schooling phase because they did not complete high school.

Although progress has been made to help financially needy students access skills development programmes, support is still limited as the supply far exceeds the demand. Therefore, post-school education and training is not free in South Africa. When financial aid is available, it restricts students to public institutions and specific programmes within them. In general, skills development is still not easily available for young people in the country, in spite of the efforts by government to make education a basic human right.

b) Policies for youth employment

There are not many policies on youth employment in South Africa. Besides the Youth Employment Accord that was put in place in 2013, which sought to commit various partners to increasing the number of young people employed in the formal economy, there is only one policy that targets youth employment. The Employment Tax Incentive, which is described in Section 4 of this report, is a tax incentive that reduces an employer's cost of hiring young and less experienced job seekers.

However, there are sectorial policies that will affect the employment of young people. For example,

a construction tender award comes with a requirement to employ 'at the gate'. This requirement to employ local human resources means employers recruit at the site and experienced and mature expertise will always have an advantage over the inexperienced young. In the wine industry, the seasonal nature of growing and harvesting the vineyards also disadvantages young people.

c) Implementation by institutions

Further, the geographical spread of post-school opportunities disadvantages the rural population as most such jobs are found in urban areas. Traveling distances for accessing skills development opportunities are still large even for urban youth, as public provision is dotted all over the country. For example, South Africa has an apartheid legacy of the Group Areas Act that confined different race groups to different geographical localities. There has also been a trend of growing informal settlements in the periphery of many townships in metropolitan areas. While there have been attempts to reshape the geography of local governments, the reality is that these entities inherited an unequal past and have parts with weaker economies, and the burden is heavier in certain municipalities than others. While there are general government interventions to alleviate poverty in households and for the most-affected individuals, they are not specific enough to make a difference.

The consolidation of TVET colleges resulted in mega institutions with many campuses. These institutions have had to decide what to provide when catering for specific provision in campuses, curtailing the choices for young people. The question of usefulness of programmes offered by TVET institutions comes up over again. They are generally seen to provide a general vocational curriculum, not related to the apprenticeship programmes the government wants to pursue. In other words, the programmes are seen as being 'too theoretical'. This contradicts the government vision for producing artisans and what the government institutions are doing. In addition, as custodians of the Skills Levy, the Sector Education and Training Authorities (SETAs) have been struggling to implement the government's artisan programmes effectively for different reasons. Some of the SETAs' scope of implementation is outside the traditional artisan programmes and in general these entities have not been effective in identifying, developing and implementing programmes that lead to meaningful employment. Although they have distributed a lot of money for their programmes, the students seem to be just churning within them instead of employment being the real destination after training (HSRC, 2006).

d) Implementation of youth employment policies

As indicated above, the Employment Tax Incentive Act of 2014 is the largest government intervention programme. Critics of this policy, such as trade unions, argue that it removes the focus from the structural crisis in the economy, which creates unemployment, reduces the youth unemployment issue to a problem of wages, could lead to replacing older workers with younger workers in short-term employment, and resources should instead be used to expand training and education programmes rather than fund employment wages.

8.3. Interview findings in the construction industry

There seems to be more barriers to skills development and employment than there is access. But both the training institutions and employers appear to agree on most issues addressed in this study

a) Elements for access

- The Skills Development programme has focused the energy of the institutions and employers into training, especially for the unemployed. The Skills Levy that can be accessed by employers and learners is a particular help.

- The Extended Public Works Programme (EPWP) of the Public Works Department is held in high esteem by providers as they can place most of their graduates in it.
- Because of the limited scope of employment for skilled young people, many have resorted to self-employment by establishing small companies that can be sub-contracted by the more established employers.
- The stipend given to those undergoing training is a big draw as it often becomes the only income available to individuals and sometimes their families.

b) Barriers

- The educational capital of youth who get into construction training programmes is seen to be deficient, especially in mathematics and English.
- Many young people are said to enter the construction industry with very little or no career guidance, which contributes to the high (30%) drop-out rates at the beginning.
- The demand for training far outstrips the available places, and yet the private training institutions cannot access public funding collected through the Skills Levy.
- Employers in the construction industry do not seem to work alongside the training institutions.
- From both the training institutions' and employers' perspectives, the ever-changing qualification system can seem extremely confusing and frustrating.
- The accreditation system is complex and equally frustrating for institutions and employers.
- The stipend given to trainees is very low, considering it might be the only income for some individuals and their families. Sometimes the trainees cannot get to training sites for a full month as they run out of money for travel.
- The three spheres of government (national, provincial and local) do not seem to be coordinated and are a source of high frustration for institutions and employers.
- All were of the view that the capacity of the Construction SETA was one of the lowest in the Skills Development system, rendering everybody incapacitated.
- There is a widespread belief amongst the training providers and some individuals in the industry that the construction industry is full of foreign employees rather than locals.
- The public TVET colleges, in which the government is pouring many resources, are seen by the private institutions and employers as not being relevant to the industry.
- More young females have entered the training system in the construction industry.

c) Employer-specific issues

- The construction industry has changed over the years. Out of the thousands of registered construction companies, only five are recognised as large with a turnover of >R35million (CIDB, 2015). However, there is a proliferation of small companies at the bottom, which participate in the industry as sub-contractors.
- The government provides the largest share of income in the Construction industry.
- Employers are still finding it difficult to structure a training programme that fits in the project cycle of construction. Projects vary in size and duration, yet training requirements are fixed and some students may need longer.
- The prescription of 'hiring at the gate' militates against bringing young people who are not at the gate. This practice emanates from the Construction Charter, which requires companies to have a certain content of local employment by government awards.
- There is a long tradition of family networks and tribal ties in this industry. Besides 'hiring at the gate', employers also rely on the word of mouth and normal recruitment practices are an exception rather than the norm.
- Some employers feel that women, young people and 'out of community' ethnic groups find it

hard to be accepted at training sites when they enter at the lower and middle levels. It is only when these individuals enter at a higher professional level that it is not an issue.

- Young people depend on large companies as they can afford proper recruitment systems as well as manage the training and deployment of young people.

d) Ownership and geographical spread of work

- The Construction industry has transformed significantly over the years. A very large percentage of black-owned companies have entered the industry. This change has remained in numbers only as these newcomers tend to populate the lower part of the industry where small companies sit as sub-contractors. The following figures are provided by the Construction Industry Development Board:

Table 28: Black ownership (>50%) December 2014

Size (annual turnover)	Percentage
Large (>R35m)	5%
Medium (R11,5m to R35m)	14%
Small (<R11,5m)	12%
Total	31%

- Women have also entered the industry at the lower levels. More than 50% of companies at the lowest (revenue) levels are owned by women, and yet at the high levels of sub-contractors, women own just 7% (CIDB, 2015).

e) Industry trends at the intermediate level

- Around 40% of artisans have less than five years' experience in the Construction industry, and around 30% do not have a technical qualification.
- Around 35% of artisans have more than 10 years' experience in the Construction industry, and around 70% have a technical qualification, recognised in the construction industry.
- The average age of employees surveyed is 34 years old.
- Less than 5% of contracting enterprises have formal business management skills.
- Female employees constitute 23% of people working in the industry.

8.4. Interview findings in the wine industry

a) Access and barriers to skills development

One well-known barrier relates to perceptions that the wine industry is not 'sexy', and other industries like Finance have more glamour, so they attract more good students. Efforts at attracting and retaining young black students to the industry have been met with many challenges, according to one industry expert who deals with transformation matters:

In relation to accessing skills development in specialist areas, mathematics is a prerequisite for success. Poor performance in this area due to inadequate schooling has a bearing on the performance of learners within the technical fields.

An academic who teaches wine-making programmes at Elsenburg College states that the recent introduction of mathematics literacy in schools is seen to have weakened the knowledge of the subject in students. It has resulted in more students passing but not passing with the quality or level required in some of the technical fields within the wine industry. It appears that such subjects as maths, biology and science provide students with the necessary background to understand the background to wine production.

“Biology, science and mathematics. Those are three things in my personal opinion I think is really important, which will make life easy... whether it's a selection criteria for the course or not, if they have that as a background they will really benefit... when they do this course.” (Lecturer, Elsenburg, 2014)

This is an important barrier to accessing skills development within the wine sector. It limits youth who do not have such subjects entering the sector. This affects mainly black students and those from poor communities. It means access to the sector could continue to be offered to a smaller pool as not many students progress in mathematics and science and, when they do make such progress, they are more likely to choose other careers.

The concentration of wine-making study programmes in the Western Cape and three institutions in particular also confines possible careers to those who can access the region. This historical development has also meant that black universities have not offered programmes in wine making, marginalising even greater numbers of young black people with potential who are far away from the industry's traditional base.

The barriers to accessing skills development are brought about by the historical and spatial inequalities of the country. The geographic concentration of the wine industry to the Western Cape and programmes offered by just three universities limits the knowledge within the broader academic community about opportunities in the wine sector. Since the two SETAs working with the Wine sector have an uneven role, it also limits the scope of overcoming barriers to skills training. Their training projects seem quite isolated and not held together by an authority or authorities to which regular monitoring of progress can be attributed.

b) Access and barriers to employment

Access to employment opportunities is closely associated with the preceding discussions around policies, programmes and institutions facilitating skills training. The various institutions in the sector all prioritise training that leads to employment. There were concerns raised by some industry experts of the ‘oversupply’ of wine cellar technologists and that employment opportunities are not as widespread as assumed by those calling for more training. However, employment opportunities are across the value chain from production to sales and distribution. Recently established institutions such as the Pinotage Youth Development Agency (PYDA) provide training on both technical and ‘soft skills’ for unemployed youth; they also facilitate work placements for their students. The requirement of needing transport immediately excludes a lot of black youths because of social and economic inequalities: the average young black person would not have their own car or have easy access to one. Such a requirement excludes some students with the most potential to succeed in employment.

These inequalities mirror inequalities that we see generally in South African society, given the historical legacy. Barriers to employment also have a cultural dimension as some practices are embedded within the industry over generations and centuries. The use of Afrikaans as a de-facto ‘official language’ of the industry invariably excludes those for whom it is not a first language. Whatever employment they do access is mediated by pre-existing social relations. The culture that is produced in such a social environment becomes one that is exclusionary and not directed towards embracing diversity. Another PYDA representative emphasises how the language issue arises as a barrier within the workplaces.

What this implies is that the class and racial structure that was officially done away with in the South African laws is still in existence in reality in many workplaces. The barrier in this sense is that such hierarchies have not been sufficiently eradicated and replaced with a truly equitable social system. The result of this is that the notion of skill and technical competence must be viewed with

an understanding that we still live with the legacies of our past within the work environment. One black female wine maker defined such exclusionary practices as arising from a reality of the wine industry being a 'culture in itself' in which things work in their own way within the industry.

"Barriers ... maybe access to opportunities, level of education definitely, and because the wine industry is also a culture itself so if you not from there, you need to know that things work in their own way in the South African wine industry... uhm... language is a big thing." (Wine maker 1, 2014)

In this sense the barriers to employment are both cultural and procedural in employment formalities and requirements. A broad understanding of the barriers is a combination of the resistance to change within the workplace, the relative autonomy of some farm owners as many farms are family run and the inward development of a 'wine industry culture', which is not clearly defined but appears to be exclusionary as it is centred around the language of Afrikaans.

c) Ownership and geographical spread of work

The geographical spread of the Wine sector is more in the Western Cape, parts of Northern Cape and small part of Kwazulu Natal. But the core industry is in the Western Cape in the Stellenbosch area, which goes through to Paarl, Franschoek and surrounding areas. Table 29 below illustrates the geographical spread of the industry.

