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MA BY COURSE WORK AND RESEARCH REPORT

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DEPARTMENT: GRADUATE SCHOOL

TOPIC:

THE IMPACT OF UNEMPLOYMENT TO JOBLESS PEOPLE:

"HOW JOBLESS PEOPLE COPE WITH UNEMPLOYMENT IN ZOLA TOWNSHIP, SOWETO"

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A research report submitted to the faculty of Human and Social Sciences, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, in partial fulfilment for the degree of Masters in Development Studies.

February 2002

Declaration

I declare that this research report is my own, unaided work. It is submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Masters in Development Studies, University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any other degree or examination in any other tertiary institution.

XB NKOSI

February 2002

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Firstly, I would like to thank God for giving me strength to finally finish this report, I would not have done it without his blessings. Secondly, my parents for their patience, support and understanding over the years.

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XB Nkosi

Abstract

Although unemployment has been researched extensively amongst Black people in South Africa; very little work focuses on the lived experience and self-understanding of the jobless people living in poverty stricken townships. This study reports the findings of the research conducted to find out the impact of unemployment on jobless individuals. It aims to uncover how jobless people cope with unemployment in Zola township, Soweto. This poor township is the case study because of its popularity as a settlement where a number of high profile individuals emerged from rag to riches in the new dispensation.

The study looks at how the unemployed emotionally, physically, socially and financially cope with joblessness. Factors such as self-esteem, mental/physical health and life satisfaction were used as measures of how respondents cope with being unemployed. In addition to that, other variables such as gender, education, residence and length of unemployment were included to test the impact of unemployment in the respondents' lives.

This research adopted an ethnographic approach, using the method of in-dept interviewing as a principal technique of data collection. Moreover, the researcher also acted as a participant observer whenever the respondents were available at his disposal. Respondents were randomly selected with the intention of drawing an equal number of men and women. The researcher wanted the sample to be representative because since 1994, both men and women in SA townships have arguably, increasingly became bread winners and have been equally hard hit by unemployment. Therefore, a sample of 12 respondents, consisting of six men and women who dropped out before matric, failed grade 12, dropped out at tertiary level, as well as tertiary graduates were chosen.

In this study, analysis of field data was used to evaluate the impact of unemployment on these respondents, and interesting results emerged on how they cope with joblessness. The results showed that although unemployment has psychological impact on both men and women, male respondents find it more difficult to cope with joblessness. The study shows that unemployment has more adverse effect only on social well being and behavior of men more than women. Interestingly, emotionally and financially, results reveal that while both sexes don't experience difficulties, female respondents find more innovative ways to cope during this period.

The lessons of the study are outlined and recommendations are offered at the end of the report. The information and results from this ethnographic study can provide valuable insight to organizations, companies and most importantly to government for policy formulation.

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CHAPTER ONE

1. Introduction.

Despite high unemployment rates amongst Africans living in South African townships, very little research on how they cope with it has been conducted. This is crucial because how jobless people respond to the condition of unemployment could be of great significance. This empirical study can be an important intervention, which can assist the unemployed individuals deal with problems related to joblessness. Unemployment is universal, as it is found in all societies and irrespective of social classes, status and beliefs, few research focuses on how each unemployed individual cope with joblessness on daily basis. Most studies have mainly focused on the effects of it in certain sections of the society such as graduates, school leavers, men or women and have even compared unemployed with employed subjects (Tiggemann and Winefield, 1984; Dooley, 1995). South Africa, as one of the countries with high unemployment rate since 1994, needs to look at how the majority, who are unemployed, cope with joblessness. This is important because the country no longer only have to provide employment to its citizens, but also has to cater for other people who have identified and seen our shores as greener pastures. This means that more people are likely to be further sidelined from employment opportunities. Considering the legacy of apartheid such as poor quality education and lack of skills and work experience amongst South Africans, it would be interesting to find out how those who are not able to access employment cope with joblessness. Majority of these people are in predominantly black residential areas such as townships and rural areas, and are equally eager to improve their quality of life like everyone else in our new dispensation. However, this has not been easy because of a number of important factors such as stiff competition from immigrants, and lack of necessary experience, skills and education.

In the new South Africa, most people have embraced the importance of education as a vehicle to better life for all. However, it is disturbing to see that not only the uneducated and those who lack skills are victims of retrenchments and unemployment. Research shows that in order to cope with unemployment, most people, including graduates, are forced to take any kind of employment that doesn't utilise their skills and qualifications (O'brien and Feather; 1993). This arguably can often be depressing, frustrating and can lead to low self esteem and anxiety. Therefore, it is important to find out how, in the impoverished Zola township, unemployed people deal and cope with these experiences in their everyday lives.

This research report focuses on the lived experience and self-understanding of a group of unemployed individuals living in Zola township, Soweto. It takes the form of a "thick description" of their subjective experience and self-representation. The report is, thus, broadly ethnographic in approach and method. It shares with all such studies the limitation that, from the point of view of the actor herself, "… the only thing that can be established with any certainty … is the actor's point of view" (Mayrl, 1977: 262). But it also, like other such studies, accesses a dimension lacking in objectivist analyses, viz. the subject's point of view, the perspective "from the inside". The importance of grasping how the subject defines herself and her situation is stressed by the phenomenological theory underlying the ethnographic approach (Dallmayr and MacCarthy, 1977: 219). According to this theory, human subjects do not merely register and express the ('objective') situations in which they find themselves, but endow their experience with meaning and significance (Garfinkel, 1977: 241; Mouton, 2001: 195).

The point is to achieve a “methodological empathy” with the subjects, making possible a “thick description” of their experience of their situation (Geertz: 1973; Macey, 2000: 155, 380). The term “thick description” - which achieved its wide currency via the work of Clifford Geertz – refers to an account which goes beyond observed behaviour and surface appearance and seeks to represent the layers of subjective meaning and implication accessible only from the inside. Such an “interpretative” perspective makes it possible to avoid (merely) correlating objective situations with conduct and then confusing such correlation with explanation. It does so because of its emphasis on the contribution made by the subject herself to the meaning of her experience, to her understanding of her situation, herself and her life-options.

Particular emphasis is placed on how they cope with the experience of “being unemployed”, on what “being unemployed” means to the subjects participating in the study, the significance with which they endow it and its role in their lives. Has it challenged their previous definitions of themselves and their situations, has it disturbed their moral codes? If so, how have they responded to it? Thus the study tackles the question of whether unemployment really is salient in understanding why (certain) individuals participate in criminal activities, or whether, and how, unemployment is linked to anti-social behaviour in Zola township.

1.1 Rationale

The research hopes to contribute to the existing body of (sociological) knowledge, vis-à-vis the question of how unemployment is experienced and its connection to criminal activity. Not only will it address current circumstances, but the study, in addition, avoids the bias in favour of the experience of men that

characterises much of the existing literature. This study, then, focuses on the experience of unemployed women.

Since Africans, are the most highly unemployed group in South Africa (Orkin, 1998: 29; Witternberg, 1999: 22), the researcher decided to select what he perceives as the most popular township amongst African youth in the country and in Gauteng, particularly in Soweto. The study focuses on Zola, an overwhelmingly 'African' settlement that is also one of the most impoverished and dangerous in Soweto. Here, a high rate of crime is accompanied by a high rate of unemployment and this has given support to the view that unemployment and crime are causally connected. This study of the experience of unemployment in Zola township will, then, help to assess, refine, and adjust this proposition.

1.2 Aim of the study

In this report, the researcher wanted the respondents to tell him about their experiences and conditions they live in under unemployment and how they cope with them considering that, as jobless people, they sometimes spend more time than the employed in this notorious township. Such information could help us understand the root causes and solutions to the social evils surrounding not only Zola township, but many others across the country.

The study aims to provide a unique access to the 'life-world' of a group of 12 unemployed subjects. It is sustained, comprehensive and detailed and gets as close as possible to the 'inside perspective', the 'feel' and 'texture' of this experience. The media only provide very brief and fleeting glimpses of how unemployment is experienced by people in the townships.

The additional value of this study includes:

- To generally inform society how unemployed people cope with joblessness.
- To inform why unemployed people behave in certain ways.
- To assist Government in policy formulation in relation to poverty and unemployment alleviation.

2. Literature review

2.1 Introduction

There is a huge body of literature on unemployment. It would be helpful to begin by defining what unemployment is. It's argued that "unemployment is hard to define partly because it combines a condition (being without employment), a need (for work or for income), an attitude (desire for paid work), a capacity (ability to accept an opportunity or at least availability to do so) and an activity (searching for work)" (Standing, Sender and Weeks, 1996: 103). A more useful definition comes from Hayes and Nutman (1981, 2) "Unemployment is defined as a state of worklessness experienced by people who see themselves or are seen by others as potential members of the work force". In their definition, Hayes and Nutman (Ibid. 2) use the word in its modern usage relating to paid employment. In this study, unemployment would be defined as individuals who are jobless and are actively looking for legitimate wage or salary paying work but are unable to find it.

2.2 General experiences and responses to unemployment

Although unemployment in South Africa has been a major focus of attention since 1994, historically, joblessness has always been a major problem amongst Sowetans. According to research conducted by the department of Sociology at the University of the Witwatersrand (Morris, 1999: 65), Soweto merely acted as labour provider for the historically white group areas. Responding to unemployment, most people from the township searched and sold their skills for income to support their loved ones and to improve their living standards. These people had come from different parts of the country and settled in this township in order to support themselves and their families. But due to the influx, some people remained jobless across Soweto townships. Since its establishment in 1958, Zola is one of Soweto townships that experienced the above mentioned influx, but people continued to search for jobs because, as indicated by Hayes and Nutman (1981: 3), unemployment is unwelcome as it has a specific meaning to people in industrial society. Psychologically, having employment is an important source of identity, and provides individuals with the feeling of self worth and self esteem as they know that they can provide for themselves and their loved one (Rabinowitz and Hall, 1977). This may not be true of all people, but is worth researching in South African context because of societal changes post independence. After 1994, men seized to be the only bread winners in this country because of continuous retrenchments. Instead, an increasing number of women have become independent and slowly taken this role. This progressive development has played a huge role in South African women's empowerment in the new dispensation. Historically, most of them were jobless, depending on men who were often employed as migrant labour in urban areas. Research shows that this kind of dependency, as result of unemployment often lead to the feeling of low self esteem resulting from not being involved in activities that are valued by other people (Zunker, 1994). This argument also shows how important work is to both an individual and society at large. The importance of this study can be

linked to the latter. Nowadays, one needs employment to cope with many of the challenges of a modern lifestyle. Employment is very important because some people find it hard to conceive their lives without work. In modern time, people expect and are expected to work by their friends, families, and communities they live in.

2.3 Comparing the impact of unemployment on individual men and women

Since 1994, both men and women have arguably been victims of unemployment because our democracy and the new constitution provide equality to all, namely, men and women. Although gender roles might take time to be rooted out of our society, our constitution and equity policies have provided a legitimate vehicle for women to seek and get employment like their male counterparts. The constitution acknowledges that women are also entitled to employment and allows them to be breadwinners to their loved ones and their families, which over the years has traditionally been the responsibility of men, mainly in African communities across South Africa.

Previous study (Winefield and Tiggemann, 1984) has shown that unemployment can has negative psychological effects on young men and women who are unemployed. If this is established in this research, the study will focus on and compare the differences between men and women's experiences. Does the experience damage both men and women equally? This has been an interesting development in the new South Africa and is one area that this study hopes to investigate further in the township context. The fact that social psychological studies on the effects and meaning of work to individuals are usually done within the framework of the western cultures, makes it crucial not to be content with generalized research conclusions.

In their study, Kelvin and Jarrette (1985) do an excellent job breaking the impact of unemployment into different phases. They mention a phase of confidence, which they regard as an important initial phase in the unemployed person's psychological mind. During this period, a jobless person is hoping and willing to take employment if available. This simply means that a person, who just graduated, matriculated, dropped out, lost a job or resigned is prepared to take a job that is available as soon as possible. These are often people who are conscious of their responsibilities such as debts, bill and those who have a need to work or do something in their lives on daily basis. Taking gender roles and socialisation into account, it will be interesting to know if there is any significant difference between men and women in the African community such as Zola township.

2.4 Impact of unemployment on the individual's socio-economic status and life satisfaction

Socio-economic status has always played an important role in determining the standard of living, wellness and life satisfaction of individuals. In an environment where unemployment remains high, having a job is likely to significantly contribute to an increase in person's life satisfaction levels, because employment provides independence and self-reliance. On the contrary, unemployment leads to low levels of life satisfaction because jobless people depend on others. In a study conducted by Yankelovich (1982), results show that, for contentment, people need to work to accumulate resources to sustain themselves, with financial returns and remuneration as key to their survival. Interestingly, if unemployed, there is an argument that voluntary isolation from friends is often undertaken by the unemployed individuals because they don't want to be seen as dependent on their loved ones (Fryer; 1987). This study certainly would

attempt to challenge and test this perception because high unemployment in the township is common and most people (including the jobless) are often interdependent. Socialisation dictates that employed friends, are at some point equally subjected to what the unemployed is subjected to in the community. This however does not mean that cases where friendships come to an end when an individual is unemployed or loses a job don't exist at all. What's common is that the unemployed individual is seldom isolated, but might sometimes choose not to spend as much time with friends as one used to if one was employed.

In the townships (having born and raised in that environment), the fact that one is unemployed doesn't mean that an unemployed individual only has friends who have jobs. On the contrary, most jobless people spend time with who ever they are friends with (employed or unemployed) because friendships usually count more than material and financial status. In this context, this can be linked to the legacy of insecure jobs that most Africans held and were subjected to over the years. It was common that one would be employed for certain period (for example, contracted migrant worker) and go back home spending time without employment before lending another contract. In this period, as unemployed, the person depended on loved ones such as friends and neighbours until one is back on his or her feet. The argument is that stigma that Fryer (1987) seems to believe force the unemployed people into isolation from their friends may not necessarily be an explanation that one can use in a South African context, especially in African communities such as townships and rural areas. This argument doesn't overlook the fact that the new dispensation has led to many dynamics in the previously disadvantaged communities across the country. Therefore, it would be interesting to find out how these unemployed people cope with joblessness in a post apartheid era of massive retrenchments. According to Kelvin and Jarrette (1985) most problems of the unemployed are caused by financial difficulties. The argument is that the behaviour of the unemployed individual is pre determined by their financial conditions. This entails that, generally, individual's life satisfaction is significantly affected by joblessness. Though "Most South African studies of

unemployment have concentrated on the purely economic losses incurred in employment… unemployment is widely cited as one of the factors depressing standards of living and the quality of life in black communities" (Moller, 1992: 12).

2.5 Education/skills levels of the unemployed: and unemployment period and individual experience

Attaining education arguably brings you close to employment door steps. On a contrary, unemployment equally limits ones chances of attending institutes of learning and education. Unfortunately, a decline in labour force participation, as may have happened in South Africa in recent years may reflect a rise in secondary and tertiary school enrolment, which has happened. And a relatively low participation rate by international standards could reflect, in part, the prolonged schooling that is characteristic of South Africa, resulting in part from the "repeat year" phenomenon" (Standing, Sender, and Weeks; 1996: 108). In his study Wittenberg (1999: 27) also argues that lack of skill and education are linked to unemployment. However, the research conducted in India has shown that schooling is not always able to guarantee graduates employment (Brook, Oxenham, and Little, 1978: 10).

In their research, results show that significant unemployment amongst educated young people could be expected (Ibid, 1978: 10). This argument is supported a Mexican case study which showed that although the country experienced significant economic growth between 1965 and 1973, this could not provide enough employment opportunities for educated young people. But Standing, Sender, and Weeks (1996: 113) argue that "It is quite likely that when there is a large pool of job seekers from which to choose, employers would prefer to hire those with vocational skills or those with some work experience". The argument

is that in this kind of economic environment, education doesn't always guarantee graduates employment.

The Indian case study Blaug, Layard and Woodhall (1969) reported how graduates struggle to find employment. The authors (Ibid.1969: 238) indicated that large numbers of educated graduates are made to wait several years before finding a first job. The study indicated that to deal or cope with the problem of unemployment, many young graduates settled for lower grade jobs in the public sector (Ibid.1969: 136). Similarly to the Indian research, a South African case study reported lack of experience amongst new African graduates, who were without prior work (Standing, Sender, and Weeks, 1996: 123-24) as a main factor. The question is "When one finds large numbers of people aged in their 20s and 30s reporting that they have never had a job, one wonders what they have been doing for the past five or ten years" (Ibid. 1996: 121).

In South Africa, President Mbeki has continuously blamed high employment to lack of necessary skills and education. He has argued that, this has as a result made most jobless people unemployable. President Mbeki is one of the people who believe that unemployment is also caused by the skills and schooling of the work force that do not correspond to the needs of the labour market. In his parliament opening speech in 2003, he indicated that the government is looking at the ways to help many people who remain unemployed because of lack of necessary skills and education. But Standing, Sender, and Weeks (1996, 118) argue that although most unemployed have had below standard 10 in the 1990s, this does not mean that lack of schooling causes unemployment, merely that the incidence of unemployment is skewed towards those with little formal education. In a South African context, very few people obtain higher education during the Apartheid era. Hence, in their study, Blaug, Layard and Woodhall (1969, 59) argument that in poor countries, if a person cannot get a full time job one has to take whatever part time work available bring an interesting angle in this

discussion. In South Africa there is an increase in part time jobs because of high unemployment amongst the unskilled and less educated sections of the society. Research has shown that both young men and women are prepared to take any job available to cope with joblessness (CASE: 2000). This is understandable, considering that the majority, African people, were not afforded an equal chance to find employment under the previous dispensation. The country only managed to cope with unemployment of whites during the apartheid era.

The study conducted in apartheid South Africa by Terblanche (1969: 3) shows that new graduates, who qualified in the field of study they were not trained for, experienced difficulties in obtaining employment. Fortunately the previous regime managed to accommodate them in the public sector. Research reveals that during that period, women and BA graduates experienced the greatest difficulties in their search for employment (Ibid. 6-7). To cope with a lack of job opportunities, unemployed people turned to friends and relatives who could help them obtain employment (Ibid. 8). During the apartheid era, white people, particularly women, also turned to the State and the provincial administrations for jobs. They were offered jobs in semi-public institutions and unemployed men were encouraged to study further to enhance their chances of getting employment in the organisation concerned (Ibid. 9).

It is therefore evident that though education and skills enhance ones chances of getting employment and leading a better life, it is possible that if this is not realised, the skilled and educated may find it extremely difficult to cope with their unemployment status. This argument is supported by “the Carnegie study which concluded that unemployment experiences were less difficult for the unskilled because they previously learnt to expect less of life than the skilled” (O’ Brien, 1986: 194). Blaug, Layard and Woodhall (1969: 86) argue that India also experienced such challenges in the past with 54% of all science graduates ended up registering for clerical jobs to cope with unemployment. In their study, it was evident that unemployment was worse among arts students than science

graduates (Ibid. 86). Contrary to previous research, this study will attempt not only to limit its sample to graduates because of South Africa's historical low literacy levels, due to apartheid. South Africa's previous regime subjected every African to the same treatment and education system, and the unemployed faced the same challenges. It would be interesting to find out the trends on how they experience and cope with their employment status post 1994. This is important because despite the promises made by the new government, joblessness has reached unacceptable proportions in South Africa. In the survey conducted by the Department of Sociology in the University of the Witwatersrand, findings show that job creation is probably the biggest issue facing the post apartheid government (Morris, 1999: 65). Over a period of seven years, high national unemployment continues to be a major concern, with Africans being the most highly unemployed group in the country (Orkin, 1998: 29; Witternberg, 1999: 22). Research reveals that race, gender, and location are crucial in structuring the experience of work and unemployment (Witternberg, 1999: 1).

As a new democratic country, many people in South Africa could be asking "how much freedom will remain in a society where the workless are numbered in millions?" (Marsden, 1982: 270). This is the type of question that needs to be posed considering that in South Africa unemployment tends to be long-term (Orkin, 1998: 29) with approximately 41% of African men and 43% of African women having been unemployed for three or more years in 1997 (Ibid.1998: 29). In the past few years, our new society has had to struggle with the social problems accompanying joblessness. These include three current challenges, namely unemployment, poverty, and crime. It is argued that if South African unemployment is beyond 20% one of the issues that require investigation is the question how the society copes with its (unemployment) levels (Wittenberg, 1999: 5). And the majority of jobless individuals in South Africa come from this group (Oelofse, 04 Nov. 2001: 5). The youth study revealed that "…employment is clearly the major concern that calls in the view of respondents and requires government action…" (CASE, 2000: 99). This recent report (Ibid, 2000) has

shown that youth unemployment continues to pose a serious threat to the well being of young people and the society at large. Survey conducted by the department of Sociology at the University of the Witwatersrand also "…confirmed the desperate situation around employment in historically-African townships and that younger people are generally in the worst situation. Soweto township residents between 20 and 29 had the highest levels of unemployment (Morris, 1999: 65). In a country like South Africa, where lack of employment is at all time high, it is unfortunate that very little research has been conducted on how jobless youth cope with joblessness. Despite the fact that the structural explanation of youth unemployment holds that young people have been so hard hit by joblessness because they have failed to adapt to changes in the nature and composition of the labour force (Allen and Watson, 1986: 7), this issue is continuously ignored. Such development has serious implications for the future of young black South Africans, since very few people usually hold positive attitude towards unemployment (Hayes and Nutman; 1981: 50). Moller's research revealed that unemployed people neglect their appearances, believed it was not really worth looking for a job, while some felt the need to drown their problems in alcohol, and 10% were drawn to some kind of crime for survival (Moller, 1992: 104). Approximately 79% of African respondents attested to social problems in a South African study (CASE, 2000: 92). These findings were later confirmed by Cawker and Whiteford (1993), who broadly reported that 5% of social problems (such as delinquency, alcoholism and crime) were linked to unemployment. Unfortunately, although the importance of exploring just how unemployment is experienced is frequently acknowledged, this exploration has, in large measure, still to be undertaken (Fryer and Allah, 1987; Moller, 1992). Hence it is important to undertake this kind of research about the unemployed since "most South African studies of unemployment have concentrated on the purely economic losses incurred in unemployment" rather than the effect of unemployment on the quality of life in black communities (Moller; 1992: 12). In his Quality of Life in Unemployment (Moller, 1992) – based on research conducted earlier in 1987 and 1989 in Soweto – he sets out "to examine the problems and ramifications of

unemployment through the eyes of the unemployed themselves" (Moller, 1992: v). In understanding the unemployed, Hayes and Nutman, (1981: vii) had also previously argued that there is increasing interest in and concern about the consequences of unemployment for the individual. They note that recent work and publications on unemployment ignores the individual and focus attention on the broader, social and political issues (Ibid.1981: vii). As a new democracy, South African research can benefit from taking education level into account and the period of unemployment.

The focus on the unemployed individual is important because research on the psychological effects of unemployment (Kelvin, Joanna, and Jarret, 1985: 4) reveals that research findings might help other people cope and improve their quality of life. This is the kind of contribution that this research intends to make. The findings of this research could be useful in identifying the problem areas that the unemployed individuals have to deal with. The information could be used to help them help themselves or to facilitate their development through other agents of development such as NGOs, the private sector and the government.

"When a man is unemployed, there is no external outlet for his energies. He becomes aware that he is not a free agent. He is impelled to receive a meagre allowance from others – relatives, friends, usually the state. He is driven into himself, experiences an acute sense of isolation, and begins to build his life on the fantasies that spring up in the mind of the bitterly disappointed. He feels hatred against those who have insulted him humiliated him and compelled him to beg for work. Fantasies of power frequently accompany the loss of real ability. Desire and reality are constantly at odds" (O' Brien, 1986: 194). The above argument shows how hard it is for most unemployed men to cope with joblessness.

This research report will, thus, be important in understanding whether and how unemployment is linked to anti-social criminal activities. In addition, future township development and employment creation policies of the government stand to benefit from such analyses of how unemployment is 'lived', or experienced 'from the inside'. However in this research it will be important to look at both male and female responses on how unemployment is lived or experienced, to avoid the bias that has characterised previous researches conducted in South African townships. Research shows that both sexes are almost equally affected by unemployment, with African male unemployment at 41% and female at 43% (Orkin, 1998: 29). The University of the Witwatersrand survey also confirmed that "What was noteworthy was that women were more likely to be unemployed than men" (Morris, 1999: 65; Standing, Sender, and Weeks, 1996: 121).

Research shows that unemployed women, particularly the young, could experience long term joblessness because of a number of reasons, including, pregnancy, ill-health, lack of training and education (Standing, 1981:166; Standing, Sender, and Weeks, 1996: 121). This long term unemployment usually has negative consequences because usually "the longer the period of unemployment the more the discouragement and the lower the probability that the unemployed would be searching for work (Standing, 1981: 167). The demand for childcare is an opportunity cost that has to be taken into consideration when looking at the experiences of unemployed woman. Women are often in need of income or jobs to support their newly born children (Ibid. 167).

In his study, Standing (Ibid. 167) argues that if the household income of an unemployed woman is high, there will be less pressure to seek employment to maintain or support the newborn baby. The researcher argues that if the unemployed mother has limited income or no money, she might have to decide

whether she uses the money she has on the baby or for transport or other things needed when searching for a job.

Women often rely on men for financial support or income. The researcher therefore acknowledges this state of affairs in this report because in most African groups a history of continuous women reliance on men for livelihood and income has been evident and reported over the years. Londt (2001: 15) believes that this is a direct result of range of factors, the most serious of which is the legacy of decades of exploitation and oppression of black women under apartheid and patriarchal South African society.

Empirical studies have shown that migrant women tend to increase their participation in the labour market or in job searching through moving from one area to the other, to a greater extent than rural and urban women who remain in their areas of origin (Standing, 1981: 183). Based on research conducted in Jamaica, Standing (Ibid. 200) has argued that despite high levels of unemployment in urban areas, migrant women, who usually ignore the high rate of unemployment and relocate in urban setting, are normally likely to be more actively involved in job searching than non-migrant women.

A study conducted in Kingston Jamaica shows that the absorption of migrant women in the urban labour market could be an important feature of the emerging labour force (ibid. 200). Interestingly, in the new South Africa, survey conducted by the Sociology department at the University of the Witwatersrand shows that "…in close to a third of all households the main breadwinner was female indicates that in many households women were not only primarily responsible for child-rearing and domestic chores but also responsible for ensuring that the household had financial resources" (Morris, 1999: 66). And this research

attempts to find out how involved Zola women are in this regard and in job in job search.

2.6 Alternative activities for the unemployed.

Research conducted by Hayes and Nutman (1981. 49), shows that negative attitudes towards being at home because of unemployment were shared by both women and men; but “Usually, people who hold positive attitudes towards unemployment are in a small minority” (Ibid. 50). Considering that youth are the most unemployed in South Africa, this is one of the reasons why this study is so significant to conduct. It is important to find out what unemployed individuals, in a country where promises were made to create employment for all, particularly the skilled (experienced) and educated (youth), do on daily basis since they don’t have any employment. In the study conducted by O’Brien (1986: 186-195) the general effects of unemployment were assessed through an examination of the mood, activities and personal adjustment of the unemployed. Results showed that there is a general agreement that during the great depression, which was accompanied by high unemployment, the emotional response of the jobless was negative and it became worse with time. This is also evident in South Africa.

Since the introduction of Gear as our national economic policy in 1996 (Nattrass, 1996: 25) people are continuously losing jobs and are struggling to get employment. This contributes to loss of hope and pessimism amongst the jobless. As South Africa’s most unemployed group (Orkin, 1998: 29; and Witternberg, 1999: 22), young people are vulnerable to unemployment experiences and need all the support at their disposal. Usually this is where the family comes in, as a supportive structure. Wittenberg (1999: 5-6) indicates that "…Klasen and Woolard argue that most unemployed live in households in which there is some access to resources: either through a member of the household

who is in the labour market in the form of remittances or pension income". Considering the retrenchments across the country since 1994, it would be enlightening to know how supportive, the other working family members, if any, are. If no one is employed, it will be equally important to know what they do with their spare time. The lived experiences are more important in this South African township study because research shows that many young people also delay marriages and continue to reside with their parents or families (Ibid.1999: 6). This simply means that while jobless men can't afford to start their own families, unemployed women stay unmarried to continue using the money they normally received from their partners to support their immediate families. Unfortunately, the study also shows that most of these unemployed people are discouraged and often resort to staying home rather than going out searching for employment (Ibid.1999: 6). In this report an attempt is made to test the validity of these findings.

In a context of poverty and high unemployment, there is an argument that South African families have always been a pillar of strength to many poor households across the country. Contrary to popular belief, some people may argue that African men were never the only source of income and were never the only breadwinners in their households. At men's absence, as migrant workers, women assumed the role of the head of the household by working as domestic workers and generating money in various means. Therefore, as much as family roles were defined through socialisation (Kelvin, 1985) the new dispensation has seen more and more families increasingly turning to women as breadwinners because of high retrenchments, especially of men. Most men have found it extremely difficult to be reduced to non-providers in their household. They lose authority and self-confidence and self esteem because they are no longer the only breadwinners they used to be.

In his study, O'Brien (1986: 186) reported that only unbroken families retained a general vitality and hope, throughout the fathers' continuous efforts to search for employment. On the contrary, no attempts to find employment were undertaken by the unemployed from broken families. Instead, (Ibid. 1986: 186) members of broken family expressed feelings of despair, depression, and hopelessness. The study reported that the unemployed and their families had no future plans, neglected themselves and their children. The places they lived in, (their homes) were untidy and unclean; family quarrels were frequent, and parents seemed to escape in alcohol (Ibid.186). Of course it is quite possible that a considerable number of subjects displayed negative attitudes even before job loss. O'Brien (1986: 187) reported that other studies also identify poverty, which forces people sometimes to go hungry and rely on charity for a living, as a root-cause of anger, hopelessness, shame and a loss of confidence by the unemployed. The findings, in general, show that although emotional instability is not an effective response to unemployment, dissatisfaction and frustration are nonetheless the dominant responses (Ibid.1986: 188).

Amazingly, although the unemployed have plenty of time at their disposal, research shows that most do not use it to better themselves. In O'Brien (1986: 188-190) study, the unemployed were idle and made little use of their time to improve or better themselves through empowering tasks such as community work, political involvement and cultural activities such as reading, attending lectures or handicraft" . Instead research has shown that walking, sitting around the home, listening to radio, chatting, and gardening increase when they involved no expenditure. Most unemployed worked on maintaining social relationships that did not require money, and expanding those normal 'leisure' pursuits that did not require financial expense (Ibid.1986: 189).

A study of youth in South Africa (CASE: 2000) confirms that most young people also do not improve and better themselves by finishing or furthering their studies to enhance their chances of getting employed. Despite the fact that educational attainment is crucial for enhancing career opportunities, over half of young people in this study only had some secondary school education, 16% did not even progress beyond primary education, and merely 30% completed their matric or moved beyond it (CASE; 2000: 9). Post matric education in a form of tertiary education can improve job opportunities for most young people, but this study revealed that only 6% of African youth acquired it (Ibid. 9). The big question is, with limited job opportunities what does these unemployed young people do with their spare time?

The study conducted by Wilson and Ramphele (1989: 89) revealed that frustration caused by unemployment seems to account for an increase in Shebeens and excessive drinking amongst able-bodied men. The authors further reveal that people without jobs end up begging and usually feel less important (Ibid. 94-95). Taking excessive drinking into account, it is not surprising that research conducted amongst youth shows that in South Africa "Crime and violence play a large part in everyday life…. crime is the only way to support

themselves, and given the state of unemployment, for many youth this may be the only way to make a living" (CASE; 2000: 80). The study also revealed that for young people activities involving income-generating crime such as armed robbery, car hijacking, burglary, and drug trafficking, are not considered as serious criminal offences in this country. This is despite the fact that approximately one-fifth of the youth in the survey said they had themselves been a victim of crime or violence. "When respondents were asked 'who is mainly responsible' for crime in Soweto most respondents pointed fingers at the youth" (Morris, 1999: 45). The National Youth Commission defines young people as aged between 15 and 34. In 62% unemployed economically active youth across the country, the Community Agency for Social Enquiry report (2000: 18) revealed that 70% were of African youth. This shows that this group mainly commits crime because although adults do experience unemployment, young people are usually more affected by joblessness (O' Brien: 196; Allen and Watson, 1986: 7). This kind of research is important because studies continue to show that there is a positive link between youth unemployment and crime (Ashton, 1986, 154; Mashita and Van Heerden, 1997: 29). This has also been acknowledged by the Minister of Finance according to whom "If our economy is not creating enough jobs for school leavers, it could lead to other social problems. Young active people, if not employed, tend to take part in antisocial behaviour" (Oelofse, 4 Nov. 2001: 5).

The psychological effects of unemployment on young people can be more damaging both to the individuals and to society, than on older people (CASE, 2000:14). This argument is particularly valid in the South African context. Mashita and Van Heerden (1997: 21) conducted research in Diepkloof, Soweto, on youth involvement in the hijacking of motor vehicles. They found out that being unemployed was neither a necessary nor a sufficient condition for an individual to become a criminal, but that it was, in combination with other conditions, sometimes a "trigger" for getting involved in criminal activities. Recent media reports have also supported the above arguments.

In the Sowetan (12 Sept. 2002: 3) it was reported that more unemployed blacks get involved in criminal activities such as family murder that are followed by suicide because of joblessness and the frustrations that come with unemployment. The psychologist quoted reported that today blacks are entirely depended on jobs for food. Thus high unemployment rates could have serious effects on people who cannot afford to provide for basic needs such as food and clothing. This psychologist indicated that when people, particularly men, are fired from work or have no jobs they find it difficult to cope with life and sometimes "Pushed by the convoluted logic of love, he kills his dependants to spare them the suffering of homelessness and hunger" (ibid.12 Sept. 3). This confirms there is increasing number of people, particularly youth who need assistance, as they tend to give up and often lose the battle against poverty and unemployment to crime.

In his study, Ashton (1986. 154) also confirms that a number of British studies have found a positive relationship between youth unemployment and crime. This argument was supported in a study of young persons without jobs in Britain (McRae, 1987: 125 and Winefield, Tiggemann, and Goldney, 1993: 14) who have shown that young people are most likely to be involved in crime when rates of unemployment are high (as they are in the townships). Could this be the kind of situation that leaves the unemployed vulnerable to all sorts of temptations, including participation in illegal activities for the financial benefits and the respect they yearn for? Reports show that “The past two years has seen a ‘discernible increase’ in the number of youths involved in violent and organised crime…” (Sowetan, 12 Sept. 2002: 3).

3 Theoretical framework

3.1 Introduction

According to the Soweto survey, just over half of the respondents attributed the increase in crime to unemployment and poverty (Morris, 1999: 45). The argument is that “given the state of unemployment, for many youth this may be the only way to make a living” (CASE, 2000: 80). In order to situate this research within a theoretical framework to identify and guide it, the issues of poverty and crime that are discussed in the literature review are utilised to orientate it. The rationale for employing these two factors is that continuous poverty and crime are two crucial realities that arose in the pre-research interviews, and that the people have to cope with in this community (Zola township). The report periodises the way people cope with unemployment, mainly since leaving school till today. The lived experiences and the self-understanding of the unemployed in Zola are discussed.

3.2 Poverty

Since the advent of democracy, unemployment has been one of the biggest challenges facing our new government. In the past six years our new democracy has had to struggle with the social problems accompanying unemployment. Poverty is one of these social problems that the poor, particularly the unemployed, have to cope with. It continues to be a major problem in many South African townships. But there is an argument that “Although there may well be a close connection, one should not presume that it is largely the unemployed who are the poor, or that the poor make up the bulk of the unemployed. The

incidence of unemployment does not necessarily correspond to the incident of poverty" (Standing, Sender and Weeks, 1996: 110).