Table 29: Geographic distribution of wine grape vineyards per wine region in 2013

WINE REGIONS	NUMBER OF VINES	% OF TOTAL VINES	AREA HECTARES	% OF TOTAL HECTARES
Stellenbosch	49 523 365	16.69	16 294	16.35
Paarl	48 460 222	16.33	16 106	16.16
Robertson	49 743 713	16.76	14 676	14.72
Swartland	34 165 525	11.51	13 509	13.55
Breedekloof	41 366 550	13.94	12 878	12.92
Olifants River	27 498 000	9.27	10 116	10.15
Worcester	28 028 029	9.44	8 814	8.84
Northern Cape	9 879 230	3.33	4 652	4.67
Klein Karoo	8 110 484	2.73	2 637	2.65
Total	296 775 118	100.00	99 680	100.00

Source: South African Wine Industry Statistics, industry structure annual publication 2013, p9

There are some attempts by the National Skills Fund to expand the scope of recruitment for the industry to other provinces, such as the Northern Cape and Free State. This is to be done by SAWIT in conjunction with other relevant authorities.

The ownership structure of the wine industry, however, represents the historical legacy of colonialism and apartheid, which saw the industry develop along the lines of race and of concentration under the KWV model. Deregulation of the industry after 1994 resulted in the growth of many family-owned and smaller wine cellars, which are able to operate more autonomously. One expert says:

"There's a large segment of family-owned wine cellars which involve the family: that's their business"(Elsenburg, 2014)

This trend of smaller family-owned farms could be harnessed for different reasons and made more progressive. It does not follow that individual family ownership is naturally reactionary or not supportive of progress, but what matters is what policy instruments are in place to support changes. Some farms with the most developmental projects (for example, Solms-Delta) care for employees and their families, and a general commitment to community development comes

from small family-owned businesses. A combination of genuine participation by farm-worker representatives and a commitment to a social uplift have made some of these farms attractive for other social purposes, such as tourism and hospitality. However, the experience of some within the sector is that the smaller farms are not committed to change and are 'stuck in the past'.

"Wine industry, if you look at it, it's a very stuck, slow industry, it's very, very slow and I understand why. The reason why it is so slow is because it's still owned by families, a lot of families that own farms and so they have got control so they... and it's quite slow and it's not like. So it's not really growing or moving very fast I mean. It's quite stuck, it's very white, it's very, very white, and very Afrikaner. And the language is Afrikaans, the language that is spoken is Afrikaans." (PYDA 2, 2014)

The inhibiting factor is that work is then spread far from the centres where many people reside and there is a lack of public transport to access the farms. This has a negative effect on the learners or students who want to access employment in the sector. The spatial dimension of employment is critical in understanding where work is situated. Practical solutions to this are required because the huge investments in training could be undermined by the limitations of geography and distance to employment opportunities. Genuine redress is incomplete without focused attention on this aspect of access to work opportunities.

The intricate challenges of black people accessing the Wine industry successfully cannot be captured in full in this one subsection. The reality is that there are some emerging black professionals within the industry who require support and guidance to reach the pinnacles. As one of the wine makers interviewed pointed out, she has been working in the industry since the year 2000. This means that over 14 years, for example, she worked towards reaching the top and owning her brand. The wine production process is slow and requires patience. It is not an industry with quick turnarounds. Having more black owners as successful role models creates a reference point for aspirant youngsters to see success can be achieved within the industry even by black people, and black females in particular.

d) Industry employment trends

Industry employment trends are influenced by competition, cost, technology, market access and a variety of other factors that determine profitability in the sector. South African wines have penetrated many international markets quite successfully but now face more competition as new wine countries start to emerge. A Vinpro representative states that:

"We also have a lot of competition. Suddenly, a lot of new wine countries started competing in Europe against our wines and Argentina being one, Chile, Australia has got a massive amount of wine they have taken to Europe, China has come in, so lots of competition." (Vinpro, 2014)

This global competition will result in adaptations within the South African Wine industry and business owners will invariably look at various ways of reducing costs. As one industry trainer observed:

"The industry has been very insular historically and many of the organisations, you know, had no access globally so it was very inwardly focused, this is ours, this is what we do, so marketing has not been strength. So some farms now are excellent at it but by and large there's a lot of scope." (PYDA 1, 2014)

One of the trends is bulk exporting wine, which could potentially undercut many job opportunities in the higher levels of the value chain, such as packaging, graphic design, bottling and other marketing activities.

“Sadly, but in terms of money I suppose, there’s good money to be made but it’s a scary thing that in South Africa we might start to be known as bulk exporters instead of a quality one that’s in a bottle. But then when it comes to money that’s really the bottom line. They want to make profit. So if it is easy for me to ship 50,000 litres and know I can get my money now instead of waiting and getting paid way down the line. For other people it makes sense.” (Wine maker 1, 2014)

In relation to skills trends, a reoccurring issue was in relation to the skills composition of the workforce in comparison to that of other countries. An Elsenburg College lecturer argues that cellar workers in other countries could have up to PhD level education, while in many cellars locally even those without matric can be found doing cellar work.

“There is a low level of skilled workers that we are working with in this industry and if we want to be competitive, we’re competing against countries that make use of people with PhDs within the cellar environment. Here we are working with individuals that don’t even have matric.” (Lecturer, Elsenburg, 2014)

One significant trend is the introduction of new technologies and the mechanisation of production processes. Mechanisation comes with producers seeking to maximise productivity while also retaining quality. Our findings suggest this trend has been gradually going on within the sector but is less radical than it could be.

“Technology. I think there are... it’s got its uses, mechanisation has its uses, especially if you’ve got a big farm, a big land for whatever reason. You know, it has its uses, but on the flip side like you say what’s going to happen is that people are not gonna get employed. And this is South Africa where a lot of people, a high percentage of people are unemployed. But mechanisation is not going to take over labour 100%, it is just not going to happen. I don’t think... and yes big producers have their reasons for taking mechanisation. Sometimes it is easier because you can turn the machines out at 3 o’clock in the morning and it will do the job that you want it to do.” (Wine maker 1, 2014)

The fear with using technology is that it can result in job losses as workers’ manual tasks are replaced with machines that can do semi-skilled and less-skilled work. The recalibration required by education and training providers includes purchasing relevant equipment and establishing regular training through the suppliers to keep training relevant.

“In terms of new technology, there is quite a few, every year there is new technology in the Wine industry. So even though we don’t maybe have the money to buy that equipment, we take our students into the industry where they learn from industry on the different equipment that is available. So we are trying to keep up to date with whatever is happening.” (Lecturer, Elsenburg, 2014)

The trend of using technology is still uneven in the sense that not all businesses are implementing mechanisation in full, or in large parts of their production processes. It seems more of an exploratory issue, with many options being considered. One SAWIT representative believes that mechanisation is a reality:

“The industry has been pretty much mechanised already. They have been exploring newer technologies that help make use of less human capital. I mean if I take the strawberry farm for example, remember the Wine industry to survive it has to be very mixed.” (SAWIT, 2014)

There is also a difference in how commercial farms and smaller family-owned farms approach mechanisation. According to a Vinpro representative:

"There are still guys that feel, no, they still want to do the hand-picked process but unfortunately it's a trend especially for those bigger commercial farms that are not just small family business they go for these machines, and yeah once again something like that results in less jobs being available and it's usually the youth get back to your focus area, it's the youth that see, catch the brunt of it because there are farmers are employing skilled labourers, skilled workers they are... what I am seeing is they are employing permanent workers, they are paying them more, for, for more productive work, they are employing much less or less temporal works and yeah it is usually, you know skill and experience that will be first in line for permanent employment." (Vinpro, 2014)

Technology's main dynamic is to effectively minimise manual tasks, which in the long run impacts employment. This ultimately can result in fewer well-paid jobs and, as the Vinpro representative states, these jobs would be permanent and expected to be more productive. As Kirby (2014:52) states "with mechanisation a reality in the Wine industry, it is essential to have qualified operators of sophisticated, expensive harvesters, as well as tractors and other machinery used to keep a modern farming operation fully functional." This trend is also driven by the manufacturers and suppliers of, for example, harvesting tractors with new technology from around the world being sold in the South African market, which affects future employment.

An area of growth for future employment is marketing, which is expected to provide many job opportunities.

"I still believe on the marketing side of things there is a whole sphere of opportunities for youngsters coming into the space, that can come in and own and create new opportunities for themselves and they take ownership of that side. There is also in terms of entrepreneurship, things that I believe we haven't tapped into that sufficiently. You might say that, yes, we've got established companies doing things, I think there is space for people with bright and energetic ideas that can create things for them, graphic design, label design, things like that." (Winetech, 2014)

As in all commercial enterprises, there are trends that appear contradictory as on one side we see an increase in export revenue through bulk sales, while on the other there are opportunities in bottling, which relate to graphic design, label design etc. These trends point to there being no homogenous approach to dealing with employment trends or skills training, as they are influenced by external forces outside of the control of producers in most instances. The point of convergence can be reached on the issue of how much mechanisation can be used and how much human effort can be sacrificed. Ultimately the issue is a decision based on finances and quality concerns of producers.

e) Gender dimensions in employment

Gender inequality is an important dimension of employment in the Wine sector. Historically technical work has been a male domain, with very few females and even fewer black females. Wine making was the historical preserve of white males under the perception that it is a 'man's job' as it involves a lot of physical labour. Working conditions are seen as unsuitable for females, as stereotypes and biases have been internalised in the belief that women cannot naturally do work that involves physical labour, including lifting heavy objects. This is discriminatory and can produce a gendered division of labour, but these views are even internalised by the women who work within the industry, as one expert stated:

"Our student numbers are very high on women, so our intention was sort of a 60/40 split. That's our stated objective, we then go into recruitment. We put the objective aside and then we go for the best and this year we got 19 women out of 25 students. So we're not surprised that they are the best." (PYDA 2, 2014)

Gender issues are critical and there are a number of NGOs such as the Women on Farms Project, which works with women in commercial agriculture, predominantly in the Western Cape. These initiatives are born out of a realisation that women face specific challenges, which require specialised support from organisations sensitive to their needs. The gender gap is also evident in specialist areas, such as viticulturists and wine makers.

In a nutshell, the gender inequality questions and discriminatory practices still exist in the industry. The Wine Industry Transformation Charter (2007) is not specific on the matter of gender but speaks broadly to employment equity. Focus on this area is necessary to remove myths about the types of work that can be done in certain areas, as they are nothing more than stereotypes. The transformation equation in South Africa is never complete without a gender perspective.

f) Inclusion of youth in training institutions

Inclusion of young people in training institutions is very much an access issue. The range of training institutions and options offered present unique opportunities, depending on a student's interest. A coherent approach to youth development requires clarity on the policy approach that the sector wishes to adopt. The Learning and Development strategy of Winetech is the first attempt to produce a clearer approach to skills and youth development in the industry.

Learnerships have been a central pillar of the government's delivery on skills development. They address both the challenges of unemployment and the transition from education to work for youths. But they are also the subject of wider critique of the failure of the skills system, despite the huge numbers of learners who have gone through the learnership system since SETAs started in 2001. The system has also been plagued by accusations of poor quality and over reliance on private provision rather than state or public provision. Learnerships are divided between those for the unemployed and those for the employed, through a coding of 18.1 (unemployed) and 18.2 (employed). The learnership system is seen to have undermined apprenticeship training, which was the core of skills training during the apartheid era. In distinguishing between apprenticeships and learnerships, Kraak maintains that:

"The previous apprenticeship system had loose requirements regarding the linkage between theoretical training and work experience. Apprentices would undergo a minimal level of theoretical training at a technical college, which was often unrelated to their practical training. This entire system was restricted to a limited range of intermediate level trade skills. In contrast, learnerships are intended at all levels of the NQF and are not restricted to the intermediate levels as has been the case with apprenticeships." (Kraak, 2004; 121).