Recent media reports have disclosed that high unemployment has resulted to poverty and forced pensioners to play breadwinner role in many households around the township (Molefe and Choonara, 09 Dec. 2002: 18). Despite being located in the most developed province in the country, Gauteng, Zola continues to be poverty stricken. Most people struggle to find employment in the nearest city of Johannesburg. The official rate of unemployment in Gauteng itself was 20.6% in 1999 (South African Survey, 2001: 378). Approximately 41% and 43% amongst African men and women especially had been looking for work for three or more years in 1997 (ibid. 1998: 29). The 2001 South Africa survey shows that 28% of urban Africans are unemployed. Poverty is clearly linked to underdevelopment and poverty in the township. It would be eye opening to find out how the jobless people in Zola township cope with poverty and unemployment.

3.3 Crime

In research conducted by Moller (1992: 104) findings on adjustments revealed that 10 per cent of the unemployed were not coping with the negative effects of unemployment in a socially acceptably way. Moller reported this 10 percent were drawn to some form of crime for survival (ibid. 104). In this research, the argument that unemployment and poverty encourage some people to turn to anti social practices like crime in an attempt to satisfy their (and their dependants) basic needs, such as food, shelter and clothing (Cawker, and Whiteford, 1993), supported Moller's (1992: 73) is also reviewed.

CHAPTER TWO.

2. Methodology

2.1 Research Strategy.

The epistemological assumption informing my research strategy is that subjects are not just passive puppets, whose strings are pulled by objective circumstances but are rather to be understood as interpreting their experience, bestowing meaning on it. Therefore, the way subjects experience their situations cannot be 'read off' from any analysis that sort-circuits the specifically subjective dimensions (Dallymayr and McCarthy, 1977).

My methodology is tailored to access the perspectives of the subjects themselves, their subjective definitions of their situations and themselves. For this reason I have relied on (in-depth) interviewing as my principal technique of data collection. This will allows me to ask follow-up questions in order to obtain more clarity and understanding about anything that might have come up during the interview itself. This has been an ethnographic study with an emphasis on (participant) observation, open-ended conversations, and semi-structured interviews. Despite of the researcher's use of questionnaires when conducting pre-research interviews, the study has been a qualitative, rather than quantitative study. Participation observation is used as a valuable method of investigating the subjects and to understand their day to day experiences.

During the observation period, three weeks were spent living with the subjects. Wide-ranging conversations were held with twelve unemployed men and women and the researcher sometimes participated in their every day routines.

Comprehensive field notes were taken during this period and mainly very broad questions formulated in as open-ended a manner as possible, were raised. This helped the researcher avoid prematurely narrowing down the range of possible answers.

Data analysis began during the period of observation and questions were fine-tuned according to the results of this preliminary analysis. In this way I managed to generate the questions for the in-depth interviews that were conducted at the end of the observation period. Being of a qualitative nature, the interviews were aimed at allowing the subjects to speak for themselves.

During all the interviews notes were taken. Once the interviews were completed all the material collected (field notes) were analysed. In analysing the data the researcher looked for similarities and differences within and across the categories (of gender, age, education level etc.) while, at the same time, being very conscious of the importance of capturing its complexity, its 'thickness'.

2.2 Researcher's First Experience And Observation in the Township

2.2.1 Field Notes: Inside the township (Zola)

I met my first respondent in the taxi I was travelling with, when I enquired about the address where I was going to stay during my fieldwork. She knew where the place was and that's why I introduced myself and told her who I was and that I was doing a research on her township's unemployment. She was also unemployed, and her name was Sibongile. I accompanied her from where the taxi dropped us. This is where my role as a participant/observer began. At this stage, snowballing also became prominent in my sample because she referred

me to people she knew. We took a walk around the location searching for even more people. This was not that difficult because people knew each other and almost every person was studying or unemployed. However, other people that I approached refused to be interviewed mainly because I would sometimes find them engaged in various activities such as chatting, hair dressing, playing football in the streets or even watching their television programmes at their homes. I ended up dedicating my first week entirely for observation (participant observation). I visited and spent a lot of time getting to know them better and to build trust with all my respondents. Altimately. I settled for those who were often prepared to talk about my research and who I thought were more accessible. They consisted of the following individuals:

Zinhle Mthethwa

Mpho Mashego

Winnie Mdeni

Zodwa Shabalala

Lerato Mokoena

Julius Khoza

Tshepo Mashego

Bulela Magazi

Theo Tau

Sibusiso Ndaba

CHAPTER THREE

3. Field Notes, Female Responses, Experiences and Observations.

Respondent: Sibongile Mbatha.

3.1 Background.

Sibongile is a 25 year unemployed woman. She has never been employed and currently lives with her mother, three brothers, and two uncles in a four-roomed house belonging to her grandmother (pensioner).

NAME	AGE	RESIDENCE	PARENTS	EDUCATION	EVER BEEN EMPLOYED
Sibongile Mbatha	25	Relative's house [Grand mother's]	Single Mother	Business Management Diploma and currently doing Auditing diploma	No

Table 1: Sibongile's profile.

Sibongile's mother who works in Johannesburg and her grandmother, are breadwinners. She has an uncle, though employed, has a family in KwaZulu Natal. He sends almost all his salary to his wife and kids.

3.1.1 Availability of food, and living conditions within her household.

Sibongile indicated that food is not always a problem because her mother and grandmother always make sure that there is something to eat in the house. When asked if she contributes in buying food and other necessary things in the house, Sibongile said, “Yes”, and the money usually comes from her mother and her fiancé. However, Sibongile was clearly dissatisfied with her present living conditions. She was particularly not happy with the size of the house and a number of people living in it and believed things need to change. She indicated that they were brought up in the house and thought she is old enough to share her grandmother’s house anymore. Sibongile sleeps in one room with her grandmother and her mother. The other bedroom caters for his two uncles; one of them is mentally disturbed, while her three brothers share the living room floor.

3.1.2 Relationship with her family.

Sibongile expressed satisfaction with the overall relationship within her family, because compared to other big families around her neighbourhood, where physical fights often take place between members of the same family, there is peace within her family. She indicated that her mother plays an important role in keeping peace and togetherness within the family. But she was concerned about her relationship with her brothers. According to Sibongile, her brothers (all unemployed) usually leave in the morning and come back later in the afternoon, at night or do not come back at all. They hardly talk and spend time together like they used to. Instead, they are no longer best of friends because her unemployed brothers, who despite being unemployed, often come home late at night or in the afternoons. The fact that despite being unemployed her brothers usually bring money and food has caused tension in the family.

3.1.3 Daily schedule/activities.

Sibongile usually sleeps at 21:00 and wakes up at 06:30 am. Her daily activities are as follows:

- Prepares her mother's lunch box, and breakfast for both her grandmother and her mother.
- Cleans the whole house.
- Does washing for everyone (except for anyone she recently quarrelled with).
- Watches television, particularly the omnibus soupies.
- Spends the rest of the day taking care of her grandmother and sometimes, selling ice cream, from home if her mother bought it for her at the end of the month.
- She is also a hairdresser, and sometimes spends the rest of the day doing this.

When asked how often she watches television; Sibongile said she sometimes watches it everyday the whole day. She does not listen to radio, but prefers to read newspapers and novels. Sibongile usually budgets and buys the Wednesday Star newspaper, which is her weekly job search tool. One Wednesday I found her reading it, she pointed at one of the positions in the newspaper and said "Uyabona, bacabanga ukuthi sizoyithatha kuphi le-experience" (You see where do they expect us to get this experience). She complained that she has made a number of applications for suitable vacancies advertised in the newspaper without any luck or invitation for an interview.

3.1.4 Education, training and Job search.

Sibongile has a diploma in business management and is currently doing internal auditing at Technikon South Africa. She has been unemployed for two years, which has been the most stressful period in her life. She therefore decided to register part time with Techikon SA to keep herself busy, as most people around her neighbourhood kept asking why she was not employed. Sibongile was well aware of how important education is, and knew that she would have to further her studies and acquire more skills to enhance her chances. She indicated that most people who know her education background did not understand why she was not employed. They are mainly the ones who put so much pressure on her and hence she is trying by all means to better herself through education whilst looking for employment opportunities at her disposal.

When asked if she needed any particular training, Sibongile said, “Yes”. Asking what kind of training she wanted, she said she needed an internship in financial management and business management because employers are more interested in experienced job hunters. This has been her main problem because she only had a temporal job at Edgars as a casual.

On the question how often she goes out searching for a job, Sibongile said lately, she seldom goes out searching for employment because she wasted a lot of money on it without any success. She now only relies on applications whenever she sees a suitable advertisement. According to her, she would only go out if someone tips her about available job vacancies. In her opinion, networking is better and more helpful than going through the process of job application. Sibongile believes that very few people find jobs on merits, or because they deserve it. She indicated that people she knows, who have now found employment, were assisted by individuals that they know from within their now places of work. Therefore for her, a job search is a very frustrating process for

people who do not know anyone who can help within a workplace. She thinks favouritism in the labour market is more serious than ever before.

Sibongile said employers often tell people that they are not suitable or experienced for advertised jobs. “One wastes a lot of money that is not easy to come by to apply or go to often unsuccessful job interviews”. She indicated that she sometimes finds it difficult and embarrassing to ask for money and other things that at her age should be providing for herself. “Uyazi ngesinye isikhathi ngize ngibone ukuthi ngicela kakhulu”(You know, sometimes I think I am asking too much). She told me that she really feels bad about being dependent to other people.

3.1.5 Quality of life and income generating activity/ies.

Sibongile was very satisfied with her state of health, and was fairly satisfied with the overall life she leads. But she made it clear that she is not satisfied with her current unemployed status and her financial situation. Financially, her family was generally very supportive of her, and indicated that her mother is her main source of income within the family. Outside her household, Sibongile singled out her fiancé as her source of income. To generate extra income, Sibongile sometimes sells ice cream and has turned to hairdressing around her area.

3.1.6 Expectations.

When asked what should be done by the state to help, Sibongile said:

- The government should provide jobs to people who are willing to work, “I studied hard to obtain my diploma and I did not have any financial

assistance. My mother struggled to get me to college, but I'm still unemployed".

- She indicated that people like herself, who are willing to study or work, should be offered necessary support, including financial assistance by the government. Sibongile indicated that most young people in the townships do not know about readily available loans and bursaries, and need to be properly informed because many end up doing nothing after matriculation.

When asked what little things could help her as an unemployed, Sibongile singled out money and said she needed it to pay for her studies. She said she relies on a collective effort from her mother, grandmother and her boyfriend to pay for her fees.

When asked whether she would take any grant or donation given to her because of her status as the unemployed, Sibongile said she would take it. On how much she would need, Sibongile said more than R100 a week. "Uyazi izinto zidule kanjani these days" ("You know how expensive things are these days"). I needed to know how she would spend that hundred rand, Sibongile said, "I would study full time because I'm not working anyway. So I need enough money to travel to school".

3.1.7 How she feels about being unemployed.

Sibongile was frustrated by being jobless and ended up registering with Technikon South Africa. Asking her whether she blames herself or not for being unemployed, she said she does not blame herself. She indicated that she has tried to educate herself, and searches for job opportunities in newspapers and calls job agencies that always tell her that she needed more work experience.

“Since I don’t have much experience, it is very difficult to find a job”. She indicated that she would not blame herself for being inexperienced.

3.1.8 Laziness.

When asked whether she agrees or not with people who say people have no jobs because they are lazy, Sibongile said she does not agree. Instead she indicated that “One can’t go to school, have qualification, frame it on the wall and watch it everyday from morning until midnight”. She said she is not a lazy person because she worked hard to complete her studies and “I sometimes work the whole day in my house just to avoid boredom”.

3.1.9 Important changes resulted from being unemployed.

She mentioned a number of changes that have occurred in her life because of unemployment. These include:

- Feel like a burden to her mother.
- Generally pessimistic about the future.

3.1.10 Challenges.

When asked which things are major problems in her life and her community, she mentioned:

- Unemployment.
- Poverty.

- And crime.

Crime seemed to be one of her major concerns as she expressed her disgust at continuous child rape incidents and house breakings currently increasingly becoming a major problem in her township. She said in Zola, even relatives steal for each other these days to get money to buy things like drugs or food for themselves.

She said "La, ngesinye isikhathi abantu bagetshengwa emini ka-bha, especially uma bengakwazi noma ungahlali khona. Uzisize njena uvale i-phone yakho, uyifihle ngoba abawayeki" ("Here people are sometimes robbed at daylight, especially if they don't know you, or if you are not from around this area. You can do yourself a favour by switching your phone off and hide it"). She continued, "These good for nothing guys around our township only know marijuana and crime.

She indicated that she prefers spending her time at home because they rape and harass local girls. Sadly, I also witnessed a number of abusive treatments directed not only to women but men as well. On several occasions, guys, particularly when they were in a group, would swear to any girl that refused to come to them when they call her. Sometimes they even harassed other guys calling them names. This was mainly done by individuals who were usually under the influence of drugs, mainly, dagga.

Respondent: Zinhle Mthethwa

3.2 Background.

She is a 23-year-old unemployed woman who has never been employed before. She lives in the family of 4 people, consisting of her parents who are both working in Johannesburg and her older brother.

NAME	AGE	RESIDENCE	PARENTS	EDUCATION	EVER BEEN EMPLOYED
Zinhle	23	Family house	Both parents	Matric	No

Table 2: Zinhle's profile.

Zinhle's brother has been a casual worker in one of the retail shops in the CBD for years. Zinhle said her brother also got a job after almost five years without employment.

3.2.1 Availability of food and living conditions within the household.

Zinhle indicated that food is always available She never goes to bed without anything to eat because her parents manage to provide food and other basic needs for the family. Zinhle said she financially depends on her parents, and her boyfriend. She indicated that he buys her clothes, and often gives her money to go to any salon she wants. Zinhle was happy with her household living condition. She said she was content with her present living conditions because she gets almost everything she needs, food, clothing, and a comfortable place to sleep.

She however indicated that she does not enjoy staying in Zola township. She accused local people, particularly mothers, and their daughters of witchcraft and selfishness.

On the other hand, she really got along with guys in the area, who often greeted her when we sat outside her house. She also had two constant male visitors. Both guys were driving trendy cars. When visiting her I always spent the whole day because she hardly spent time talking to me. She was either on her cell phone talking to her girl friends, whom she says she went to school with, and are living either in one of the middle class townships around Soweto or in the Northern suburbs, or a guy. She often spoke to different guys whom she says are just asking her out. According to her, this is one of the reasons she does not get along with local girls because they accuse her of being 'Isifebe' ('a hooker') and of stealing their boyfriends.

3.2.2 Relationship with her family.

Zinhle said she has a very good relationship with her family, and indicated that they are a very close and supportive family of four. She indicated that her mother in particular has been very supportive and knows how jealous their neighbours are of her.

On the question whether being unemployed has positively or negatively affected her relationship with other family members, she said positively. Zinhle indicated that she thinks the family is now even closer than before because her parents seem to understand how jealous neighbours are. They seem to be particularly concerned about her brother because, though he has a job, "he still hangs out with wrong company", people who are always implicated in criminal activities.

3.2.3 Daily Schedule/activities

Zinhle usually sleeps at 22:00 and wakes up at 07:00 am. Her daily activities are as follows:

- Prepares breakfast for her parents before they go to work.
- Cleans the whole house.

She usually does not do washing on her own; preferring to wait until the weekend for her mother's assistance.

When asked how often she watches television; she said she watches television, and listen to radio the whole day. This does not come, as a surprise because she hardly speaks to anyone, and has no friends to spend time or talk to, around the area. After doing her daily housework, she relaxes by listening to music while watching television. Television and music are always on, even when she is doing something else, such as reading a novel or magazine.

3.2.4 Education, training and job search.

Zinhle only had a matric certificate and had never had any form of employment. She completed her matric in 1997, and has since spent most of her time at home doing nothing to enhance her chances of being employed through training or education. She indicated that she was planning to go back and further her studies in one of the universities around Gauteng.

On the question whether she needed any particular training or not, Zinhle said yes.

Q: What kind of training?

Z: “I would like to go to varsity or technikon next year, oh yes, I just wanted to take a break, I know I need some kind of training or qualification to make it in life”.

In terms of job search, Zinhle indicated that she does look for employment ‘whenever she sees a suitable advertisement’. She however pointed out that she seldom expects anything because she does not have the necessary qualification.

3.2.5 Quality of life and income generating activity/ies

Zinhle said she is not at all satisfied with her quality of life because of her current unemployed status. Although she was satisfied with her state of health, Zinhle was not at all satisfied with the overall life she leads as an unemployed because she does not have enough money to fulfil her needs. Instead, her brother and her parents provide the financial support she needs. They (parents) give her spending money at the end of the month, and of course her boyfriends also contribute a lot in this regard. But there is nothing she does to generate income except asking her parents and sometimes her boyfriends for financial assistance.

3.2.6 Expectations.

When asked what should be done by the state to help, Zinhle said:

- The government should provide bursaries, loans, or jobs to the unemployed so that they can at least have chance to help themselves.

Other little things that could help the unemployed include:

- Training programmes.
- Drop in taxi fare prizes. She pointed out that when a person living in the township searches for a job, one always has to have taxi fare to go to interviews.

Zinhle indicated that she spent a lot of money on taxi fares when she was still an active job seeker. She believes the government should subsidise taxis because she believes this could improve a number of job hunters from the township.

When asked if she would take any grant or donation given to her because of her unemployed status, Zinhle said she would take it. When asked how much she would need, she said more than R100 a week. On the question, what five important things she would use that grant on, she only singled out job search.

3.2.7 How she feels about being unemployed.

Zinhle indicated that she is not worried about her status because at the moment she does not have the necessary education and skills to lend myself a good job. Asking her whether she blames herself or not for being unemployed, she said “No”, instead she blames the government for not doing enough to create employment for people.

3.2.8 Laziness

On the question, would you agree with people who say unemployed people have no jobs because they are lazy, She said “No”. Zinhle indicated that a lot of people are desperate and would like to work and earn a decent living. On whether she is lazy or not, Zinhle said she is not. When asked to mention two things that she does to support that she is not lazy, she mentioned that:

- She is always willing to work and her involvement in housework shows that she is not lazy.

3.2.9 Important changes resulted from being unemployed.

I asked her to mention important changes that have occurred in her life because of unemployment. She mentioned that:

- She now has to stay at home without much to do.
- She now spends more time reading books and novels.