What has made the learnership system attractive to policy makers and politicians is its mass character and the shorter time required to complete it. A learnership is a 12-month programme, divided between 30% theory and 70% workplace experience. The system has allowed a bigger number of students to be accepted at a lesser cost per capita than the apprenticeship system. The contentious part is whether the learnerships are effective in actual skills training or ensuring that unemployed youth are adequately trained for future employment. Learnerships are attractive to young people as they also offer a stipend or allowance, which for many is a serious form of income that could be equal to remuneration in other lower wage sectors of the labour market.

One of the largest learnership programmes in the wine sector has been undertaken by the South African Wine Industry Trust (SAWIT), a body established by the national government to oversee transformation in the industry. This learnership has taken in 500 students.

"The learnerships since 2011 of 500 learners that were unemployed. Our focus was

unemployed youth from 18 to 35 years old, and that learnership actually went well. It's about to end, now we're busy with the last stage, which is the graduation. We divided the learners into three phases: the first phase had 150 learners; the second phase we had 216 because we experienced some drop outs in the programme and we wanted to fix the numbers; the third phase had 150 learners. So actually the programme went well and some of the learners have been retained by the sector." (SAWIT, 2014)

Learnerships do attract criticism from some industry experts regarding both the quality and adequacy of the training in most sectors of the economy. Learnerships also serve as an employment substitution given that some learners use the income as a salary to support themselves and their families. The contention regarding the SAWIT learnerships is due to the perception by some that the learnership is not effective in building the students holistically.

This means some do not see the value of learnerships unless they provide holistic development of a person to make them more confident and able to engage professionally within the industry. We can discern from this that the wine industry has not sufficiently prepared itself for the entry of students who have undergone learnership training. The negative perception of learnerships in the industry is contrary to reports that more learners have been absorbed into employment after completing the programme.

This section has shown the broader challenge of youth and skills training within a sector that is still confronted with huge challenges of transformation. The sector's operations are complex and involve several variables. The sense is that barriers to entry are manifold and include cultural as well as economic barriers. There are many educational programmes that young people can tap into that promote mobility within the sector and access to higher-level professional careers. There are some contradictory areas, such as cellar technology courses, as on one side the course is in demand from the industry, but the college providing it says there is an oversupply of graduates. This appears to be leading to lower salaries on the labour market. Another dynamic is around learnerships, which have been implemented on a wide scale. There are contrasting views on their success in leading to future employment, as some industry experts believe students require even more training interventions to improve their social and psychological preparedness.

8.5. Summary

The construction industry seems to be riddled with contradictions and idiosyncratic tendencies to fit in smoothly in the training regimen prescribed by the country's skills development system. For example, the lack of continuity and the project-based nature of work make it difficult to fit in a meaningful training programme. This is also true for employment as the 'local employment' rule prevents employers taking young employees from one project to another, since they are expected to employ locally for each project.. The sub-contracting necessitated by black empowerment prescriptions makes the issues of ownership and accountability murky. However, this is an industry where self-employment by young people is possible and has a potential to link with the informal sector.

The history of the wine industry in South Africa is unique. It stems from agricultural co-operatives that were funded by the large wine companies. This ensured the agriculture sector did not have to worry about funding vineyards as income was guaranteed. When the deregulation of the sector happened, farmers had to deal with the 'markets' and also learn new skills. Since 1996, a mushrooming of many 'hobby' driven wine estates has taken place. The trend is now retreating as many of the newcomers realise that wine making is a not a hobby but a serious enterprise. The dramatic changes in ownership and organisation of the industry have meant a re-think of how skills are developed. This is a fragile process and the industry has a long way to go before its skills needs and transformation requirements are met.

9. Discussion

In this section we discuss our findings in relation to skills development and deployment. It is in this context that in this study we have tried to understand barriers for youth as they move from a skills development system to a skills deployment system or labour market.

9.1. Skills development

There is no aspect of government that has received as much attention from the transformation project of South African governance as its education and training system. Between 1991 and 1993, the most progressive intellectuals in the country discussed and established policies to replace the apartheid system of education. The policy makers were a mix of academics that had been in the country, writing about the system, and some who had just returned from exile. Their policies became the bedrock of the new democratic government's education policies when it took over. In the forefront of the minds of policy makers and the public was doing away with the abhorrent apartheid education system. Down the line, policy makers had more challenges and demands on the new education and training system. For example, Christie (1997) notes that the human capital theory could certainly be seen in the transformation of the education agenda. Policy makers grappled with the idea of moving vast numbers of workers who had little or no education but many years of experience to levels where they could be integrated in a post-Fordism way of working, so the country could be effectively reincorporated into the global economy. Labour, employers and government were unanimous in agreeing on an integrated education system that would address the higher-level schemes needed for economic growth. Here, we try to illustrate the choices made by the South African government to correct the apartheid's legacy of poor education, low skills and prejudicial employment practices were not always the best.

In the past 21 years, the State has taken big strides in making school education more accessible. Enrolment and retention numbers have continued to increase steadily, according to the latest survival and drop-out rate study carried out in the country for its 12-grade school system (Ministerial Committee Report, 2008). The successes experienced in basic education are a result of 'pro-poor' policies that have been established in the schooling system, such as free schooling for the poor, the feeding scheme; the scholar transport system, and even the child support grant from the Social Development Department. All these have contributed towards making schooling more affordable to the poor. Now, it has become very clear that the greatest challenge in the school system is to enable universal completion of the 12 years of schooling. The problems are particularly acute in the last three years. Some students drop out before completing Grade 12, some fail the Grade 12 examination and some only just manage to pass and cannot continue with anything meaningful. This number is more than two-thirds (68%) of those who are successful in completing their basic education, which is a worrying statistic. Cloete (2009) has summed this problem up thus:

"Two groups of youth who receive a life sentence in our country are those who have not passed Grade 12 and those who pass poorly in Grade 12. Both these groups seem to have hit a cul-de-sac at this point." (p.9)

Many of the problems relating to drop-out rates in the last three years of senior secondary education are rooted in the education policy shift of 1995, which was aimed at reducing the number of over-age learners in the schooling system. The consequence was that large groups of young people who previously would have remained in the system were pushed into the labour market with little education and few skills that matched the needs of the economy. Black schools, which had a history of higher rates of grade repetition, were disproportionately affected by this policy (Burger & von Fintel, 2010). The fact that the State does not provide many opportunities for young people to re-enter the education system exacerbates the travesty that is faced by many young people as they languish at the margins of society because they have missed their first opportunity to obtain a senior certificate qualification.

The transition from the schooling system has only been successful for young people entering university. Those who enter the skills development system find patchy and minimal success. We now turn to the policies that inform the skills development arenas. There are three policies that are central to the transformation of skills development in South Africa, namely the National Qualifications Framework (NQF), the Further Education and Training Policy and the Skills Development Policy. The NQF was the first policy to be introduced in the education and training system and was supposed to be the tool to address the problem. The NQF was meant to give the country a means for improving education and training, particularly for workers, and became an important strategy for working towards both equity and economic development. It then became important to articulate a language that will create equivalence between the various tracks (formal schooling, adult education and vocational education/training) to talk to each other for the integration and articulation project. Over the last two decades, South Africa has spent much time and energy working out the finer details of this framework and established many other bureaucracies to deal with the quality assurance required. The NQF was introduced as part of the revolutionary shift to an integrated and equal education system in South Africa. This shift was important because it sent the message that the state, in entering the realm of global politics and economics, was choosing the most modern features in its policy making. The concept of NQF was new at the time as just a handful of countries had introduced it, including New Zealand, Australia, England,¹⁸ Scotland and South Africa, which all became the early members of this mostly English-speaking club. Many other countries have since followed and more are interested in introducing the NQF (Allais, 2010). However, South Africa's NQF ideas came via England's National Vocational Qualifications (NVQs) and the Australian Qualifications Framework. It was said that Scotland and New Zealand had a better success of implementing the system. Allais's (2007) dissertation and further work (2010) on NQFs in 15 other countries clearly show how spectacularly this policy failed in South Africa and elsewhere.

The Further Education and Training policy of 1998 was the vehicle for transforming technical colleges into Technical Vocational Education and Training (TVET) colleges. Gamble (2003) provides us with the most insightful account of the history of the TVET system in South Africa. According to her, it has its roots in British technical education as it was an outgrowth of the industrial development that occurred in the 1800s. Development was in mining, harbours and railways as well as engineering workshops in urban areas. These industries, which were presumably overwhelmingly from Britain, also brought technical education to South Africa, which defined TVET in relation to its applicability to industry. The curriculum that emerged was embedded in the apprenticeship system; it was an education system which aimed to specifically to support the work-based apprenticeship system, not the other way round.

When work-based educational routes declined, technical education put institutional and work-based learning routes in jeopardy as there was a clear disconnect between the parts that were meant to be together. This also coincided with deracialisation of the technical education system as young black people were given access to technical education. Later developments in this sector produced two kinds of technical and vocational education curriculums:

"The one that keeps knowledge and skill together and the other that separates skill from its formal knowledge base.e (Gamble, 2003; p.11)

In racially differentiated South Africa, the black colleges emphasised the practical manual skills aiming at the unskilled and semi-skilled end of informal labour while the white colleges kept the concept of knowledge and skill together.

During the transformation process, these technical colleges restructured along the same lines as the UK Further Education and Training (FET) colleges. This came about after a long period of toying with the United States Community College model. What informed the debates seems to be the funding that was available for the policy makers or influencers to travel and see various models. The US model lost because

¹⁸ Some would say that England never had a full-blown NQF but had a framework for vocational qualifications only.

it was felt that it ghettoised poor students. The FET model fitted better with South Africa's transformation trajectory. There was already an NQF that categorised learning into General, Further and Higher Education. The university sector had been restructured through the size and shape policy into deracialised and fewer institutions. At the advice of the National Business Initiative, which had very close ties with the British Council, the amalgamation of 152 technical colleges into 50 institutions, operating in 264 campuses, took place from 2000. It was hoped that the new institutions would function and deliver the same as their UK counterparts. But we have to critically examine whether this restructuring has helped improve access to education and training for youth in South Africa. Has this expensive exercise been useful? If we look at the TVET institutions and compare them to how they were 21 years ago, we might be tempted to conclude that the net benefit of these policies has been positive. There is definitely a huge political commitment to the system. On paper, the system seems integrated through the qualifications framework. The restructured system presents a neat number of 50 consolidated colleges with set and managed targets for each institution, and the numbers of participating young people has more than tripled. However, there are still many young people who are not in employment, education and training (NEETs). The amalgamation of colleges into bigger institutions has not addressed the problem of these institutions being predominantly located closer to industrial areas to support manufacturing processes. Therefore, there are many young people who do not have access to the primary institutions established for providing skills development programmes because of the historical spatial location of these institutions. Access to finance to participate in these institutions is the second problem for many poor, mainly black and coloured, young people.

The skills development system, which until 2009 was under the Department of Labour, had its own and interesting journey into the vocational education system. Carton and King (2004) stitch a rich tapestry of the role of international agencies in the evolution of skills development policies. This has been further confirmed by one of the architects¹⁹ of South Africa's skills development policies and Jansen (2004). As indicated before in Section 6, the Skills Development policy has produced an elaborate infrastructure for levy collection as well as 23 sector education and training authorities that disburse these funds for skills development purposes. A number of R60 billion²⁰ is given as the amount that has been spent on training so far. Yet, it is very clear that we have a shortage of skills in many areas, alongside growing numbers of NEETs (Statistics South Africa, 2012). Where does the money go? In the first place, the SETAs have established many elaborate organisations and have a high number of employees undertaking NQF-related activities. At the same time as the Skills Development Act came on board, the Department of Labour closed down its own training centres, some of which have been absorbed into the 50 TVET colleges. So, while there has been an effective huge levy collection, the organisations and training institutions were reduced significantly.