3.2.10 Challenges.

On the question which things are major problems in her life or her community, she mentioned:

- Unemployment.
- Poverty.
- And rape.

Zinhle indicated that unemployment has worsened poverty amongst a lot of people and families in the township. She said her neighbours always come asking for things like, money, sugar, mealie meal and other basic needs.

She also indicated how serious rape is in her township. She said people take rape for granted in the township, “it happens almost everyday”. She says a lot of guys do not even realise that they are raping the girls in the township. They force them to have sex even if they do not want to. She indicated that in the afternoons you would find guys pulling their girlfriends by hands, forcing them to spend the night at their houses. Sometimes they even take their girlfriends while coming from shops and they do not care because some guys are often under the influence of drugs and dagga, both of which are easily accessible in the township.

Zola does have a serious alcohol and drug abuse problem, particularly the abuse of dagga which I also often seen most men, young and old, and sometimes few girls smoking around Zola during my stay. Harassment is also a serious offence that is taken lightly in this township. This is particularly true because since my arrival in Zola township, in a number of occasions, particularly on Fridays and during the weekends mostly men under the influence of alcohol and sometimes (even their partners in the same condition) beat up or pull their girlfriends to their homes. As an observer, this is actually mainly socially accepted or ignored in Zola because other people did not even condone or pay much attention to this criminal act.

Respondent: Mpho Mashigo

3.3 Background:

Mpho is a 22-year-old woman who has never had any form of employment. She lives in the family of 4 people, and both of her parents are working and acting as breadwinners.

NAME	AGE	RESIDENCE	PARENTS	EDUCATION	EVER BEEN EMPLOYED
Mpho Mashego	22	Family house	Both parents	Computer Diploma	No

Table 3: Mpho's profile.

She has a five year old sister who is considered too young to attend school in the township. Mpho often looks after her during the day and only takes her to the nearest crèche if she has plans or commitments on the day.

3.3.1 Availability of food and living conditions within the household.

Mpho indicated that food is always available and usually eats as much as she wants everyday. She said her family never goes to bed without anything to eat because her parents are both working and can afford to buy food. When asked

whether she contributes in the buying of food and other necessary things, Mpho said she does not contribute because she does not have any form of income.

When asked if she is happy staying and sleeping in the family house or not, Mpho said “Yes it’s home and no one can kick me out for not paying the rent”. She said she considered herself lucky because other unemployed people like her do not even have a place to stay. She also indicated that she is content with her present living conditions, because she gets almost everything she would not have had if it was not for her parents.

3.3.2 Relationship with her family.

Mpho said she has a good relationship with her family. She is still treated the way one should be treated by parents. She also said her parents understand that she is unemployed and are always prepared to help her in anyway they can. On the question whether being unemployed has positively or negatively affected her relationship with her family members, Mpho believed the relationship has been positively affected because of the support she continues to get within the family.

3.3.3 Daily Schedule/ activity/ies.

Mpho usually sleeps at 12:00 and wakes up at 09:00 am. Describing what she does on daily basis, Mpho indicated that she usually wakes up at around 09:00 and:

- Prepares breakfast for herself and her younger sister.
- Does her housework (usually cleaning and sometimes does washing).

- She then spends the rest of the day watching television and listening to radio.

On the question how often she watches television; Mpho said she watches television and also listen to radio everyday the whole day. She said she sometimes-read newspapers if her father brought it at home after work. Mpho was also one of the respondents that I often found at home. I sometimes found her in her nightdress because she said she hated taking a bath, and said she was comfortable because no one sees her anyway. Mpho said she prefers to take a bath later in the day, after lunchtime.

3.3.4 Education, training and job search.

Mpho completed a computer course, and got a Damelin diploma in 1999. She says she has never had any form of employment since 1999. When asked if she still needs more or any particular training, she said “No” and indicated that her parents have already provided her with money to further her education and she does not expect them to offer her anything from now on. All she wants is a good job.

In terms of job-hunting, Mpho said in the past she usually went out on daily basis searching for employment opportunities in areas around Johannesburg, particularly in shopping centers such as Sandton City, East and South-gate. Although she continues to look for employment, she indicated that she goes out searching for a job, ‘when ever she sees a suitable advertisement’. She indicated that she has never been invited for an interview, and most jobs that are usually advertised in the newspapers are not worth taking. According to her, they are usually poorly paying and humiliating to do.

3.3.5 Quality of life and income generating activity/ies.

Although Mpho is very satisfied with her state of health, and is fairly satisfied with the overall life she leads, she is not satisfied with her current unemployed status and her financial situation. She indicated that she needed a job to generate her own income and improve her life.

When asked whether her working family members provide financial assistance or not, Mpho said 'Yes' and considers them very supportive. She also singled out her boyfriend of two years, as another source of income. Mpho's boyfriend has a full time job and is always helpful when she is in financial crisis. She said though her boyfriend's job involves a lot of traveling, he is always there when she needs him. She calls him whenever she needs money.

When asked if which things has she got herself involved in, to generate income, she said none but jokingly said she plays lotto. She said she would play lotto until she dies, even if she finds a well paying job. She indicated that though she has never won anything, she would continue playing the game because it can change her life for the better.

3.3.6 Expectations.

On the question, what should be done by the state to help, Mpho said the government should provide jobs or financial assistance in a form of grants to the unemployed. She said this would help many to gain access to basic needs and services. Mpho was also unhappy with costs involved during job search period. She complained about taxi fares and money she pays when applying for

employment. She indicated that printing and faxing CVs has become unbearably expensive for an unemployed person. She therefore indicated that the government would have to accommodate all unemployed young people by offering them jobs as interns in its local and national government departments.

On the question, what little things could help you as an unemployed, Mpho singled out:

- Money for taxi fare, faxing, and making phone calls during job search.
- Provision of internships, particularly to graduates who need skills and work experience.

In terms of transport costs, Mpho indicated that she would like to buy her own car because taxi fares are just too high, she would rather own one than pay for taxis. She indicated that she seldom leaves her home because she cannot afford the taxi fare.

When asked if she would you take any grant or donation given to her because of her unemployed status, Mpho answered, “Yes”. When asked how much she would need, she said more than R100 a week because she believes the cost of living has increased. The important things that Mpho would use the money (grant) on include:

- Clothes, cosmetics
- And for job search.

Mpho acknowledged that she needs more money to fulfil the above-mentioned things and therefore believed that only through a job can she manage to attend to most of her needs.

3.3.7 How she feels about being unemployed.

Mpho is also not worried about her joblessness status, because she believes that she is not responsible for her situation. Instead she said, “The government and employers should be held responsible for high unemployment”. She believes that the government and the employers do not care about the unemployed. Mpho pointed out continuous job losses as main reasons that show that neither of the two is doing enough to eradicate unemployment.

When asked that she has sacrificed her time trying to get the most affordable education and training there is, to boost her chances of getting employment. Mpho said she would not blame herself because there are so many unemployed graduates in our township who also cannot find employment.

3.3.8 Laziness.

When asked whether she agree or not with people who say people have no jobs because they are lazy, Mpho said she does not agree. She argued that most people she knows want jobs and are willing to work for anything. On whether she is lazy or not, Mpho said she is not lazy. The two things she mentioned to support that she is not lazy included:

- Continuous job search.
- And doing housework.

3.3.9 Important changes resulted from being unemployed.

In terms of changes that have resulted from being unemployed, Mpho said although she has grown up and matured very fast, she is now less optimistic about her future and has lost hope on finding employment. She indicated that at her age it is also no longer easy for her to ask for money from her parents. And lately, getting a job is all she thinks about.

3.3.10 Challenges.

When asked which things are major problems in her life or in her community, she mentioned:

- Unemployment.
- Poverty.
- Gossiping.

Mpho indicated that a lot of people she grew up with are unemployed. She said that her friend, who once came to see her at my presence, is a Bcom graduate and has until a few weeks ago been unemployed since 1999. This shows that even with proper qualification, her friend has been unemployed for three years.

Mpho indicated that poverty is ripe in the township. Although most people were willing to help, increasing number of neighbours are no longer supportive to those in need anymore. The poorest no longer go to the neighbours for help, food, and other things. She said her family is fortunate that they can afford to put a plate on the table. But before her mother started working, her family sometimes went to neighbours for assistance for things like mealie meal and sugar.

Mpho said rape has always been a problem in Zola township, and many people, particularly men drink a lot and come back and abuse their loved ones. She said men often mistreat and rape local girls and even their girlfriends. She indicated that most parents do not send female members of the family to the shop after six in the afternoon. In her household, they do the shopping for the month in Johannesburg and if they need something they buy it during the day. In the afternoon and at night, her father and her brother do the shopping around the area. Mpho said rape is one of the reasons she now prefers to spend a lot of time at home, mainly watching television the whole day.

Respondent: Winnie Mdeni

3.4 Background.

Winnie is a 30-year-old unemployed lady who hasn't had a job in a long time. She was born in the Eastern Cape, her family moved to Soweto after she got a job around Johannesburg. She says she has stayed in Zola for almost a decade.

NAME	AGE	RESIDENCE	PARENTS	EDUCATION	EVER BEEN EMPLOYED
Winnie Mdeni	30	Boyfriend's family house	Single mother	Failed matric	Yes

Table 4: Winnie's profile.

Though she spends most of her time at her boyfriend's home, Winnie is from a family of five, consisting of herself, her two children, her sister, and her mother.

The house belongs to her mother, a pensioner, whom together with her working younger sister, are breadwinners.

3.4.1 Availability of food and living conditions within the household.

Winnie indicated that availability of food is not always an issue in her household, but indicated that sometimes she does sleep without food to eat because there are days when no one buys her food. Asking her how often does this happen, she said not very often but it usually happens when her boyfriend had drunk some of the money that should be spent on monthly groceries. Winnie's boyfriend who is permanently employed is the only person who usually offers her money to buy everything she needs including food. Winnie said she does not have anything except things that her boyfriend buys her.

She said she is happy at her boyfriends' place and hardly spends time at home. She only goes back at her mother's house when she has a quarrel with her boyfriend or when she has to see her two children. Winnie indicated that she seldom enjoys her brief visits at her home because she does not get along that well with her family (her mother and her sister). She believes that living with her boyfriend is better than living at home where there is unbearable hostility particularly between her and her younger sister.

On the question whether she is content with her present living conditions at her boyfriend's household, she said she is not. But indicated that it is better than her home. Winnie indicated that the only problem is that her boyfriend does not treat her like he used to anymore. Since she moved to his house, he (boyfriend) no longer respects her and often treats her like a 'dog', particularly when he is drunk. She said that sometimes she does not get any money from him and ends up going to her mother for assistance. And this is one of the reasons that she

does not get along with her sister who wants her to come back home and stay with them and her kids.

3.4.2 Relationship with her family.

When asked about her relationship with her family, Winnie surprisingly said it is good. She indicated that it is unfortunate that arguments she sometimes has with her sister and her mother ruin the relationship with her family. Apparently the two accuse her of abandoning her kids by living with her boyfriend. “Abandihloniphi phambi kwabantwana bam” (they do not respect me in front of my kids). They sometimes shout at her at the presence of her children. They tell her how useless she is because she does not have a job, and contributes nothing towards the upbringing of her children.

Despite everything she still believes that her family, particularly her mother has been good to her. Winnie admires her mother for taking care of her children, and single handedly raising them for her since the departure of her children’s father. She still does not know where their father is. Her mother spends almost all her pension grant on her children.

Winnie admitted that being unemployed has negatively affected the relationship she has with her family. They argue every time she visits them “Abandihloniphi njengomunt’omdala ekhaya” (They do not respect me as an adult at home). She believes this treatment contributes to lack of respect that other members of the community have shown to her since she lost her job.

In one of my visits, I witnessed how bad Winnie is treated at her boyfriends’ household. She was often given instructions to execute certain household duties

while other family members; most of them younger than her, sat down doing nothing. The mother in law treated her like a child, considering the manner in which she gave her those instructions. Winnie's mother in law would shout from the main house, calling her when she was still talking to me in her boyfriend's shack. She would quickly respond and storm out of the shack to find out what next the mother in law had in store for her.

Winnie looked like a very troubled person. When asked to describe her relationship with her boyfriend, Winnie indicated that he helps her financially. But one of the things that Winnie disliked about her boyfriend is that he sometimes comes late at night drunk or in the morning or does not come back home at all for days. Moreover, sometimes her boyfriend beats her and chase her away.

When asked to how she feels about her boyfriend and the relationship with him, she said she does not know how she feels about him. But indicated that sometimes their relationship is good, particularly when her boyfriend is sober. He sometimes brings her nice food and gifts at the end of the month.

3.4.3 Daily schedule/activities.

Winnie usually sleeps at 21:00 and wakes up at 06:00 am. Her daily activities include:

- Preparing breakfast and her boyfriend's take away lunch.
- Cleaning both her boyfriends' shack and the main family house.
- Doing washing for everyone in her boyfriend's family once or twice a week.

- And if she does not have anything to do she prefers resting outside, especially in summer because it is often too hot in her boyfriend's shack.

When asked how often she watches television; she said she does not really watch television because it is in the main house. She prefers to listen to the radio in her boyfriends' shack, but she does not listen to it all the time because she mainly prefers quietness. When asked if she reads newspapers or not, Winnie said she does not read at all.

3.4.4 Education, training and job search.

Winnie said she failed matric and her school refused to give her another chance to improve her marks. She then moved from uMthata, in the Eastern Cape and worked for one of the factories around Johannesburg. According to Winnie, her life fell apart when that factory was closed down a few years ago. She then got temporal jobs, which also came to an end.

When asked if she needed any particular training, Winnie said, "Yes" she does, but indicated that she needed training that would guarantee her a job. Although Winnie did not have any kind of training, she believed that she had enough experience from previous employments.

In terms of job hunting, Winnie said she is still looking for a job, but she no longer goes out searching for employment like she used to. She indicated that she only does it when people tell her about available vacancies. Winnie indicated that she prefers going to places where she is referred to by other people because newspaper are not reliable job search tools, as jobs are always given to other people.

3.4.5 Quality of life and income generating activity/ies.

Winnie said she is not satisfied with her quality of life because of her current unemployment status and financial situation. It is interesting that despite the constant coughing during our interviews, Winnie said she was very satisfied with her state of health. She did not look nor sound fine at all. The way she walked and held up herself showed how unhealthy and physically unfit she was. The fact that she sometimes spends the whole day without food must have contributed to her weakness and weight loss. Having heard that she sometimes spend the whole day without food, I started bringing something to eat. I brought her bread, coke, and fish and chips. We often both ate it after spending few hours talking about her life and experiences.

When asked how she felt about the life she leads, she said she is used to it but was not at all satisfied with the overall life she leads. She indicated that she has no choice because the only person who is willing to help and take care of her needs is her boyfriend. She indicated that she does not want her children to witness the abuse she is getting from her family. She would rather pay them a visit than stay with her abusive sister. She says three years ago she moved in with her boyfriend because he was not a heavy drinker he is, and was a pleasant person to live with.

When asked whether her family member provides financial assistance or not, Winnie said not at all. She said her sister does not give her anything and does not even do much for her kids. Her sister accuses Winnie of being irresponsible and believes she is not doing enough to find a job. Winnie said she sometimes receive financial assistance from her mother and her boyfriend.

When asked which things has she got herself involved in to generate income, she said none; instead she sometimes relies on her family handouts, particularly her boyfriend for income.

3.4.6 Expectations.

Winnie expected the state to create jobs by building more hospitals and clinics in the township so that people like her can get jobs. She indicated that she was last employed as a cleaner in Baragwanath hospital but lost that job when she got sick for a number of weeks.

When asked what little things could help her as an unemployed, Winnie suggested that:

- Government should offer the unemployed monthly grants like pensioners. “Ucabanga ukuba siyithatha’phi imali?” (“Where does government think we get the money?”).

Winnie said that she would take any form of grant or donation given to her as an unemployed individual. When asked how much she would need, she said at least R100 a week.

Important things that Winnie would use the state grant for, include:

- Mainly food,
- She also mentioned clothes, cosmetics and doing her hair, as it has been a long time since she went to a salon.

3.4.7 How she feels about being unemployed.

Winnie is not happy about being unemployed because when she is hungry and there is nothing to eat, she does not only feel bad and ashamed but angry that had she had a job, she would not go through such difficulties. She indicated that she sometimes wait for her boyfriend to come back at work because no one gives her anything at the main house if he did not buy enough food for the month. They share amongst themselves and leave her starving in her boyfriend's shack for the whole day.

When asked whether she blames herself or not for being unemployed, Winnie said she does not blame herself. Instead, she also blamed the government for unemployment. Winnie indicated that before the elections, the government had promised to provide jobs for the unemployed, but all people see are job losses.

3.4.8 Laziness.

When asked if she agreed or not with people who say many people are unemployed because they are lazy, Winnie said she does not agree. Winnie indicated that people would not starve themselves if they were offered jobs to feed themselves and their families. She said people do not just sit at home because they are lazy, they are often denied opportunities to work when they apply or ask for employment. And when asked if she is lazy or not, Winnie said she was not lazy.

When asked to mention things that she does to support the argument that she is not lazy. Winnie indicated that:

- She would not choose to work for nothing, as she does at her boyfriend's home, if she was lazy. She said she knows herself, if anyone can offer her job, she would take it no matter how bad it is.
- She mentioned that she cleans her boyfriend's shack, and his family's main house, and washes everyone's clothes. She also indicated that sometimes she even washes house walls in the main family house.

3.4.9 Important changes resulted from being unemployed.

Important changes that have occurred in her life because of unemployment include:

- More dependent than ever before.

3.4.10 Challenges.

When asked to mention things that are a major problem in her life and her community, she mentioned:

- Unemployment.
- Poverty.
- And disrespect.

Winnie felt the society she lives in is being disrespectful to unemployed people like her. She said it is even worse if her own family members are the culprits. She expected her family to be supportive and respectful to her as one of their members. Instead, her sister and her mother say bad things and publicly humiliate her when she visits her children.

Winnie said she is living under poverty and sometimes goes home when she is really starving at her boyfriend's house. Disrespect from the community around her boyfriend's household has left her with one option of going to her mothers' house for assistance than to ask her boyfriend's neighbours for help.

Respondent: Zodwa Shabalala.

3.5 Background.

Zodwa is a 20-year-old unemployed young woman who has never had a job in her entire life. She lives in the family of 3, consisting of herself, her mother, and her grandmother.

NAME	AGE	RESIDENCE	PARENTS	EDUCATION	EVER BEEN EMPLOYED
Zodwa Shabalala	20	Family	Single mother and grandmother	Matric	No

Table 5: Zodwa's profile.

The house belongs to her grandmother who is a pensioner. She indicated that her mother is also unemployed and does not spend much time at home.

3.5.1 Availability of food and living conditions within the household.

Zodwa's family always have food and she never goes to bed without food to eat because her grandmother buys monthly groceries with her pension grant. Zodwa said she does not buy herself anything. She indicated that her grandmother and her mother buy her almost everything she has. In terms of her present living conditions, Zodwa indicated that she is dissatisfied because "We are struggling, and can only manage to buy basic stuff like food, cosmetics after paying for electricity and the rent". She said decent living is more than that, and thought there was no progress and development within her household. Zodwa was not pleased that she does not even study nor work to help out to improve the household. Her family can only afford to live on a limited budget or without anything until her grandmother receives her monthly pension grant.

3.5.2 Relationship with her family.

Zodwa said she has a good relationship with her family. She is particularly close to her grandmother and hardly spends time with her mother because she is seldom at home. Zodwa's mother spends most of her time with her boyfriend in Diepkloof, a neighbouring township around Soweto. This is her "places" that Zodwa spoke about earlier on. Zodwa indicated that though they are not close with her mother they also get along well. When she needs clothes, her mother usually try her level best to buy them for her. According to Zodwa, her mother often gets the money from the man she lives with, in Diepkloof.

When asked whether being unemployed has positively or negatively affected her relationship with her family members, she said negatively. Zodwa once again indicated that she is particularly close to her grandmother who is always there for

her. But being unemployed has affected their relationship since she matriculated in 2000.

She says her grandmother expected her to get a decent job because she passed her matric well, “She does not understand that matric does not guarantee anyone a job these days”. Zodwa says her grandmother has started to complain whenever she asks for money, telling her to find a job like other people she grew up with. “She forgets that these people went to universities and technikons that I cannot afford”. Despite everything she says she still consider their overall relationship as good. “Umagogo’ (grandmother) knows that I am still unemployed and need her assistance. We are very close because I always go to her for advice or anything that I can’t do on my own”.

3.5.3 Daily schedule/activity/ies.

Zodwa sleeps after 22:00 and wakes up at around 08:00 am. Her daily activities include:

- Preparing breakfast for her grandmother and herself.
- Cleaning the house.
- Watching television or visiting friends around her neighbourhood.
- Sometimes she spends most of her time with her boyfriend, Sibusiso, who happens to be one of my respondents.
- Later on the day she prepares the supper for herself and her grandmother.

When asked how often she watches television; Zodwa said she watches television whenever she has time to, but seldom listen to radio. She said she does not read newspapers. “I just don’t have money to spend on newspapers”.

3.5.4 Education, training and job search.

Zodwa matriculated in 2000 and did not have money to continue with her studies. She says she has never had any form of employment. When asked if she needed any particular training, she said, “Yes”, and indicated that she would like to go to a Technikon or the University but her grandmother cannot afford it. She did not even want to talk about her mother, when I tried to bring her into the picture. Zodwa indicated that she has since decided to apply for admission in the University of Cape Town and Pretoria, but was concerned about chances of getting financial assistance. She said she would try almost everything and even apply for external bursaries and loans to study in 2002. Asking her what kept her from doing it in 2001, Zodwa indicated that she did not go further with her studies because she did not know much about followed procedures and availability of financial assistance within the institutions of higher learning.

In terms of job search, Zodwa is still searching for employment, but only searches when someone tips her about available vacancies. She indicated that she is tired of wasting money and time on job-hunting only to be rejected by employers. She also complained about ‘Amakwerekwere’ (African immigrants), which she accuses of taking jobs for local people. She believes that there would be enough jobs for people if African immigrants were to go back where they came from. Zodwa believes ‘Amakwerekwere’ (African immigrants) are preferred by most employers because they accept lower wages than their South African counterparts.

3.5.5 Quality of life and income generating activity/ies.

Zodwa said she is not satisfied with her quality of life and the overall life she leads because of her current unemployment status and her financial situation. She was only satisfied with her state of heath.

Zodwa receives financial income from 'i-Ginsa' (car hijacker), who has been asking her out for more than a year. When asked if they are involved or not, she indicated that they are not really serious because the person that she truly loves is her boyfriend, Sibusiso (one of my male respondents). Zodwa said her mother and grandmother do not always provide what she needs and hence she sometimes asks this other guy for assistance. Zodwa indicated that she mainly asks i-Ginsa to buy her clothes that her family cannot afford. However she insisted that i-Ginsa does not get anything in return except her company, if he wants to go out. She said though she loves Sibusiso, the problem is that at the moment he cannot afford to take care of her. Therefore the other guy plays an important role in her life because he buys her clothes and other things. In fact she sometimes uses the money she gets from the other guy to help Sibusiso out. She confesses that Sibusiso does not know about this man because he (Hijacker) often comes late at night when he knows that Sibusiso would not be around.

When asked whether her family was supportive of her or not, Zodwa said her family is supportive, particularly her grandmother. Her grandmother sometimes offers her money to do her hair and buy clothes, but the kind of money that she (grandmother) offers her is never enough to buy the kind of clothes she needs, and hairstyles she likes.

When asked which things has she got herself involved in to generate income; Zodwa said there is none, but tries her luck with lotto. She says though she has never won the lotto, she plays it every week.

3.5.6 Expectations.

When asked what should be done by the state to help, Zodwa said that the government should provide bursaries or jobs for people to raise money for themselves. She also mentioned that government should put more effort in alerting young people and the public at large about the availability of finances for the disadvantaged in the universities and technikons.

When asked what little things could help her as an unemployed, Zodwa mentioned:

- Money
- Employment
- And skills provision.

Zodwa thought skills and education could play an important role in the employment of the unemployed. Hence she was looking forward to furthering her studies. She however indicated that she would take any part time job available to assist her grandmother.

When asked whether she would you take any grant or donation given to her because of her status, Zodwa answered yes. When asked how much she would need, she said R100 a week. In terms of important things that Zodwa would use the grant for, she only mentioned the following:

- Food
- Cosmetics and other necessary needs.

3.5.7 How she feels about being unemployed.

Zodwa is also not worried about her employment status because she knows she would find something when she finishes her studies. Similar to other female respondents, Zodwa blamed the government “They promised us jobs, where are they? I will never vote again”.

3.5.8 Laziness.

When asked if she agrees with people who say people have no jobs because they are lazy, Zodwa said she does not agree with them because most people are searching for employment. On whether she is lazy or not, Zodwa said she is not lazy because she would take any job for income if anyone offered her. She mentioned the following to support this argument:

- Housework
- And taking care of her grandmother.

3.5.9 Important changes resulted from being unemployed.

In terms of important changes that have occurred in her life because of unemployment, Zodwa mentioned the following:

- Boredom. Many have turned their backs on her because they are now working.
- More dependent than before.

3.5.10 Challenges.

When asked which things are major problems in her life and in her community, Zodwa mentioned:

- Unemployment,
- Poverty,
- And disrespect by other people.

Although there are few people she grew up and went to school with who are studying in tertiary institutions across the country, Zodwa indicated that there are a lot of unemployed people in the area particularly the youth that has finished and failed matric.

In terms of poverty, Zodwa said she sometimes goes to her neighbours for help if her grandmother does not have money. Interestingly, she said other people also come to her grandmother for help. And this is closely linked to the issue of disrespect in her neighbourhood because most people do not respect poor people, or individuals that come from poor families. She said people take you for granted and think the poor would comply with everything. Zodwa indicated that a woman ‘next door’ usually invites her to come and help her with a number of things, including spring-cleaning and sometimes sends her to town or shop to do shopping for her. She says she does not like that kind of treatment and sees it as

disrespectful, but comply because the woman usually helps her family out in rough times.

Respondent: Lerato Mokeona.

3.6 Background.

Lerato is a 21-year-old unemployed woman. She is the only offspring in the family of three who has never had any form of employment.

NAME	AGE	RESIDENCE	PARENTS	EDUCATION	EVER BEEN EMPLOYED
Lerato Mokoena	21	Family house	Both parents	Matric and university drop out	No

Table 6: Lerato's family profile.

She lives with her well educated parents. They have good jobs and have openly told her to prioritise her studies more than anything else in her life. She indicated that these parcels are often only taken by the elderly people because most individuals are ashamed or too proud to accept when offered.

3.6.1 Availability of food and living conditions within her household.

In Lerato's household food is in abundance, her family sometimes gives away food parcels to neighbours and children around the community. She indicated that she was content with her present living conditions, and acknowledged how lucky she is to have her parents and a home to live in. She said she is well treated and taken care of by her very protective parents.

3.6.2 Relationship with her family.

Lerato said she has a very good relationship with her family. She is still treated like a child that needs all the attention that one can think of. She jokingly said "I really think that it would be fit to call me a spoiled brat in your report. But I really love my parents for taking a very good care of me at my age". Asking her to elaborate on that, she indicated that she knows that at this age she should be taking care of some of her responsibilities. But her parents provide her with almost everything she has. She says that her mother taught her to feel free to talk to them about anything. Hence they have such a close relationship as a family.

Lerato indicated that being unemployed has only negatively affected the relationship she has with her extended family members who continuously gossip about her and the fact that she is a university drop out. She said this does not bother her because her family is not really close to her extended family members. She said she would not even bother what other people say about her, as long as she has her parents on her side. Lerato indicated that she does not even visit them anymore because of bad things they say about her and her unemployed status. She believes that her working cousins are jealous because they do not have things that she has.

3.6.3 Daily schedule/activity/ies.

Lerato usually sleeps at around 22:00 and wakes up at 07:00 am. Her daily activities are as follows:

- Preparing breakfast.
- Doing housework (cleaning, washing, and ironing clothes).
- Sometimes she spends a lot of time with her long time boyfriend Thokozani, who is also one of my respondents. They usually spend time at her house or Thokozani's home, or simple out with their friends, Sibusiso and Zodwa.
- Later on the day she cooks supper for the rest of the family.

When asked how often she watches television, Lerato said not everyday the whole day. She indicated that she listens to radio whenever she can and does read newspapers.

3.6.4 Education, training and job search.

Lerato is a university dropout. She was doing Bcom at the University of the Witwatersrand in 1999, and has never been employed. When asked if she needed any particular training, Lerato said she does need training but had decided to further her studies in the following year.

In terms of job search, Lerato said after dropping out, she tried to find employment but decided to stop going out job-hunting because though she spent

a lot of money during that period, she could not find a job. She has since decided to only respond to newspaper advertisements ‘when ever she sees a suitable position’.

3.6.5 Quality of life and income generating activity/ies.

Lerato was not satisfied with her quality of life and the overall life she leads because of her current unemployment status and her financial situation. One thing she was happy with was her state of health.

When asked whether her parents provide financial assistance or not, she said her parents always offer her money to spend on things like cosmetics, clothing and other things. Lerato is another respondents who indicated that her parents give her spending money every month. Her parents have provided almost everything she has and she loves them for the support and love they have shown her since she dropped out of varsity. When asked which things has she got herself involved in to generate income; Lerato indicated she has decided to further her studies because she has no income generating activity or a job.

3.6.6 Expectations.

When asked what should be done by the state to help, Lerato indicated that the government should provide jobs or financial assistance in a form of grant and bursaries to the unemployed. Lerato believes this could help many unemployed who are tempted or forced to get involved in crime related activities. She said that there are people she grew up and went to school with who have turned to crime for a living. And one guy she went to school and grew up with is now a total stranger to her because he is now a known criminal in the township. Although

they were in the same class and both passed their matric well, the guy did not further his studies. She indicated that she remembers that when she was still at the university, the guy was an active job seeker and planned to go to varsity in the following year, but today everyone knows him for his involvement in crime.

When asked what little things could help her as an unemployed, Lerato said out the following:

- A bursary.
- And part-time job because she does not want to ask her parents for everything.

When asked if she would you take any grant or donation given to her because of her unemployed status, Lerato said she would take it. When asked how much she would need, she said a R100 a week would make a difference to anyone without a job.

The important things that Lerato would use the state grant for included the following:

- Buying envelopes, faxing, and taxi fares.
- She said the rest would be her pocket money.

3.6.7 How she feels about being unemployed.

Lerato was not also worried that she is unemployed; she believes that she would find a good job after finishing her studies. She indicated that getting a job is not as important as going back to varsity and therefore she is not desperate at all. Instead, she believes that no one should blame oneself because there are no

jobs. Most people should be grateful that they are working and someone within the family has job, because a lot of people are getting retrenched. Lerato also blamed the government for job losses and high unemployment and said it has not delivered jobs that it promised the public.

3.6.8 Laziness.

When asked would you agree with people who say people have no jobs because they are lazy, Lerato said she would not agree with them because most people she knows are searching for work but cannot find it.

On whether she is lazy or not, Lerato said she is not lazy. She said in two years as an unemployed she would have taken any kind of job and helped her parents who are still paying for her outstanding fees. Lerato singled out housework as one reason that supports the claim that she is not lazy.

3.6.9 Important changes resulted from being unemployed.

Lerato mentioned:

- More housework duties.
- Boredom.
- Watching television.
- And sleeping during the day.

3.6.10 Challenges.

On the question which things are major problems in her life and her community, she mentioned:

- Unemployment.
- Poverty.
- Crime.
- And gossips.

Lerato indicated that unemployment has hit the young people hard in the township. She indicated that a lot of young people who completed their matric are doing nothing at all except staying home and getting hooked in crime and drugs. In terms of poverty, she also mentioned that some people go to neighbours for financial assistance or food. She says this is one of the reasons her parents have decided to install the security system because they believe that it is people who come for assistance that end up stealing for others around the township. Hence their home is protected by a huge wall and bar wire. Lerato thought housebreaking was the most serious crime in Zola township.

CHAPTER FOUR

4. Field Notes, Male Responses, Experiences and Observations

Respondent: Thokozani Khumalo.

4.1 Background.

Thokozani is a 24-year-old man who has only h a 6 month internship since graduating. He lives in a family of four, consisting of himself, his brother Mpumi, his mother, and his younger sister.

NAME	AGE	RESIDENCE	PARENTS	EDUCATION	EVER BEEN EMPLOYED
Thokozani Khumalo	24	Family house	Living with their mother	BA degree	Yes

Table 1: Thokozani's profile.

The house belongs to his mother who is working for Johannesburg municipality. Apparently the house was built by their late father.

4.1.1 Availability of food and living conditions within the household.

Thokozani indicated that his mother buys food and other basic needs. When asked if he contributes in buying himself food and other necessary things, Thokozani said he does not and entirely depends on his mother. He was also content with his present living conditions because his mother, the only breadwinner in the house, has so far managed to support the family on her own. He said his home remains a comfortable place to live in.

4.1.2 Relationship with his family.

Thokozani said he has a good relationship with his entire family. He indicated that they get along and understand that he currently can't do anything for them until he finds a job. In fact he thought being unemployed has positively affected his relationship with his family members. Thokozani said everyone understands his situation. They understand that he has been trying to find employment. Being unemployed has brought him closer to other members of his family more than before. He spends more time at home than anywhere else and when they come back; he is always there to talk about everyone's day.

He indicated that since his father died 8 years ago, the family has learnt to support each other and they only have poor relations with the outsiders. When his brother who is a personal friend of the researcher from university, is at home, they prefer to spend time at the premises of the house because since he graduated and his brother is at varsity, their peers and people they grew up with have isolated them. They accuse them of thinking that they are better than everyone else in the township. Thokozani says they are very close with his

brother who before going to varsity provided financial assistance to Thokozani at the university. His brother was working and always gave him money at the end of the month.

4.1.3 Daily schedule/activity/ies.

Thokozani usually sleeps at around 12:00 and wakes up at 09:00 am. His daily activities include the following:

- Preparing breakfast.
- Cleaning the house.
- And watching television and listening to radio.

When asked how often he watches television; Thokozani said he watches television and listen to radio, but usual goes out and come back in the afternoon. He also indicated that he does read newspapers when his friends have it.

4.1.4 Education, training and job search.

Thokozani has a BA degree completed at Vista University, Soweto in 1999. He says he has never had any form of employment since 1999. When asked if he needed any particular training, Thokozani said, “Yes”. He said he needed an internship with any organisation or company that can utilise his skills and later offer him a job if he does well.

Thokozani indicated that he is still searching for employment. But when asked how often he goes out searching for a job, he said he goes out ‘whenever he sees a suitable advertisement’. He however indicated that newspapers are not

helpful at all as job-hunting tool. Thokozani said he tried a number of times to rely in newspaper advertisement for job opportunities without success.

4.1.5 Quality of life and income generating activity/ies.

Thokozani said he was not satisfied with his quality of life and the overall life he leads because of his current unemployed status and his financial situation. He said he needs a good income to meet his basic needs. But one thing he was satisfied with was his state of health.

He mentioned that without employment, it becomes more difficult and stressful for him to walk in public with his head high. Everyone knows how educated he is, but has remained unemployed like people who never went to school. He says this situation is hard to deal with and is embarrassing.

One day we were having a conversation before going to bed, Thokozani said “I just can’t wait to work and show the people around the area what I am made of. I know it’s a silly think to say, but I really mean it”. Thokozani seems to be troubled by what people think of him. He often talked about how people gossip about his unemployed status after spending years in the university.

When asked whether his working family member (Mother) provides financial assistance or not, Thokozani answered, “Yes”. He indicated that at the moment, his mother gives him everything he has. When asked which things has he got himself involved into to generate income, he mentioned the following:

- Playing lotto (though he admits he has not won anything).
- Playing dice and anything legal his Naledi township friends put him into.

4.1.6 Expectations.

When asked what should be done by the state to help, Thokozani indicated that:

- The government must provide jobs or grants to the unemployed until they find employment.