During the implementation of NQF policy, it soon became clear it was failing to address the issues faced after years of apartheid education. The policy also failed because of its optimism in using weak and marginal institutions to transform education and society. It was in the vocational and adult education and training system that the NQF was valiantly implemented. This is where the system was small, weak and mostly new, compared to school and university systems. The NQF introduced the concept of 'unit standards', which defined units of learning for attaining particular competences in a specific job. A number of things went wrong with this. First, the 'unit standards' were translated as standards in vocational education. Second, the process of developing these unit standards was purely a functional analysis, which described what a person who works in a given occupation should do. In other words, the approach took jobs as the starting point and sought to describe qualifications in terms of tasks performed by individuals. This was very similar to the approach adopted in England, where occupational standards are determined by a set of 'units of competence' that describe all the job functions in a given occupation and are classified into levels (Weigel et al., 2007). So it came to be that a big part of the standard-setting process in the South African vocational education system became the qualifications development project, which are made up of 'unit standards'. Huge resources have been put into this project, developing new qualifications in the name of creating new standards. However, very few of the thousands of qualifications and unit standards in the NQF have

¹⁹ Personal interviews

²⁰ This is anecdotal and has not been confirmed by real evidence. This could be more or less, but a lot of money has already been spent.

actually been taken up by learners, fewer were finding currency in other learning institutions and industry, and generally there is no visible and positive impact of such an expensive endeavour.

Before it established the skills development policy, the Department of Labour oversaw two major programmes – apprenticeships and short courses for unemployed people. The new policy overemphasised a new form of training programmes – learnerships – and the status of the two programmes was cast into doubt. Many SETAs started to change their apprenticeships to learnerships by dividing their apprenticeships into various levels and casting them into the unit standards qualifications mode. In areas where there was no tradition of apprenticeships, the new SETAs developed new unit standards-based qualifications in the form of learnerships. The attraction of learnerships was that they had a stipend. It is generally known that the learnership system is not considered²¹ a useful way of training people because:

- employers still prefer apprenticeships in industries where they been a tradition; and
- the unit-standard approach of qualifications does not work well as it is based on job function analysis and not education and training imperatives.

Learnerships have been introduced into the South African training system to solve a number of problems in improving skills. These problems include:

1. A need to create work-based learning for education and training qualifications and thus move away from an entirely institution-based learning mode. The creation of this pathway was particularly important in the past decade as the school system was underperforming, with a pass rate of less than 50% for the National Senior Certificate (NSC) examination. The alternate form of education was compensatory with a practical aim.
2. A need to replace the artisan training that had declined and took so long to complete that learners were not able to access employment using partly completed credentials.
3. A need to formalise the skills programmes needed by the labour market that were not easily accommodated in TVET colleges, which provided a limited range of programmes and had a restrictive centralised curriculum.
4. The inadequacy of workshop facilities in TVET colleges and the added need to include work experience in the curriculum to prepare learners better for the world of work.

When learnerships were introduced, they were premised on these underlying assumptions, which have always been weakly articulated. The South African Qualifications Authority (SAQA) then designed unit standards-based qualifications, which were meant to be ‘national qualifications’ since they were not linked to any institutional provision, so any provider could offer them. These qualifications have been pegged at the same level as some formal and institutionalised qualifications, such as the NSC, but use lengthy and complex terminology to describe them. The intention of this model was to provide an alternate route to obtaining a senior secondary school-equivalent qualification or a qualification that would compensate for the non-acquisition of the NSC.

There is evidence that using learnerships as an alternative to an NSC is not happening (Allais, 2007). This is, first, because schools have been picking up momentum in increasing the pool of Grade 12 qualifying students, as shown by improving overall pass rates. Even though students may drop out before they take the Grade 12 examination, they have stayed at school longer (Ministerial Report, 2008). It is clear that for most young people and their parents, completing Grade 12 is a priority and the preferred route. This means learnerships have been taken up primarily by young people who have attempted Grade 12 but failed or passed weakly, instead of it being an alternate pathway to obtaining a senior certificate. Recent research by the Human Science Research Council shows that most people in the learnership system are at NQF levels 2 (22%) and 4 (31%), which coincides with formalised exit levels (HSRC, 2008). As such, the study suggests school leavers see learnerships as a way of improving their chances of accessing work and

²¹ This is derived from an anecdotal discussion with an SSACI who works in the area of work experience for vocational education students.

career opportunities, rather than as compensatory education. Government regulations for qualifications have not yet accommodated for any alternate route to obtaining an NSC. Therefore, serious doubt exists about the ability of new compensatory programmes, like learnerships and now foundational learning,²² to compensate for a senior certificate qualification in our society. Many of these learnerships tend to be 'dead-end pathways'. Just like the youth training schemes of the United Kingdom (UK), South African learnerships tend to be government-induced schemes to combat youth unemployment, not to further educate (Fuller & Unwin, 2012). Like their counterparts in the UK, young people are churned through these learnerships primarily as a means of economic survival (HSRC, 2008), without obtaining the skills to put them on a sustainable economic path.

There seems to be a renewed intention to resuscitate the artisanal development programme. Again, we will have to draw on the experiences of the UK in this regard. The resuscitation of artisanal development is no different to the modern apprenticeship programmes that surfaced at the end of the 20th century in the UK. Fuller and Unwin (2012) regard it in the UK as a government scheme to manage youth unemployment and entry to the labour market. They caution that:

"The policy produces difficulties when there are more 'entitled' young people than there are employers willing to employ and train them. The gap can lead to the emergence of a sub-group of apprentices who do not have employed status and are consequently more vulnerable to the sorts of outcomes (e.g. moving around state-sponsored placements) associated with the youth training schemes of the past." (p.9)

The interviews we conducted in both the construction and wine sectors confirm some of the analysis above. For example, many interviewees complain about the standard of education of most learners who come to the programmes. Mathematics seems to be a big concern as many students come to skills development lacking the necessary knowledge. The low levels of mathematical skills have been raised in various quarters in the country as well (HSRC, 2014 (TIMMS)). But it could be that the students who end up in training programmes are those who have not done well in the last three years of school, as this is the phase of schooling which is experiencing a lot of problems. There seems to be a suggested intervention for success in skills development, which is a bridging programme for the poorly qualified students who get into it. One of the providers, Sol-Tech, which works in the construction space, offers students (on a fee basis) a bridging programme in mathematics and engineering science. This also shows the lack of second-chance programmes for young people to make up for what they missed in school. In spite of this deficiency, almost all providers talked about the overwhelming demand for training. Providers cannot cope as skills development requires smaller intakes than general education. In the Wine industry, for example, providers also believe a graduation rate of 20 students amongst three institutions is already oversupplying the market as the graduation rate should be about 11. When the optimum size for training is so small, either because of available places or perceived demand, it becomes a dilemma for the students who would like to enter that industry.

9.2. Employment

In the theoretical section we raised three issues about employment:

- Where work is coming from
- Skills and work preparation
- The social justice dimension of work and education

We now come back to the theoretical framework to analyse what this study tells us about the above issues.

²² This is a mathematics and English programme being advocated by the Quality Council on Trades and Occupations to serve as compensatory learning for those who did not acquire the fundamental skills in these areas before they enrol for occupational qualifications.

Where is work coming from?

As youth are overwhelmingly not able to find employment in the country, the question above requires us to diagnose the problem of youth unemployment in the country. In a disproportionately unequal society like South Africa, there are various schools of thought about the causes of youth unemployment in the country and only the extreme and dominant views will be accounted for here. First, there is a dominant view that the problem of unemployment is caused by the 'crisis in education' which in turn results into a 'shortage of skills,' particularly in areas that are key to economic development (HRDC Task Team, 2013; New Growth Path, 2011). Both these problems have historical roots that can be traced to the apartheid regime that provided poor and limited education for the black population as well as instituting job-reservations for particular groups. According to this view then, there must still be categories of jobs where the previously disadvantaged have not penetrated whilst they remain outside of the formal economy in the country.

Another dominant view that is used to explain unemployment in general and in particular the employment of young people relates to the 'high cost of labour' that prevents business from hiring people. The World Bank is quoted as saying just that:

'South Africa is not attracting enough foreign investment to tackle high unemployment and poverty, the World Bank said on Thursday, citing high labour costs as a key deterrent. "South Africa is attracting far less foreign direct investment and exporting less industrial output than many countries in the same peer group," a report said. The investment climate report compared the country with other emerging economies such as Brazil, India and China. High labour costs and low manufacturing productivity were holding back to the economy, it said, in a country where unions demand salary hikes more than double the rate of inflation. "The growth of manufactured exports is constrained by relatively high labour costs, including benefits and wages paid to employees," said the report' (Fin24 News, July 29, 2013).

The view above is frequently expressed by South African employers when explaining the lacklustre economy and its consequent inability to absorb more labour, especially new labour entrants. The view has almost become a mantra in conservative quarters, particularly as opposed to labour unionism and a legislative regime that is seemingly 'business unfriendly'. South African trade unions are strong, dominant in both the labour and political discourse. Employers will dismiss their demands at their own cost.

The third dominant diagnosis about unemployment in the country sees it as a structural feature of capitalism by others (Treat et al., 2013). According to this position, the process of corporate, neo-liberal globalisation – which began in the 1980s – was aimed at the removal of many restrictions on trade and financial transactions. This process was designed on the basis of ideas proposed by mainstream economists instructed by such international organisations as the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank and the World Trade Organization (WTO). Accordingly, this process has continued to play a dominant role in creating the ongoing global financial crisis that began in 2007–8 and has also affected the country. The first consequence has been increased competition in doing business, forcing companies to cut costs on production. Secondly, this has encouraged financial speculation and companies investing in profit-making measures away from reinvestments in own industries. Thirdly, it has encouraged casualization of the workforce in the name of 'labour flexibility', making it easier to retrench, employ for short terms and make industries more capital intensive. In the long term, this leads to low productivity and poor quality in workplace training.

The effects of this structural process in the labour market have been felt in many large industries in South Africa. For instance, the textile industry provides us with an example of a large industry with vast numbers of highly skilled workers who lost their jobs as this industry shrank in the country. The Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) estimates the loss in the textile industry to be between 75 000 and 85 000. Since 1988, the steel industry has lost almost 50 000 workers (Hlatshwayo, 2013). Similarly, the employment of South Africa's gold and platinum miners is subject to fluctuations in the price of these

metals globally, on currency exchange rates, and on investment decisions made by capitalists, regardless of the levels of skill, experience and training of workers. Also, there has been a gradual introduction of mechanization in these companies which have historically been the backbone of the economy.

In view of this, Treat et al. (2013) conclude that the causes of unemployment have very little to do with how skilled or educated the workforce is. Rather it is the general features of capitalism that make unemployment inevitable and the situation becomes worse when governments adopt economic policies promoted by international organisations reflecting the globalisation of the economy. Capitalism therefore inherently requires a level of unemployment in order to function, and the policies that have been promoted in recent decades in the country have tended to make this situation worse for working and poor people, by shifting the balance of power in society even further in favour of bosses and political elites.

When an educated and skilled force is in a precarious position with respect to employment, the situation is even worse for young employees. Mlatsheni (2012) postulates that the nature of the employer–employee relationship is different for youths than for adults. In other words, he is of the opinion that the opportunity costs for firing young employees are lower and therefore make young employees more vulnerable than their adult counterparts. On the other hand, when unemployment is high, it becomes even more difficult for a potential new labour market to penetrate.

Youth are passed through schools that don't teach, then forced to search for jobs that don't exist, and finally left stranded in the street to stare at the glamorous lives advertised around them (Newton, 2009).

Up until two decades ago, the whole value chain of the wine industry had survived on a mix of labour that reflected the apartheid policies in employment. The bulk of employees working in the farms and in the cellars were unskilled labour with little or no education, and they worked under extremely poor working conditions. At the top end, where education and technical expertise were required, a few white university /college graduates were placed. When the country's labour and industry ownership laws changed, the industry experienced real upheaval. Transforming the industry by bringing in new ownership seems to have been easier and quicker than changing the employment practices of the industry. The agricultural side of the industry tends to be more seasonal in nature and getting young people proved challenging. Firstly, the working and pay conditions have always been appalling at attracting youth and the industry had already resorted to recruiting foreign nationals like Zimbabweans and Malawians to work as harvesters. Secondly, training opportunities enabling individuals to work as viticulturists were and still are sparse and difficult to obtain. Thirdly, in most cellars, where the demand for labour is not high in terms of numbers, there was a need to up-skill the individuals who were already working there before the absorption of new labour could take place. Fourthly, the wine industry itself had, in a short period of time, had to open up its markets to other countries which competed with the local product, locally. The industry was not prepared for this. Fifthly, the industry has traditionally been Afrikaans-speaking, which has posed a major barrier for non-speakers of this language. Now, the dust seems to have settled and there has been a realisation that black communities, who had previously been totally ignored even as targets for marketing the wine products, represent an opportunity. The industry is responding positively to this newly identified opportunity and moving into black areas by training and employing black youth in the whole value chain. It has taken a long time, but work for the previously excluded youth in the South African wine industry is now coming from the proceeds of transformation efforts as well as from their own communities.

The source of work in the construction industry constantly changes via ownership and labour laws. Because the South African government supplies the bulk of its own contracts, private companies had to allow a significant number of black-owned companies a share in the industry. However, there are challenges in the consistent and predictable absorption of young people. First, the industry is project based and employment is short term. Second, there is a proliferation of many small sub-contractors at the bottom who are essentially employees and hardly increase the employment numbers for the industry. Third, 'hiring at the gate' has many ramifications, including not being able to hire for skills. When the infrastructure

development cycle is booming, as it did during the FIFA 2010 World Cup, employment absorption increases. But we do not know how much of that is youth specific as networks are very strong in bringing in labour. Women and young people in particular seem to be vulnerable as they are not trusted in Construction; in other words, this industry seems to thrive on proven and known entities.

The question is where do skilled and semi-skilled individuals go when a construction project finishes. An interview with the Construction SETA reveals that many people end up in the informal economy. South Africa, with its highly diversified formal economy, has not paid much attention to its informal economy sector. The assumption has always been that the formal economy will expand to absorb the majority of the workers and therefore attention has to focus on growing the formal economy. However, there is evidence that the presence of the informal economy is a phenomenon that is here to stay in the country (Uys & Blaauw, 2006). According to Blaauw (2005), the majority of workers in the informal sector are African and almost 88.8% come from outside the urban areas, presumably from rural areas. With the exception of domestic services, there are more males in the informal sector. A very high number of individuals participating in the informal economy (31.4%) have achieved a minimum of 11 years (Grade 11) of education. This group is followed by those with Grade 10 (15%) and close behind are those who have completed the twelve years of schooling or grade 12 (14%). This dispels the myth that the informal sector is flooded with individuals with no or little education. Construction (39.2%) and Services (34.3%) comprise the largest subsectors of the informal economy. Almost three-quarters of informal-sector participants are under 35 years old. Therefore, construction should be a basis for building a stronger entrepreneurial sector for youth. Recognition and support for this informal sector has to be made very soon if youth employment in construction is important.

9.2.1. Skills and work preparation

Again in the theoretical framework section, we attempted to problematize the notion of skills not being neutral but contextualised in power, social policy and structuring of the labour market (Allais, 2011). In the South African context, this debate straddles the critical role of employers in owning skills and work preparation and the distributive requirements of the labour markets through employment. As skills development is seen as a 'cost' by industries rather than an investment, it has never been fully owned by the private sector.²³ Unlike their German and Swiss counterparts, where skills development is not only part of tradition but an investment to industry, South African companies want to be paid to train newcomers. During apartheid, state-owned companies trained in excess of their needs, as they were subsidised by government to do so, and supplied the private sector with skills. The new government has partially privatised state-owned companies; because they now have to make profit, the first thing they stopped was training. It is in this context of private companies' non-ownership of skills development that we undertook our study.

In the wine industry it is clear employers have not yet fully acknowledged their responsibilities for training, except where there was a transformation of the whole company, like at the Solms- Delta Farm. There they have not experienced the labour upheavals of the farms around them that did not transform. Yet, employers bemoan the bureaucracy that comes with the new training regime. We were informed that less than half of the farmers pay the skills levy, fewer claim the money back for training and, when it does take place, training is very sporadic. Training providers also expressed their frustration in dealing with employers for workplace experience for their students. In fact, one training provider felt very strongly that unless there is innovation in the industry, there will be very little change. He thinks language is a major barrier that prohibits employers from participating in training. It is also a very expensive industry for training and the new individuals to be brought in do not have that kind of money. Lastly, wine making is largely a family industry and bringing people into a home requires adjustments from the employer and the employee.

The South African Wine Industry Transformation Trust (SAWIT) was established in 2004, with the

²³ Discussions held with both the NBI and SSACi – both organisations work closely with private companies in the skills development arena.

government's help. Initially the industry participated but companies eventually left and the trust became a community organisation working outside the industry. The trust trains the unemployed in learnerships and new venture creation (entrepreneurship). Incidentally, their students are mainly at public TVET colleges and the numbers are high (± 500). Three SETAs support these learners (Services, Agriculture, and Food and Beverage), as well as some Western Cape Municipalities. The irony here is that resources are being put into public sector-related entities that do not own the means of production. Where will these learners end up? With the learnership system's problems, what is likely to happen? Is an intentionally false story being written? SAWIT is proud to say that parliament sees it as the first point of call in the industry.

The Construction sector has similar problems in skills and work preparation. The industry has not fully started to own training. One interviewee, who works with the industry's employers, is of the view that employers are keen to train but the cost is too high. She also believes large companies are in a better position to train but rely on small sub-contractors for the skills they lack and construction is migratory to sites. It does not help that the construction industry can function with less skilled labour, as unskilled workers can learn some skills on the job. With the exception of the Solidarity Union, construction unions have not paid much attention to skills development. Solidarity's participation in shaping skills formation in construction is an exclusive terrain as it is concerned with training its members only, namely the Afrikaaners. The irony about the construction industry and skills development is that this should be an area where skills surpluses are not a problem. There is a great disparity in infrastructure development between the affluent urban areas and townships and rural areas. Municipalities that serve disadvantaged communities in particular are severely short of skills for the further construction of these areas.

9.2.2. Education and work in the frame of social protection policies

In our theoretical framework, we had advanced the capabilities approach as a lens through which social protection and social justice dimension of this study would be looked at. However, it is clear that a capability approach alone will not work in such an unequal society. First, work has to be done in equalising this society before drawing on the capabilities approaches.

9.2.3. Equalising a society through educational opportunities

Despite hopes of the contrary, South Africa has become a less equal society since the end of apartheid. In spite of many government interventions, such as social grants, subsidised water and electricity, housing, public health and free school education, inequality, as measured by the Gini co-efficient, continues to grow (Bosch et al., 2010).

These policies share an emphasis on the redistribution of resources. While they are important within a context of inherited resource inequality, these policies cannot be implemented at the cost of an emphasis on the redistribution of opportunities. Over the past decade some emerging economies that share a history of inequality, particularly those in Latin America, have reaped the benefits of a growing focus on redistributing opportunities by purposefully channelling them towards the more disadvantaged sections in society (De Barros et al., 2009).

The principle of equal opportunity to level the playing field is, first, a more sustainable approach, and second, a more appealing longer-term proposition to address income inequalities where high levels of emotive contestation exist around ownership of resources. De Barros and others (2009) share this sentiment, arguing that although most people decry unequal outcomes, few are proactive in searching for ways to overcome unequal opportunities that give certain segments of a society a head start over other.

Access to opportunities helps level the playing field, as it provides tools for social mobility. In other words, having opportunities in life prepares them for accessing further opportunities that provide social mobility. Hodge (1979) also views social mobility as a critical social mechanism that contributes to a stable body

politic. Social mobility, whether in small steps or long leaps, provides a measure of the gap between the social origins and destinations of individuals. The gap can be wide for those who start off disadvantaged; their achievements reflect the opportunities given and taken, and thus provide a measure of the possible mobility.

Education is one of the primary social resources that offers opportunity to individuals. As a result, most countries strive to provide access to education to enhance the quality of their citizenship, and to provide a platform for social mobility. Quite often a distinctive feature that separates developed and developing societies is the extent to which this opportunity is offered to individuals. Frequently, developing countries limit this opportunity to a few years of (mostly primary) education. South Africa has paid little attention to making young people complete the basic 12 years of education or to offering them second-chance opportunities. Worse still, there are fewer opportunities for individuals to develop skills in preparation for work or occupations.

9.2.4. Equalising a society through work opportunities

Access to gainful and continuous employment is one way to get individuals out of economic misery, but it appears to be elusive for most individuals living in poverty. There are many reasons why individuals remain unemployed for long periods and therefore cannot sustain themselves with constant resources for them and their families, but the three most common are: (1) lack of job opportunities; (2) lack of education and skills for the jobs that are available; and (3) a mismatch of skills and jobs in the area in which they live. These factors are all related and co-exist in poor areas.

A lack of jobs is a result of many things. It can be due to the lack of growth in the economy resulting in a labour market with a smaller absorption capacity. Landman et al. (2003), for example, emphatically state that “the only way to counter poverty and inequality trends (in South Africa) is to create more jobs, and they need to be sustainable” (p.8). Further, they maintain that to sustain more jobs, the economy must be much larger to absorb more people into the labour market. For example, in most of East Asia the logic of a developmental state model was mainly that of trickle-down economics. In the early years, this model included sweatshops to absorb many people into the economy. In China alone, about 200 million people have been taken out of poverty through this trickle-down model, but inequality has grown at the same time (Netshienzhe, 2012; Bernstein, 2012). This raises the question about the nature of jobs that will move individuals from poverty lines. Will any job help, must there be a certain income level, or do they need to be ‘decent’ jobs? There are those that argue South Africa is not helping the poor by insisting on ‘decent’ jobs. For instance, Bernstein (2012) is of the opinion that:

“When the majority of unemployed are young, unskilled and inexperienced, it is implausible to think South Africa can address this crisis on the basis of industries that pay well but demand a skilled workforce.” (p.5)

She also suggests that South Africa needs to create industries and businesses in the ‘missing middle’ between low-productivity informal sector enterprises and high-productivity firms in the formal sector. Her bottom line is that South Africa needs to make a choice between employing fewer people at the highly skilled level or more people at lower levels, especially those with low skills, who are inexperienced and often under educated.

9.3. Intervening in South African inequality

There are some lessons to be learned from the McKinsey Global Institute (2012) report on ‘The World at Work’. The authors note the changes in the labour market over the past three decades. The most striking feature has been the movement of individuals from elementary jobs up the ladder of occupations in many countries. According to this report, the labour market is characterised by few jobs for low-skilled workers

and advanced skills, with more room at the intermediate skills levels. The McKinsey study shows that countries that have shown growth and development have moved employers from elementary, low-skilled work to the intermediate levels. For example, according to the report, in China 33 million jobs were created in manufacturing and these jobs took workers out of subsistence agriculture and farm work or urban poverty. It is important to note that the state sponsors some of the manufacturing industries in China, where jobs have been created. In India, the movement from the same kind of poverty entrapment has been mainly towards construction work and secondarily to manufacturing. While there are debates on the quality of these new jobs, it is clear this new trend has moved individuals who with no or a very low income to the first rungs of middle-class ladder. However, this could not be done without paying attention to the education of rural and urban citizens. Both in India and China continue to pay attention to intensive access issues in educating citizens as a condition for their economic revolution. Access to education is at all levels and not concentrated on primary education.