Thokozani indicated that a lot of unemployed matriculants and graduates like him get frustrated because of inactivity and are vulnerably to a lot of things including crime. He said the government does not do much to help the unemployed young people who at their age are very ambitious and eager to live a better life than their parents. On the day of my arrival, his mother had been to the funeral of one of the guys he grew up with, who was shot dead in a hijacking attempt.

Thokozani expect the government to play an important role in informing the unemployed matriculants and graduates about job opportunities and training programmes that can boost their employment chances than staying at home doing nothing. He indicated how depressing it is to sit at home and do nothing at all knowing that “you have necessary qualification to find the job”.

When asked what little things could help him as an unemployed, Thokozani pointed out:

- Internship.
- And grants as the most important in this regard.

In terms of grants, Thokozani said he would take a grant or donation given to him as the unemployed. And thought it must be at least R100 a week. The five important things that he said he would use the money for, include:

- Mainly the job search and food.

Thokozani indicated that one spends a lot of money searching for a job. He has spent a lot of money sending job applications to different organisations and companies without success.

4.1.7 How he feels about being unemployed.

Thokozani was uncomfortable with his present jobless status “I spent the whole four years at varsity for this”. He indicated that it is very unfair to be unemployed after spending a lot of time and money on tertiary education. He also indicated the fact that some of the people he grew up with, who did not go to varsity or received any kind of education are working and are talking about him, saying furthering his studies was a waste of time and money. He indicated how difficult it is to accept the letter of regret after spending a lot of effort and money applying for the job.

Thokozani said he does not blame himself because he has done his level best by getting education that he thought was an important tool to find employment. He believes unemployment is a national problem; “I’m not the only unemployed graduate in this country”. He blames the government for not doing enough to create employment for graduates in this country.

4.1.8 Laziness.

When asked if he would agree or not with people who say people have no jobs because they are lazy, Thokozani said he would not agree. He mentioned that a lot of people want jobs; it is unfortunate that most of them do not find employment. And that does not make them lazy individuals.

On whether he is lazy or not, Thokozani said he is not lazy. When asked to mention two things that support that he is not lazy, he mentioned that:

- He takes care of the family garden and often clean up the premises.
- Together with his friends, they sometimes remove the sand that gets stuck in the middle of the roads after heavy rains. They usually receive some donations from car and taxi drivers for their effort.

Thokozani is however ashamed of doing that kind of work in Zola township, where he stays. He indicated that the community would laugh at him; hence he only does this kind of job in Naledi township where some of high school friends live. Thokozani indicated that he does this work because his friends sometimes make good money that they often waste on cigarettes, dagga and booze. Thokozani keeps his share and takes it home for better use. But Thokozani made it clear that he has only done this work twice and is not something he does for income. He made it clear that his main priority was to find a real job.

4.1.9 Important changes resulted from being unemployed.

According to Thokozani, there are so many changes he has gone under since finishing his studies. These include:

- A drop of confidence.
- Pessimism.

He says he is used to the reality of being an unemployed graduate. He has even got used to people's gossips about his unemployment status, having graduated and celebrated it with a huge party that was attended by friends and his

neighbours. Thokozani admits that “so much was expected of me mfana (man)”. He said a lot of people expected him to find a good paying job and help his mother support the rest of the family. He says he now spends most of his time with people he loves and friends. He says his long time girlfriend Lerato; his friend Sibusiso and his other four friends from Naledi have been very supportive.

4.1.10 Challenges.

When asked which things are major problems in his life and the community he lives in, he mentioned:

- Unemployment.
- Poverty
- And crime.

Thokozani also indicated that most people he grew up with in the township are also unemployed. They spend most of the time doing nothing, just sitting on the corners of the streets smoking dagga. He said poverty is rife; and very few people live comfortably in Zola township. People do all sorts of things to earn a living and for survival. This include crime and he indicated that he even knows some of the people he grew up with who are involved in car theft and other crime related activities. He once showed me one guy that is paralysed and is using a wheel chair. He said police shot the guy after him and his gang were chased and caught with a stolen car two years ago. Thokozani said he went to a local school with that guy.

Respondent: Julius Khoza.

4.2 Background.

Julius is a 31-year-old Mozambican man who is currently unemployed. He has been to South Africa since 1990 and has been renting a house in Zola since 1991.

NAME	AGE	RESIDENCE	PARENTS	EDUCATION	EVER BEEN EMPLOYED
Julius Khoza	31	Rented house	None	Standard 4	Yes

Table 2: Julius's profile.

He lives in the family of 5, consisting of himself, his wife, and three children. Julius said the house belongs to a South African friend who has since moved to another township.

4.2.1 Availability of food and living conditions within the household.

Julius indicated that his family always has something to eat and have never gone to bed without food because if he does not have anything to eat, he goes to his brother for assistance. In return, he lends a helping hand on daily basis in his brother's shoe-making business. He indicated that he is still the head of the house and it is his responsibility to provide for his family no matter what.

Julius was satisfied with his present living conditions. He said he is now part of the community and people treat him and his family very well. He is also grateful that things have changed and no longer has to put up with xenophobic or abusive behavior from local people anymore. He and his children can speak all the languages used in the township.

4.2.2 Relationship with his family.

Julius said he has a good relationship with his entire family. “We get along like house on fire”. He says he and his brothers are very close and help each other a lot. They are also close with the rest of the family in Mozambique. Back at home, they miss him and his brothers and when they visit home they always have long talks about home and South African stories.

When asked whether being unemployed has positively or negatively affected his relationship with other family members, he said positively. Julius said although he is close to his entire family, usually when he is unemployed, his wife complains a lot and gossips about him to her friends. He said they have had arguments about her behavior because he tries his best to feed his family. Julius indicated that when he is unemployed, his wife is the only family member who does not give him the support that he needs.

4.2.3 Daily schedule/activity/ies.

Julius usually sleeps after 12:00 and wakes up at 06:00 am. His daily activities include:

- Assisting his brother with his work (shoe making). He spends the whole day and comes back later in the afternoon like every working individual.

When asked how often he watches television; he said he watches television and listen to radio whenever he can. He said he does not read newspapers and believed that reading newspapers is a waste of time and money. Julius said he would rather work than read newspapers.

4.2.4 Education, training and job search.

Julius left school at standard 4. He says since coming to South Africa he has always worked under contract and has never had a permanent job. When I interviewed him, he had been unemployed for five months because his contract had expired in June 2001. He however keeps himself busy by helping his brother who is a shoemaker in the area.

When asked if he needed any particular training, Julius said he does not need any training. He indicated that “training won’t pay me, I will have to pay for it”. Julius has never received any formal training in his life, but he believes he was born with the talent and thought he has the necessary skills and experience gained over the years as a contract worker.

Although Julius is still searching for employment, when asked how often he goes out searching for a job, he indicated that he only goes out whenever he hears about employment opportunities.

4.2.5 Quality of life and income generating activity/ies.

Julius was not very satisfied with his quality of life because of his current unemployed status and his financial situation. He said he needs money to feed his family. Asking him about his health condition, he said he is not satisfied with his state of heath. Julius often feels chest pains since he came back from his previous contract work. But he was fairly satisfied with the overall life he leads. He indicated that God guides his life. He indicated that he is less satisfied today compared to a year ago and three years ago.

When asked whether his working family members provide him with financial assistance or not, Julius said they do “As I mentioned, sometimes I ask my brothers for financial assistance”. Apparently they help each other whenever the situation calls for it. Julius indicated that his two brothers are always prepared to help him whenever he needs their support. Together, they have managed to survive in a foreign country like South Africa because of that kind of support they give to one another.

When asked which things has he got himself involved into to generate income; Julius mentioned the following:

- Family handouts.
- Fixing houses and shoe making.

4.2.6 Expectations.

When asked what should be done by the state to help, Julius said he does not know but saw building of houses and roads as meaningful step towards job creation. On what little things could help him as an unemployed, Julius said only

a job could make a difference in his life. But indicated that as a foreigner, even if there was something that can help, he knows that he would not even get anything from our authorities.

When asked if he would you take any grant or donation given to him because of his status, Julius indicated that he would take it. When asked how much he would need, he said more than R100 a week. When asked to mention five important things in which he intended to use the grant on, Julius only singled out that he would use the money to feed his family.

4.2.7 How he feels about being unemployed.

Julius was frustrated by the fact that he has no employment, because “I have no job to make a living, and that is what I’m here for”. He indicated that he would not be in this country if there were no jobs. However, Julius said he was not ‘too hard’ on himself, because it’s not easy to find employment if you are ‘non South African’. He said any government must attend to the issue of unemployment because hungry people are easily driven to crime.

4.2.8 Laziness.

When asked would you agree with people who say people have no jobs because they are lazy, Julius said he would not agree. Julius raised an interesting argument, saying there are people who have jobs and are lazy at the same time. He said working does not necessarily means that one is not lazy, but it is the necessity and everyone’s responsibility to work for survival.

On whether he is lazy or not, Julius said he is not lazy. He said he works hard for his family and tries everything to support it even if he is unemployed. I asked him to mention things that he does to support the argument that he is not lazy, and he mentioned:

- Fixing other people's houses around the township.
- And assisting his brother in his shoe making business.

4.2.9 Important changes resulted from being unemployed.

Julius indicated that the past six months have been difficult and he wishes he could find employment very soon. He said since he became unemployed:

- He spends most of his time doing church duties.
- And spends more time with his brother who he helps in his shoemaking business.

4.2.10 Challenges.

On the question, which things are major problems in his life and to his community, Julius mentioned:

- Unemployment.
- Poverty.

According to Julius, high unemployment seems to be a major problem in the township. He said there are people he knows who have been unemployed for more than five years. He said he really does not know how they survive without an income. He indicated that poverty is ripe and people are struggling. Julius

indicated that he also turns to his brother for assistance because his neighbours are struggling and often come to his house for assistance.

Respondent: Tshepo Mashego.

4.3 Background.

Tshepo is a 21-year-old unemployed man. He lives in the family of 2, consisting of himself and his mother. Tshepo has never had a job before.

NAME	AGE	RESIDENCE	PARENTS	EDUCATION	EVER BEEN EMPLOYED
Tshepo Mashego	21	Family house	Single mother	Failed matric	No

Table 3: Tshepo's profile.

The house belongs to his mother who is a domestic worker. Tshepo indicated that his mother received the house from her brother who now leaves in the Northern suburbs.

4.3.1 Availability of food and living conditions within the household.

Tshepo and his mother also always have something to eat because she's fully employed. He admitted that he relies on her mother for everything and was not happy to be in that position. He also doesn't like the condition he and his mother

live in, in their household. Tshepo said the house needs renovation and they don't have furniture because he's not employed and his mother cannot afford it.

4.3.2 Relationship with his family.

Tshepo has a good relationship with his mother, but doesn't get along with his uncle who left them the house they currently live in. He indicated that his uncle expect too much from him, though he knows that he is still unemployed. Tshepo said his uncle accuses him of resting on his laurels, believing that he's not doing enough to secure employment. According to Tshepo, if his uncle really cared about him, he would have long helped him find a job. He believes his uncle can easily employ him if he wanted to, in his work.

According to Tshepo, a reason for such a poor relationship that he has with his uncle stems from his (uncle) dislike of his friends and people he spend time with. Tshepo admitted that some of his friends are car hijackers. And his uncle assumes that "nami ngiyiginsa" (I'm also a hijacker). This hostility between him and his uncle has worsened over the years and badly affected their relationship. In fact Tshepo does not even stay or go home when his uncle comes for a visit. He says "Le aw'thi iyakhinya ithanda ukushumayela, userious kakhulu" (This guy is boring, he likes to preach, and is way too serious). Tshepo believes his uncle is trying to run their lives because he offered him and his mother his house. Apparently his mother is forever grateful for it and some times argues with him in support of his uncle. Tshepo mentioned that his mother also does not like the company he keeps. They only visit him when she is at work. Tshepo says he understands why his mother's stance on his friends but his uncle should be thankful to him because his friends once planned to hijack him and he stood up for him and discouraged them from doing it. I once wanted to accompany Tshepo to his friends but he refused saying "Mfana ngeke uyithande indaba, lamajita

awawancanywa amajita ageleze njengawe" (Man you don't want to do that, these guys do not like educated guys like you". He admitted that this is one of the reasons they do not like his uncle.

4.3.3 Daily schedule/activity/ies.

Tshepo usually sleeps at around 23:00 and wakes up at 09:00 am. His daily activities are as follows:

- Spends most of his time at home or out with his friends and that is why other people such as his uncle think he is also a criminal.
- Prepares himself breakfast, and clean his room.
- Sometimes he cleans up his home's premises, making sure that their garden looks good and grass does not grow all over like there is no one living in the house. He indicated gardening is like a hobby to him.
- But maintains that he spends most of his time with his friends. Sometimes he plays cards and video games with them at his friend's home if he is not at home.

When asked how often he watches television, he said he watches television whenever he has time to, and listen to radio whenever he can. He said he does not read newspapers.

4.3.4 Education, training and job search.

Tshepo failed his matric in 1998. He says he has never had any form of employment since leaving school but was still searching for employment. When asked if he needed any particular training, Tshepo said he does need training.

On the question what kind of training he said he wanted any training that would guarantee him a job.

When asked how often he goes out searching for a job, he said when ever he sees a suitable advertisement. Tshepo also indicated that newspaper advertisements are not helpful to him because no one responds to his applications.

4.3.5 Quality of life and income generating activity/ies.

Tshepo said he is not satisfied with his quality of life because of his current unemployed status and his financial situation. Although Tshepo was very satisfied with his health condition, he expressed dissatisfaction with the overall life he leads. He resented his dependence to his mother and uncle, and indicated that maybe he would not be associating himself with his friends if he had a job. Tshepo indicated that things get tougher as one grows up, and therefore needed a job as soon as possible.

When asked whether his mother provides financial assistance or not, Tshepo answered “Yes”. He said his mother takes care of him but if she does not have anything she approaches his uncle on his behalf for assistance. Although his uncle gives him assistance, Tshepo mentioned that his uncle always complains before lending a helping hand. Hence Tshepo says his uncle is the last person he contacts for assistance because he is arrogant and always criticises him for being unemployed. And when asked which things has he got himself involved into, to generate income, Tshepo singled out gambling (gambling ‘dice’ with his friends).

4.3.6 Expectations.

When asked what should be done by the state to help, Tshepo said:

- “Uhulumeni kufanele asinike imisebenzi, akhele abantu basemikhukhwini lapha emalokishini izindlu” (The government must give us jobs, and build houses for the people in the squatter camps around our townships).

When asked what little things could help him as an unemployed, Tshepo singled out money. He said:

Money is important to any job hunter. He indicated that he needed money for taxi fares, faxing, and food, “Umuntu ubuye adle phela uma efuna umsebenzi” (“A person also has to eat during job search”).

When asked if he would take any grant or donation given to him because of his unemployed status, Tshepo said he would take the grant. He indicated that R100 a week could make a difference in his life.

When asked about important things he would use the money for; Tshepo singled out:

- Job search.
- And said the rest would go to his mother to buy other necessary things in the house.

4.3.7 How he feels about being unemployed.

Tshepo indicated that he was not too worried about being unemployed, because “Akekho umuntu ongikweleta umsebenzi” (No one owes me a job). However, he believed that the government should create jobs by building houses for squatter camp people. He said “Labo abathembekile abanandaba nabantu abafana nathi” (“They are not trustworthy and most don’t care about people like us”). He said poor people are never taken serious by the government, “Buka nje, abantu bayadilizwa” (Just look at the job loses). He also did not blame himself for being unemployed. He thought the government should be blamed for unemployment because “Bahlale besithembisa ispani before ama-elections” (They always promise us jobs before the elections).

4.3.8 Laziness.

When asked if he would agree with individuals who say people have no jobs because they are lazy or not, Tshepo said he would not agree with them. “Ivaar ukuthi asikho i-spani out there” (The fact is that there are no jobs out there). He indicated that working people in particularly do not want to understand that there are no jobs).

Q: Are you referring to anyone in particular?

Tshepo: “Vele” (Yes)

Q: Obani? (Who?).

Tshepo: “Abantu abafana ne Ankeli yami” (people like my uncle).

On whether he is lazy or not, Tshepo said he is not lazy “Ngiyazazi, umangingagaywa ispani noma isiphi ngingasinqanda” (I know myself if I anyone can offer me any kind of job, I will gladly take it).

4.3.9 Important changes resulted from being unemployed

Tshepo mentioned the following:

- More dependent than before.

4.3.10 Challenges.

On the question, which things are major problems in his life and his community, Tshepo singled out:

- Unemployment.
- Poverty.

He indicated that unemployment is rife in the township because most of his peers did not even reach matric and like him, many have no intention to go back to school anymore. He said a lot of people such as himself do not have matric because they are not allowed to go back and finish matric or to improve their matric results. Moreover, people without matric also do not find any form of employment, and if they do it does not pay well. He said he knows people who passed matric well and some with degrees who are not working, “Ngeke silunge kulabantu mfanakithi” (We can’t compete with these people, man). According to Tshepo, the government has a challenge, to create employment for township masses particularly the youth because most of them cannot ‘tolerate’ living in poverty.

Rape is another problem that people and the government need to deal with in the township. He said girls in the township contribute to this, by not dressing well. This is a very common response one gets from most men not only in Zola but around the country. He indicated that a lot of girls love parties, bashes and drink a lot ending up being taken advantage of. He indicated that he knows a number of girls who ended up being raped because of excessive drinking in parties and bashes.

Respondent: Bulela Magazi.

4.4 Background.

Bulela is a 25-year-old who has never had employment. He lives in a family house, of 6, consisting of himself his parents, and three younger sisters.

NAME	AGE	RESIDENCE	PARENTS	EDUCATION	EVER BEEN EMPLOYED
Bulela Magazi	25	Family house	Both parents	Public administration diploma	No

Table 4: Bulela's profile.

The house belongs to his parents who both have permanent jobs.

4.4.1 Availability of food and living conditions within the household.

Bulela's parents have always had enough money to buy food for the family. He was happy with his living conditions because he is treated well in his household. He has his own room, and his 3 sisters share one room. He indicated that he is happy because he knows guys older than him who share rooms with their sisters around the location and he is grateful he is not one of them. However, he believes he is old enough to move out as an eldest in the family. He indicated that he needs his privacy and space. Bulela was concerned that he cannot even bring his girlfriend and let her stay over night because it would be disrespectful to his parents.