South Africa is often compared to Brazil, which has managed to decrease inequality and improve the quality of life of its citizens. We need to learn what we can from this miracle turnaround. Birdsall et al. (2011) give us a glimpse of what really happened in Brazil. While noting the decline in inequality across most Latin American countries, the authors acknowledged it was assisted greatly by the country's high growth rates during these economic shifts. They identify the two most important contributors to inequality reduction: (1) the decline in the premium of skills (in effect higher education) and (2) more active and progressive social policies that targeted spending. From Birdsall et al.'s (2011) paper, we can find lessons for South Africa as the countries are often compared. Considering the first point of opening access to education, particularly higher education, prioritising education and the big push started long before the economic turn was noticeable in the early 1990s. Now these young people are entering the labour market as adults, we see people who are educated and ready to exploit the opportunities as a direct result of Brazil's economic boom. Priority of education was strongly represented by government spending priorities for the poor; this is the 'Lula moment' where their spend was strongly biased.

Birdsall et al. (2011) point out that the socialist policies of the Lula regime were instrumental in reducing the inequality gap in Brazil. First, changes in social policy were put in place, with a wide range of new social and redistributive policies from social spending to minimum wage increases. In education, for example, cash transfer²⁴ programmes were focused on getting children from poor households to complete senior secondary education. There has also been a steady increase in government transfer amounts to the poor, which is often referred to as social spending. According to Birdsall et al. (2011), there is considerable evidence from household surveys that education expenditures and conditional cash transfer programmes have reduced inequality and poverty in Brazil. The Centre for Development Enterprise echoes these sentiments:

"Between 2000 and 2009 non-labour income (including government transfer) was slightly more important than labour income transfer programmes such as Bolsa Familia. This programme provides cash transfers to poor families on the condition that their children attend school and go to health clinics. The value of Bolsa Familia transfer is relatively low but the number of people receiving it is high... The number of families benefiting from Bolsa Familia was about 13 million, which equated to over 40 million individuals... Brazilians, particularly young people, are now more educated with even the very poor receiving some form of schooling. This translates into improvements in productivity, which generates higher wages." (CDE, 2012, p.4)

The redistributive agenda of social spending in Brazil was targeted and aimed at growing the middle class and getting lower quintile families out of poverty. The net effect of these policies was not dissimilar to those in China, India and Korea, where there has been a concerted attempt to lift the lower classes to the middle (McKinsey, 2012; Chan-Hee, 2011). Like China, Brazil also expanded its economy by establishing state-sponsored manufacturing industries that absorbed many people into the labour market. One major difference in Brazil is that the policies of the social democratic government did not rely on the dictum that

²⁴ Cash transfers are similar to the social grant system, which is funding collected from tax by government and redistributed to pay as welfare for the poor.

“a rising tide of economic growth will lift all household boats”.

“It does appear that social democratic regimes are good for growing the middle class – as growth itself increases household income in the third and fourth quintiles – and politics permits that relatively more of the benefits of that growth are shared at the bottom of the distribution.” (Birdsal et al., 2012 p.4)

The authors go further and point out that a growing middle class reinforces an effective government that can manage moderate redistribution while retaining investor confidence in the likelihood of continuing growth and price stability. The ‘Lula moment’ in Brazil is very instructive for South Africa and Gauteng, in intervening in the inequality gap that refuses to go away. The many lessons we can take from Brazil and other countries include:

1. In Brazil, poor individuals are known by name and location. Targeting the improvement for them becomes easy to manage and trace when their details are at the fingertips of those in government. We have something close to this in school education where schools are divided into quintiles and there is strong financial support for schools in lower quintiles to ensure poor families do not have to bear the financial burden of educating their children. But this does not go far enough, as it does not specifically target individuals and their families. We need to know which children are from poor families and give them specific support so they can successfully complete their school education. Further, we noted earlier that the premium qualifications in the labour market are diplomas, which are offered as post-school qualifications. We need to ensure they are not a luxury only available to those who can afford them. We already know we need to help the many young adults who leave school after Grade 10, or failed matric or passed poorly and could not access university education. There is also a need for a concentrated focus on skills for individuals to support their efforts to gain meaningful employment. We only have to look at the map below to understand that public services on post-school education and training and employment services are not accessible for many.
2. Our social grant seems to be standalone and not tied to other conditions that support the education, health and general upward mobility of its recipients. We have seen that in Brazil, the cash-transfer programmes are closely tied to conditions of participating in education and health. These programmes target families instead of individuals, to ensure that support comes from a larger social system. The US welfare system also puts conditions of education and training on its welfare recipients.
3. We have already observed that unemployment is not equally distributed across location, race and gender in the Gauteng city region (Stats, SA, 2007 and 2011; OECD, 2011). The OECD report argues the economic disparities in different localities present opportunities. In other words, spaces that seem to lack everything can offer opportunities for employment that helps their development. It is only when the government has a targeted policy for intervening in inequality and poverty that developments such as housing provision, social services, health provision, transport can specifically target individuals to be providers instead of using contractors from outside. This will have to be linked with the provision of education and training in the first place. But a national and global policy that addresses the poor and well off will not make a dent in the poverty of marginalised groups as they will not be at the front of all queues. Management and implementation of service delivery must be re-thought in poorer communities so they are not just recipients of services, but also see improvements in household incomes, moving up the economic ladder.
4. A policy architecture that moves from national to provincial then local does not seem to be working well for the poor. We have seen in Birdsal et al. (2011) that Brazil and other Latin American countries with social democratic governments often have complementary policies that are class specific and target the movement of people from poverty to better incomes. We argue this is where local governments should be encouraged and supported to focus on and develop people and place-specific policies and interventions. If we look at the municipalities’ integrated development

plans (IDPs), we can see they are all generic documents from consultants that will not improve the situation on the ground for the poor.

5. If we look at the source of advertised jobs, we can see the public sector already provides new employment. There is no reason why the state should not go further and support the growth of township economies. Mazwai (2012) points out that township economies can be grown in three ways: (1) creating new enterprises; (2) attracting investments from outside; and (3) growing existing businesses. In Soweto alone, it is estimated that there are more than 200,000 small businesses that do not make enough to help families. Townships have not moved far from being places where people go to sleep, with very few viable economic activities. With the exception of mainstream retail, the economy of these areas has not changed and new enterprises are desperately needed. Localised new enterprises should be able to deal with the big problem of young people's lack of work experience, which seems to be a standard requirement to access employment these days.
6. The government awards the greatest share of construction jobs to construction companies. Yet, the construction industry has not shown much appetite in contributing significantly and consistently to skills development. There are examples where the government has put the requirement to train as one of the conditions for awarding work to construction companies. For example, in Australia the Queensland Government Building and Construction Policy required that a minimum of 10% of the total labour hours on any Queensland Government building or civil construction project (over A\$250,000 for building or A\$500,000 for civil construction) be undertaken by apprentices, trainees, cadets or indigenous workers, through upskilling existing workers to a maximum of 25% of deemed hours (Skills Queensland, 2014).
7. Lastly, the high unemployment rates concentrated in poorer localities are accompanied by an acute shortage of skills for services in these areas, as well as shortage of skills in affluent areas. The latter is about a mismatch between locations of employment and residences. This scenario is particularly so in Gauteng as mining, which used to be the backbone of the province's economy, has been declining and financial services has grown. This means there are individuals left where mining used to dominate who require elementary skills. The people who are left behind will possess fewer transferable skills for moving in the labour market. But fundamentally, distance from employment opportunities also is a major barrier as it is accompanied by lack of transport and the income to make a long commute. This is a worldwide phenomenon as Green (2011) points out:

"People with poor skills tend to have a relatively weak position in employment and labour and housing markets and tend to be more restricted than those with higher skills in the distance that they are able and can afford travel. This means that the quantity and quality of opportunities for education, training and employment available locally is of particular importance to them." (p. 2)

Therefore, place-specific developments matter in understanding how local labour markets evolve and how employers, agencies and individuals behave. These place-specific policies should address spatial inequalities by complementing mainstream policies instead of substituting them. They need to look at issues such as transport, education and training, targeted skills development for growing economic areas, and delivery of skills for services in the locality. Local government should be active and intervene when industries such as mining close or down-size to ensure the needs of residents are met for reskilling and support for new ventures.

10. Conclusion

Our project suggests there is a 'Southern perspective' but what exactly should it consist of? What do we mean by that? Can the project produce such a comparison of different countries?

South-South co-operation implies a geo-political posture that ultimately challenges the hegemony of

Western-Northern economic and political dominance. This narrative has recently found expression in new regional bodies such as BRICS. The suggestion of a Southern perspective also implies an epistemological break with dominant Western paradigms of studying development and youth unemployment in particular. What is clear is that most literature on youth unemployment, transitions and skills development is informed by the experiences of scholars in Western countries. What usually occurs is that concepts derived from these countries eventually inform the policy discourse in the South. This means the frameworks we use tend to be either empiricist or conceptually derived from Northern literature.

A Southern perspective has to describe how it departs from Northern approaches and be clear on its methodological basis and its relevance to the societies it is studying. As Lolwana (2011) argues:

“Developing countries tend to adopt conceptual models from richer countries as well as policy models from richer countries, which are often problematic even in the rich countries but fail spectacularly in poor countries. At the same time, poor countries are likely to over exaggerate the role of education and training or have much higher expectations” (p.2).

South Africa has a long and well-documented history with such policy experimentations in political transitions, particularly in education and training.

Argentina and South Africa are different in many respects, from their demographic indicators to the structuring of their political systems. However, they have some commonalities such as high youth unemployment, problems of youth transition and levels of inequality. South Africa has a unitary governmental system while Argentina works on a federal system. Such differences at the state level have implications for how we view data and interpret it. Given the lack of studies comparing South Africa and Argentina in the youth development field, our findings will have implications for conceptual development of cross-national studies amongst Southern countries on similar topics.

In this sense, this study is not comparative but collaborative. What is this study's contribution? We intend to achieve an understanding of youth employment and a common conceptualisation of skills development policies, examining them in both countries, and look at the networks that can facilitate labour inclusion and minimise the barriers to young people accessing employment.

These conceptual debates have implications for our understanding of the study's methodological basis as we are not merely *collecting data* but using it to reconstruct a theory and develop a conceptual approach that best explains our findings. The concepts we use are not value free, but are value laden in so far as they relate to the study of economic and social phenomenon that are influenced by larger market structures.

We have not gone very far in examining our comparative perspectives, but here we start by identifying some points of comparison between the two countries as a conclusion. It must be noted that we cannot talk authoritatively about a country we have only visited twice – the authority has to come from the inhabitants of this country. The next step for this project will be to discuss and compare our findings.

Table 30: Comparison between South Africa and Argentina

South Africa	Argentina
1. Country characteristics	
The population is larger than Argentina's by 14 million people. Its population has a larger youth population, with those aged below 35 years comprising 66.9% of the population	Argentina's population is 40 million people. 17% are young people between 15 to 24 years old.
2. Inequalities	
South Africa's past is steeped in inequality and the present government has not made a significant indent on the inequalities that existed before 1994. Comparatively, South Africa is one of the most unequal societies. The lower economic ladder is still populated by Africans and Coloureds and the young people from these communities are having the most difficulties in accessing opportunities that will allow them to get out of misery.	Argentina is a country divided along economic lines. There seems to be an underbelly of the population who are at the margins of economic participation and it can be expected that young people from these communities will find it even harder to access opportunities for skills development and employment. The Gini coefficient puts Argentina in 48th place in the world.
3. Urban / Rural divide	
South Africa still has a large population residing in rural areas ($\pm 45\%$) and traditionally rural inhabitants do not receive as good services as their urban counterparts. Therefore the rural youth can be said to be the most disadvantaged youth in the country, as they are very far removed from training opportunities and jobs.	Argentina's rural population seems to be very small in comparison to the South African ($\pm 13\%$). This reduces the chances of marginality as most individuals are not very far from the prized resources of skills development and jobs.
4. Youth unemployment rates	
South Africa has very high youth unemployment – youth comprise about 70% of the unemployed. Again, the unemployment is highly concentrated in the African and Coloured population.	Youth unemployment is three times as high as that among adults. In spite of the employment reactivation and economic growth sustained by Argentina over recent years, youth unemployment is still very high and reached almost 20% in 2011. It also increased among the poor population.
5. Post-school and Skills Development opportunities	
Even though the numbers participating in post-school education and training have more than tripled, in real terms there are still more young people Not in Education, Employment or Training (NEET). In spite of the focus that has been paid to the skills development processes in the past two decades, the country has not expanded or increased its skills development facilities to make access easier for all. Instead, the various restructuring processes have decreased these opportunities. Also, there is not enough funding for post-school education to meet the needs of the country. Although private provision exists, these providers are not supported through the funds collected by the Government for training.	There seems to be a very wide variety of skills development opportunities in Argentina for different youth groups. The public supply of Technical and Vocational Education and Training (TVET) is free. The VT centres are all around the country. TVET is also driven by many private providers. Argentina also provides for free tertiary education, making this commodity much more easily accessible to the poor.