4.4.2 Relationship with his family.

Bulela said his relationship with his family is not bad. Though they often fight about a lot of things with his parents, he still thinks that their relationship is not bad. He said being unemployed makes things unbearable. Bulela personally thinks that his parents are running out of patience particularly his father, whose treatment is worsening everyday. He said he and his father used to be close and often talked about soccer, but things have changed. Recently, his father is hostile towards him, and Bulela suspects it has something to do with being unemployed.

Q: What makes you think that things have changed?

A: "There is tension between me and my parents, particularly my father"

Q: What makes you think there is tension?

A "I have also seen this through my mother, I can tell that my father has said something to her".

Bulela says his mother always behaves in a certain way if his father has expressed his dissatisfaction about him (Bulela). Bulela believes he is now too old to share the same house with his father.

When asked whether being unemployed has positively or negatively affected his relationship his family members, Bulela indicated that the relationship has been negatively affected. According to Bulela he used to get along well with both his parents and his sisters adored and respected him, but now all that has changed.

Bulela complained, “Even my younger sisters no longer have the kind of admiration and respect they had when I was still at the technikon”. He believes that being unemployed has made his sisters think less of him. He also believed that this is because he spends too much time with them at home as he is presently unemployed.

4.4.3 Daily schedule/activity/ies.

Bulela sleeps after 22:00 and wakes up at around 08:00 am. Describing what he does on daily basis, Bulela said:

- “To be honest with you, I don’t do anything” He said he normally goes out and visit his friends, who sometimes visit him at home. He only comes back later to eat during the day and late at night to sleep.

When asked how often he watches television, he said he watches television whenever he has time to, and does not listen to radio. He said he also does not read newspapers.

4.4.4 Education, training and job Search.

Bulela got his a Public Administration diploma at Technikon Witwatersrand in 1999. He says he has never had any form of employment since he completed his studies. But when asked if he needed any particular training, he said he does not need training. “I only need a job, I do not have time for training, I need money”. Bulela indicated that he would rather get work experience than training. At his age, he said he would only take training that goes with employment opportunity.

In terms of job search, Bulela indicated that he is still searching for employment. On how often he goes out searching for a job, he said he goes out when ever he sees a suitable newspaper advertisement.

4.4.5 Quality of life and income generating activities.

Bulela said he is not at all satisfied with his quality of life because of his current unemployed status and his financial situation. He was not very satisfied with the overall life he leads, but indicated satisfaction with his health condition.

When asked whether his working family members (Parents) provide financial assistance or not, he said sometimes they do. Bulela indicated that his parents seem to be giving up on him because they are no longer eager to help him like they used to in the past. He said things changed after he completed his diploma, and suspects that his parents think he is not doing enough to find a job. He believed that his parents think he is intentionally prolonging his dependence on them. But admitted that, in a way his parents are still supportive because they still provide food, clothing and a place to stay.

When asked which things he has got himself involved in, to generate income, Bulela said nothing. But he indicated that he is one of the people who take chances every week, on lotto. He has never won anything but believes his day is yet to come.

4.4.6 Expectations.

When asked what should be done by the state to help, Bulela said the following:

- Government should stop-giving people empty promises and offer them jobs.
- He also indicated that graduates deserve government assistance to ensure that they receive the necessary job experience.

When asked what little things could help him as an unemployed, Bulela singled out money and indicated that only employment can guarantee him the income that he needs. He admitted that he would take any grant or donation given to him because of his unemployed status. When asked how much he would need, he said at least R100 a week.

And when asked what five important things he would use the money for; Bulela singled out the following:

- Job search.
- And looking after himself.

He indicated that with at least R100 a week, he would not have to ask for everything at home. Bulela indicated that the money would facilitate regular job hunting process.

4.4.7 How he feels about being unemployed.

Bulela was also frustrated because he left his job for technikon education. He said now that he has completed his studies he cannot even find a job any where, “It is frustrating man, I just don’t believe this is happening to me”. Bulela said he just couldn’t come to terms with being unemployed having spent a lot of money and time and lost his because he wanted to further his studies, hoping he would find a better job.

Bulela doesn’t put any blame on himself because he believes he has done more than enough to show his willingness to uplift himself and contribute to the society he lives in and his family. He blamed the government for being unemployed. He said the government should not allow a situation whereby graduates remain unemployed, “What kind of message are they sending to young people at primary and high school level”. Bulela argued that high unemployment is sending a wrong message to youth and crime cannot be eradicated if things continue like this in this country. Bulela believes that Zola is what it is today (hazardous/crime ridden area) because of high unemployment. He indicated that many people would not be involved in social evils, particularly crime, if they had employment.

4.4.8 Laziness.

When asked whether he would agree or not with individuals who say people have no jobs because they are lazy, Bulela said he would not agree with them, “That’s stupid, how do they know? On laziness, Bulela said he is not lazy and gave the following reasons to support his claim:

- Despite unsuccessful job search, “I have not stopped looking for a job”. He argued that he would not be searching for employment if he was lazy.

4.4.9 Important changes resulted from being unemployed.

Bulela said nothing positive has happened to his life over the past few years as an unemployed. Instead he believed things have worsened especially the following:

- His parents are no longer as supportive as they used to, when he was still studying.

4.4.10 Challenges.

On the question, which things are major problems in his life and the community he lives in, Bulela mentioned:

- Unemployment.
- Crime.
- Gossips.
- And poverty.

He indicated that most people he knows are unemployed in Zola township. Bulela believed people are getting poorer every year; as a result a lot of people in the township do not even condone income generating crime activities. He indicated that hijackers and drug dealers are hailed as role models because they live a better life than most of us in the township. They drive fancy cars and live in

beautiful houses. The success of criminals has worsened crime levels in the township because more young people also get involved in crime to generate income. Poverty is ripe and people go to neighbours for food and other assistance.

Respondent: Theo Tau.

4.5 Background.

Theo is a 23-year-old unemployed man. He's currently jobless and lives in a family house, consisting of 5 other members, namely his parents, his cousin, and his grandfather.

NAME	AGE	RESIDENCE	PARENTS	EDUCATION	EVER BEEN EMPLOYED
Theo Tau	23	Family house	Both parents	Standard nine drop out	Yes

Table 5: Theo's profile.

The house belongs to his parents. He said his father, who has a permanent job and his grandfather, a pensioner, are the breadwinners of the house.

4.5.1 Availability of food and living conditions within his household.

Theo indicated that they always have something to eat buys more than enough food for everyone. Theo indicated that he does not have money to buy anything, but his father and his grandfather manage to feed the entire family. Theo was

content with his present living condition. He said he enjoys himself at home because he is treated well by his parents, his grandmother, and his cousin. He mentioned that he has his own room that he shares with his cousin who has been staying with them since 2000. He indicated that they get along well and he does not mind sharing it with him.

4.5.2 Relationship with his family.

Theo believes the relationship with his family members is not bad. Though they have often argued about the issue of going back to school, particularly with his mother, generally, their relationship remains solid. He told me that they once called him to a family meeting and suggested that he goes back to school but he refused. Theo said he has not yet come to terms with his premature end of his football career, and refuses to go back to school at his age. According to Theo, his mother has not put the idea of going back to school to rest. The family sometimes argues about it, but his father and grandfather understand and believe he is too old to go back to school.

One afternoon; Theo's mother found us playing music load in the living room and we never even realised that she came in. She switched off the system, and left the room without saying a word. Theo switched it on again but played it softly. And when his mother came back, she confronted him and said "Yiyo nje into oyaziyo. Ayikho nje into ongayenza?" (That's all you know, you just can't do anything else, can you?). Theo was so angry and confronted his mother for doing what she did at my presence. Theo's mother could not care less but later came back and apologised to me. She said she thought it was one of his 'good for nothing' friends. When I introduced myself as a university student I ignited the argument even further because his mother started comparing the two of us and said "Buka nje umfana ongangawe usafunda isikole, kube uyabona" (Look at the

boy of your age, he is still studying). Theo asked me to join him and we both left the house and stayed outside. After few minutes his mother came out with tea and cakes that were baked for Christmas. In many African communities there is no Christmas without home baked cakes. She apologised to me and her son and we all went back in the house for tea and home baked cakes. Theo's home looked like a very warm and wonderful place to live in. But Theo admitted that the idea of going back to school always causes tension in the house.

When asked whether being unemployed has positively or negatively affected his relationship with his family members, Theo said being unemployed has positively affected his relationship with his family. He believes that the premature end of his soccer career has brought his family together and they have all given him a moral support he needs.

4.5.3 Daily schedule/activity/ies.

Theo goes to bed at around 11 and wakes up at around 06:00 am. His daily activities include the following:

- Cleaning his room.
- And going out to visit his friends.

When asked how often he watches television, he said he watches television only in the afternoon, and does not listen much to radio as he prefers to go out and find something to do or visit friends.

4.5.4 Education, training and job search.

Theo dropped out in standard nine when he was recruited to play for Orlando Pirates' (a professional football club) junior team. He decided to sacrifice his studies in order to concentrate on his football career.

Q: Why did you decide to leave school for football?

Theo: "Joe, Pirates is a big team, I wanted to be promoted to the first team".

Q: Couldn't you have done that without leaving your studies?

Theo: "Bengidenka ukuthi kuzoba easy uma ngijinda isgele ngidlale idiski full time, futhi bengingesenaso isikhathi sezincwadi, ngifeyila nama tests. Ngavele ngabona ukuthi ngiyeke isgele" (I thought I would be easy to make it if I left school and play on full time basis, besides I also did not have enough time for my books, and even failed tests. Therefore I decided to leave school). Unfortunately Theo's injury was very serious, and he was advised to quit soccer for life, till today he is still limping because of that injury.

When asked if he needed any particular training, Theo responded "I training yani?" (What training?), he said he only wants a job. Theo said he is still searching for employment and does not need any training. And when asked how often he goes out searching for a job, he said when ever he sees a suitable advertisement.

4.5.5 Quality of life and income generating activity/ies.

Theo said he is not at all satisfied with his quality of life because of his current unemployed status and his financial situation. He said football meant everything to him and he has never been content since he was forced to early retirement by

his injury. But when asked about his health condition, Theo indicated that he is very satisfied with his state of health.

When asked whether the breadwinners of the family (his father and grandfather) give him the financial assistance or not, Theo said sometimes they do give him the assistance. He said it depends, but they usually help out whenever they can. Overall, Theo indicated that his family was very supportive of him. And when asked which things has he got himself involved into to generate income, Theo said there is none.

4.5.6 Expectations.

When asked what should be done by the state to help, Theo indicated that the government should provide employment or financial assistance to the unemployed. On what little things can help him as an unemployed, he only singled out employment.

He however indicated that he would take any grant or donation given to him because of his status “Ubani ongayiyeka” (Who wouldn’t). Asking how much he would need, he said at least R100 a week. And he singled out two things that he would mainly use the grant for:

- Job search, especially for taxi fare.
- And for personal needs since his family does everything else for him.

4.5.7 How he feels about being unemployed.

Theo felt no shame and remorse for having no employment; he said everybody knows that jobs are scarce these days. But he indicated that the government has

to do something about job creation. When asked whether he blames himself or not for being unemployed, Theo said he only blames himself for the injury he got because he believes it could have been avoided. He strongly believed that he stood a good chance to be promoted to the first team.

4.5.8 Laziness.

When asked whether he would agree or not with individuals who say people have no jobs because they are lazy, Theo said he does agree with them. He believed, “Kukhona abantu abangasebenzi ngoba betswafa ukufuna umsebenzi, kimi loko ukuvilapha” (There are people who are unemployed because they can’t stand to search for employment, for me, that’s laziness). He continued “Baningi bagcwele lapha elok’shini, babuya ama-universities nase ma-technikons, kodwa abakasebenzi njengathi” (There are so many of them, some from universities and technikons, but they are still unemployed like us).

When asked whether he is lazy or not, Theo said he is not lazy, and indicated that he would rather get a job than go back to school.

4.5.9 Important changes resulted from being unemployed.

Theo said nothing has changed, except that he no longer has any income generating activity since he quitted playing football.

4.5.10 Challenges.

When asked which things are a major problem in his life and in the community he lives in, Theo mentioned:

- Unemployment.
- Crime.
- And poverty.

Theo believes that generally, most people, particularly the young people, are unemployed in the Soweto township. In addition he mentioned that local people (Zola) do not go out hunting for job and rely on crime and family members for survival and income generation.

The other problem according to Theo is that young people, like him, do not finish school and most believe that they would not find decent employment. Theo was also concerned about a level of alcohol abuse amongst youth. He said most people including youth drink a lot, while they should be getting involved in positive activities such as sports. Finally, Theo believed poverty remains the huge problem within Zola community.

Respondent: Sibusiso Ndaba.

4.6 Background.

Sibusiso is a 23-year-old unemployed man. He has only had a job as a bursary student. He lives in a family house, consisting of his parents, and his younger brother.

NAME	AGE	RESIDENCE	PARENTS	EDUCATION	EVER BEEN EMPLOYED
Sibusiso Ndaba	23	Family house	Living with both parents	BA Degree	No

Table 6: Sibusiso's profile.

The house belongs to his parents who are both working in Johannesburg. He has his own room behind the main house.

4.6.1 Availability of food and living conditions within his household.

Sibusiso indicated that food is always available in his household and he eats more than once a day. He said he has never gone to bed without food because his parents can afford it. When asked whether he buys himself food and other necessary things, Sibusiso said he could not afford to buy himself food and other things because of unemployment.

Sibusiso indicated that he was happy staying and sleeping in the family house because it is his home, but would like to have a place of his own. When asked whether he is content with his present living conditions, he said, he is satisfied with the living conditions in his household. Sibusiso indicated that he has always been comfortable in his home and in the room he sleeps in, “I don’t think it would be pleasant to leave this room one day, I have spent so many years in it”.

4.6.2 Relationship with his family.

Sibusiso said his relationship with his family members has also always been good. They are a small close family. They always know if something is wrong with one of their family members and often try their best to help.

When asked whether being unemployed has positively or negatively affected his relationship with other family members, Sibusiso said the relationship with his family has been positively affected. He believes his parents are even more supportive than ever before. Instead, Sibusiso complained about neighbours’ gossips. He indicated that people talk about him and make fun of the fact that despite his education he has remained unemployed. But his parents have realised that he needs them more than ever for him to stay focused and not be discouraged by such sentiments.

4.6.3 Daily schedule/activity/ies.

Sibusiso goes to bed after 23:00, usually wake up at around 08:00 am. His daily activities include:

- Preparing himself breakfast.

- Cleaning his room and the rest of the house.
- Sometimes cooking for the family.
- But usually spends most of his time with his friends, Thokozani and Lerato at their (friends') homes or at his home. They would just spend most of their time playing video games and listening to some music.

When asked how often he watches television; Sibusiso said he watches television whenever he has time to, and listen to radio whenever he can. He said he prefers listening to his music collection than to radio. And indicated that he also buys and reads newspaper almost everyday.

4.6.4 Education, training and job search.

Sibusiso has a BA degree from Vista University Soweto. He has never had any form of employment since he completed his studies in 2000. When asked if he needed any particular training, Sibusiso said he does not need any training. He said he only needs a job to make a life for himself, but admitted that he only goes out searching for a job whenever he sees a suitable newspaper advertisement.

4.6.5 Quality of life and income generating activity/ies.

Sibusiso said he is not at all satisfied with his current jobless status and his financial situation. He indicated that being unemployed as a graduate is frustrating, "it does not make one feels good spending the whole day with people who did not put an effort to improve their lives through education". He is another respondent that complained about people's treatment because of his better education background. He says they make his life unbearable because they

laugh at him for wasting years at varsity only to come back in the township to struggle with the rest of them.

Sibusiso is not satisfied with the overall life he leads. He said that he wants to work like every responsible adult. He believed he was old enough to take care of himself and his family. However, he was happy with his health condition.

When asked whether his working family members (Parents) give him financial assistance or not, Sibusiso said his parents do give him financial assistance. They have always offered him money to apply for vacancies and taxi fares to the interviews and other things. He indicated that his family has always been supportive, “I ‘m just happy and proud to have them as my parents”. Sibusiso indicated that his parents have encouraged him to be strong and pointed out that he is not alone because there are many other unemployed matriculants and graduates he grew up with who are unemployed like him. He indicated that some have turned to crime, drugs and alcohol “They are probably scared that I would also turn up like them”. Sibusiso indicated that his parents have even encouraged him and are glad that he spends most of his time with his friend Thokozani, who is also an unemployed graduate who lives a clean life.

When asked which things has he got himself involved into to generate income, Sibusiso said nothing. He admitted that he is one of the people who have increasingly pinned their hopes on winning the Lotto.

4.6.6 Expectations.

When asked what should be done by the state to help people like him, Sibusiso said the government should not only help the disadvantaged people to get

financial assistance to further their studies, but should also offer or help them get jobs after the completion of their studies.

When asked what little things could help him as an unemployed, Sibusiso singled out:

- Internship.
- And believed grants would be helpful.

He said it is unfortunate that people like him are not even utilised to any capacity in the country's development. He believes young people like him should be government's priority, for development.

When asked if he would take any grant or donation given to him because of his unemployed status, Sibusiso said he would take it. He said he would need more than R100 a week because of increasing standard of living. Sibusiso indicated that job-hunting requires lots of money for travelling and applications. He said he would mainly use that grant for:

- Job search, pointing out that things like faxing, printing and high taxi fares as financially unbearable.
- And the rest would be for looking after himself.

4.6.7 How he feels about being unemployed.

Sibusiso said he is bitter because he finds it difficult to stay at home without anything to do, knowing that he has so much to offer with the education he has. He indicated that he thought that after finishing his studies, he would find employment. What seemed to bother him is that he spends a lot of money in searching for employment and has to keep asking his parents for it. Sibusiso

lamented that being an unemployed graduate is difficult in the location. There is a lot of pressure coming from other people who expect you not only to find employment but to also hold a high profile job. According to Sibusiso, one cannot blame them for having so many expectations. People are increasingly approaching and asking him why he is not working and he is not taking it well because he has ended up being rude to some of them, “Man, it’s frustrating; it is as if they are making fun of me”. Some individuals have already started saying its no use to study if one would come back and do nothing with people who have never even been to school.