6. Basic Education	
South Africa is aspiring to a universal 12 years of schooling. The country has made significant achievements in this regard, but the last three years of schooling are still proving to be a source of major challenges. In addition, there are no significant second chance opportunities for youth to complete their schooling.	Argentina seems to be more advanced in getting its youth to complete the 12 years of schooling. In addition, there are a number of interventions aimed at providing young people and adults with second chance opportunities.
7. Social Welfare	
South Africa started from zero to provide a safety net to poor families twenty-one years ago. This has helped many indigent young people significantly, but the amount given is very small and does not cover the needs adequately. In addition, this is still a stand-alone intervention which is not connected to other interventions in the lives of these young people, especially skills development.	In the last decade, significant changes in the approaches to social protection and development have been made. This process influenced the design and implementation of sectorial policies, in particular regarding the interactions between education, vocational training and employment. Changes related to social protection transformed TVET. The strengthening of the role of the State in building social solidarity/citizenship was strongly supported and the welfare policies promoted the universalization of social protection, including: cash transfer programmes (the so-called universal allowance per child, aimed at protecting the right to education and basic healthcare of minors up to 18 years old, children of workers, informal/unemployed/housekeeping workers and pregnant women as from the 3rd month of pregnancy). • unemployment benefits, and universal pension plans for citizens older than 65; • programmes of active employment and social economy promotion; • extension of the educational offer and compulsory secondary education; • labour policies aimed at the right to decent employment, excluding most of the previous types of non-permanent contracts.
8. Intermediaries and Bureaucracy in Training	
South Africa has created a lot of bureaucracy in its skills development milieu. One helpful aspect of this is the levy funding, which would never be available if it was not legislated. However, its effectiveness has not yet been established. The other intermediaries have not contributed much to increasing the availability of training to youth.	Although the country does not have a levy, a percentage of GPD is assigned to TVET since a law was passed in 2005. However, there are no assessments of the way in which these funds have improved the quality of the supply. Regarding VT, there are not many evaluations and follow-ups available to assess their impact.

9. Unions and Skills development	
South African large unions have not been involved in training in a meaningful way. The unions are still survivalist in their approach. Union involvement tends to concentrate on basic conditions of employment rather than on skills development, and it can be said that this comes more from preservation of segregation policies than taking care of specific members' needs. This lack of involvement sometimes makes it difficult for the unions to empathise with the problem of youth unemployment.	The involvement of unions in construction skills development is very admirable. Some other strong unions related to industry and also to services have been involved in VT in recent years, supported by the national policies.
10. Public Sector Involvement in Training	
The South African Government is on one hand heavily involved in training in the country. It is involved insofar as it is forever preoccupied with regulating and introducing new approaches to training. This often results in a weakened sector, as too many changes are introduced too often. On the other hand, the public sector is distantly involved in producing skills and employment. The public sector does not seem to see itself as a significant employer who should be very involved in skills development and deployment.	The government is very involved in TVET policies, funding and orienting them with other stakeholders, such as the big unions. Some skills development policies have received support from international cooperation.
11. Industry Training	
Industry training is not as common as espoused in skills development policies. Where it happens, it seems to be done reluctantly. Overall, industry sees training as a cost instead of an investment.	It also seems that industry involvement is not widespread in the same way as that of the unions, but there are a lot of training initiatives where unions and industry work in partnership.
12. Stimulating the Demand for Skills	
The country spends most of its efforts and resources on the supply of skills. Conversations about stimulating the demand for skills tend not to proceed very quickly.	Stimulating the demand for skills is on the agenda of some projects but not in a major way.

Appendix A: Interviewee list

Institution	Sector	Type of organisation	Nature of interview(s)	Location
1. Elsenburg College	Wine	Agricultural college	Semi-structured with observation	Stellenbosch -WC
2. PYDA	Wine	Wine training academy	Semi-structured with two participants	Stellenbosch -WC
3. Taste of training	Wine	Wine making training provider	Semi-structured with owner	Stellenbosch -WC
4. Vinpro	Wine	Producers association	Semi-structured with transformation manager	Paarl-WC
5. SAWIS	Wine	Industry certification and statistics services	Semi-structured with two participants	Paarl-WC
6. Winetech	Wine	Research and technology transfer	Semi-structured with CEO	Paarl-WC
7. Solms-Delta Farm	Wine	Wine farm and heritage	Semi-structured with HR and social worker with observation	Stellenbosch -WC

8. SAWIT	Wine	Black empowerment trust	Semi-structured with CEO and training head	Stellenbosch -WC
9. Stellekaya Wine company	Wine	Qualified wine maker and trainer	Semi-structured	Stellenbosch -WC
10. Independent wine maker	Wine	Qualified wine maker	Semi-structured	Stellenbosch -WC
11. Molapo FET	Construction	FET college with engineering courses	Semi-structured with principal and lecture, included observation	Soweto-GP
12. Gert Sibande	Construction	Training centre with construction focus	Focus group with eight participants, included observation	Standerton-MP
13. Sol-Tech	Construction	Solidarity trade union training school-electrical trades and mechanical	Focus group school head and placement manager, included observation	Pretoria-GP
14. Plumbing Academy	Construction	Training of plumbers /RPL through learnership model	Focus group academy head, student and office manager	Soweto-GP
15. National Business Initiative	Construction	Construction industry partnerships	Skills development division	Parktown, Johannesburg
16. Construction Education and Training Authority	Construction	Regulating and funding training in the construction industry	Education and training quality assurance head	Midrand, Gauteng
17. Construction Industry Development Board	Construction	Researching and supporting construction contractors	Manager: construction partnerships performance	

Appendix B: Interviewees

Elsenburg College

This is an agricultural college that teaches programmes across the chain of wine production, from viticulture to wine making. The college was established in 1898 and has a long history of teaching wine-related programmes. The college is under the Western Cape Provincial Department of Agriculture and is affiliated to the University of Stellenbosch. The college offers programmes between intermediate- and high-level skills. Our interview was with an experienced lecturer of wine making who also oversees the students' practical work in the cellar. The impression we got is of a specialised wine-making programme that is limited to accepting approximately 20 students per year. While our expectation was that wine making is a 'scarce' skill and there are not many wine makers, the lecturer stated that it is actually the opposite. There is an oversupply of wine makers and therefore they have to trim down the intake to meet the requirements of the market. The experience we had was of a well-structured institution that works in line with government regulations and policies. The practical aspects of the wine making course are also linked to the wine production that the college does for the economy. The students are then exposed to 'real' wine making and not just simulation. Drawing from other interviews we did there, we got a positive impression about the college in terms of the quality of its training. There is still a need for more women to enter the profession but the numbers are improving.

PYDA (Pinotage Youth Development Agency)

This was the first organisation we met and interviewed in the Wine sector. It is led by an energetic lady who is committed to youth training. We did a preliminary interview and formal interviews with the two

leaders of the agency. This programme targets youth with matric (Grade 12) who are interested in a career in the wine industry. The agency provides 'soft skills' training such as marketing, work readiness, personal development, motivation etc., and also liaises with Stellenbosch University for training on technical skills areas like viticulture. The institution has about 30 students enrolled in its cohort groups and has only been in existence as from 2012. It receives funding from different sources and sponsors to cover bursaries, fixed costs and other general expenses. We were struck by the high placement rate of the agency, which is about 80%. This could be accounted for by the fact that the programme is well marketed and known throughout industry. The students we spoke to (but did not interview) seemed very committed to the programme and pointed to its positive aspects. The problem is that the programme is small scale, but has potential to enhance transformation of the industry. The students occupy positions mostly in marketing and similar occupations within the wine industry during their placements.

Taste of Training

This is a training service provider with has close to 50 years' experience in wine making and the other aspects of the value chain. The owner also lectures at Stellenbosch University in the department of viticulture and wine making. He has trained and mentored many wine makers and works closely with the sector in the introduction of new technologies. We realised that the expertise and experience he possesses are of central importance to guiding the new black and female upcoming wine makers. While the owner has had contacts with SETAs, he generally works independently but with accreditation from the Foodbev SETA. Training cellar workers also involves 'on the job' training and is not necessarily all 'academic'. There are not many accredited training providers in the industry and some farmers do their own training rather than outsource it to somebody else. Taste of Training then operates as a mobile solution as it facilitates training at workplaces rather than through workshops.

Vinpro

Vinpro is a service organisation for 3,600 wine producers and includes wine cellars and wine farms. The transformation manager we interviewed outlined the range of training programmes that Vinpro offers or supports for its members' staff. These range from viticultural, wine making, and cellar worker programmes as well as those that cover primary agriculture aspects from pruning to harvesting. In terms of transformation, many wine farms do not have black managers at the viticulture level. Vinpro also provides viticulture, soil science and agri-economics services. Industry associations often also act as gatekeepers of information and have to provide a 'branding' service for their sector. The reality is that there are many problems in the industry such as low wages, contractualised work, poor working conditions and other related problems. The industry would like us to believe it is addressing these issues since the high-profile strikes in 2012 exposed the critical problem areas.

South African Wine Information Systems (SAWIS)

This is an information management entity that deals mainly with wine statistics and certifications of South African wines. The organisation traces every bottle of wine made in South Africa and provides the stamp of origin for South African wines. SAWIS produces a range of statistical documents including international markets in wine making and trends in sales performance. The sheer complexity of the industry and its reach means SAWIS's data has to be comparable to that from other countries. What we noted was that its publications cover many economic indicators such as growth, investments and related factors but do not provide data on labour dynamics. SAWIS commissions a macroeconomic impact study every two years to look in more depth at economic factors influencing the sector.

Wine Industry Network for Expertise and Technology (Winetech)

This body deals with research and technology transfer. Having developed a draft learning and development strategy for the sector, it has started a process of consultations and comments. As we note

in our contextual paper, the wine industry has a sporadic training approach, which is not co-ordinated in one central hub. Winetech plays an intermediary role as well with the industry, government and SETAs. Most of its initiatives focus on improving the competitiveness of the sector through technology and mechanisation. At the same time the organisation pushes for more training opportunities for the youth. What we found was a very small organisation working within Vinpro with a few of its own dedicated staff. Winetech's CEO's critical admission was that transformation is still slow, that historically black universities should play a role in the wine industry (especially in primary production) and that there is a need for general occupational profiling of the sector to craft targeted labour-market training programmes.

Solms-Delta Farm

We were referred to Solms-Delta by almost all our key informants as an exemplary farm for employee welfare and support. The farm is unique in that it is owned by a professor of neurology and his wife, who is a neuro-psychologist at UCT. The farm has been profiled in many media platforms as a cultural space that is big on tourism. We went into the farm and spoke to their HR manager and social worker. Solms is one of the only, if not the only, wine farm with an HR division and a social worker, and runs numerous programmes to support workers and their families. This includes early childhood and childcare programmes, education bursaries, further education and training, adult education and other welfare initiatives. The farm also has a museum that shows the historical background of the musical and dance cultures of the surrounding communities of San and Khoi.

South African Wine Industry Trust (SAWIT)

This representative body of black wine makers oversees the transformation fund targeted at developing more black wine makers and producers in South Africa. The organisations we mention above represent mainly white farmers; SAWIT has a small but growing constituency of black and black female producers and distributors of wine. The systems and structures that SAWIT participates in are mainly national-government driven and aim at building a transformed Wine sector. Within the SAWIT structures are eight trade unions that focus on worker rights, minimum wages and improved working conditions. In addition, SAWIT has its own learnership programmes that have enrolled about 500 learners over the last three years. Our sense overall was that there are still simmering tensions between the formerly white institutions and the black organisations. This political tension informs the context in which the Wine sector labour market operates. In hindsight we realised that taking the step of interviewing institutions rather than just doing one case study would have limited our overall scope of the sector and provided a narrow view of the labour market dynamics of the industry.

Stellekaya

This is a wine-making company of moderate size. We chose to interview young black females who are a possible new generation of aspirant wine makers and wanted to augment our data with their experience, given the historical white male dominance of the industry. The interview with the black female wine makers took a biographical form at the beginning then moved to the contextual issues about the industry. This gave us a better sense of who they were, how they got into the wine industry and what opportunities they saw for others in future. For instance, the entry of one black female wine maker to Stellenbosch University was driven by her parents, who had researched career prospects for her. She had never considered wine making as a career after Grade 12, but she grew into it and subsequently learnt more about wine making. She spent 10 years working for Distell (another well-established corporate company in the liquor industry). Her exposure to the industry and internationally gave her requisite knowledge to further her career as a trainer. There are very few such stories and we found it critical to do the interview and tap into the valuable experience she has.

Independent black female wine maker

This story is similar to that of the wine maker above, with one big difference: the wine maker above is still in the industry and produces wines under another company. Our sense was that she was patient, ambitious and committed to staying in the industry until she reached her goal of owning her own brand. Wine making is not only time consuming but also expensive in terms of cost structures, investments and distribution. Many other wine producers come from families with a history in the industry and can rely on parents with resources and knowledge to support them. The first wine-maker came from an ordinary black family in KwaZulu-Natal to study viticulture at Stellenbosch University and this is how she entered the industry. Without that initial bursary she might not have made it into the sector. She told us about the numerous challenges of transformation in the industry and the need for more black women to participate. She was strongly critical of 'fleeting' learnership programmes that have grown in the sector but are not deep enough to provide a meaningful basis for future employment.

Molapo TVET College

Molapo is a TVET college based in Soweto township. It has many campuses but the one in Soweto focuses on engineering disciplines. It offers NCV and 'N' courses. TVET colleges in South Africa have recently received considerable policy support and financial injections from the government to improve their infrastructure. A central thrust of the White Paper on Post School Education and Training is the revitalisation of TVET colleges to grow the pool of tradespeople in South Africa. So we got an inside look at how a college works, what is taught and how students respond to it. We had two interviews at this college, one with the principal and the other one with two lecturers in the engineering faculty. Our data shows that like the teachers, some students are not motivated, as the TVET college was not their first choice. One of the lecturers argues that students tend to feel that they are given too much theory, which is ironic because the TVET college is supposed to be more practical than, say, a university. We observed some workshop training on plumbing in the workshop facility. We left feeling that there was a sense of coherence and structure that the students and lecturers obeyed. The hope that comes with engineering-related studies is that of immediate employment or a shorter gap between education and the world of work. The college is also surrounded by many government projects such as the Expanded Public Works Programme (EPWP), which provide short-term employment for students from the college. We also learnt that some students pursue entrepreneurial options and start businesses in the community after completing their studies. As we mentioned above, FET college staff tend to view themselves in a deficit relationship with universities and this dynamic was evident in the interviews. Since we are from a university, the perception may be that we either 'know more' or are closely aligned with the government, which may have resulted in respondents being more formal in their responses rather than being natural and expressing their true thoughts or feelings on the issues raised.

Gert Sibande Skills Academy

The Skills Academy is a campus of the Gert Sibande TVET College in the Mpumalanga Province. At Geert Siyanda we conducted a focus-group discussion with different programme leaders from the college. The focus of the college is construction-related studies; it has support from the National Skills Fund (NSF) and the provincial government. Situated in a peri-urban area closer to the Sasol plant in Secunda, the college operates in an economic environment that has growth potential. While it does not match other FET colleges in size, we found that with the smaller facilities, the college is doing much in terms of training and prepares their learners for trade tests quite effectively. We found a youthful staff with innovative ideas about how to grow the college and attract resources. The facility is exemplary in terms of quality management and availability of simulated areas in construction and electricity trades. Although the campus we visited in Standerton is a satellite of the main campus in Secunda, we felt that staff and students had a sense of autonomy and were creatively pursuing opportunities to improve their institution. What was not clear was the placement percentage numbers of the students who have completed their courses. The anecdotal response from the staff was that some are absorbed in big corporates like Anglo American and Sasol in the

surrounding area, while others pursue opportunities in different parts of the country.

Sol-Tech

This institution has a unique history. First, it is a creation of Solidarity – a white (mainly Afrikaans) trade union operating from Pretoria North. Second, it works on a model similar to a TVET college but with fewer students and more individual attention. It is almost 100% white Afrikaans male students, with just two or three female students. Members of Solidarity and their families are most likely the main participants but the union has also invested its own funds to the development of the centre. Third, it has modern facilities that the director argues are based on real and not simulated examples during practical sessions. The centre has mechanical, tool-making and electrician trade departments all managed by experienced tradesmen with years of experience. There is also a placement company within the centre, which looks for work opportunities for the students after completion. The centre works within a strong Christian ethos and a disciplinary system of values and rituals, which include morning and afternoon prayers, a certain trimming of hair and a general emphasis on professional appearance that gives a strong sense of discipline. The centre contrasts with others in construction as it is well resourced and is exclusively white. These are the daily realities of South Africa's social formation, which reflect how skills and technical knowledge are mediated by discourses of race and class.

Soweto Plumbing Academy

The Soweto Plumbing Academy contrasts with Sol-Tech in that it is in the township of Soweto, works with a largely working-class black community, operates at the lower end of the construction sector and is not endowed with the huge resources and facilities that Sol-Tech has. Nevertheless, in a smaller workshop the centre produces many trainee plumbers, some of whom train in huge projects throughout the northern parts of the country. The owner of the academy has established extensive local and international links, which have widened the scope of the academy to reach into the critical public sector that deals with the construction industry. According to the owner, there is an even bigger demand for RPL (recognition of prior learning) by experienced plumbers in the community who do not have formal qualifications so are unable to find gainful employment with established contractors in big projects. Our interviews at the academy took the form of a focus-group discussion with the owner, a student and the office manager. They all showed positive signs and optimism about future prospects. However, problems with regulations in the sector mean there are many inconsistencies about what is expected of a trained plumber and the regulators send mixed signals to providers regarding certification. An additional challenge is hiring undocumented migrant workers on a lesser salary, which some consider illegal given that employers have to actually show the document status of their employees before they receive contracts. It is alleged that some use the papers of locals for such purposes and do not employ them once the contract is approved. These alleged illegal practices paint a picture of the context in which training is taking place and some of the barriers that young people have to confront in seeking employment in the sector. The plumbing academy showed us a good example of a centre that is run from a smaller resource base but is making a difference to those who participate in its programmes.

National Business Initiative (NBI)

The NBI is secretariat to the Big Business Working Group, a group of business leaders who meet with the President to discuss issues affecting the country and its investment climate. The NBI also works closely with Business Unity South Africa (BUSA) where there are policy implications for business. A formal agreement between BUSA and the NBI is in place with two NBI directors serving on the Sub Committee for Education and Training of BUSA. In the late 1990s, the NBI started the College Industry Partnerships Programme, which aims to build strategic partnerships between companies and TVET colleges to address skills shortages. Effective partnerships are already in place in the mining and steel industries. Its most recent success has been forming a partnership between major players in the construction industry and the Gauteng and Western Cape Departments of Education. The partnership will see the development of two

TVET colleges as centres for the accelerated and expanded education of skilled construction personnel. The exceptional work done jointly by the industry and the Department of Education to ensure responsive programmes and curriculum for construction and the Construction Industry Partnership is a flagship programme.

Construction Education and Training Authority (CETA)

The Construction Education and Training Authority (CETA) was established in April 2000 after the promulgation of the Skills Development Act 97 of 1998. Its primary objective is to influence the course of training and skills development in construction by ensuring that all training reflects the needs and requirement of the sector. The CETA initiates skills projects and learnerships, aimed at improving and developing South Africa's human resources, including a construction workforce whose skills are recognised and valued in terms of the NQF. The CETA is accredited as an Education and Training Quality Assurance (ETQA) body by the South African Qualification Authority (SAQA) on behalf of the Quality Council for Trades and Occupations (QCTO). The ETQA status authorises the CETA to accredit and monitor both training and training providers. To facilitate the provision of training, the CETA uses discretionary money at its disposal to fund projects that aim to achieve its qualitative and quantitative obligations in terms of the National Skills Development Strategy (NSDS).

Construction Industry Development Board (CIDB)

The Construction Industry Development Board (CIDB) – a Schedule 3A public entity – was established by an act of Parliament (Act 38 of 2000) to promote a regulatory and developmental framework that builds:

- the construction delivery capability for South Africa's social and economic growth; and
- a proudly South African construction industry that delivers to globally competitive standards.

The CIDB's focus is on

- Sustainable growth, capacity development and empowerment;
- Improved industry performance and best practice;
- A transformed industry, underpinned by consistent and ethical procurement practices;
- Enhanced value to clients and society.

Appendix C: Semi-structured interviews

General features of the institution and the programme

1. When was the institution created? What are its main activities? What types of youth employment or skills development programmes is your institution involved in?
2. What is the governance structure of your institution? (here we assume they will follow with responses that include resources, finances etc...we have collapsed the other questions into this one)
3. What is the link of your institutions training initiatives to the wider sector transformation programmes of the wine industry?

Perspectives on the problem of youngsters' work and expectations of employers

4. What are the main barriers that the youngsters in general face when they look for work? Are any differences between male and females?
5. What kind of training does the labour market demand from youth seeking employment in the wine industry?

Links between the programme and the requirements of specific sectors of activity

6. Was there any previous labour market research about the industry?
7. Is there a sector wide training programme for the wine industry?
8. What differences in terms of training requirements can you discern across the value chain?
9. Are there specific youth training opportunities you foresee in the future?

Institutional links

10. What kind of relationships are there with government at all levels (national, provincial, municipal)? What are the effects and difficulties of this relationship?
11. At a local level, is there contact with other types of institutions? Which ones? Do they belong to a local network? (Find out generally about agreements with other educational institutions, employers, unions, neighbourhood associations etc) What are the effects and difficulties of this relationship?
12. Could you give a particular example of the links which have enabled a specific work training action to take place, indicating which institutions/companies/associations intervened and what role they played?
13. How does the sector work with small farmers/wine makers?

Transformation

14. What have been the major structural changes in the wine sector over the 20 year period of South Africa's transition? Economic, political, social eg.
15. What key labour dynamics changes have you observed in the over the period of transition?

Results of the programme (this is assuming we have a programme specific interview)

16. How many youngsters succeed in finishing the programme, what percentage would you say?
17. Have you had the chance to see the type of work insertion that the youngsters have had after attending the programme? Is there any data available?
18. What do you think the typical trajectory of the boy or girl who completes the programme is?
19. In your opinion, what have the youngsters mainly achieved due to attending the programme? What are the profiles of the ones who take more advantage of the experience and what are those of the ones who take less?
20. In your opinion, are the youngsters satisfied with the training received? And the employers? Is there a report/study about satisfaction?

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