When asked whether he blames himself or not for being unemployed, Sibusiso said he does not blame himself. He said, “I blame the companies and the government, how do they expect us to have work experience coming straight from the universities”. He believes this is only an excuse to deprive people jobs.

According to Sibusiso, this is the problem that is mainly faced by black, particularly African graduates, “They just can’t offer us anything no matter how hard we try, they prefer to see us going to jails for hijacking them”. My interviews with him and his friend Thokozani were often very emotional. Talking to the two of them was like listening to people who have waited a long time to speak out or take out their frustrations.

4.6.8 Laziness.

When asked if he would agree or not with individuals who say people have no jobs because they are lazy, Sibusiso said he would not agree. He said though there are many lazy people not only in Zola, he believes that most of them would do anything to get jobs and feed their families. He also indicated that though some people are too proud to do other jobs because they see them as

degrading, poor people would take any employment opportunities for survival. When asked whether he is lazy or not, Sibusiso said maybe he is, maybe he is not, but the important thing is that he wants a job and he is willing to work for a living.

4.6.9 Important changes resulted from being unemployed.

When asked about important changes, Sibusiso said:

- He is even more reliant to his parents than before.
- He now finds it difficult to ask for assistance because at his age.

4.6.10 Challenges.

When asked which things are major problems in his life and the community he lives in, Sibusiso mentioned:

- Unemployment.
- Crime.
- And poverty.

Sibusiso believes unemployment is a serious problem in Zola township. He said there are many young people, his age and older, who are jobless and dependent on parents and mostly on pensioners. He indicated that some of the neighbours completely depend on the pensioner's grants for livelihood. The pensioners are breadwinners or play an important role in generating income in most families around his area.

Crime is mainly the source of income for most young people in his community. He indicated that most people condone crime, particularly if committed outside the township, for example, in towns and the suburbs. In terms of poverty, Sibusiso indicated that most people rely on neighbours and other well of extended family members, and the old age grants offered by the government.

CHAPTER FIVE

5. The Combined Analysis of Field Notes, Interviews' Responses, and Findings Based on Female and Male Samples.

Introduction.

The field notes were analysed according to the aims of the research and therefore important issues that were raised by both female and male respondents were singled out in order to make the analysis possible. The results from these field notes and interviews show that most respondents managed to cope with unemployment mainly because of the following:

- Support from the family members
- Support from a spouse/partner
- Housework as an important daily activity
- Shifting a blame to other people or factors

Support from the family members

Although various issues were raised by most respondents in this research, the most significant to find is that irrespective of their background, all the respondents relied on their working or income generating family members such as their parents and pensioners. This is not surprising because fifty percent of both male and female respondents still live with their parents and overall, half have never been employed. Interestingly, the study also shows that while women received additional financial assistance from grandparents, male respondents relied on their parents for survival. Most respondents admitted that this kind of assistance is offered despite quarrels that take place between the respondents and those who support them. This shows that a strong supportive family structure and a sense of loyalty within the respondents' families play an important role in their survival within their households.

Support from a spouse/partner

In addition to family support, the study reveals that supportive spouse/partners also play a significant role in jobless individuals' lives. All respondents indicated that the people they are romantically involved with help them cope with unemployment through emotional and financial support. There was a general acknowledgement that their partners understanding and support have contributed to their resilience during this period of joblessness. This is not surprising because all but two are involved with individuals who are equally unemployed and who can relate to what they are going through. They support each other being at the same place, sharing stories about what they are going through as unemployed individuals. The fact that respondents often spend time with their partners is another indication that they feel more comfortable around these supportive individuals. They also indicated that they would like to have

additional support from the government, in a form of training and grants to support themselves.

Housework as an important daily activity.

In this study, most respondents, particularly the women, kept themselves busy with housework duties. Results show that while some male respondents spend most of their time outside the household, all female respondents stuck to household duties on daily basis. The contrast between what female and male respondents do in this regard, proves to be an interesting premise of yet another analysis. It is worth noting that while most women find comfort and something to do with their time in domestic work, most male respondents find it difficult to stay indoors doing nothing productive in their households. Results show that most male respondents would rather go out for the rest of the day and come back late or in the afternoon. One can argue that most of these men wouldn't like to be seen as deadwood in the household, and would rather be seen later in the day, appearing as if they were at work or went out searching for employment. On the contrary, considering that female respondents are very productive, doing housework, most saw nothing wrong with sitting back and watching television or listening to radio on daily basis. Female respondents, like Mpo would sit and watch television and listen to radio or read newspapers while still in her nightdress, during the day. This is comforting since their activities occur indoors, where no one would see them. Unfortunately for most men, in the townships, being indoors without any job is not. Socialization dictates that their working place is outdoors, striving to feed their families, or at least be seen to be productive, for example, doing garden to make the household look presentable.

This research shows that although male respondents such as Thokozani, Sibusiso and Tshepo also do some housework, they do not watch television and listen to radio the whole day as much as female respondents do. As earlier

indicated, most spend time away from home during the day. For example, Julius go out everyday to assist his shoemaking brother and come back late in the afternoon to eat and sleep. Other male respondents admitted that they go out visiting friends, and come back late in the day. Similarly, most also indicated that they are always on a look out for potential employment opportunities, wherever they go.

Shifting the blame to other people or factors.

This research shows that there is a growing culture of shifting the blame to other people or other factors. Although media has often pointed out foreigners as scapegoats, this study shows that mainly the following are singled out as root causes of unemployment in Zola township:

- The Government
- Business/Employers
- And lack of money

The government and business/employers.

In this research, it is evident that the culture of shifting the blame to government and business with regard to unemployment has given meaning to most respondents' experiences during their joblessness period. According to respondents, continuous retrenchments; government's failure to create sufficient employment; and employers' increasing demand for job experience are all hindrances. This factors give most respondents a psychological edge to deal with being unemployed. Psychologically, most respondents perceive being jobless as a norm created by these factors, not only in their community, but the

country at large. Results from field notes and interviews show that instead of being hard on themselves for being unemployed, most respondents perceive the government and employers as the main culprits on the issue of unemployment. Unfortunately, instead of becoming active job hunters, the majority the respondents seem to believe that there is nothing that they can do to find employment. They believe unemployment is a biggest challenge that has also troubled the national government over the years.

Lack of money

Both male and female field notes and interviews show that most respondents also singled out lack of money as one of the reasons for inactivity as job hunters at this period of unemployment. Taking into consideration the importance of money during job searching, this research reveals that respondents believe the situation is beyond their control as penniless jobseekers. The majority in this study indicated that they do not blame themselves for being unemployed because they do not have money to actively job hunt. They said it's expensive and do not have money to:

- Buy newspapers
- Fax and post applications
- And most importantly, they do not have money for taxi fares to attend the interviews, or for job search.

Some respondents indicated that as unemployed individuals, they would rather use the money they have on basic needs like food than waste it on job-hunting because there are no jobs.

In conclusion, this research shows that most respondents are able to cope with unemployment because they believe joblessness in their community and nationwide is beyond their control. Psychologically, they shift the blame to the government for failing to curb job losses and to create employment as promised during the previous general elections. They are discouraged by companies' unrealistic demand for job experience and most importantly by lack of money needed in order to be an active job seeker. Most significantly, internalising and normalising joblessness was very much common amongst respondents and the people I interacted with. As a participant observer, it was interesting to witness how normal unemployment is to most people and was amazed by how my respondents have equally internalised it. The study shows that all the respondents were pessimistic about their chances of finding employment. They believe there are no jobs and that vacancies that are advertised are usually already earmarked or given to certain individuals. And lack of finances to travel for interviews and job hunting is another factor that discourages most respondents. It is worrying that respondents still shift all the blame to Government and Business while they spend most of their time on housework, watching television, listening to radio or away from home like male respondents often do, for most part of the day. The male field notes and interviews show that male respondents prefer going out for the most part of the day and only come back late in the day. Most never particularly go out job searching but preferred to spend time away from home and nosey neighbours who often watch their every move.

CHAPTER SIX

6. Discussing the findings and comparing them with those of earlier studies and recent media reports about Zola township.

Introduction

After analysing the field notes and interviews responses, specific factors such as support from the family members, support from a spouse/partner, housework as an important daily activity and shifting the blame to other people and factors are discussed, comparing them with those of the earlier studies on unemployment and recent media reports about Zola township. At the end, lessons and recommendations are given.

Support from the family members

In support of previous reports and newspaper articles (O' Brien, 1986: p.196; Allen and Watson 1986; and Oelofse, 4 Dec. 2001), this study shows that young people are still the most unemployed group in South Africa. Most of these jobless youth are able to cope with unemployment because of the support from income generating family members such as their working parents and pensioners for survival. As reported in the media, grants offered to parents and pensioners make a difference in many households in the township. It is argued that most people collect pension grants every month, which feed households in the township (Londt, 2001: 28; Molefe and Choonara, 9 Dec. 2002: 18). This research clearly shows that this could be the money which puts a plate in many of the respondents' households. Results revealed that although the respondents came from different ethnic and family backgrounds, with the exception of Julius, the majority entirely depends on income generating family members, including

the pensioners. In a Sowetan article, (Molefe and Choonara, 9 Dec. 2002: 18) it is indicated that due to rife unemployment in Zola, pensioners are increasingly becoming breadwinners, maintaining their extended families with their monthly grants. In support of Wittenberg (1999: 5-6), the study results show that, most unemployed have access to some resources. But as Hayes and Nutman (1981, 50), argued, this study shows that very few hold positive attitude towards getting employment. This study argues that Zola respondents had it easy and could cope with joblessness because of readily available support from their loved ones.

In this research, it is evident that there is a sense of commitment and loyalty from breadwinners, who arguably take care of the unemployed respondents within their households. Therefore one can argue that unemployed people in Zola township are likely to benefit from basic needs such as free food, housing and clothing that many people are generally not entitled to. This study shows that contrary to research conducted by the University of the Witwatersrand (1999: 59), neighbours don't even play a supportive role in the survival of unemployed people in Zola because of the stigma associated with begging. This research shows that most unemployed respondents do not go to their neighbours for assistance. The disrespectful treatment that the unemployed people are subjected to and gossiping in Zola are some of the reasons jobless people do not appeal to their neighbours for a helping hand. Instead, to cope, all jobless respondents preferred to seek assistance within their households or from their friends.

Support from a spouse/partner

In addition to family support, this study shows that supportive spouse/partners also play an important role in jobless individuals' lives. Respondents indicated that the people they are romantically involved with help them cope with unemployment through emotional and financial support. Most respondents

admitted that their partners understanding and support have contributed to their resilience during this period of joblessness. This is not surprising because all but two are involve with individuals who are equally unemployed and who can relate to what they are going through. Little attention seems to have been paid to how most unemployed people, with the help of their spouses and their partners, cope with joblessness without committing or getting involved in crime and other anti-social activities in the townships. This kind of support structure plays a significant role amongst jobless people who, as indicated in Zunker (1994) study, often have low self esteem resulting from not being involved in activities that are valued by other people. The kind of support they receive from their equally unemployed partners and spouses help most respondents to normalise and internalise joblessness.

Housework as an important daily activity

Although they are unemployed, this research has shown that most respondents find it difficult to seat and do nothing for the whole day. This study reveal that instead of involvement into anti-social behaviour, as shown in Moller (1992) and Cawker and Whiteford (1993) study, the majority preferred to do something with their time. Female respondents in particular, turn to housework, which keeps them busy in the early hours of the morning to mid-day. While most male respondents seem to prefer to go out and come back in the afternoon or at night than being seen doing nothing productive in their households. This is not surprising considering that in many African communities, men are expected to be breadwinners and women are usually heads of the households. This research shows that while female respondents find comfort in domestic work, male respondents find it humiliating to be confined within the household without anything productive to do. They find being unemployed humiliating as it undermines their traditional status as providers or income generators within the household. The behaviour of most male respondents could be linked to the

argument that the unemployment is mainly accompanied by loss of status (Allen and Watson, 1986: 1), and this is evident in this report, especially amongst men. Contrary to women, who often fall back to housework, most men would rather leave the household than be seen as deadwood in their households. When asked what they do for most part of the day, most male respondents said they go to their friends or job hunt elsewhere and come back late with the people who are working. The neighbours and community would not know what their employment status is, if they stay away from their homes during the day.

Shifting the blame to other people and factors

In this research, most respondents mainly blame the government for unemployment. Government's failure to address unemployment and continuous retrenchments have given a majority of respondents a psychological boast because most do not blame themselves or question their skill level and how much effort they actually put in job searching. Generally, most blame the government for joblessness.

Similar to Londt's paper (2001: 46), the issue of the availability of money during job searching emerged as one of the main difficulties faced by the unemployed. Most respondents indicated that they could not become active job seekers because of lack of money. They argue that when job hunting; one has to have money to fax and post application or transport. As a result, the majority end up in category of discouraged or inactive job hunters. This has generally been a growing trend over the years in the post apartheid South Africa. Research conducted by Statistic South Africa shows that there has been an increase in the number of people who have stopped looking for employment, particularly the women (Harding, 28 March 2004: 2; Louw, 26 March 2004: 2). In this study, lack of money is one of the factors that lead to an increase in a number of discouraged jobless individuals. Most respondents would rather use little money

they have or find, on other things than job-hunting. Although both sexes are guilty of this practice, results show that women are main culprits in this regard. Contrary to men, they often get money from both their families and their working partners or spouses. Male respondents mainly received financial support from family members.

In conclusion this research findings discussion shows that there is little comparison between this study and those of the earlier studies on unemployment. Results show that although most people who are unemployed are young adults as it has been reported in previous studies, factors such as alcoholism, depression, suicidal thought and crime have no significance role in how the unemployed cope with joblessness in Zola township. After analysing the field notes and interviews responses, specific factors that were singled out were the support from the family members, support from a spouse/partner, housework as an important daily activity and shifting the blame to other people and factors.

Results show that to cope with unemployment most unemployed people in Zola township rely on income generating family members such as their working parents and pensioners. The study shows that these breadwinners have exceptional loyalty and compassion for the unemployed family members. Respondents don't worry about basic needs such as food, housing and clothing because they are provided by these family members. These unemployed people do not even go to their neighbours for assistance because their important needs are met within their households and by their spouses or loved ones.

In addition to that, the unemployed cope by doing housework as an important daily activity. Results show that most people preferred to do something with their time. Female respondents in particular, turn to housework, which keeps them busy in the early hours of the morning to mid-day. While most male respondents

go out and come back in the afternoon or at night, it is not conclusive whether the latter job hunts during this time of the day. One thing that is certain is that this departure helps them cope with their everyday life as the unemployed in this very judgemental community they live in.

Finally, as mentioned earlier on, contrary to other studies the unemployed in Zola township don't really exaggerate and mourn about their employment status, instead, they casually shift the blame to the employers and the government. Government's failure to address unemployment and continuous retrenchments give them some psychological strength to deal or cope with unemployment.

The lessons

The study shows that most respondents are able to emotionally, physically, socially and financially cope with joblessness. Adopting an ethnographic approach, using the method of in-dept interviewing as a principal technique of data collection and participant observation played an important role in establishing the authenticity of these findings. This ensured that the human factor and intimate firsthand knowledge of the research setting is uncovered as I avoided distancing myself from people or events I study (Nueman, 2000: 126). Spending four weeks conducting fieldwork, as a participant observer gave me an advantage of personal insight, feelings, and human perspective to fully understand social life of these unemployed respondents. The financial and emotional support offered by working family members and individuals that the respondents are romantically involved with lifted their self-esteem, mental/physical health and life satisfaction. The most significant lesson in the analysis is that gender played an important role in testing the impact of unemployment on both sexes. Results show that male respondents find it more difficult to cope with joblessness than women. The difference is that women find

more innovative ways to cope with poverty and unemployment than men. Male respondents often left their households and came back late in the afternoons. This can be blamed on our patriarchal mode of thinking, that a man is still a breadwinner and should be working and not be at home, which is generally seen as a woman's territory.

Contrary to other studies, variables such as, education, residence and length of unemployment did not seem to make a significant difference on how the respondents cope with unemployment. Most indicated that they are used to the kind of life they are leading, as jobless individuals. This kind of behaviour can be linked to the Carnegie study which concluded that unemployment experiences were less difficult for the unskilled because they previously learnt to expect less of life than the skilled (O' Brien, 1986: 194). The fact that the majority of the respondents have no practical working skills or job experience help most of them cope with unemployment. They share and have to live with their common experiences of normally being jobless. As a result, factors such as the level of skill, education, and where you come from, are often overlooked or dimmed insignificant, especially amongst the unemployed individuals. The results showed that psychologically, most see each other as equally unemployed, and have all generally put blame on the government and business who fail to create jobs.

Recommendations:

- Quality of education provided should offer our young people skills that are in line with employment opportunities.
- Unemployed people must be encouraged to put more effort in job hunting and entrepreneurship. Unemployed need both psychological and emotional support from their families and the community at large. Anything

less than that could turn the unemployed against the society that continues to discriminate against them.

- People must seek information about job-hunting skills and use other job searching tools other than newspapers and people they know.
- Jobless people must be encouraged to take voluntary jobs and should be prepared to take any suitable or available employment as a first step in building themselves up in order to gain the necessary and much needed work experience.
- Internships must be compulsory and be introduced as part of grade twelve curriculum so as to create a career path for those who cannot further their studies.
- Authorities need to encourage participation of both young men and women in community life, policy formulation and in development initiatives. They should also support youth development to ensure that young people reach their full potential.
- Most importantly, authorities, parents and the community at large need to respect and accept the contribution made by the youth through their talents, resources and ideas. Unemployed young people require assistance from both the government and non-governmental organisation to deal with the wide range of concerns and problems they confront (National Youth Commission and Ntsika Enterprise Promotion Agency, February 2000: 35).
    - Authorities need to protect positive role models by ensuring that townships are also relatively safe to live in. Many positive role models, particularly the rich and famous, leave the townships because of crime and lack of security in the communities they grew up in. Young people need to see these positive role models as people that they can look up to as successful members of their community.

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